THE LIFE OF MUHAMMAD

A TRANSLATION OF ISHĀQ'S
SĪRAT RASŪL ALLĀH

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY
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INTRODUCTION

THE AUTHOR

MUHAMMAD, son of Ishāq, son of Yasir, was born in Medina about A.H. 85 and died in Baghdad in 153.¹ His grandfather Yasir fell into the hands of Khālid b. al-Walid when he captured 'Ayau'il-Tamr in A.H. 13, having been held there as a prisoner by the Persian king. Khālid sent him with a number of prisoners to Abū Bakr at Medina. There he was handed over to Qays b. Makhrama b. al-Mu'tālib b. 'Abdu Manṣūr as a slave, and was manumitted when he accepted Islam. His family adopted the family name of their patrons. His son Ishāq was born about the year 90, his mother being the daughter of another freedman. He and his brother Muṣā were well-known traditionists, so that our author's path in life was prepared before he reached manhood.²

He associated with the second generation of traditionists, notably al-Zuhri, 'Aṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda, and 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr. He must have devoted himself to the study of apostolic tradition from his youth, for at the age of thirty he went to Egypt to attend the lectures of Yazid b. Abū Ḥabīb.³ There he was regarded as an authority, for this same Yazid afterwards related traditions on Ibn Ishāq's authority.⁴ On his return to Medina he went on with the collection and arrangement of the material he had collected. Al-Zuhri, who was in Medina in 123, is reported to have said that Medina would never lack 'ilm as long as Ibn Ishāq was there, and he eagerly gathered from him the details of the prophet's wars. Unfortunately Ibn Ishāq excited the enmity of Mālik b. Anas, for whose work he showed his contempt, and it was not long before his own writings and his orthodoxy were called in question. Probably it was our author's lost book of Sunan⁵ which excited Mālik's ire, for it would have been in the field of law based on the practice of the prophet that differences would be most keenly felt. He was accused of being a Qadari and a Shi'i. Another man attacked his veracity; he often quoted Fārima, the wife of Ḥishām b. 'Urwah, as the authority for some of his traditions. The husband was annoyed and denied that he had ever met his wife; but as she was nearly forty years Ibn Ishāq's senior it is easily credible that they often met without occasioning gossip. It is not known whether Ibn Ishāq was compelled to leave Medina or whether he went away voluntarily. Obviously he could not have the same standing in a place that housed his chief

¹ I.S. vii. ii. p. 67.
² On Muṣā and Ishāq see J. Fück, Muhammad ibn Ishāq, Frankfurt a. M. 1925, p. 28.
³ See Biographien von Gewährsmännern des Ibn Ishāq..., ed. Fischer, Leiden, 1890.
⁴ With all those whose death-rates ranged from A.H. 27 to 152 he was in contact personally or at second hand.
⁵ Wüstefeld, ii. vii, from I. al-Najjar and Fück, 30.
informants as he would hold elsewhere, and so he left for the east, stopping in Kufa, al-Jazira on the Tigris, and Ray, finally settling in Baghdad. While Mansur was at Hāshimiyah he attached himself to his following and presented him with a copy of his work doubtless in the hope of a grant from the caliph. Thence he moved to Ray and then to the new capital of the empire. He died in 150 (or perhaps 151) and was buried in the cemetery of Hayzurān.

THE SIRA

Its precursors

It is certain that Ibn Ishāq’s biography of the prophet had no serious rival; but it was preceded by several maghāzī books. We do not know when they were first written, though we have the names of several first-century worthies who had written notes and passed on their knowledge to the rising generation. The first of these was Aban the son of the caliph ‘Uthmān.1 He was born in c. 20 and took part in the campaign of Tālha and Zubayr against his father’s slayers. He died about 100. The language used by al-Wāqīdī in reference to Ibn al-Mughira, ‘he had nothing written down about hadith except the prophet’s maghāzī which he had acquired from Aban’, certainly implies, though it does not demand, that Ibn al-Mughira wrote down what Aban told him. It is strange that neither Ibn Ishāq nor al-Wāqīdī should have cited this man who must have had inside knowledge of many matters that were not known to the public; possibly as a follower of Ali he preferred to ignore the son of the man the Alids regarded as a usurper. However, his name often appears in the ismāds of the canonical collections of hadith. (The man named in Tab. 2340 and I.S. iv. 69 is Aban b. ‘Uthmān al-Bajjali who seems to have written a book on maghāzī.)2

A man of much greater importance was ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr b. al-Awwām (23–94), a cousin of the prophet. ‘Urwa’s mother was Abū Bakr’s daughter Aṣimā’. He and his brother ‘Abdullāh were in close contact with the prophet’s widow ‘A’isha. He was a recognized authority on the early history of Islam, and the Umayyad caliph ‘Abdul-Malik applied to him when he needed information on that subject. Again, it is uncertain whether he wrote a book, but the many traditions that are handed down in his name by I.I. and other writers justify the assertion that he was the founder of Islamic history.3 Though he is the earliest writer whose notes have come down to us, I have not translated the passages from Tab. which reproduce them because they do not seem to contain anything of importance to the Sira. They form part of a letter which ‘Urwa wrote to ‘Abdul-Malik who wanted to have accurate knowledge about the prophet’s career.4 Much of his material rests on the statements of his aunt ‘A’isha.

Introduction

Like I.I. he was given to inserting poetry in his traditions and justified the habit by the example of ‘A’isha who uttered verses on every subject that presented itself.5 He was a friend of the erotic poet ‘Umar b. Rabī’a, but thought very little of the prophet’s poet Hassān b. Thābit.6

Of Shurāhīl b. Sa’d, a freedman, presumably of South Arabian origin, little is known beyond the fact that he wrote a maghāzī book. I.I. would have none of him, and he is seldom quoted by other writers. He died in 113, and as he is said to have known Ali he must have died a centenarian. He reported traditions from some of the prophet’s companions, and Mūsā b. ‘Uqba7 records that he wrote lists of the names of the emigrants and the combatants at Badr and Uhud. In his old age he was discredited because he blackmailed his visitors: if they did not give him anything he would say that their fathers were not present at Badr! Poverty and extreme age made him cantankerous. The victims of his spleen doubted his veracity, though those best qualified to judge regarded him as an authority.

Another important Tābi’ was Wahb b. Munabbih (34–110), a Yamantie of Persian origin. His father probably was a Jew. He is notorious for his interest in, and knowledge of, Jewish and Christian scriptures and traditions; and though much that was invented later was fathered on him, his K. al-Muhātadā lies behind the Muslim version of the lives of the prophets and other biblical stories. With his books on the legendary history of the Yaman, on aphorisms, on free will, and other matters preserved in part in I.H.’s K. al-Tijān we are not concerned; but the statement of Hajjī Khalīfa that he collected the maghāzī is now confirmed by the discovery of a fragment of the lost work on papyri written in 228. Unfortunately this fragment tells us little that is new; nevertheless, its importance is great because it proves that at the end of the first century, or some years before A.H. 100, the main facts about the prophet’s life were written down much as we have them in the later works. Further it shows that, like the other early traditionists, he had little or no use for ismād. Miss Gertrud Mélamède8 has compared the account of the meeting at Qaṣba (cf. 1. H. 288, 293, 299) with the literature on the subject and her criticism, literary and historical, leads her to some important conclusions which do not concern us here. An interesting detail is that Muhammad speaking to ‘Abbas calls Aus and Khazraj ‘my and your maternal uncles’. ‘Abbas throughout runs with the hare and hunts with the hounds.

A little later comes Aṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda al-Anṣārī (d. c. 120). He lectured in Damascus on the campaigns of the prophet and the exploits of his companions and seems to have committed his lectures to writing. He too is quite inconsistent in naming his authorities: sometimes he gives an ismād, more often he does not. He returned to Medina to continue his work, and I.I. attended his lectures there. Occasionally he inserted verses in his narrative, and sometimes gave his own opinion.

1 E. Sachau, I.S. iii. xxiii. f.
2 Fück, 8, n. 377; and see J. Horovitz in Islamic Culture, 1947, 538.
3 I.S., Tab., and Bu. are heavily indebted to him.
4 See T. I. 1130, 1294, 1304, 1304, 1344, 1670, 1770; iii. 2458. Cf. I.H. 754.
5 Fischer, Assīnā, 46.
6 I. Ḥajar, Tuhfah, p. 361.
7 Horovitz, op. cit. 251.
8 Le Monde Orientale, xxviii. 1034. 17–58.
Muhammad b. Muslim...b. Shihâb al-Zuhri (51-124) was a member of a distinguished Meccan family. He attached himself to 'Abdu'l-Malik, Illahám, and Yaqút, and wrote down some traditions for his princely pupils. He was the forerunner of the later traditionalists in that he took extraordinary pains to interview people, young and old of both sexes, who might possess knowledge of the past. He left a history of his own family and a book of maghâzî. Most of his traditional lore survived in the notes of his lectures that his pupils wrote down quoting his authority for the traditions they record. He spent some years in Medina as a young man. I.I. met him when he came south on pilgrimage and he is often named as an authority in the Sîra. He was the most important traditionalist of his generation, and his influence is to be seen in all collections of canonical hadith. (See further J. Hrovitz, Islamic Culture, ii. 33 ff.)

'Abdullah b. Abû Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Hazm (d. 130 or 135) was one of I.I.'s most important informants. His father had been ordered by 'Umar b. 'Abdu'l-'Azîz to write a collection of prophetic hadith, especially what 'Amra d. 'Abdu'l-'Rahmân said. This latter was a friend of 'A'isha and she was the aunt of this Abû Bakr. Already in the time of his son 'Abdullâh these writings had been lost. Though we have no record of a book by Abûllâh, its substance probably once existed in the maghâzî of his nephew 'Abdu'l-Malik. As one would expect, the isnad is a matter of indifference to 'Abdullâh: he stood too near the events among many whom he knew of need to cite his authorities. Tâbi. (l. 1837) contains an interesting note on how I.I. got his information. 'Abdullâh told his wife Fâtima to tell him what he knew on 'Amra's authority.

Abû'l-Aswad Muhammad b. 'Abdu'l-'Rahmân b. Naufal (d. 131 or 137) left a maghâzî book which sticks closely to 'Urwa's tradition.1

Contemporary with the author in the third generation was Mâshâ b. Uqba (c. 55-141), a freedman of the family of al-Zubayr. A fragment of his work has survived and was published by Sachau in 1904. As it once rivaled I.I.'s work and is one of our earliest witnesses to the Sîra I have given a translation of the extant traditions.2 Although Mâlik b. Anas, al-Shâfi'i, and Ahmad b. Hanbal—an impressive trio—asserted that his book was the most important and trustworthy of all, posterity evidently did not share their opinion or more of his work would have survived.3 I.I. never mentions him. One cannot escape the conviction that petty professional jealousy was as rife in these days as now, and that scholars deliberately refrained from giving their predecessors credit for their achievements. Mâshâ leaned heavily on al-Zuhri. He seems to have carried farther the process of idealizing the prophet.4 He is freely quoted by al-Wâqidi, I. Sa'd, al-Baladurî, Tabari, and I. Sa'yidull-Nâs. He gave lists of those who went to Abyssinia and fought at Badr. The latter Mâlik regarded as authoritative. He generally gives an isnad, though it is not always clear whether he is relying on a written or an oral source. Once at least he refers to a mass of records left by Ibn 'Abbâs (I.S. v. 216). Occasionally he quotes poems.

Apart from the fragment of Wâb b. Munabbîh's maghâzî the Berlin MS., if it is authentic, is the oldest piece of historical literature in Arabic in existence, and if only for that reason deserves more than a passing notice here. It is of importance also because it carries back some of the traditions in Bukhârî (d. 256) more than a century.

Other maghâzî works were produced in Iraq, Syria, and the Yaman during the second century, but none of them is likely to have influenced I.I. and they can safely be disregarded. What is of significance is the great interest in the life of the prophet that was shown everywhere during this century. But no book known to the Arabs or to us can compare in comprehensiveness, arrangement, or systematic treatment, with I.I.'s work which will now be discussed.

The Sîra

The titles The Book of Campaigns or The Book of Campaigns and (the prophet's) Biography or The Book of the Biography and the Beginning and the Campaigns5 are all to be met with in the citations of Arabic authors. Al-Bakkârî, a pupil of I.I., made two copies of the whole book, one of which must have reached I.H. (d. 218) whose text, abbreviated, annotated, and sometimes altered, is the main source of our knowledge of the original work. A good deal more of it can be recovered from other sources.6 The principles underlying I.H.'s revision are set out in his Introduction. Sachau7 suggests that the copy used by T.'s was made when I.I. was in Ray by Salama b. Fadl al-Abrash al-Ansârî, because T.'s and I.H.'s quotations I.I. according to I. Fadl's riwaya. A third copy was made by Yûnus b. Bukayr in Ray. This was used by I. al-Athîr in his Uâsdu'l-Ghûbâ. A copy of part of this recension exists in the Qarawiyîn mosque at Fez. The text, which contains some important additions to the received text, I hope to publish shortly. A fourth copy was that of the Syrian Hârîm b. Abû'Isa. These last two copies were used by I. Sa'd.8 Lastly the Fihrist mentions the edition of al-Nufayî (d. 234).

It must not be supposed that the book ever existed in three separate parts: ancient legends, Muhammad's early life and mission, and his wars. These are simply sections of the book which contained I.H.'s lectures.

For the Mubâda' (Mubâda') we must go to T.'s Ta'rifî and History. The first quotation from it in the latter6 runs thus: 'I. Hamîd said, Salama b. al-Fadl told us that: I.I. said: "The first thing that God created was light

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1 See Fûck, 12.
2 See Nöldeke, Gesch. Qur. 126, 231.
3 Fûck, 12.
4 ills. ii. 51, lines 17-19.
5 Fûck, 12.
6 p. 9.
and darkness. Then He separated them and made the darkness night, black exceeding dark; and He made the light day, bright and luminous. 1

From this it is clear that 'Genesis' is the meaning of the title of the first section of the book. I.H. skipped all the intervening pages and began with Abraham, the presumed ancestor of Muhammad. Al-Azraqi quotes some passages from the missing section in his Akhbār Mecca and a few extracts are given by al-Mughārīb b. Tāhir. 2

The Muhaddiths in so far as it lies outside I.H.'s recension is not our concern, though it is to be hoped that one day a scholar will collect and publish a text from the sources that survive so that I.H.'s work can be read in its entirety as its importance warrants. In this section I.H. relied on Jewish and Christian informants and on the book of Abū 'Abdullāh Wāh b. Munabbīb (34-110 or 114) known as K. al-Muḥaddith 3 and also al-Isrā'īlīyāt of which the original title was Qisas al-Anbiyā. To him he owed the history of the past from Adam to Jesus 4 and also the South Arabian legends, some of which I.H. has retained. This man also wrote a maghāzī book, and a fragment of it has survived. 5 I.H. cites him by name only once. It is natural that a book about Muhammad, 'the seal of the prophets', should give an account of the history of the early prophets, but the history, or legends, of South Arabia demand another explanation. As Goldziher showed long ago, 6 it was in the second half of the first century that the antagonism of нар и south, i.e. Quraysh and the Ansār of Medina, first showed itself in literature. The Ansār, proud of their southern origin and of their support of the prophet when the Quraysh rejected him, emmaed under the injustice of their rulers and the northerner's claim to superiority. One of the ways in which their resentment manifested itself was in the glorification of Ḥimyar's great past. I.H. as a loyal son of Medina shared the feelings of his patrons and recounted the achievements of their forefathers, and I.H., himself of southern descent, retained in the Sīra as much of the original work as he thought desirable. To this accident that I.H. was a Ḥimyāri we owe the extracts from stories of the old South Arabian kings. I.H. devoted a separate book to the subject, the K. al-Tyān li-ma'rīfati mulābi i-zamān fi aḥḥārī Qaṭān. 7

The second section of the book which is often called al-Muḥāth begins with the birth of the prophet and ends when the first fighting from his base in Medina takes place. The impression one gets from this section is of hazy memories; the stories have lost their freshness and have nothing of that vivid and sometimes dramatic detail which makes the maghāzī stories—especially in al-Waḍqādī—so full of interest and excitement. Thus while the Medinan period is well documented, and events there are chronologically arranged, no such accuracy, indeed no such attempt at it, can be

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2 A summary of the contents is given in T. l. 3 See E. T. 4 p. 20. 5 M. S. I. 89-98. 6 Haydarabad, 1342.

Introduction

claimed for the Meccan period. We do not know Muhammad's age when he first came forth publicly as a religious reformer: some say he was forty, others say forty-five; we do not know his precise relation to the Banū Najār; the poverty of his childhood ill fits the assertion that he belonged to the principal family in Mecca. The story of those years is filled out with legends and stories of miraculous events which inevitably undermine the modern reader's confidence in the history of this period as a whole. In this section particularly, though not exclusively, I.H. writes historical introductions to his paragraphs. A good example is his foreword to the account of the persecution the prophet endured at the hands of the Meccans: 'When the Quraysh became distressed by the trouble caused by the enmity between them and the apostle and those of their people who accepted his teaching, they stirred up against him foolish fellows who called him a liar, insulted him, and accused him of being a poet, a sorcerer, a diviner, and of being possessed. However the apostle continued to proclaim what God had ordered him to proclaim, concealing nothing, and exciting their dislike by contemning their religion, forsaking their idols, and leaving them to their unbelief.' 8 This is not a statement resting on tradition, but a concise summary of the circumstances that are plainly indicated by certain passages of the Qurān which deal with this period.

Of the Maghāzī history little need be said. For the most part the stories rest on the account of eyewitnesses and have every right to be regarded as trustworthy.

Characteristics

The opinions of Muslim critics on I.H.'s trustworthiness deserve a special paragraph; but here something may be said of the author's caution and his fairness. A word that very frequently precedes a statement is za'umā or za'um, 'he (they) alleged'. It carries with it more than a hint that the statement may not be true, though on the other hand it may be sound. Thus there are fourteen or more occurrences of the caveat from p. 87 to 146 alone, besides a frequent note that only God knows whether a particular statement is true or not. Another indication of reservation is the underexpression fi mā dhubbī l-islām, as in the story of the man who listened to Muhammad as he prayed; Muhammad's order to 'Umar to kill Suyyād; one of Gabriel's visits to Muhammad; the reward of two martyrs to the man killed by a woman. 9 An expression of similar import is fi mā balaghūn. 10

Very seldom does I.H. make any comment of his own on the traditions he records apart from the mental reservation implied in these terms. Therefore when he does express an opinion it is the more significant. In his account of the night journey to Jerusalem and the ascent into heaven

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1 p. 183; see also 189, 230 et passim 2 pp. 281, 356, 357, 168 3 pp. 321, 325 et passim. Extremist critics introduces the legend of the Light at the prophet's birth, 102
he allows us to see the working of his mind. The story is everywhere hedged with reservations and terms suggesting caution to the reader. He begins with a tale which he says has reached him (hālaqāni) from several narrators and he has pieced them together from the stories these people heard (dhuhār). The whole subject is a searching test of men's faith in which these endowed with intelligence are specially concerned. It was certainly an act of God, but exactly what happened we do not know. This opinion of his is most delicately and skillfully expressed in the words hajja shā'udā, 'how God wished to show him'. I. Mas'ūd's words are prefaced by fi mā hālaqāni 'anhu. There is nothing in the story to indicate that it is a vision. Al-Hāshā's version is much more definite, for he asserts that when Muhammad returned to Mecca he told the Quraysh that he had been to Jerusalem and back during the night and that this so strained the credulity of some of the Muslims that they gave up their faith in his revelations although he was able to give an accurate description of Jerusalem.

It is therefore most surprising that al-Hāshā should end his story by quoting Sūra 13, 62 'We made the vision which we showed thee only for a test to men' in this context. The whole point of al-Hāshā's story is thereby undermined, for if the experience was visionary, then there was nothing at all incredible about it. Then follows 'Aisha's statement, reported by one of her father's family, that it was only the apostle's spirit that was transported; that his body remained where it was in Mecca. Another tradition by Mu'āwiyah b. Abū Sufyān bears the same meaning. The fact that he had been asked whether it was a physical or a dream journey shows that the subject was debated before I.I.'s day. Here I.I. makes a profound observation which in effect means that it was immaterial whether the experience was real or visionary because it came from God; and just as Abraham made every preparation to slay his son Isaac in consequence of what he had seen in a dream because he recognized no difference between a divine command given at night during sleep and an order given by day when he was awake, so the apostle's vision was just as real as if it had been an actual physical experience. Only God knows what happened, but the apostle did see what he said he saw and whether he was awake or asleep the result is the same.

The description of Abraham, Moses, and Jesus which purports to quote Muhammad's words is prefaced by zā'ama l-Zahrī, not, as often, by the ordinary term ḥadīthathu. Now as al-Zahrī and I.I. knew each other well and must have met quite often, we must undoubtedly infer from the fact that I.I. deliberately substituted the verb of suspicion for the ordinary term used in traditional matters that he means us to take this tradition with a grain of salt.

It is a pity that the excellent impression that one gets of the author's intelligence and religious perception should be marred by the concluding paragraph on this subject of the ascent into heaven which incidentally has had far-reaching results on European literature through the Divine

1 Comedy. It rules out absolutely any but a physical experience and ought to have been recorded with its cautionary note before I.I. made his own observations. Possibly the reason for its being out of place is that it is an excerpt from his lecture notes; but whatever the explanation, it mars the effect of his statement of the evidence.

The phrase 'God knows best' speaks for itself and needs no comment. It is sometimes used when the author records two conflicting traditions and is unable to say which is correct. Another indication of the author's scrupulousness is the phrase 'God preserve me from attributing to the apostle words which he did not use'. His report of Muhammad's first public address at Medina and his order to each of his companions to adopt another as a brother are prefixed by these words and hedged by fi mā hālaqāni.2

The author does not often give us rival versions of traditions from Medina and Mecca; thus the account of 'Umar's conversion is interesting.4 It illustrates the thoroughness of our author in his search for information about the early days of the prophet's ministry. The first account he says is based on what the traditionalists of Medina said: 'Umar was brutal to his sister and brother-in-law who had accepted Islam, but feeling some remorse when he saw blood on her face from the violent blow he had dealt her, and impressed by her constancy, he demanded the leaf of the Quran that she was reading. Having read it he at once accepted it as inspired and went to the prophet to proclaim his allegiance.

The Meccan, 'Abdullah b. Abū Najīb, on the authority of two named companions or an anonymous narrator, gives another version in 'Umar's own words to the effect that his conversion was due to his hearing the prophet recite the Quran while praying at the Ka'ba one night. In both narratives it was the Quran which caused his conversion. In the first version 'Umar was affected by the bearing of his sister and secured a part of the Quran to read himself; in the second he was affected by the private devotions of the prophet. The first story is prefixed by fi mā hālaqāni but this is cancelled as it were by the express statement that it was the current belief of the people of Medina. I.I. concludes by saying that only God knows what really happened.

A rather difficult problem in literary and historical criticism is posed by the rival traditions5 collected by the indefatigable T. from two of I.I.'s pupils, Yūnus b. Bukayr and Salama b. al-Fadl, the latter supported by another pupil of I.I.'s named Abī l-Majdī. The first had attended his lectures in Kifā; the other two his lectures at Ray. All three claim that they transmit what I.I. told them on the authority of a certain 'Affī. I do not know of a parallel in I.I.'s work to a contradiction resting on the authority of the same original narrator. Different traditions from different sources are to be expected in any history; but here the same

1 See M. Amin, La ascensión musulmana.
2 Can it be that I.I. has tampered with the text here?
3 pp. 224-9.
4 Pp. 344 and 345.
5 T. i. 1162, 2-1163, 2.
man is introduced as the authority for conflicting traditions such as are to be found in the later collections of hadith.

The first tradition is suspect because it requires us to believe that from the earliest days of his ministry before he had any following apart from a wife and a young nephew Muhammad prophesied the Arab conquest of the Byzantine and Persian empires in the Near East. Nothing in his life gives the slightest support to this claim, though it was to be made good soon after his death.

The second contains no reference to later conquests and may be trustworthy. It certainly fixes the scene at Minā, which is about three miles distant from Mecca. The first account suggests, though it does not assert, that the prophet was in Mecca, as he turned to face the Ka'ba when he prayed. Would he have done this had he been in Minā? Would he not rather have turned in the direction of Jerusalem, his first qibla? I.I. expressly affirms elsewhere¹ that while he was in Mecca Muhammad was praying turned his face towards Syria. The second account says nothing about the direction of his prayer. On the whole, then, the second tradition as transmitted by Salama must be given the preference.

It is quite easy to see why I.I. a century later omitted both traditions; they were offensive to the ruling house of 'Abbās as they drew attention to an unhappy past which the rulers, now champions of orthodoxy, would fain have forgotten. But why did I.I. report them both, if in fact he did? On the whole it seems most reasonable to suppose that he first dictated the tradition which Yūnus heard in Kūfah, notorious for its attachment to the Alid party, and that he afterwards dropped it and substituted the second version which Salama heard in Ray some years later when he went on to Baghdad. T. with his usual thoroughness reported both traditions. The only alternative is to suppose that the reference to the conquests is an interpolation.

There is a subtle difference between these two variants which ought not to be overlooked. At first sight it would seem to be a mere detail that in the first tradition 'Affī wished that he had been the third to pray the Muslim prayer. Now there were already three—Muhammad, Khadija, and Ali. In the second tradition he wished that he had been the fourth. If this latter is the original form of the tradition it seems simply that he wished that he had been the first man outside the prophet's family circle to accept Islam. But the first tradition means more than this: by eliminating, as it were, Muhammad himself from the trio it means that Ali was the second human being and the first male to accept Islam and to stand with Khadija at the head of all Muslims in the order of priority. This has always been the claims of the Shi'a and to this day the priority of Ali in this respect is hotly disputed.²

¹ P. 190.
² T. devotes a long section to the traditional claims of Ali, Abū Bakr, and Zayd b Ḥāritha, 159–64. Cf. I.I. 199

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Intrinsically as we have argued, the second tradition has the better claim to authenticity. If that is admitted it follows that the interest of the Alid cause. In view of the accusation of partiality towards the Shi'a which was levelled against I.I.³ it seems probable that he himself gave a subtle twist to the tradition that had come down to him from 'Affī, and afterwards played for safety.

As one would expect of a book which was written in the eighth century about a great religious reformer, miracles are accepted as a matter of course. It does not matter if a person's alleged power to work miracles makes his early sufferings and failures unintelligible, nor does it matter if the person concerned expressly disclaimed all such powers apart from the recitation of the Qur'an itself.² The Near East has produced an enormous number of books on the miracles of saints and holy men and it would be strange indeed if Islam had not followed in the footsteps of its predecessors in glorifying the achievements of its great leader at the expense of his human greatness. Here we are concerned simply with the literary form of such stories, the authorities that are quoted for them, and the way in which our author deals with them. To mention a few: ¹ the prophet summoned a tree to him and it stood before him. He told it to go back again and back it went. It is interesting to note that the person for whose benefit this miracle was wrought regarded it as sorcery. The author's father, Iṣḥāq b. Yāsār, is responsible for the tale. Another tradition from 'Amr b. 'Ubayd, who claimed to have had it from Jābir b. 'Abdullah via al-Hāsān, is merely a midraš composed to explain Sūra 5. 14 where it is said that God kept the hands of Muhammad's enemies from doing him violence. The story of the throne of God shaking when the doors of heaven were opened to receive Sa'd shows how these stories grew in the telling. Mu'ādh b. Rīfā's al-Zuraqī reported on the authority of 'anyone you like among my clan' that when Sa'd died Gabriel visited the prophet and asked him who it was that had caused such commotion in heaven, whereupon Muhammad, knowing that it must be Sa'd, hurried off at once to find that he had died. However, more was said on the subject: 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr from 'Amr d. 'Abdul-Rahmān reported that 'A'shā met Sa'd's cousin outside Mecca and asked him why he did not show more grief for one whose arrival had shaken the very throne of God. An anonymous informant claimed to have heard from al-Hāsān al-Baqī that the pallbearers found the corpse of this fat, heavy man unexpectedly light, and the prophet told them that there were other unseen bearers taking the weight with them; and again it is repeated that the throne shook. Suhaylī has a fairly long passage on the tradition which goes to show that serious minded men did not like this story at all. Some scholars tried to whittle away the meaning by suggesting that the shaking of the throne was a metaphor for the joy

⁴ Sūra 17. 94 'Am I anything but a human messenger' and cf. 99, 49.
⁵ pp. 268, 663, 668. J. Harovitz, Der Islam, v. 1914, pp. 41–53, has collected and discussed their origin and antecedents in the hagiology of the East.
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in heaven at Sa'd's arrival; others claimed that the angelic bearers of the throne were meant. But Suhayli will have none of this. The throne is a created object and so it can move. Therefore none has the right to depart from the plain meaning of the words. Moreover, the tradition is authentic while traditions like that of al-Barrâ' to the effect that it was Sa'd's bed that shook are rightly ignored by the learned. He goes on to point out that al-Bukhârî accepted the tradition not only on the authority of Jâbir but also on the report of a number of other companions of the prophet—a further indication of the snowball growth of the legend. S. finds it most surprising that Malik rejected the hadith and he adds naively from the point of view of later generations that Malik would not have it mentioned despite the soundness of its transmission and the multitude of narrators, and he adds that it may be that Malik did not regard the tradition as sound. The passage is instructive in that it shows how far I.I. could go in the face of one of the most learned of his contemporaries in Medina. Posterity has sided with I.I. on this matter, but Malik clearly had many on his side at the time, men who would not take at its face value a story which they could not reject out of hand, as he did, with the weight of contemporary opinion behind it.

Another feature that stands out clearly from time to time in the insertion of popular stories on the Goldlocks model. For the sake of the reader I have rendered these stories in accord with modern usage, as the repetition of the same words and the same answer again and again is intolerable to the modern adult. Such stories are the stock-in-trade of the Arabian gâsâ and the storyteller all the world over and invariably lead up to the climax which it is the speaker’s intention to withhold until he has his audience on tippoe. A good example of such stories is the narrative of Muhammad’s arrival in Medina and the invitation of one clan after another, always declined with the same words.¹

After giving due weight to the pressure of hagiography on the writer and his leaning towards the Shi’ite one must, I think, affirm that the life of Muhammad is recorded with honesty and truthfulness and, too, an impartiality which is rare in such writings. Who can read the story of al-Zabîr,² who was given his life, family, and belongings but did not want to live when the best men of his people had been slain, without admitting that here we have a true account of what actually happened? Similarly who but an impartial historian would have included verses in which the noble generous character of the Jews of the Hijaz was lauded and lamented? The scepticism of earlier writers seems to me excessive and unjustified. We have only to compare later Lives of Muhammad to see the difference between the historical and the ideal Muhammad.³

The Poetry

Doubts and misgivings about the authenticity of the poems in the Sîra are expressed so often by I.H. that no reference to them need be given here. Nevertheless, one should be on one’s guard against the tendency to condemn all the poetry out of hand. What I.H. says about the poetry of those who took part in the battle of Badr, whether or not it includes the verses of Hassan b. Thabit, namely “These verses (of Abû Usâma) are the most authentic of those (attributed to) the men of Badr” (p. 534), casts grave doubt on the authenticity of a large section of the poetry of the Sîra. Nevertheless I.I. is not to be blamed for the inclusion of much that is undoubtedly spurious without a thorough investigation which has not yet been undertaken. The poems he cites on pp. 284 and 728 he got from ‘Asim b. Qatâ’î, while those on pp. 590, 789, and 793 come from ‘Abdullah b. Abû Bakr.⁴ We know, too, that Mâs’û b. Úqba cited verses.⁵

An early critic of poetry, al-Jumâhî (d. 231), though perhaps rather one-sided and ill balanced in his judgement on I.I., makes some observations which cannot fail to carry conviction. He says: ‘Muhammad b. Ishaq was one of those who did harm to poetry and corrupted it and passed on all sorts of rubbish. He was one of those learned in the biography of the prophet and people quoted poems on his authority. He used to excuse himself by saying that he knew nothing about poetry and that he merely passed on what was communicated to him. But that was no excuse, for he wrote down in the Sîra poems ascribed to men who had never uttered a line of verse and of women too. He even went to the length of including poems of ‘Ad and Thamûd! Could he not have asked himself if he had handed on these verses for thousands of years when God said: “He destroyed the first ‘Ad and Thamûd and left none remaining”⁶ while of ‘Ad he said “Can you see anything remaining of them?”⁷ and “Only God knows ‘Ad and Thamûd and those who came after them.”⁸ Some of these poems are quoted by T.⁹

I. al-Nâdim⁴ goes farther by suggesting that I.I. was party to the fraud: the verses were composed for him, and when he was asked to include them in his book he did so and brought himself into ill repute with the rhapsodists. Occasionally I.I. says who the authority for the poetry was.⁵

Obviously at this date criticism of the poetry of the Sîra can be based only on historical and perhaps in a lesser degree on literary and stylistic grounds. Some of the poetry dealing with raids and skirmishes, tribal boasting, and elegies seems to come from contemporary sources, and no reasonable person would deny that poetic contests between Meccan and Medinan poets really took place: everything we know of ancient Arab

¹ 335 f.
² cf. 335 f.
³ cf. 335 f.
⁴ cf. 335 f.
⁵ cf. 335 f.
⁶ cf. 335 f.
⁷ cf. 335 f.
⁸ cf. 335 f.
⁹ cf. 335 f.
society would require us to look for such effusions. As Horovitz pointed out, in pre-Islamic poetry these poetical contests are frequent, and he might be added that in early Hebrew history verses are frequently inserted in the narratives and often put into the mouths of the heroes of the hour. Thus, apart from those poems which undoubtedly were called forth by the events they commemorated, poetry was an integral part of a racial convention which no writer of history could afford to ignore. Probably if all the poetry which I.I. included in the Sira had reached that standard of excellence which his readers were accustomed to expect, none of these charges would have been levelled against him. But when he included verses which were palpably banal, and were at the same time untrue to circumstance, unsuited and trivial, as many undoubtedly are, the developed aesthetic sense of the Arabs which is most delicate where poetry is concerned rejected what he wrote. As al-Junayd said, he brought poetry itself into disrepute by the bolder dash he admitted into his otherwise excellent work. And it did not improve matters that much that was good was mingled with more that was bad. It is more than likely that I.I. himself was conscious that all was not well with this poetry, for the general practice of writers is to put the verse into the narrative at the crucial moment (as I.I. at times does), whereas after the prose account of Badr and Uhud by himself together a whole collection of verse by various ‘poets’ is as though he were silently saying: ‘This is what has been handed on to me. I know nothing about poetry and you must make your own anthology.’ Even so, whatever his shortcomings were, it is only fair to bear in mind that I.I. often inserts a note to the effect that the text before him contains lines or words which have not I.I.’s authority.

The subject is one that calls for detailed and careful literary criticism. The history of the clichés, similes, and metaphors needs investigation by a scholar thoroughly grounded in the poetry of the pre-Islamic and Umayyad eras. Until this preliminary work has been successfully accomplished it would be premature to pass judgement on the poetry of the Sira as a whole. Ancient poetry has suffered greatly at the hands of forgers, plagiarists, and philologasts, and the diwans of later poets have not escaped the diagnosis. To the prophet’s own poet, has many poems to his name which he could be ashamed to hear, and there are comparatively few poets of whom it could be said that the diwan bearing their names contained nothing for which they were not responsible.1

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1 And this was precisely his attitude if al-Junayd is to be believed. He should hardly care to go so far as to assert that ‘Amr b. Qais al-Moqri has exercised a direct influence on the poetry of the Sira; but the fact remains that there is a great similarity. It is inevitable that the themes of Arab verse should recur constantly, Bedouin life varied little from generation to generation. Their horizon was bounded by deserts, and consequently camels and horses, war and its weapons, hospitality and tribal pride were constantly mentioned in song. To trace these themes back to their first singers would be a task that would leave little leisure for more probable studies; but nevertheless it is worth noting that the following themes recur in ‘Amr and the Sira: the generous man who slaughters camels for the hungry guest in winter when famine deprives even the rich of food, the poet who composes a poem for the leader of the enemy when he captures the leader of the foe in time of war, the poet who composes a poem for the leader of the enemy when he captures the leader of the foe in time of war.
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After a careful study of the language and style of this verse Dr. 'Azzam comes to the conclusion that comparatively little of it dates from the time of the prophet.

Dr. 'Arafat comes to much the same conclusion with regard to the verse attributed to Hassān. A few of the outstanding arguments will be given here. He finds that the eulogy on the Ḍulqār (p. 894) which is attributed to Ka'b b. Zuhayr is in the same rhyme and metre as the poem of al-Akhta'fī which was written at the instigation of Yazīd. There we find the words 'Baseness is under the turbans of the Ḍulqār'. A careful comparison of the relevant passages in the two poems shows that the one in the Sira is the answer to the one in the Aghānī.

Abūḥabbāb Abū Bakr is reported to have said: 'The Ḍulqār were respected and feared until the battle of Ḥarra; afterwards people were emboldened to attack them and they occupied a lowly place.' It is in these circumstances, not those of the prophet's companions daily increasing in power and prestige, that we must look for the background of 'You will find that none ill use or abuses us but a base fellow who has gone astray' (p. 626).

On p. 474 a poem which I.H. attributes to Hassān's son, Abūl-Rahmān, obviously dates from a later generation. 'My people are those who sheltered the prophet and believed in him when the people of the land were unbelievers except for choice souls who were forerunners of righteous men and who were helpers with the helpers.' What can this mean but that someone is speaking of the past services of his people to the prophet? Further, it is strange language to impugn to Hassān. It was he who called the newcomers vagrants jalaḥibah and regarded them as an unmitigated nuisance. He did not house any of the muqarrabīn, nor was he a brother to one of them. A still clearer reference to a former generation is to be found on p. 527 (again I.H. attributed it to Abūl-Rahmān) which says: 'Those people were the prophet's helpers and they are my people; to them I come when I relate my descent.'

Dr. 'Arafat notes that in the Sira there are seventy-eight poems attributed to Hassān; the authenticity of fifteen of them is questioned or denied outright. The rest of the poem on p. 538 in its rivals forms illustrates the way in which verses attributed to Hassān were interpolated and additional verses fabricated. Here, b. gives only the first five verses; the Dīwān interpolates two verses after the first line and adds two at the end. On the other hand, the last three verses in the Aṣḥāb are not to be found in either of the other authorities. In the Aghānī the poem is still longer and according to the mawṣūmat of Musʿab but without al-Zahhār's authority. The facts which emerge from a study of the circumstances which surround this poem are:

1. Hassān resented the growing numbers and influence of the Muslim refugees.

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2. After the attack on B. al-Muṣṭaqlī a quarrel arose between the Mecceans and Medinans about the use of a well. 'Abdullāh b. Ubayy said: 'They rival our numbers wāda'ara'; he called them jadībād and threatened that when they got back to Medina the stronger 'a'īna would attack the weaker. The words italicized are the very words used by Hassān in this poem. From this it is clear that Hassān is expressing not only his own opinion about the Muslims but that of 'Abdullāh b. Ubayy and his party.

3. It was during this journey that the scandal about 'A'yāna arose.

4. Sāfwat struck Hassān with his sword. According to the introduction to the poem in the Dīwān Sāfwan attacked Hassān because he had accused him of spending the night with 'A'yāna. But in the Aghānī Sāfwan wounded Hassān at the instigation of the prophet because he was the house of disaffection against the Muslims. The other explanation of the attack on Hassān is added in al-Aghānī as an afterthought. However, there is no reason why both versions should not be correct. Hassān's most dangerous offence was his complaint against the Muslim intruders; but when he slandered 'A'yāna he provided the prophet with an admirable reason for punishing him severely for an offence which would not engage the sympathies of the Mālikīs. Whether loyal or disaffected, they could hardly support their comrade in such a matter.

With the further ramifications of the story we are not concerned; sufficient has been said to show that the poem so far as verse 5 is genuine and is directed solely against the Muslim refugees whose presence had become a nuisance to Hassān. In this poem he says nothing at all about Sāfwan. The last three lines have doubtless been added to whitewash Hassān. As poetry they will not bear comparison with the genuine verses and T. was thoroughly justified in discarding them.

Another specimen of the snobbery poetry tolerated on Hassān is to be found on p. 596 which belongs to a later generation. Here it is not the prophet who is praised but his 'house'. 'How noble are the people (qawām) whose party (Abī) is the prophet!... They are the best of all living creatures.' When we remember the resentment with which the Ḍulqār in general and Hassān in particular felt when they got no share in the booty of Ḥunayn, the line 'Take from them what comes when they are angry and set not your hearts on what they withhold' is singularly inapt.

Another poem which militates against the authenticity of poems attributed to Hassān is the prominence which is often given to the Aus. It cannot be supposed that a Khaṣṣājite would ignore the achievements of his own tribe or put them in the second place as on p. 455 when we remember that the hostility between the two tribes persisted long after Islam was established. A plain example of a later Ḍulqār's work is given on p. 714, where the poem begins: 'O my people is there any defense against fate and
can the good old days return? an impossible attitude for a Muslim to take during the prophet's lifetime.

Again, when Hassan is reported to have said 'The best of the believers have followed one another to death' (p. 799), it is sufficient to remember that practically all the prophet's principal companions survived Uhud. But when this careless forger wrote all the best Muslims had long been dead. However, we have not got to his main point which is to glorify the house of Hashim: 'They are God's near ones. He sent down His wisdom upon them and among them is the purified bringer of the book.' Here the Alids are the 'friends' or 'saints' of God and Muhammad is little more than a member of their family. Divine wisdom is given to them.

These two studies lay bare the wretched language in which many of these poems are written and incidentally bring out the difficulties which a translator has to cope with when the rules of Arabic syntax and the morphology of the language are treated with scant respect. In fine it may be said that their well-documented conclusions made it abundantly clear that the judgement of the ancient critics—particularly al-Jumahi—is justified up to the hilt.

The partial restoration of the lost original

Once the original text of I.I. existed in at least fifteen riwāyat:

1. İbrahím b. Sa'd, 110-84
2. Ziyād b. 'Abdullah al-Bakrā, d. 185
3. 'Abdullah b. İdris al-Audi, 115-92
4. Yûnus b. Būkayr, d. 199
5. 'Abdā b. Sulaymān, d. 187/8
6. 'Abdāh b. Numayr, 115-99
7. Yahya b. Sa'id al-Umawi, 114-94
8. Ja'far b.HZaim, 85-170
9. Hārūn b. 'Abū Isā
10. Salama b. al-Fadl al-Abrash, d. 191
11. Ali b. Mujāhid, d. c. 180
12. İbrahím b. al-Mukhtar
13. Sa'id b. Bāzā
14. 'Uthmān b. Sāj
15. Muhammad b. Salama al-Harrānī, d. 191

It has been my aim to restore so far as is now possible the text of I.I. as it left his pen or as he dictated it to his hearers, from excerpts in later texts, disregarding the Mabda' section as I.H. did and for at least one of

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1. See further A. Guillaume, 'The Biography of the Prophet in Recent Research', Islamic Quarterly, 1856.
2. I have adopted the list given by Fücht in his admirable monograph, p. 44, where full biographical details are to be found. The towns are those at which the individuals named heard I.I.'s lectures.

his reasons. At first I was tempted to think that a great deal of the original had been lost—and it may well be that it has been lost—for it is clear that the scurrilous attacks on the prophet which I.H. mentions in his Introduction are not to be found anywhere. But on the whole I think it is likely that we have the greater part of what I.I. wrote. Doubtless more was said for Ali and against 'Abbas, but it is unlikely that such material would add much to our knowledge of the history of the period. Possibly to us the most interesting excisions would be paragraphs containing information which I.I. gathered from Jews and Christians; but in all probability the Mabda' contained most of such passages. Still, it is unlikely that those passages which have been allowed to remain would have excited the annoyance that some of his early critics express on this score. Ibn'ül-Kalbi's K. al-Ajnām gives a warning against exaggerated hopes. Yaqūt had made copious extracts from it in his Geographical Dictionary, so interesting and so important for our knowledge of the old Arabian heathenism that the great Nöldeke expressed the hope that he would live to see the text of the lost original discovered. He did; but a collation of the original work with the excerpts made by Yaqūt shows that practically everything of value had been used and nothing of real significance was to be learned from the discovery of the mother text. However, in a text of the nature of the Sīra it is just possible that a twist may be given to the narrative by an editor such as I.H.

The writers from whom some of the original can be recovered are:

1. Muhammad b. 'Umar al-Waqidi, d. 267
2. Abû'l-Walid Muhammad b. Abdullah al-Azraqi from his grandfather (d. c. 220)
3. Muhammad b. Sa'd, d. 230
4. Abû 'Abdullah Muhammad b. Muslim b. Qutayba, d. 270 or 276
5. Ahmad b. Yahyā al-Baladurī, d. 279
6. Abû Ja'far Muhammad b. Ja'far al-Tabarah, d. 310
7. Abû Sa'id al-Hassan b. 'Abdullah al-Sirābī, d. 468
10. Yûsuf b. Yahyā al-Tadāli known as I. al-Zayyāt, d. 627
11. Ismā'il b. 'Umar b. Kathir, d. 774

For our purpose none of these has the importance of T, whose text rests on the riwāya of Salama and Yûnus b. Būkayr. Besides the important textual variants which will be found in the translation from time to time, he it is who reports from I.I. the prophet's temporary concession to polytheism at Mecca (1190 f.) and the capture of 'Abbas at Badr (1441).

1. al-Waqidi. Only the Mabda' has survived from the very large number of his writings. A third of it was published by von Kremer in 1856 from a poor manuscript, and until the work has been edited its value.
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cannot be accurately assessed. The abridged translation by Wellhausen gives the reader all the salient facts, but his method of epitomizing enabled him to avoid difficulties in the text which call for explanation. Waqidi makes no mention of I.I. among his authorities. The reason for this doubtless is that he did not want to refer to a man who already enjoyed a great reputation as an authority on Maghābi and so let it seem that his own book was a mere amplification of his predecessor's. It is by no means certain that he made use of I.I.'s book, or traditional lore, for he quoted his authorities, e.g., al-Zuhri, Ma'mar, and others, directly. On the other hand, he did not belittle I.I. of whom he spoke warmly as a chronicler, genealogist, and traditionist, who transmitted poetry and was an indefatigable searcher of tradition, a man to be trusted.

It follows that strictly Waqidi is not a writer from whom in the present state of our knowledge we can reconstruct the original of the Sīra; but as his narrative often runs parallel with I.I.'s work, sometimes abridging, sometimes expanding, his stories it is a valuable if uncontrolled supporter thereof. Not until his Maghābi has been published and studied as it deserves to be can a satisfactory comparison of the two books be made. One thing is abundantly clear, namely that Waqidi often includes stories which obviously come from eyewitnesses and often throw valuable light on events which are obscure in I.I. Indeed it ought to be said that the Sīra is incomplete without Waqidi.

2. Al-Azraqi's Abkhabr Makha is of great value in matters archaeological. His authority is 'Uthmān b. Sājī.

3. I. Sa'd's Abkhabr al-Mutaf is more or less as he communicated it to his pupils. This was afterwards combined with his Tabaqāt in 300 by I. Ma'rū. Volumes Ia, b and 11a, b in the Berlin edition deal with the former prophets, Muhammad's childhood, his mission, the hijra, and his campaigns, ending with his death, burial, and elegies therein. I.S. has much more to say on some matters than I.I., e.g., letters and embassies, and the prophet's last illness, while he shows no interest in pre-Islamic Arabia. For the Maghābi Waqidi is his main authority. The Tabaqāt deals with the prophet's companions and the transmitters of tradition, including al-'Abbās.

4. I. Qutayba's K. al-Mu'tarif contain a few short and inexact citations.

5. Al-Baladhuri's Futuḥāt al-Buldān adds very little to our knowledge. De Goeje's index gives twelve references. The first two, which De Goeje, followed by Nöldeke, notes as not being in the Sīra would never

An edition from two MSS. in the B.M. is being prepared by my colleague Mr. J. M. B. Jones.

2 Muhammad in Mekka, Berlin, 1882.

3 T. ii, 251r.

4 Reluctantly in these difficult days I have given up my original intention to publish a translation of the two works side by side. I have every hope that it will be carried to a successful conclusion by the scholar mentioned above.

5 See further Harries, op. cit., and Otto Leob, Den Claussenbuch des Ibn Sa'd, Leipzig, 1890. For a list of questions from I.I. see Nöldeke, G.O. ii. 175.

6 p. 16.

7 G.O. ii. 179.

have found a place there as they obviously belong to I.I.'s lost book on figh. They deal with the question of how much water a man may retain on his land before he lets it flow down to his neighbour's ground. The last five citations belong to the age of the caliphs and need not concern us. The remainder have a slight value for textual criticism. Sometimes they lend support to T.'s version, and once at least a citation proves that the tradition was not preserved orally because the variant readings could only have come about through a transfer of a dot from the first to the second letter with the consequent misreading of the third. The citations are brief and concise: they tell all the truth that the writer needed for his purpose but not the whole truth, which would have been irrelevant.

6. Tabari. A list of the additions to I.I.'s recension has been given by Nöldeke and enough has been said about his value as a witness to the original text of the Sīra. No attempt has been made to recover the lost part of the Ma'da' from his Ta'rif. Where his variants are merely stylistic and do not affect the sense of the passage I have ignored them. Practically all of them will be found in the footnotes to the Leyden edition. He was familiar with four of the recensions, numbers 4, 7, 9, and 10 on the list given above, much the most frequently cited being Yūnus b. Bukayr. On one occasion (1794. 12) he remarks that I.I.'s account is 'more satisfactory than that of Hishām b. Muhammad' [al-Kalbī 204 or 206]. I.H. he ignores altogether and he omits a good deal of the poetry now in the Sīra. Whether his selection was governed by taste, whether he thought some of it irrelevant, or whether he regarded it as spurious I can find no indication. He often gives the rindād which is lacking in I.I. (cf. 1794. 12). On one occasion at least (cf. W. 422 with T. 1271) it looks as if the narrative has been deliberately recast. T. frequently omits the tāliya and tardīya as ancient writers did. I.H. omits Ka'b's poem and the mention of its provoking a killing, cf. 637 with T. 1445.

7. Al-Shṭāfī contributes an interesting addition to W. 882.

8. Al-Mawardī has nothing of importance to add.

9. I. al-Athir in his Kāmil is prone to throw his authorities together and produce a smooth running account from the sum of what they all said, dropping all subordinate details. However, he quotes I.I. ten times.

10. I. al-Zayyāt, see on p. 640 (W.).

11. I. Kauthir sometimes agrees with I.H. verbatim. Sometimes he quotes Ibn Bukayr where he offers what is in effect the same stories in different words. I propose to devote a special study to this rindāya.


Cf. the autograph MS. of al-Shṭāfī's secretary. The occurrence of the tāliya written out in five ten times or more on a single page of a modern edition smacks of levity rather than reverence, and is an innovation; a useful criterion for dating a MS., but a mere trial to the reader of a modern printed text.

Professor Krenkow said in a letter that the Muṣṭakfr of al-Hāšim al-Nayābūri contains extracts from I.I. via Yūnus b. Bukayr, but as this enormous work is not indexed I do not know which of them are included.
between the opposing ranks, but the inestimable services of his two senior contemporaries are never thrust into the background.

In the history of tradition in the technical sense, that is to say in the corpus of hadith venerated by Sunnis everywhere, I. takes a minor position in spite of his great and obvious merits as an honest, straightforward collector of all the information that was known about Muhammad. There are several reasons for this: the principal reason is that he had no information to give on all the everyday matters which fill the canonical books of tradition, or when he had he put them in his Sunan. If he recorded Muhammad's words it was in reference to a particular event in the narrative he recorded; they were evoked naturally by the circumstances. Thus al-Bukhari, though he often mentions I. in the headings of his chapters, hardly ever cites him for the matter of a tradition, unless that tradition is supported by another imād. Muslim, who chose all traditions as genuine, good, and weak, puts I. in the second category. To anyone with a historical sense this was a monstrous injustice, but it must be remembered that by the middle of the third century the form of a hadith mattered than its substance, and provided that the chain of guarantors was unexceptional anything could be included.

The best and most comprehensive summary of Muslim opinion of I. is that of L. Sayyidu'l-Nas in his 'Uṣūl al-Āthar fi fiṣnīm al-maghābi wa-l-
shamā'il wa-l-niyār. He collected all the references to our author that he could find, both favourable and unfavourable, and then answered the attacks that had been made on him. The relevant passage will be found in W. with a translation in German. The following is a short summary of this account:

(a) Those favourable to I. were: 'The best informed man about the maghābi is I. al-Zuhri: Knowledge will remain in Medina as I. lives.'

(Shu'ba, 85-160): Trueful in tradition, the amir of traditionists because of his memory.

Subayn b. Uwayma, 107-98: I. set with him some seventy years' and none of the Medinans suspected him or spoke disparagingly of him.

Abu Zur'a, d. 321: Older scholars drew from him and professional traditionists tested him and found him truthful. When he reminded Dubaym of Malik's distrust of I. he denied that it referred to his veracity as a traditionist, but to his qadarī heresy.

Abu Hātim: His traditions are copied down (by others).

I. al-Madini: Apostolic tradition originally lay with 6 men; then it became the property of 12, of whom I. I. is one.

I. al-Shafi'i: He who wants to study the maghābi deeply must consult I.

Nasib b. Umar b. Qatada: Knowledge will remain among men as long as I. lives.

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Abū Muʿāwiya: A great memory; others confided their traditions to his memory for safe keeping.
Al-Bukhārī: Al-Zuhri used to get his knowledge of the maghāzī from I. I. ʿAbdullāh b. Idrīs al-Audī: was amazed at his learning and often cited him.
Munṣib: He was attacked for reasons which had nothing to do with tradition.
Yazīd b. Hārūn: Were there a supreme relator of tradition it would be I. I. I. ʿAbī al-Maḏmūn: His hadith are sound. He had a great reputation in Medina. Hishām b. ʿUrwa: his objection to him is no argument against him. He may indeed have talked to the latter’s wife when he was a young man. His veracity in hadith is self-evident. I know only of two that are rejected as unsupported, which no other writer reported.
Al-ʿIjlī: Trustworthy.
Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal: Excellent in tradition.

(b) The writer then goes on to state all that has been said against I. I. Omitting details of little significance we are left with the following charges which I. Sayyidu'l-Nās goes on to discuss and refute. Muhammad b. ʿAbdullāh b. Numayr said that when I. I. reported what he had heard from well-known persons his traditions were good and true, but he sometimes reported worthless sayings from unknown people. Yahyā b. al-Qaṭṭān would never quote him. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal quoted him with approval, and when it was remarked how excellent the stories (gīṣā) were he smiled in surprise. His son admitted that Aḥmad incorporated many of I. I.’s traditions in his Muṣnaḥ, but he never paid heed to them. When he was asked if his father regarded him as an authority on what a Muslim must or must not do he replied that he did not. He himself would not accept a tradition which only I. I. reported. He used to relate a tradition which he gathered from a number of people without indicating who had contributed its separate parts. I. al-Madīnānī said that at times he was ‘fairly good’. Al-Maymūnī reported that I. Maʿin 156–233 said he was ‘weak’, but others denied that he said so. Al-Dūrī said he was trustworthy but not to be used as an authority in fiqh, like Mālik and others. Al-Nasāʾī said that he was not strong. Al-Dārāqūṭī said that a tradition from I. I. on the authority of his father was no legal proof: it could be used only to confirm what was already held to be binding. Yahyā b. Saʿd said that though he knew I. I. in Kūfah he abandoned him intentionally and never wrote down traditions on his authority. Abū Dāʾūd al-Tayyibī (131–207) reported that Hasāḥ b. Salīma said that unless necessity demanded it he would not hand on a tradition from I. I. When Mālik b. Anas mentioned him he said, ‘he is one of the antichrists’. When Hishām b. ʿUrwa was told that I. I. reported something from Fatimah he said, ‘the rascal lies; when did he see my wife?’

Introduction

When Abdullah b. Ahmad told his father of this he said that this was not to be held against I. I.; he thought that he might well have received permission to interview her, but he did not know. He added that Mālik was a liar. I. Idrīs said that he talked to Mālik about the maghāzī and how I. I. had said that he was their surgeon and he said, ‘We drove him from Medina’. Mālik b. Ibrahīm said that he attended lectures of his; he used to dye his hair. When he mentioned traditions about the divine attributes he left him and never went back. On another occasion he said that when he left him he had attended twelve lectures of his in Rayy.
Al-Muṣṭawfī al-Ghassānī said that he was present when Yazīd b. Hārūn was relating traditions in al-Ḥaqqī when a number of Medina were listening. When he mentioned I. I. they withdrew saying: ‘Don’t tell us anything that he said. We know better than he.’ Yahyā went among them, but they would not listen and so he withdrew.
Abū Dāʾūd said that he heard Ahmad b. Ḥanbal say that I. I. was a man with a love of tradition, so that he took other men’s writings and incorporated them in his own. Abū ʿAbdullāh said that he preferred I. I. to Mālik b. ʿUbaydah al-Rabbānī. Ahmad said that he used to relate traditions as though from a companion without intermediaries, while in Ibrahīm b. Saʿd’s book there is a tradition that he said ‘A told me’ and when that was not so he said ‘B said so’.
Abū ʿAbdullāh said that I. I. came to Baghdad and paid no attention to those who related hadith from al-Kalbī and others saying that he was no authority. Al-Fallāḥ (d. 249) said that after being with Wabī b. Ḫarīṣ reading before him the maghāzī book which his father had got from I. I. we met Yahyā b. Qaṭṭān who said that we had brought a pack of lies from him.

Ahmad b. Ḥanbal said that in maghāzī and such matters what I. I. said could be written down; but in legal matters further confirmation was necessary. In spite of the large number of traditions without a proper imāda he thought highly of him as long as he said ‘A told us’, ‘B informed me’, and ‘I heard’. I. Maʿin did not like to use him as an authority in legal matters. Abū Hātim said that he was weak in tradition yet preferable to Aḥmad b. Saʿd and his traditions could be written down. Sulaymān al-Taṣfinī called him a liar and Yahyā b. Qaṭṭān said that he could only abandon his hadith to God; he was a liar. When Yahyā asked Wabī b. Ḫarīṣ what made him think that I. I. was a liar he said that Mālik swore that he was and he gave as his reason Hishām b. ʿUrwa’s oath to that effect. The latter’s reason was that he reported traditions from his wife Fatimah.
Abū Bakr al-Khitīb said that some authorities accepted his traditions as providing proof for legal precedents while others did not. Among the reasons for rejecting his authority was that he was a Shiʿī, that he was said to hold the view that man had free will, and that his imāda were defective. As for his truthfulness, it could not be denied.

1 These probably belong to the Sunna.

2 See No. 8.
Al-Bukhārī quoted him as an authority and Muslim cited him often. Abū'l-Hāasan b. al-Qattān relegated him to the class 'good' (hasannah) because people disputed about him. As to the tradition from Fātima, al-Khatīb gave us an īmād running back through I.J. and Fātima to Anas' d. Abū Bakr: 'I heard a woman questioning the prophet and saying, 'I have a rival wife and I pretend to be satisfied with what my husband has in fact given me in order to anger her'. He answered, 'He who affects to be satisfied with what he has not been given is like one who dons two false garments'.' Abū'l-Hāasan said that this was the tradition from Fātima which injured I.J.'s reputation, so that her husband Hisūm called him a liar. Malik followed him and others imitated them. However, there are other traditions on her authority.

One cannot but admire the way in which I. Suyūtī discusses these attacks on the credibility of our author. He goes at once to the root of the matter and shows what little substance there is in them. Though, like the speakers he criticizes, he tacitly assumes that early writers ought to have furnished their traditions with īmāds which would have met the rigorous demands of later generations who were familiar with a whole sea of surer traditions gathered on the prophet and his companions, his common sense and fairness would not let him acquiesce in the charge of tadlis which, by omitting a link in the chain or by citing the original narrator without further ado, automatically invalidated a hadith in later days. Thus he said in effect that though I.J.'s traditions at times lack complete documentation there is no question of his truthfulness in the subject-matter he reports; and as to the charge of shirām and qadārīte leanings, they are valid in another field altogether and have nothing to do with the Sira. Again, what if Makki b. Ibrāhīm did abandon his lectures when he heard him relate traditions about the divine matters? Many of the ancients failed to go the whole way when such problems were discussed, so what he says is of little significance.

Yazid's story that the Medinans would not listen to traditions on I.J.'s authority does not amount to much because he does not tell us why, and so we can resort only to conjecture; and we have no right to impugn a true tradition because of what we think is a defect. We have already explained why Yahya al-Qattān would have none of him and called him liar on the authority of Wuhayb from Malik, and it is not improbable that he was the cause of the Medinans' attitude in the foregoing account. Abū Muhammad b. Hanbal and I. al-Madīni have adequately replied to Hisūm's accusation.

As to Numayr's accusation that he related false hadith on the authority of unknown persons, even if his trustworthiness and honesty were not a matter of tradition, suspicion would be divided between him and his informants; but as we know that he is trustworthy the charge lies against the persons unknown, not against him. Similar attacks have been made upon Suyūtī al-Thawrī and others whose hadith differ greatly in this way and what they base on unknown informants is to be rejected while that coming from known persons is accepted. Suyūtī b. 'Usayn gave up Jarir al-Ju'fī after he had heard more than a thousand traditions from him, and yet he narrated traditions on his authority. Shu'bah related many traditions from him and others who were stigmatized as 'weak'.

As to Ahmad's complaint that he recorded composite traditions without assigning the matter of them to the several narrators, their words agreed however many they were; and even if they did not yet the meaning was identical. There is a tradition that Wāhība b. al-Asqā' said: 'If I give you the meaning of a tradition (not in the precise words that were used) that is sufficient for you.' Moreover, Muhammad b. Sirā'ī said that he used to hear traditions from ten different people in ten different words with the same meaning. Ahmad's complaint that I.J. took other men's writings and incorporated them in his own account cannot be regarded as serious until it can be proved that he had no licence to repeat them. One must look at the method of transmission: if the words do not plainly necessitate an oral communication, then the accusation of tadlis' lies. But we ought not to accept such a charge unless the words plainly imply that. If he expressly says that he heard people say something when in fact he did not, that is a downright lie and pure invention. It is quite wrong to say such a thing of I.J. unless the words leave no other choice.7 When Ahmad's son quoted his father as saying that I.J. was not to be regarded as an authority in legal matters though he saw how tolerant he was to non-legal matters which make up the greater part of the Maghāzī and the prophetic biography, he applied this same judgement on āmān to other matters. Such an extension is excluded by his truthful reputation.

As to Yahya's saying that he was trustworthy but not authoritative in legal matters, it is sufficient for us that he is pronounced trustworthy. If only men like al-'Umari and Malik were acceptable there would be precious few acceptable authorities! Yahya b. Sa'id probably blindly followed Malik because he heard from him what Hisūm had said about I.J. His refusal to accept him as an authority in legal matters has already been dealt with under Ahmad. Yahya made no distinction between them and other traditions in the way of complete acceptance or downright rejection.

Other attacks on his reputation rest on points that are not explained and for the most part the agents are unfair. Even in legal matters Abū 'Usāf al-Tirmidhī and Abū Hāšim b. Hībbān (d. 354) accepted him as an authority.

The refutation of his opponents would not have been undertaken were it not for the favourable verdict and praise that the learned gave him. But for that a few of the charges would have sufficed to undermine his

1 This again has nothing to do with the Sira.

7 The discussion of I.J.'s dislike of al-Kalbi's traditions is unimportant and is therefore omitted here.
stories, since but a few attacks on a man's good faith, explicit or not, are
enough to destroy the reputation of one whose former circumstances are
not known when an impartial critic has not done him justice.

In his book about trustworthy narrators Abū Hātim said that the two
men who attacked I.I. were Hisām and Mālik. The former denied that
he had heard traditions from Fāṭima. But what he said does not impugn
men's veracity in hadith, for 'followers' like al-Awad and 'A'laqma heard
'Alī's voice without seeing her. Similarly I.I. used to hear Fāṭima
when the curtain was left down between them. As for Mālik, what he said
was momentary and afterwards did him justice. Nobody in the Hijaz
knew more about genealogies and wars than I.I., and he used to say that
Mālik was a freed slave of Dhū ʿĀshā while Mālik alleged that he was a
full member of the tribe so that there was bad feeling between them; and
when Mālik compiled the Muwatta' I.I. said, 'Bring it to me for I am its
veterinary surgeon.' Hearing of this Mālik said: 'He is an antichrist; he
reports traditions on the authority of the Jews.' The quarrel lasted until
I.I. decided to go to Iraq. Then they were reconciled and Mālik gave him
50 dinars and half his date crop as a parting gift. Mālik did not intend to
bring him into ill favour as a traditionist: all that he disliked was his
following the Jews who had become Muslims and learning the story of
Khaybar and Qurayy and al-Nadīr and similar (otherwise) unattested
happenings from their fathers. In his Maghāzī I.I. used to learn from
them but without necessarily asserting that their report was the truth.
Mālik himself only relied on trustworthy truthful men.

The author ends by remarking that I.I. was not the originator of the
challenge to Mālik's Arab ancestry because al-Zuhri and others had said the
same thing.1

The Translation

I have endeavoured to follow the text as closely as possible without
sacrificing English idiom. In rendering poetry I have tried to give the sense
without making any attempt at versifying, the only exceptions being
doggerel and sāfū. In these cases it seemed that it was fair to reproduce
doggerel by doggerel and to try to put poor rhymes into rhymes that could
not be worse. Inevitably some exactness is lost, but the general sense and
tone are more faithfully reproduced in that way.

The book is very long and I have made a few cuts where no loss can
result; e.g. I.H.'s recurring formula 'This verse occurs in an ode of his'
I have excluded because it is obvious that the line, which is generally
one of his shamsāh, cannot have stood by itself. Again I have shortened
dialogues in oratio recta into indirect speech in accordance with English
practice unless the ipissima verba of the speaker seemed called for naturally.

1 For further discussion and exhaustive references to these and later writers see Fück,
ch. 2.

Introduction

or are in themselves important. Lastly I have omitted genealogical formulæ
after the first mention of the people concerned.

My predecessors in translating the Sīra have made many mistakes and
I cannot hope to have escaped all the pitfalls. Of Weil's translation, now
nearly a century old be it remembered, Nöldeke wrote: 'Die Übersetzung
von G. Weil, Stuttgart, 1864 ist stief und unbeholfen, and much philologisch
noch mehr genügend. Die grosse Wichtigkeit des Werkes würde eine
neue Übersetzung rechtfertigen'; while Weilhauken's translation of
al-Waqiq evades the difficulties of the text by silence. The poetry of the
Sīra, as Nöldeke said long ago of the poetry on Badr, 'is not easy to trans-
late because of its many synonyms: the superficial commentary of Abū
Dharr is no help at all'.2

The Text

I have followed the pagination of the excellent textus receptus of Wüstefeld's edition 1858-60; but the text I have actually used is the Cairo edition
of 1555/1557 produced in four parts by Muṣṭafā al-Saqā, Ibrāhīm
al-Abīyari, and 'Abdul-Hāfīz Shalib which prints at the bottom of the page most of the notes from Abū Dharr and Suhayl that W. relegated to
the second volume of his altogether admirable edition. For this reason it is
much easier to use and its fine bold type is kind to one's eyes. When I have
had occasion to refer to differences between the texts they are marked C.
and W.

THE EDITOR IBN HISĀM

'Abdul-Malik b. Hisām was born in Baṣra and died at Fustāṭ in Egypt
in 218 or 219. Krenkow, however, thinks that he must have died some years
later. Besides editing the present work he made use of I.I.'s learning in his
K. al-Tājīn which derives from Wahb b. Munabbih. The principles which
guided him in his impertinent meddling with his predecessor's work he has
outlined in his Introduction, and they need not be repeated here. He was
a philologist of some repute, and he was able to air his knowledge in the
shamsāh he produces to illustrate the meaning of unusual words. These
lines, divided as they are from their context, form some of the most
difficult of all the difficulties of the Sīra and are of course for the most part
unnecessary now that the Arabs have produced lexicons of their language.
Occasionally he is helpful with his genealogical notes; more rarely he has
something useful to say about the interpretation of a line in I.I.'s work.

Suhayl gives some traditions which I.H. omitted or knew nothing of,
e.g. W. 183 = Suhayl 183; W. 327 = S. ii. 2 f. He also (ii. 278 = W.
824) draws attention to a mistake in one of I.H.'s notes saying that the
fault is either his or al-Bakkārī because Yūnus has the right reading.

1 G.Q. 130. 2 Z.A. xxvii. 161. 3 Is. Cult. ii. 231.
Probably the fault lay with I.H., for he was in touch with Yūnūs as he says ḥaḍr al-akhrāram Yūnūs on p. 387.

Another error of his is the statement that I.I. said nothing about the mission of 'Amr b. Umayya whom the prophet sent to kill Abū Sufyān b. Harb and how he took down the corpse of Khubayy b. Ka'b from the cross to which he was tied (p. 993). T. records I.I.'s version of this story which is far superior to the garbled version of I.H., who is obviously composing a story from more than one source, passing clumsily from the first to the third person. According to him 'Amr threw the cross (presumably with the body on it) into a ravine. The cross (khataba, a sturdy trunk of a tree capable of bearing a man's body) could hardly have been moved by one man more than a few yards with guards standing by, and I.I.'s own account is much more convincing. 'Amr released the body from the tree, carried it some forty paces—a graphic detail—heard the guards coming after him, dropped the body with a thud, and made off as fast as he could.

There is an interesting note in S. ii. 363 which shows that I.H.'s error was perceived in early days. He adds that there is a pleasing addition to the story in the Musnad of I. Abū Shayba to the effect that when they untied him from the cross the earth swallowed him up. One might well suppose that I.H.'s story lies midway between the actual facts and this incredible fiction. The unfortunate man's body which 'Amr had made a gallant but unavailing attempt to retrieve was dumped unceremoniously on the ground; the next step was to give it the semblance of burial in a natural hole in the wall of the wadi; the last step was to provide for proper burial by a miracle.¹

What remains to be explained is why I.H. should assert that I.I. had said nothing about the abortive attempt to assassinate Abū Sufyān and the equally unsuccessful effort to recover Khubayb's body. If I.I. said nothing at all about either matter, how came it that I.H. dealt with them? Since we know that I.I. reported what had happened from traditions that were transmitted by 'Amr's own family and that they existed in oral and written form for centuries afterwards, we cannot but suspect that I.H. has tampered with the evidence.

Perhaps his greatest service is his critical observations on the authenticity of the poetry of the Sira, not only when he records that all, or some, authorities reject certain poems altogether but also when he corrects I.I., and assigns verses to their true author.² Suyūtī thought highly of him. He reported that Abū Dharr had said that I.H. produced one of the four compendia which were better than their sources.³

Suhaylī⁴ states that I.H. wrote a book explaining the difficult words in the poetry of the Sira. Suhaylī's words indicate that he had not himself seen the book. Were it ever found it might well tell us what I.H.'s generation really thought about these poems.

A FRAGMENT OF THE LOST BOOK OF Mūsā b. 'UQBA

This fragment consists of twenty extracts complete with their imāds, some being the sayings of the prophet on a given occasion, others being stories from his life. The compiler expressly asserts that the original work existed in ten parts, so that the inference that the book once contained a complete account of the Sira seems fairly safe. The last item is spurious.¹ There is an iṣāba teaching from Mūsā (147) to the epitomizer Abū Hurayra b. Muhammed b. al-Naqdāsh (782).

1. I. Shihāb: From Sālim b. 'Abdullāh from 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar: I heard the apostle say, 'While I was asleep I dreamt that I was going round the Ka'b when lo a man with lank hair between the two men, his head dripping with water. When I asked who it was they said 'Isa b. Marvān. Then I turned away when it looked like the sun was heavy, with curly hair, one eye; it seemed as though his eye was a grape swimming in water.' When I asked who it was they said The Antichrist. 'The man most like him is Ibn Oṣān al-Khuṣāb.'¹

This tradition is similarly reported in Bukhārī ii. 368. 369. 4. It should be compared with I.I. 269, also from al-Zuhraw, where the prophet is said to have seen 'Isā during his mi'rāj, with moles or freckles on his face appearing like drops of water. The reference here to the 'two men' presumably refers to the two thieves on the cross.

2. Ibn Shihāb: The first to hold Friday prayers for the Muslims in Medina before the apostle was Muș'ab b. Umayr. I. Shihāb told us another tradition from Surāqā contradicting this.

The first statement agrees with I.S. iii. 13, 25; the second apparently with I.I. 200. 5 and I.S. iii. 1, 84.

¹. 'Abdu'll-Rahmān b. Mālik b. Ju'ahum al-Mudlijīt from his father Mālik from his brother Surāqā b. Ju'ahum: When the apostle went out from Mecca migrating to Medina Quraysh offered a reward of 100 camels to anyone who would bring him back, &c., down to 'my sins to the apostle.'

This passage is in all essential respects the same as I.I. 331-3, though there are many verbal differences. Obviously the version in I.I. has been touched up and Mūsā given the tradition in its simplest form. Cf. Bukhārī iii. 39, 41 and Wāqīfī (Wellh. 374).¹

¹ See Sachau, 46 f.
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4. I. Shihāb alleged that 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr said that al-Zubayr met the apostle with a caravan of Muslims who were returning to Mecca from a trading journey to Syria. They bartered some goods with the apostle and al-Zubayr gave him and Abu Bakr some white garments.

So Bukh. iii. 40. Different names in I.S. iii. i. 153. 19.

5. Nāfi’ from ‘Abdullah b. ‘Umar: Some of the apostle’s companions said to him, ‘Are you speaking to dead men?’ He answered, ‘You cannot hear what I say better than they.’

So Bukh. iii. 70. 17. 18, and cf. I.S. i. pp. 453 f., where the words of ‘A’isha are quoted to refuse the statement that the dead hear: they know but they do not hear.

6. I. Shihāb from Anas b. Mālik: Some Anṣār asked the apostle’s permission to remit to his sister’s son ‘Abbās his ransom, and he replied, ‘No, by Allah, you shall not let him off a single farthing!’

So Bukh. iii. 69. 1, 2 and cf. T. 1441, I. Qut. Mu‘ārif, 77. Sachau in finding strange the claim to relationship between ‘Abbās and the Anṣār seems to have forgotten that the grandmother of ‘Abbās was Salma d. ‘Amr al-Khaṣārajī. Cf. Bukh. ii. 388. 18 f. for the same claim.

7. I. Shihāb from ‘Abdu’l-Rahmān b. Ka’b b. Mālik b. Sulaimān and other traditionalists: ‘Amir b. Mālik b. Ja’far, who was called ‘the player with the spears’, came to the apostle when he was a polytheist and the apostle explained Islam to him and he refused to accept it.

He gave the apostle a present, but he refused saying that he would not accept a present from a polytheist. ‘Amir said: ‘O apostle, send me with those of your messengers you wish and I will be surety for them.’ So the apostle sent a number among whom were al-Mundhir b. ‘Amr al-Sa’idī, of whom it was said ‘he hastened to his death’, as a spy among the Najd folk. When ‘Amir b. Tufail heard about them he tried to call out B. ‘Amir against them, but they refused to obey him in violating the promise of security given by ‘Amir b. Mālik. Then he appealed to B. Sulaym and they joined him and killed them in Bi‘r Ma‘ṣāna except ‘Amir b. Umaysa al-Qaḍārī whom ‘Amir b. al-Tufail captured and afterwards released. When he came to the apostle the latter said to him, ‘Are you the sole survivor?’

This is a much briefer account than that given in I.H. 648 f. Cf. T. 1443 f.; Waq. (Well) 337 f.

8. Ismā’īl b. ‘Aḥmad b. ‘Ughba from Sālim b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Umar: Some men contested the leadership of Usāma, and the apostle rose and said: ‘If you contest the leadership of Usāma you used to contest the leadership of his father before him. By Allah he was worthy to be leader. He was one of the dearest of all men to me, and this man (his son)

is one of the dearest of men to me after him; so treat him well when I am no more, for he is one of the best of you.’

Cf. Bukh. ii. 440, iii. 133, 192, and I.H. 999. 14; 1006. 20 f.


Sachau explains this from Bukh. ii. 441 and iii. 145 where Muhammad says that if Fāṭima were to steal he would cut her hand off.

10. ‘Abdullāh b. Faḍl from Anas b. Mālik: I grieved over my people who were killed in the khurra. Then Zayd b. Arqam (d. 68) wrote to me when he heard of my great grief to say that he had heard the apostle say ‘O God forgive the Anṣār and their sons and we implore Thy grace on their grandparents’.


11. ‘Abdullāh b. Faḍl: Some men who were with him (Anas) asked him about Zayd b. Arqam and he said, ‘It is he of whom the apostle said, “This is he on whom Allah has bestowed much through his car”’.

He had been an informer, cf. I.H. 726. In place of waṣa’ilahu lahu bi-udnāhī I.H. 727. 17 has waṣa’ilahu bi-udnāhī. It seems much more likely that the variant is due to misreading than to oral tradition. Waq. (B.M. MS. 1617, f. 950a) has waṣa’ilahukuma... wa-saddqagā waḥdah hadithihā.

12. I. Shihāb from Sa’d b. al-Musayyib from ‘Abdullāh b. Ka’b b. Mālik: The apostle said that day to Bihār, ‘Get up and announce that only a believer will enter paradise, and that God will not support His religion by an evil man.’ This happened when the man whom the apostle said was one of the inhabitants of hell was mentioned.

13. From Nāfi’ b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Umar: After the conquest of Khaibar the Jews asked the apostle to let them stay there on condition that they worked the land for half the date crop. He said: ‘We will allow you to do so on that condition as long as we wish, and they remained there thus until ‘Umar expelled them. [Here six or seven words are missing] saying ‘The apostle laid down three things in his last disposition, viz., that the Khaibarīyān, Dārāyān, Sāḥībāyān, and Ashʿarāyān should have land which produced a hundred loads; that the mission of Usāma b. Zayd should be carried through; and that two different religions should not be allowed to remain in the peninsula of the Arabs.’

Practically the same words are used in I.H. 776 except that the Sāḥībāyān are not mentioned.

14. Ismā’īl as above: ‘Umar used not to let Jews, Christians, and Magians remain more than three days in Medina to do their business, and he used to say ‘Two religions cannot subsist together’ and he called Jews and Christians from the peninsula of the Arabs.

15. I. Shihāb from ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Marwān b. al-Hakam and
al-Miswar b. Makhrama: When the apostle gave men permission to free the Hawazin captives he said, 'I do not know who has or has not given you permission, so go back until your leaders bring us a report of your affairs.' So the men returned and their leaders instructed them and they returned to the apostle and told him that the men (Muhammad's companions) had treated them kindly and given them permission (to recover their captive people).

For the context see I.I. 877.

16. I. Shihibble from Sa'd b. al-Musayyib and 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr: The captives of Hawazin whom the apostle returned were 6,000 men, women, and children. He gave some women who had fallen to some men of Quraysh—among whom were 'Abdul-l-Rahman b. 'Auf and Sa'd b. Umaya—who had appropriated two women as concubines—the choice (of returning or remaining) and they elected to go back to their own people.

Cf. Wāq. (W.) 375.

17. Isma'il b. Ibrahim b. 'Uqba from his uncle Musa b. 'Uqba from I. Shihibble: The apostle made the pilgrimage of completion in A.H. 10. He showed the men the rites and addressed them in 'Arafah sitting on his camel al-Jadid'.

Cf. I.H. 568 and Wāq. 430.

18. I. Shihibble from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from al-Miswar b. Makhrama from 'Amr b. 'Auf, an ally of B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy who had been at Badr with the apostle: The apostle sent Abu'l-Ubayda b. al-Jarrāh to bring the poll tax. He had made peace with the people of al-Bahraýn and set over them al-'Ali b. al-Hadrami. When Abu'l-Ubayda came from al-Bahraýn with the money the Ansār heard of his coming which coincided with the apostle's morning prayer. When they saw him they stood in his way. Seeing them he smiled and said: 'I think you have heard of the coming of Abu'l-Ubayda and that he has brought something.' When they agreed he added: 'Rejoice and hope for what will gladden you. By Allah it is not poverty that I fear on your account. I fear that you will become too comfortable and be led astray like those before you.'

So Bukh. iii. 68. 18 f.

19. Sa'd b. Ibrahim b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Auf; 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Auf was with 'Umar one day and he (the former) broke al-Zubayr's sword. But God knows best who broke it. Then Abu Bakr got up and addressed the people excusing himself and saying, 'Never for a moment was I eager for authority (imāra) nor did I want it or pray to God for it secretly or publicly. But I was afraid of disorder. I take no pleasure in authority. I have been invested with a grave matter for which I have not the strength and can only cope with it if God gives me the strength. I would that he who has the most strength for it were in my place.' The emigrants accepted his excuse and Ali and al-Zubayr b.

al-'Awwām said: 'We were angry only because we were not admitted to the council and we think that Abu Bakr is the most worthy of supreme authority now that the apostle is dead. He was the one with the apostle in the cave and we recognize his dignity and seniority; and the apostle put him in charge of the prayers while he was still with us.'

A few comments on this brief anthology will not be out of place here. No. 12 clearly deals with the vexed question of the future state of the wicked Muslim, while No. 18 is a post eventum prophecy. Inevitably they arouse doubt in the mind of the reader.

From this selection as a whole we can see where the sympathies of the collector lay. Thus, al-Zubayr's generosity to Muhammad and Abu Bakr are recorded in No. 4. The claims of the Alids to special consideration are brushed aside in No. 9; while No. 19 states that 'All explicitly accepted Abu Bakr as Muhammad's successor. No. 6 shows that al-'Abbās had to pay his ransom in full even when the Ansār pleaded for his exemption. No. 10 mourns the victims of the Umayyads at al-Harrah and records that the prophet implored God's blessing on them and their grandchildren.

Clearly Musa's sympathies lay with the family of al-Zubayr and the Ansār. They alone emerge with credit. The Alids, on the other hand, are no better than anyone else; the Umayyads are implicitly condemned for the slaughter at al-Harrah; and al-'Abbās is shown to have been a rebel against the prophet who was forced to pay for his opposition to him to the uttermost farthing.

Musa b. 'Uqba has said pretty much the same on the subject of the Ansār and al-'Abbās, as I. I. said before his editor I.I. pruned his work, though he took a different view of the Alids.'
PART I

THE GENEALOGY OF MUHAMMAD

TRADITIONS FROM THE PRE-ISLAMIC ERA

MUHAMMAD'S CHILDHOOD AND

EARLY MANHOOD
IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE
THE MERCIFUL
PRAISE BELONGS TO GOD THE LORD OF THE
WORLDS AND MAY HIS BLESSING BE UPON
OUR LORD MUHAMMAD AND HIS FAMILY,
ALL OF THEM!

MUHAMMAD'S PURE DESCENT
FROM ADAM

Abū Muhammad 'Abdu'l-Malik ibn Ḥishām the Grammarian said:

This is the book of the biography of the apostle of God.

Muhammad was the son of 'Abdullāh, b. ‘Abdu'l-Muṭṭalih (whose name was Shayba), b. Ḥāshim (whose name was ‘Amir), b. ‘Abdu Manṣūf (whose name was al-Mugheh), b. Qurayy (whose name was Zayd), b. Kūlah, b. Murra, b. Ka'b, b. Lu'ayy, b. Qālib, b. Fihr, b. Mālik, b. al-Nadr, b. Ḥiḍḍah, b. Khūzayma, b. Mudrikah (whose name was 'Amir), b. Ḥiyās, b. Mudar, b. Ṣa'īd, b. Mā’iṣ, b. 'Adna, b. Iṣād (or Uṣayd), b. Muqawam, b. Nābīr, b. Tāyrah, b. Ya’rub, b. Yāshīyuh, b. Nābis, b. Ismā’il, b. Ḥiṣām, the friend of the Compassionate, b. Tariq (who is Āzar), b. Nābis, b. Sāriq, b. Ra’ū, b. Fālikh, b. ‘Aybar, b. Shālikh, b. Afṣiḥ, b. Sām, b. Nūh, b. Lamk, b. Mattūšahāk, b. Al-phū, who is the prophet Idrīs according to what they allege, but God knows best (he was the first of the sons of Adam to whom prophecy and writing with a pen were given), b. Yār, b. Mahīl, b. Qaynah, b. Yānisb, b. Shīth, b. Adam (10).

THE LINE OF ISMĀ’IL

Ismā’il b. Ḥiṣām begat twelve sons: Nābit the eldest, Qayyibar, Adhbul, Mabshā, Masīma, Māṭi, Dimmā, Ṣābi, Taṣār, Qayyib, Nabil, Qayyib. Their mother was Ra’īs d. Muṣād b. ‘Amir al-Jurhamī (11). Jurhamī was the son of Yaqṭan b. ‘Aybar b. Shālikh, and [Yaqṭan was] Qaṭṭān b. ‘Aybar b. Shālikh. According to report Ismā’il lived 150 years,

1 The formula of blessing which follows every mention of the prophet is omitted here.
2 Capital B stands for ‘sons of’; b. for ‘son of’; d. for ‘daughters of’.
3 The phrase employed indicates that the writer doubts the statement. There is a saying in Arabic ‘There is a euphemism for everything and the polite way of saying ‘It is a lie’ is ‘they allege’ (‘ayn amīn’).
4 These words are added by C, as the context demands.
5 I.H.'s additions to the text are numbered 10 and onwards.
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5 and when he died he was buried in the sacred precincts of the Ka'ba beside his mother Hagar (12).

Muhammad b. Muslim b. 'Ubaydullah b. Shihab al-Zuhri told me that 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Abdullah b. Ka'ba b. Malik al-Anṣārī, also called al-Sulami, told him that the apostle of God said: 'When you conquer Egypt treat its people well, for they can claim our protection and kinship.' I asked al-Zuhri what the apostle meant by making them our kin and he replied that Hagar, the mother of Isma'il, was of their stock (13).

7 'Abd b. 'Aṣīr b. Iram b. Sām b. Nūḥ and Thamād and Jādīs the two sons of Abīh b. Iram b. Sām b. Nūḥ, and 'Āṣma and 'Imlaq and Umaym the sons of Lāwīd b. Sām b. Nūḥ are all Arabs. Nābir b. Isma'il b. Qūdha b. Yūsuf b. 'Adnān lived in the house near the prominence which was near the harbour.

From 'Adnān the tribes descended from Isma'il's split off. 'Adnān had two sons, Ma'add and 'Alk (14). Ma'add had four sons: Nābir, Qūdha (he being his first born he was called Abu Qūdha), Qunus, and Yiyād. Qūdha went to the Yaman to Himyar b. Saba' whose name was 'Abdu Shams; the reason why he was called Saba' was that he was the first among the Arabs to take captives. He was the son of Yūsuf b. 'Abd b. Qahtān (15). Of Qunus b. Ma'add according to the genealogists of Ma'add, none has survived. Al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir king of al-Hira belonged to their tribe. Al-Zuhri told me that this Nu'mān belonged to the Qunus b. Ma'add (16).

Ya'qūb b. 'Uzbā b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas told me that a shaykh of the Ansār of B. Zarqāy told him that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, when he was given the sword of al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir, sent for 'Uzbā b. Maṭīn b. 'Adiy b. Nafūd b. 'Abdu Manāf b. Qahtān (he being the best genealogist of the Qunaysh and indeed of all the Arabs and claimed to have been taught by Abu Bakr who was the greatest genealogist of the Arabs) and girded it on him. When he asked who al-Nu'mān was, 'Uzbā replied that he was a survivor of the tribe of Qunus b. Ma'add. However, the rest of the Arabs assert that he belonged to the Lakhm of the Rabī' b. Naṣr. Only God knows the truth (17).

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5 the only man who knows its meaning is he who knows about the vision without my telling him.' Thereupon one of them recommended him to send for Shiqq and Satib, for they knew more than others and would be able to answer his questions. Satib's name was Rabī' b. Rabī' b. Ma'ād b. Māzin, b. Dhī'b b. 'Adiy b. Mu'āz b. Ghassān. Shiqq was the son of Sa'b b. Gāṁ b. Yūsuf b. Rihū b. Akrāf, b. Qasr b. 'Abār b. Annār b. Nāzir, and Annār was the father of Jālīl and Khāṭib (18).

So she sent for them and Satib arrived first. The king then repeated his words, ending, 'If you know the vision you will know what it means.' Shiqq replied (in jest):

A fire you did see
Come forth from the sea.
It fell on the low country
And devoured all that be.

'The king agreed that this was exactly what he had seen, and what was the meaning of it all? He answered:

By the serpent of the law I swear
'The Ethiopians on your land shall bear
Ruling from Abūn to Jumāl everywhere.

The king exclaimed that this was distressing news, but when would these things come to pass—in his time or after him? He replied: [again in rhyme] that more than sixty or seventy years must first pass. Would the new-comers' kingdom last? No, an end would be put to it after seventy years or more; then they would be slain or driven out as fugitives. Who would do this? Iram b. Dhi Yazan, who was to come against them from Aden and not leave one of them in the Yemen. Further questions drew the information that their kingdom would not last, but a pure prophet to whom revelation came from on high would bring it to an end; he would be a man of the sons of Packī b. Fāhr b. Malik, b. al-Nadhr. His dominion would last to the end of time. Has time an end? asked the king. Yes, replied Satib, the day on which the first and the last shall be assembled, the righteous for recompense, the evildoers for misery. Are you telling me the truth? the king asked.

Yes, by the dark and the twilight
And the dawn that follows the night
Verily what I have told you is right.

Later Shiqq arrived and the king acquainted him with the facts but did not tell him what Satib had said, so that he might see whether they agreed or differed. His words were:

A fire you did see
Come forth from the sea.
It fell between rock and tree
Devouring all that did breathe.
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Perceiving that they agreed one with the other and that the difference was a mere choice of words, the king asked Shiq for his interpretation:

By the men of the plains I swear
The blacks on your land shall bear
Thick your little ones from your care
Ruling from Abyan to Najrān everywhere.

The king put the same questions to him and learned that after his time:

There shall deliver you from them one mighty, great of name
And put them to the utmost shame.

He would be:

A young man neither remiss nor base
Coming forth from Dhi‘ Yazan’s house, his place,
Not one of them shall leave on Yaman’s face.

He continued in answer to the questions already put to his predecessor: His kingdom shall be ended by an apostate who will bring truth and justice among men of religion and virtue. Dominion will rest among his people until the Day of Separation, the day on which those near God will be rewarded, on which demands from heaven will be made which the quick and dead will hear, men will be gathered at the appointed place, the God-fearing to receive salvation and blessing. By the Lord of heaven and earth, and what lies between them high or low I have told you but the truth in which no doubt (emr) lies (19).

What these two men said made a deep impression on Rabī‘a b. Naṣr and he dispatched his sons and family to Iraq with all that they might need, giving them a letter to the Persian king Sābūr b. Khurramshāh who let them settle in al-Hira.


How Abū Karib Tibān As‘ād Took Possession of the Kingdom of the Yaman and his Expedition to Yathrib


It was Tibān As‘ād Abū Karib who went to Medina and took away to the Yaman two Jewish rabbis from thence. He adorned the sacred temple and covered it with cloth. His reign was before that of Rabī‘a b. Naṣr (24).

When he came from the east he had passed by Medina without harming its people; but he left behind there one of his sons who was treacherously slain. Thereupon he returned with the intention of destroying the town and exterminating its people and cutting down its palms. So this tribe of the Ānār gathered together under the leadership of ‘Amr b. Tallā the brother of B. al-Najjār and one of B. ‘Amr b. Mabḍān. Mabḍān’s name was ‘Amr b. Mālik b. al-Najjār; and al-Najjār’s name was ‘Iyām Allah b. Thulābā b. ‘Amr b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. ‘Haritah b. Thulābā b. ‘Amr b. ‘Iyām Allah (24).

Now a man of B. ‘Adiy b. al-Najjār called Ahmar had fallen upon one of the followers of Tubba‘ when he brought them to Medina and killed him, because he caught him among his palms cutting the dates clusters; his face struck him with his sickle and killed him, saying: ‘The fruit belongs to the man who cultivates it.' This enraged the Tubba‘ against them and fighting broke out. Indeed the Ānār asserted that they used to fight them by day and treat them as guests by night. Tubba‘ was amazed at this and used to say: ‘By God our people are generous!'

While Tubba‘ was occupied in this fighting there came two Jewish rabbis from B. Qurayṣa—Qurayṣa, and al-Nadir and al-Najjār and ‘Amr nicknamed ‘Ammar—were sons of al-Khazzāb b. al-Saqīb b. al-Ta‘ūrānān b. al-Siqā b. al-‘Assā b. Sa‘d b. Lābī b. Khayyār b. al-Najjār b. Ta‘ūrānān b. ‘Azār b. ‘Īsā b. Harūn b. ‘Ismā‘il b. Yūsuf b. Qāḥātī b. Lābī b. Yāqūb otherwise called Iṣrā‘īl b. Iṣhāq b. ‘Ibrahim the friend of al-Rahmān—learned men well grounded in tradition. They had heard about the king’s intention to destroy the town and its people and they said to him: ‘O King, do not do it, for if you persist in your intention something will happen to prevent your carrying it out and we fear that you will incur speedy retribution.' When the king asked the reason for this they told him that Yathrib was the place to which a prophet of the Quraysh would migrate in time to come, and it would be his home and resting-place. Seeing that these men had hidden knowledge the king took their words in good part and gave up his design, departed from Medina and embraced the rabbis' religious.


Has he given up youthful folly or ceased to remember it?
Or has he had his hill of pleasure?

1 'ammara perhaps means ‘restored'. Tab. omits this sentence.
2 ‘Amr. ‘Adiy b. al-Najjār boasting of ‘Amr b. Tallā said:
3 ‘Amr. ‘Adiy b. al-Najjār boasting of ‘Amr b. Tallā said:
4 ‘Amr. ‘Adiy b. al-Najjār boasting of ‘Amr b. Tallā said:
5 ‘Amr. ‘Adiy b. al-Najjār boasting of ‘Amr b. Tallā said:
6 ‘Amr. ‘Adiy b. al-Najjār boasting of ‘Amr b. Tallā said:
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Or have you remembered youth?
And what is memory of youth and its times you have!
It was a young man's war
Such as gives him experience.
So ask 'Imran or Anas,
When headlong with the morning star came
Abū Karib with his great squadron
Clad in long mail, of pungent smell.
They said, Whom shall we make for,
The Banū Auf or the Najār?
Surely the Banū-l-Najār
For we seek revenge for our dead.
Then our swordsmen went to meet them,
Their number as the drops of widely falling rain,
Among them 'Amr b. Talla
(God prolong his life for the welfare of his people).
A chief who is on a level with kings but whose
Would vie with him does not know his eminence.

This tribe of the Ḍanār claim that the Tubba' was enraged only against this tribe of the Jews who were living among them and it was only his intention to destroy them, but they protected them until he went his way. Therefore in his verse he said:

In rage against two Jewish tribes who live in Yathrib
Who richly deserve the punishment of a fearful day (25).  

Now the 'Tubba' and his people were idolaters. He set out for Mecca which was on his way to the Yaman, and when he was between 'Uṣfin and 25 Ḍanaj some men of the Hudhayl b. Mudrik b. ʿIlān b. Mudār b. Nizār b. Maʿadd came to him saying, 'O King, may we not lead you to an ancient treasury which former kings have overlooked? It contains pearls, topaz, rubies, gold, and silver.' Certainly, said he, and they added that it was a temple in Mecca which its people worshipped and where they prayed. But the real intention of the Hudhaylīya was to encompass his destruction, for they knew that any king that treated it with disrespect was sure to die. Having agreed to their proposal he sent to the two rabbis and asked their opinion. They told him that the sole object of the tribe was to destroy him and his army. 'We know of no other temple in the land which God has chosen for Himself,' said they, 'and if you do what they suggest you and all your men will perish.' The king asked them what he should do when he got there, and they told him to do what the people of Mecca did: to circumambulate the temple, to venerate and honour it, to shave his head, and to behave with all humility until he had left its precincts.

The king asked why they too should not do likewise. They replied that it was indeed the temple of their father Abraham, but the idols which the inhabitants had set up round it, and the blood which they shed there, presented an insuperable obstacle. They are unclean polytheists, said they—or words to that effect.

Recognizing the soundness and truth of their words the king summoned the men from the Hudhayl and cut off their hands and feet, and continued his journey to Mecca. He went round the Kaʿba, sacrificed, and shaved his head, staying there six days (so they say) sacrificing animals which he distributed to the people and giving them honey to drink.

It was revealed to him in a dream that he should cover the temple, so he covered it with woven palm branches; a later vision showed him that he must do better so he covered it with Yamanī cloth; a third vision induced him to clothe it with fine striped Yaman cloth. People say that the Tubba' was the first man to cover the temple in this way. He ordered its Jūrāhū guards to keep it clean and not to allow blood, dead bodies, or menstrual clothes to come near it, and he made a door and a key for it.


O my son, oppress neither the mean nor the great in Mecca.
Preserve its sanctity and be not led away. 
He who does evil in Mecca will meet the worst misfortune.
His face will be smitten and his cheeks will burn with fire.
I know from certain knowledge that the evildoer there will perish.
God has made it inviolate though no castles are built in its court.
God has made its borders inviolate and the wild goats on Thārib are safe.
Tubba' came against it, but covered its building with embroidered cloth.
God humbled his sovereignty there so he fulfilled his vows,
Walking barefoot to it with two thousand camels in its courtyard.
It's people he fed with the flesh of Mah'rīr camels,
Gave them to drink strained honey and pure barley-water.
(God) destroyed the army of the elephant,
They were pelted with great stones.  

1 A reminiscence of Sūrat 70:33 and 35:5
2 A mountain above Mecca. ʿUṣaf could mean 'wild birds'.
3 Either the poem has suffered interpolation or it is the product of a later age because the story of the Elephant belongs to the expedition of Abrahim the Abyssinian mentioned on
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And (God destroyed) their kingdom in the farthest lands
Both in Persia and Khazar.
Hearken therefore when you are told the story
And understand the end of such things (26).

Afterwards he set forth for the Yemen with his army and the two rabbis, and when he reached his own country he invited his people to adopt his new religion, but they refused until the matter could be tested by the ordeal of fire which was there.

Abū Mālik b. Tha'lab b. Abū Mālik al-Quraṣi told me that he heard Ibrahim b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh narrate that when 'Utbib drew near to the Yemen the Himyarites blocked his path, refusing to let him pass because he had abandoned their religion. When he invited them to accept his religion on the ground that it was better than theirs, they proposed that the matter should be subject to the ordeal by fire. The Yamanites say that a fire used to settle matters in dispute among them by consuming the guilty and letting the innocent go scathless. So his people went forth with their idols and sacred objects, and the two rabbis went forth with their sacred books hanging like necklaces from their necks until they halted at the place where the fire used to blaze out. On this occasion when it came out the Yamanites withdrew in terror, but their followers encouraged them and urged them to stand fast, so they held their ground until the fire covered them and consumed their idols and sacred objects and the men who bore them. But the two rabbis came out with their sacred books, sweating profusely but otherwise unharmed. Thereupon the Himyarites accepted the king's religion. Such was the origin of Judaism in the Yemen.

Another informant told me that the two parties only went up to the fire to drive it back, for it was held that the one who succeeded in driving it back was most worthy of credence. When the Himyarites with their idols came near to drive the fire back, the fire came out against them and they withdrew unable to withstand it. Afterwards, when the two rabbis came reciting the Torah, the fire receded so that they drove it back to the place from which it had emerged. Thereupon the Himyarites accepted their religion. But God knows which report is correct.

Now Ṭīmān was one of the temples which they venerated and where they offered sacrifices and received oracles when they were polytheists. The two rabbis told 'Utbib that it was merely a shayān which deceived them in this way and they asked to be allowed to deal with it. When the king agreed they commanded a black dog to come out of it and killed it—

at least this is what the Yananites say. Then they destroyed the temple and I am told that its ruins to this day show traces of the blood that was poured over it.

Ṭ. Tubba' composed the following lines about his expedition, what he Ṭ. 906 had intended to do with Medina and the Ka'ba, what he actually did to the men of Hudhayl, and how he adorned and purified the temple and what the two rabbis told him about the apostle of God:

Why, O soul, is thy sleep disturbed like one whose eyes pain him?
Why does thou suffer from perpetual insomnia,
Enraged against two Jewish tribes who live in Yathrib,
Who richly deserve the punishment of a fateful day?
When I sojourned in Medina
Calm and refreshing was my sleep.
I made my dwelling on a hill
Between al-'Aqiq and Baqı' al-Gharqad.
We left its rocks and plateau
And its bare salty plain.
And came down to Yathrib, and my breast
Seethed with anger at the killing of my son.
I had sworn a steadfast vow,
An oath full strong and binding,
If I reach Yathrib I will leave it
Stripped of palms both striplings and fruitful
When lo from Qurayza came
A rabbi wise, among the Jews respected.
'Stand back from a city preserved,' said he,
'For Mecca's prophet of Quraysh true-guided.'
So I forgave them without reproach
I left them to the judgement of the last day
To God whose pardon I hope for
On the day of reckoning that I escape the flames of hell
Some of our people I left there for him,
Men of reputation and valour,
Men who carry plans to victory's end.
I hope thereby for a reward from Muhammad's Lord.
I knew not that there was a pure temple
Devoted to God in Mecca's vale,
Till slaves from Hudhayl came to me
In al-Duff of Jundān above al-Masnad.
'A house of ancient wealth in Mecca
Treasures of pearls and jewels!' they said.
I wanted to seize them but my Lord said nay.
For God prevents destruction of his sanctuary.
I gave up my purpose there.
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And left those men an example to the discerning.
Dhu'l-Qarnayn before me was a Muslim
Conquered kings thronged his court,
East and west he ruled, yet he sought
Knowledge true from a learned sage.
He saw where the sun sinks from view
In a pool of mud and fetid slime.
Before him Bilqis my father's sister
Ruled them until the hoopoe came to her.)

THE REIGN OF HIS SON HASAN B. TIBAN AND HOW 'AMR KILLED HIS BROTHER

When his son Hassan b. Tiban As'ad Abû Karib came to the throne he set out with the Yamanites to subdue the land of the Arabs and Persians. However, when they reached a place in Iraq (27) the Himyarites and Yamanite tribes were unwilling to go further and wanted to return to their families, so they approached one of his brothers called 'Amr who was with him in the army and said that if he would kill his brother they would make him king so that he might lead them home again. He said that he would do so, and they all agreed to join in the plot except Dhu Ru'ayn, the Himyarite. He forbade him to do this, but he would not heed, so Dhu Ru'ayn wrote the following verses:

Oh who would buy sleeplessness for sleep?
Happy is he who passes the night in peace;
Though Himyar have been treacherous,
God will hold Dhu Ru'ayn blameless.

He sealed the document and brought it to 'Amr, saying: 'Keep this with you for me,' and he did so. Then 'Amr killed his brother Hassan and returned to the Yaman with his men. One of the Himyarites was moved to say:

In former generations
What eyes have seen
The like of Hassan who has been slain!
The princes slew him lest they should be kept at war.
On the morrow they said 'It is naught!'
Your dead was the best of us and your living one
Is lord over us all while of you are lords.

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The words 'labibi labibi' mean 'no matter' in the Himyarite language (28).
When Amr b. Tiban returned to the Yaman he could not sleep and insomnia took a firm hold of him. Being much concerned at this, he asked the physicians and those of the soothsayers and diviners who were seen about his trouble. One of them said: 'No man has ever killed his brother or kinman treacherously as you killed your brother without losing his sleep and becoming a prey to insomnia.' At this he began to kill all the nobles who had urged him to murder his brother Hassan, till finally he came to Dhu Ru'ayn who claimed that 'Amr held the proof of his innocence, namely the paper which he had given him. He had it brought to him and when he had read the two verses he let him go, recognizing that he had given him good counsel. When 'Amr died the Himyarite kingdom fell into disorder and the people split up into parties.

HOW LAKHNA'I DHU SHANATIR SEIZED THE THRONE OF THE YAMAN

A Himyarite who had no connexion with the royal house called Lakhrna'i Dhu Shanatir arose and killed off their leading men and put the royal family to open shame. Of this man a certain Himyarite recited:

Himyar was slaying its sons and exiling its princes,
Working its shame with its own hands,
Destroying its worldly prosperity with frivolous thoughts.
Even greater was the loss of their religion,
So did earlier generations bring their doom
By acts of injustice and profligacy.

Lakhna'i was a most evil man—a sodomite. He used to summon a young man of the royal family and assault him in a room which he had constructed for this very purpose, so that he could not reign after him. Then he used to go from this upper chamber of his to his guards and soldiers, (who were below) having put a toothpick in his mouth to let them know that he had accomplished his purpose. (T. Then he would release him and he would appear before the guards and the people utterly disgraced.) One day he sent for Zur's Dhu Nuwas son of Tiban As'ad brother of Hassan. He was a little boy when Hassan was murdered and had become a fine handsome young man of character and intelligence. When the messenger came he perceived what was intended and took a fine sharp knife and hid it under the sole of his foot and went to Lakhna'i. As soon as they were alone he attacked him and Dhu Nuwas rushed upon him and stabbed him to death. He then cut off his head and put it in the window.
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which overlooked the men below. He stuck the toothpick in his mouth and went out to the guards, who in coarse language inquired what had happened. "Ask that head," he replied. They looked at the window and there was Lakhtim's head cut off. So they went in pursuit of Dhū Nuwās and said: 'You must be our king and no one else, seeing that you have rid us of this disgusting fellow.' (29).

The Reign of Dhū Nuwās

They made him king and all the tribes of Himyar joined him. He was the last of the Yamani kings and the man who had the ditch made. He was called Joseph and reigned for some considerable time.

In Najrān there were some people who held the religion of Isā b. Maryam, a virtuous and upright people who followed the Gospel. Their head was named Abdullah b. al-Thalīmī. The place where that religion took root was in Najrān, at that time the centre of the Arabs' country; its people, and indeed the rest of the Arabs, were idolaters. A Christian by the name of Fāymiyyūn had settled there and converted the people to his religion.

The Beginning of Christianity in Najrān

Al-Mughira b. Abī Labīd, a freedman of al-Akhmaṣ, on the authority of Waḥb b. Munabbih the Yamānī told me that the origin of Christianity in Najrān was due to a man named Fāymiyyūn who was a righteous, earnest, ascetic man whose prayers were answered. He used to wander between towns; as soon as he became known in one town he moved to another, eating only what he earned, for he was a builder by trade using mud bricks. He used to keep Sunday as a day of rest and would do no work then. He used to go into a desert place and pray there until the evening. While he was following his trade in a Syrian village withdrawing himself from men, one of the people there called Fālīh perceived what manner of man he was and felt a violent affection for him, so that unperceived by Fāymiyyūn he used to follow him from place to place, until one Sunday he went as his wont was out into the desert followed by Fālīh. Fālīh chose a hiding-place and sat down where he could see him, not wanting him to know where he was. As Fāymiyyūn stood to pray a timūn, a seven-horned snake, came towards him and when Fāymiyyūn saw it he cursed it and it died. Seeing the snake but not knowing what had happened to it and fearing for Fāymiyyūn's safety, Fālīh could not contain himself and cried out: 'Fāymiyyūn, a timūn is upon you!' He took no notice and went on with his prayers until he had ended them. Night had come and he departed. He knew that he had been recognized and Fālīh knew that he had seen him. So he said to him: 'Fāymiyyūn, you know that I have never loved anything as I love you; I want to be always with you and go wherever you go.' He replied: 'As you will. You know how I live and if you feel that you can bear the life well and good.' So Fālīh remained with him, and the people of the village were on the point of discovering his secret. For when a man suffering from a disease came in his way by chance he prayed for him and he was cured; but if he was summoned to a sick man he would not go. Now one of the villagers had a son who was blind and he asked about Fāymiyyūn and was told that he never came when he was sent for, but that he was a man who built houses for people for a wage. Thereupon the man took his son and put him in his room and threw a garment over him and went to Fāymiyyūn saying that he wanted him to do some work for him in his house and would be come and look at it, and they would agree on a price. Arrived at the house Fāymiyyūn asked what he wanted done, and after giving details the man suddenly whisked off the covering from the boy and said: 'Of Fāymiyyūn, one of God's creatures is in the state you see. So pray for him.' Fāymiyyūn did so and the boy got entirely healed. Knowing that he had been recognized he left the village followed by Fālīh, and while they were walking through Syria they passed by a great tree and a man called from it saying, 'I've been expecting you and saying, "When he is coming?" until I heard your voice and knew it was you. Don't go until you have prayed over my grave for I am about to die.' He did die and he prayed over him until they buried him. Then he left followed by Fālīh until they reached the land of the Arabs who attacked them, and a caravan carried them off and sold them in Najrān. At this time the people of Najrān followed the religion of the Arabs who attacked them, and a caravan carried them off and sold them in Najrān. At this time the people of Najrān followed the religion of the Arabs who attacked them, and a caravan carried them off and sold them in Najrān. At this time the people of Najrān followed the religion of the Arabs who attacked them, and a caravan carried them off and sold them in Najrān. At this time the people of Najrān followed the religion of the Arabs who attacked them, and a caravan carried them off and sold them in Najrān. At this time the people of Najrān followed the religion of the Arabs who attacked them, and a caravan carried them off and sold them in Najrān.

1 The Arabic text is in some disorder here, but the citation from al-Aṣḥābī given in the Cairo edition makes it possible to restore the true reading. A literal translation has been avoided for obvious reasons.
2 See below, p. 17. In place of the mention of the ditch T. has: 'he adopted Judaism and Himyar followed him'. T.'s version of this story is slightly more detailed and one may suspect that L.H. has omitted phrases here and there. Prof. G. Ryckmans in 1927 discovered an inscription at Qāra. His name is written Yaḥi'yar. The Sabean date is A.D. 518.
3 Lit. 'remnants of the people of Isā's religion.' Nöld, takes this to mean upholders of an uncorrupted Christianity; but this is not necessarily the meaning.

4 Or, 'whip'.
5 T. gives the words of Fāymiyyūn's prayer: 'O Oudh, thy enemy has attacked the health of one of thy servants to ruin it. Restore him to health and protect him from him.'
6 Or, perhaps, 'passed round it'.

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of God, he would destroy it, for he was God Alone without companion.

'Then do so,' said his master, 'for if you do that, we shall embrace your religion, and abandon our present faith.' After purifying himself and performing two 

\textit{rakah}, he invoked God against the tree and God sent a wind against it which tore it from its roots and cast it on the ground. Then the people of Najrān adopted his religion and he instructed them in the law of 'Isā b. Maryam. Afterwards they suffered the misfortunes which befell their co-religionists in every land. This was the origin of Christianity in Najrān in the land of the Arabs. Such is the report of Wahb b. Munabbih on the authority of the people of Najrān.

\textbf{23 ABDULLAH IBN AL-THĀMIR AND THOSE WHO PERISHED IN THE TRENCH}

Yazīd b. Ziyād told me on the authority of Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurāzī, and a man of Najrān also told me, that according to his people they used to worship idols. Najrān is the largest town in which the people of the neighbouring district congregated, and in a village hard by there was a sorcerer who used to instruct the young men of Najrān in his art. When Faymīyān came there—they did not call him by the name that Wahb b. Munabbīh gives him but simply said a man came there—he put up a tent between Najrān and the place where the sorcerer was. Now the people of Najrān used to send their young men to that sorcerer to be taught sorcery and al-Thāmir sent his son 'Abdullāh along with them. When he passed by the man in the tent he was immensely struck by his prayers and devotion and began to sit with him and listen to him until he became a Muslim and acknowledged the unity of God and worshipped Him. He asked questions about the laws of Islam until when he became fully instructed therein he asked the man what was the Great Name of God. Although he knew it he kept it from him, saying: 'My dear young man, you will not be able to bear it; I fear that you are not strong enough.' Now al-Thāmir had no idea that his son 'Abdullāh was not visiting the sorcerer along with the other young men. 'Abdullāh seeing that his master had kept the knowledge from him and was afraid of his weakness, collected a number of sticks and whenever he taught him a name of God he wrote that name on a stick. When he had got them all he lit a fire and began to throw them in one by one until when he reached the stick with the Great Name inscribed on it he threw it in, and it immediately sprang out untouched by the fire. Thereupon he took it and went and told his master that he knew the Great Name which he had concealed from him. The latter questioned him and when he learned how he had found out the secret he said, 'O my young friend, you have got it, but keep it to yourself, though I do not think you will.'

Thereafter whenever 'Abdullāh b. al-Thāmir entered Najrān and met any sick person he would say to him, 'O servant of God, will you acknowledge the unity of God and adopt my religion so that I may pray to God that he may heal you of your affliction?' The man would agree, acknowledge the unity of God, and become a Muslim, and he would pray for him and he would be healed, until in the end there was not a single sick person in Najrān but had adopted his religion and become whole from his sickness. When the news reached the king he sent for him and said: 'You have corrupted the people of my town so that they are against me and have opposed my religion and the religion of my fathers. I will make a terrible example of you!' He replied: 'You have not the power to do that.' The king had him taken to a high mountain and thrown down headlong, but he reached the ground unharmed. Then he had him thrown into deep water in Najrān from which no one had ever emerged alive, but he came out safely.

Having thus got the better of him 'Abdullāh told him that he would not be able to kill him until he acknowledged the unity of God and believed in his religion; but that if he did that he would be given power to kill him. The king then acknowledged the unity of God and pronounced the creed of 'Abdullāh, and hitting him a moderate blow with a stick which he had in his hand he killed him and died himself on the spot. The people of Najrān accepted the religion of 'Abdullāh b. al-Thāmir according to the Gospel and the law which 'Isā b. Maryam brought. Afterwards they were overtaken by the misfortunes which befell their co-religionists. Such is the origin of Christianity in Najrān. But God knows best (what the facts are).

Such is the report of Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurāzī and one of the men of Najrān about 'Abdullāh b. al-Thāmir, but God knows best what happened.

Dhū Nuwās came against them with his armies and invited them to accept Judaism, giving them the choice between that or death: they chose death. So he dug trenches for them; burnt some in fire, slew some with the sword, and mutilated them until he had killed nearly twenty thousand of them. Concerning Dhū Nuwās and that army of his God revealed to his apostle

\begin{quote}
On the trenchmakers be eternal ire
For their fuel-fed fire
Watching as the flames grew higher
The sufferings of the faithful, dire!
They only tormented them because they believed in
God the Mighty, the Worthy to be Praised (30).\footnote{Lit. 'Son of my brother'.}
\end{quote}

\footnote{2 abdīn, m.\footnote{3 Lit. 'Son of my brother'.} \footnote{4 Then Dhū Nuwās returned to Sūrā with his troops.}}

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\footnote{1 Or 'innovations' (abūdīth), so Noll, \textit{op. cit.}, 182, n.5.}
\footnote{2 The Qur'ān teaches that pure Christianity was Islam, ef. Sūra 3: 45 et passim}
\footnote{3 Lit. 'Son of my brother'.}
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It is said that among those put to death by Dhu Nuwwâs was 'Abdullah b. al-Thamir, their leader and imâm.1

I was told by 'Abdullah b. Abû Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Hazm that he was told that in the days of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭîb a man of Najrân dug up one of the ruins of Najrân intending to make use of the land, when they came upon 'Abdullah b. al-Thamir under a grave; he was in a sitting posture with his hand covering a wound in his head and holding firmly to it. When his hand was removed the blood began to flow; when they let go of his hand it returned to its place and the flow of blood ceased. On his finger was a ring inscribed 'Allah is my Lord'. A report was sent to 'Umar and he replied: 'Leave him alone and cover the grave' and his orders were duly carried out.


A man of Saba' called Daus Dhî Tha'lâbân escaped on a horse, and taking to the desert eluded them.2 He pressed on until he reached the Byzantine court, where he asked the emperor to aid him against Dhî Nuwwâs and his troops, telling him what had happened. The latter replied that his country was too distant for him to be able to help by sending troops, but that he would write to the Abyssinian king who was a Christian and whose territory was near the Yaman. Accordingly he did write ordering him to help Daus and seek revenge.

Daus went to the Negus with the emperor's letter, and he sent with him seventy thousand Abyssinians, putting over them a man called Arâjî. (T. He ordered him to kill a third of the men, lay waste a third of the country, and seize a third of the women and children if he conquered.) With the army there was a man called Abrasha 'Split-face'. Arâjî crossed the sea with Daus Dhî Tha'lâbân and landed in the Yaman. Dhî Nuwwâs with the Himyarites and such of the Yaman tribes as were under his command came out against him, and after an engagement Dhî Nuwwâs and his force was put to flight.3 Seeing that his cause was lost Dhî Nuwwâs turned his horse seawards bearing it until it entered the waves and carried him through the shallows out into the deep water. This was the last that was seen of him. Arâjî entered the Yaman and took possession of it. (T. He

1 Another tradition in T. says that 'Abdullah was killed by an earlier king. Ar. i. 81 gives a somewhat different version from the rimâya of Ibn Sînâ. For an account of these martyrs from Christian sources see The Book of the Himyarites, ed. Axel Moberg, Lund, 1924.
2 Tab. 925. 9 says that there was a Yamani report that a man of Najrân called Jâbab b. Fayd also escaped.
3 Tab. 927. 15 contains an account of the disordered state of the Yaman army and their feeble opposition.
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Could there be after Himyar’s tribes were destroyed one morn by calamity’s stroke,
A thousand thousand with spearsmen (glittering) like the sky before rain.
Their cry deafened the chargers and they put to flight the warriors
with their pungent smell.
Witches as the sand in number the very sap of trees dried at their approach.

ʿĀmar b. Maʿdī Karīb al-Zuhaydī said concerning a dispute which he had
with Qays b. Malāshūh al-Murādī when he heard that he had threatened him,
and bringing to memory the lost glory of Himyar:

Do you threaten me as though you were Dhu Ruʿayn?
Or Dhu Nuwās in the days of their prime?
Many a man before you was prosperous
With a kingdom firmly rooted among men.
Ancient as the days of ʿĀd
Exceeding fierce, overwhelming tyrants,
Yet his people perished
And he became a wanderer among men (32).

HOW ABRĀḤA SEIZED POWER IN THE YAMAN AND KILLED ʿĀRĪF

Aṭrāf held sway in the Yaman for some years and then Abraḥa the Abyssinian (Ṭ. who was in his army) disputed his authority, and the Abyssinians split into two parties each claiming supporters. When war was about to begin, Abraḥa sent to Aṭrāf asking him to avert the danger of internecine war and inviting him to settle the dispute by personal combat, the winner to be the sole commander of the army. Aṭrāf agreed and Abraḥa went forth to meet him. He was a short fat man holding the Christian faith; and Aṭrāf advanced against him spear in hand; he was a big, tall, handsome man. Abraḥa had a young man called Aṭawda at his back to defend him against attack from the rear. Aṭrāf raised his spear striking at Abraḥa’s skull and hit him on the forehead splitting his eyebrow, nose, eye, and mouth. It was for this reason that he was called al-ʿAshram (split-face). Thereupon Aṭawda coming out from behind Abraḥa attacked Aṭrāf and killed him, and Aṭrāf’s army joined Abraḥa, and the Abyssinians in the Yaman accepted him as their chief. (Ṭ. Then Aṭawda cried: “Aṭawda you see, of an evil company; parentless in nobility, meaning that Abraḥa’s slave had killed Aṭrāf. Al-ʿAshram asked what he wanted, for though he had killed him blood-money must be paid. He asked and obtained from him the right of primae noctis in Yaman.) Abraḥa paid blood-money for killing Aṭrāf. (Ṭ. All this happened without the knowledge of the Negus.)

When the news of this affair reached the Negus he was filled with rage and said: “Has he attacked my amīr and killed him without any order from me?” Then he swore an oath that he would not leave Abraḥa alone until he had trodden his land and cut off his forelock. So Abraḥa shaved his head and filled a leather bag with the earth of the Yaman and sent it to the Negus with the following letter: “O King, Aṭrāf was only thy slave and I too am thy slave. We disputed about your orders; everyone must obey you; but I was stronger, firmer, and more skilful in managing the affairs of the Abyssinians. Now when I was told of the king’s oath I shared the whole of my head and send it to you with a bag of the dust of my land that you may put it beneath your feet and thus keep your oath concerning me.”

When this message reached the Negus he was reconciled to him and wrote to him that he was to stay in the Yaman until further orders; so Abraḥa remained in the Yaman. (Ṭ. When Abraḥa perceived that the Negus was reconciled and had made him viceregent of the Yaman, he sent to Abū Murra b. Dhu Ṭaym and took away from him his wife Rayhāna b. ʿAqama b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān. Abū Murra who is Dhu Ṭaym had a son by her—Maʿdī Karīb. Afterwards she bore to Abraḥa a son Maṭrīq and a daughter Basībās. Abū Murra took to flight. His slave Aṭawda went on exercising his right in Yaman until a man of Himyar of Khathām attacked and killed him; and when the news reached Abraḥa, who was a fient noble character, a Christian of temperate habits, he told the people that it was high time that they had an official with due self-control and that had he known that Aṭawda would have chosen such a reward for his services he would not have allowed him to choose his reward. Further no bloodwit would be exacted and he would not take any action against them for killing Aṭawda.)


Then Abraḥa built the cathedral in Sanʿū, such a church as could not be seen elsewhere in any part of the world at that time. He wrote to the Negus saying: “I have built a church for you, O King, such as has not been built for any king before you. I shall not rest until I have diverted the Arabs’ pilgrimage to it.” When the Arabs were talking about this letter of his, one of the calendar intercalators was enraged. He was of the B. Fuqaym b. ʿAdīb b.ʿAmir b. Thaʿlaba b. al-Harīb b. Mālik b. Knhānā b. Khayyāmā b. Muḍīka b. Iyyās b. Muḍār. The intercalators are those who used to adjust the months for the Arabs in the time of ignorance. They 1 al-Qallās. The Arab commentators derive this word from an Arabic root, but it is simply the Greek ἐκθέτεια.

1 A slightly longer account is given in Aza. i. 86.
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would make one of the holy months profane, and make one of the profane months holy to balance the calendar. It was about this that God sent down: 'Postponement (of a sacred month) is but added infidelity by which those who disbelieve are misled. They make it (the month) profane one year and make it the sacred the next year, that they may make up the number of the months which God has made sacred.'

The first to impose this system of intercalation on the Arabs was al-Qalammas who was Hudhayfa b. 'Abd b. Fugaym b. 'Ady b. 'Amir b. Thalaba b. al-Hasa b. Malik b. Kinana b. Khuwayma; his son 'Abbad followed him; then his descendants Qala', Umayya, 'Aif, and Abü Thumama Junada b. 'Aif who was the last of them, for he was overtaken by Islam. When the Arabs had finished pilgrimage, it used to be their practice to gather round him and he would declare the four sacred months Rajab, Dhul-Qa'da, Dhul-Hijja, and Muharram. If he wanted to free a period he would free al-Muharram and they would declare it free and ban Safar in its place so as to make up the number of the four sacred months.

When they wanted to return from Mecca, they got up and said: 'O God, I have made one of the Safar free for them, the first Safar, and I have postponed the other till next year.'

About this 'Umayr b. Qays Judhu'l-Ti'an, one of the B. Firdas b. Ghanm b. Thalaba b. Malik b. Kinana, boasting of this determining of the months, improvised:

Ma'addi knows that my people are the most honourable of men and have noble ancestors.

Who has escaped us when we seek vengeance and whom have we not made to chomp the bit?

Are we not Ma'addi's calendar-makers, making profane months sacred?

They, the Kinanaite, went forth until he came to the cathedral and defied it (35). Then he returned to his own country. Hearing of the matter Abraha made inquiries and learned that the outrage had been committed by an Arab who came from the temple in Mecca where the Arabs went on pilgrimage, and that he had done this in anger at his threat to divert the Arabs' pilgrimage to the cathedral, showing thereby that it was unworthy of reverence.

Abraha was enraged and swore that he would go to this temple and destroy it. (T. With Abraha there were some Arabs who had come to seek his bounty, among them Muhammad b. Khuzayma b. Khuwayma, al-Dhakwani, al-Salami, with a number of his tribesmen including a brother of his called Qays. While they were with him a feast of Abraha occurred and he sent to invite them to the feast. Now he used to eat an animal's testicles, so when the invitation was brought they said, 'By God, if we eat this the Arabs will hold it against us as long as we live.' Thereupon Abraha got up and went to Abraha and said, 'O King, this is a festival of ours in which we eat only the loin and shoulders.' Abraha replied that he would send them what they liked, because his sole purpose in inviting them was to show that he honoured them. Then he crowned Muhammad and made him amir of Mudar and ordered him to go among the people to invite them to pilgrimage at his cathedral which he had built. When Muhammad got as far as the land of Kinana the people of the lawland knowing what he had come for sent a man of Hudhayl called 'Ura b. Sayyad al-Milashi who shot him with an arrow, killing him. His brother Qays who was with him fled to Abraha and told him the news, which increased his rage and fury and he swore to raid the B. Kinana and destroy the temple.) So he commanded the Abyssinians to prepare and make ready, and sallied forth with the elephant. News of this plunged the Arabs into alarm and anxiety and they decided that it was incumbent on them to fight against him when they heard that he meant to destroy the Ki'ba, God's holy house.

A member of one of the ruling families in the Yamam, Dhul Nafr by name, summoned his people and such of the Arabs as would follow him to fight Abraha and stop him from attacking and destroying God's holy house. A certain number supported him, but after a battle Dhul Nafr and his followers were put to flight and he himself was taken prisoner and brought to Abraha. When he was about to put him to death Dhul Nafr pleaded for his life on the ground that he would be more useful to him alive than dead. Abraha then gave him his life but kept him in fetters. He was a merciful man.

Abraha continued his road to Mecca until in the country of Khath'am he was opposed by Nufayl b. Habib al-Khatami with their two tribes Shahrân and Nâhis and such of the Arab tribes as followed him. After an engagement he was defeated and taken prisoner. When Abraha thought of killing him, Nufayl said: 'Don't kill me, O King, for I will be your guide in the Arab country. Here are my two hands as surety that the two tribes of Khath'am, Shahrân and Nâhis, will obey you.' So Abraha let him go.


My people are Imâds, would that they were near! Or would that they had stayed [here] though their camels might be thin.

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1 Sûra 9, 17.

2 If by this time a sacred month was due, razing and blood-revenge would be taboo; hence the need to declare the month profane.

3 The camels are thin because they are always overmilked to supply the wants of guests. Schulten, Umayya, 15, reads jumâma, 'might be slaughtered.'
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When on the march Tā'f's wide plain
Is theirs—moreover they read and write (36).

He also said:

If you ask me who I am, Lubaynā, and of my line
I will tell you the certain truth.
We belong to al-Nābi the father of Oasy
To Mansūr son of Yaqūdb (our) forefathers (37).

'They said to him: O King, we are thy servants attentive and obedient to you. We have no quarrel with you and our temple—meaning that of al-Lat—is not the one you seek. You want only the temple in Mecca, and we will send with you a man to guide you there. He therefore passed on leaving them unmolested.

As to al-Lat it was a temple of theirs in al-Tṣif which they used to venerate as the Ka'ba is venerated (38). So they sent with him Abū Righāl to guide him on the way to Mecca, and when he had brought him as far as al-Mughamma1 Abū Righāl died there and the Arabs stoned his grave. This is the grave which people in al-Mughamma still stone.2

Arrived here, Abrahā sent an Abyssinian called al-Aswād b. Mafṣād1 with some cavalry as far as Mecca and the latter sent off to him the plunder of the people of Thāma, the Qurayš and others, among it two hundred camels belonging to 'Abdūl-Muṭṭalib b. Hashim, whome at that time was the leading sheik of Qurayš. At first Qurayš, Kāñāna, and Hudayl and others were in the holy place meditating battle, but seeing that they had no power to offer resistance they gave up the idea.

Abrahā sent Ḥunaytā the Himyarite to Mecca instructing him to inquire who was the chief notable of the country and to tell him that the king's message was that he had not come to fight them, but only to destroy the temple. If they offered no resistance there was no cause for bloodshed, and if he wished to avoid war he should return with him. On reaching Mecca Ḥunaytā was told that 'Abdūl-Muṭṭalib b. Hashim b. 'Abd Mānif b. Qaṣrṣiy was the leading notable, so he went to him and delivered Abrahā's message. 'Abdūl-Muṭṭalib replied: 'God knows that we do not wish to fight him for we have no power to do so. This is Allah's sanctuary and the temple of His friend Abrahā—or words to that effect—If He defends itself against it it is his temple and His sanctuary; and if he lets him have it by God we cannot defend it.' Ḥunaytā replied that he must come with him to Abrahā, for he was ordered to bring him back with him.

So accompanied by one of his sons 'Abdūl-Muṭṭalib came to the camp

Also written al-Mughamma, a place 'two thirds of a parsee' (roughly two miles) from Mecca

1 The practice survives to this day
2 Other authorities write Masūd. Mafṣād means 'lash-faced'.

and inquired for Dhu Nafr, for he was a friend of his. He went in to see him as he was in confinement and asked him if he could do anything to help him in their trouble. Dhu Nafr replied: 'What use is a man held a prisoner in the bands of a king, expecting to be killed at any moment? I can do nothing to help you except that Unays the keeper of the elephant being a friend of mine, I will send to him and command your case to him as strongly as possible asking him to try to get you permission to see the king. So speak as you think fit, and he will intercede for you with the king if he is able to do so.' Dhu Nafr sent to Unays saying, 'The king has taken two hundred camels belonging to 'Abdūl-Muṭṭalib, lord of Qurayš and of the Meccan well who feeds men in the plain and wild creatures on the top of the mountains, and is now here. So ask permission for him to see the king and help him as far as you can.' He said he would do so and repeated these words to the king, adding that 'Abdūl-Muṭṭalib wished to see him and talk to him about a pressing matter. Abrahā agreed to see him. Now 'Abdūl-Muṭṭalib was a most impressive, handsome, and dignified man, and when Abrahā saw him he treated him with the greatest respect so that he would not let him sit beneath him. He could not let the Abyssinians see him sitting beside him on his royal throne, so he got off his throne and sat upon his carpet and made 'Abdūl-Muṭṭalib sit beside him there. Then he told his interpreter to inquire what he wanted, and the reply was that he wanted the king to return two hundred camels of his which he had taken. Abrahā replied through the interpreter, 'You pleased me much when I saw you; then I was much displeased with you when I heard what you said. Do you wish to talk to me about two hundred camels of yours which I have taken, and say nothing about your religion and the religion of your forefathers which I have come to destroy?' 'Abdūl-Muṭṭalib replied, 'I am the owner of the camels and the temple has an owner who will defend it,' When the king replied that he could not defend it against him he said, 'That remains to be seen.' ('Give me back my camels.'

Some learned people allege that when 'Abdūl-Muṭṭalib went to Abrahā when he sent Ḥunaytā to him, there accompanied him Ya'mar b. Nuftah2 b. 'Ady b. al-Du'āl b. Bakr b. 'Abd Mānif b. Kāñāna, at that time chief of B. Bakr, and Khwawāsī b. Waṭha, then chief of Hudayl. They offered to give Abrahā a third of the cattle of the lowland on condition that he would withdraw from them and not destroy the temple, but he refused their request; but God knows whether this was so or not. At any rate Abrahā restored to 'Abdūl-Muṭṭalib the camels which he had taken.

When they left him, 'Abdūl-Muṭṭalib went back to Qurayš and having given them the news ordered them to withdraw from Mecca and take up defensive positions on the peaks and in the passes of the mountains for fear of the excesses of the soldiers. 'Abdūl-Muṭṭalib took hold of the metal knocker of the Ka'ba, and a number of Qurayš stood with him praying

1 C. has 'fr, 'caravan'
to God and imploring his help against Abraha and his army. As he was holding the knocker of the temple door, 'Abdu'll-Muttalib said:

O God, a man protects his dwelling so protect Thy dwellings.

Let out their cross and their craft tomorrow over come Thy craft (39).1

'Ikrima b. 'Amir b. Ḥāšim b. 'Abdu Manāf b. 'Abd al-Dār b. Qusayy said:

O God, humiliate al-Aswad b. Mufṣid
Who took a hundred camels wearing their collars;
Between Hirā' and 'Tabīhīr and the deserts,
He shut them in when they should be pasturing freely,
And delivered them to the black barbarians,
Withdraw from him thine aid, O Lord, for Thou art worthy to be praised (40).

'Abdu'll-Muttalib then let go the knocker of the door of the Ka'ba and went off with his Quraish companions to the mountain tops where they took up defensive positions waiting to see what Abraha would do when he occupied Mecca. In the morning Abraha prepared to enter the town and made his elephant ready for battle and drew up his troops. His intention was to destroy the temple and then return to the Yaman. When they made the elephant (its name was Māhīmūd) face Mecca, Nufayl b. Ḥabīb came up to its flank and taking hold of its ear said: 'Kneel, Māhīmūd, or go straight back whence you came, for you are in God's holy land.' He let go of its ear and the elephant knelt, and Nufayl made off at top speed for the top of the mountain. The troops beat the elephant to make it get up but it would not; they beat its head with iron bars; they stuck hooks into its underbelly and scratched it; but it would not get up. Then they made it face the Yaman and immediately it got up and started off. When they set it towards the north and the east it did likewise, but as soon as they directed it towards the Ka'ba it knelt down.

Then God sent upon them birds from the sea like swallows and 36 starlings; each bird carried three stones, like peas and lentils, one in its beak and two between its claws. Everyone who was hit died but not all were hit. They withdrew in flight by the way they came, crying out for Nufayl b. Ḥabīb to guide them on the way to the Yaman. When he saw the punishment which God had brought down on them Nufayl said

Where can one flee when God pursueth?
Al-Ashram is the conquered not the conqueror (41).

Hīlāl, the plural of ḥiyya, means a collection of houses and also the people who live therein. For ḥiyya al-Ṣabīrātih, ḥīlāl has ṭīlāl, 'his neighbour', and for ghāhdān 'tomorrow' 'adverb, which could be rendered 'hostile' here. For ḥuṣyadān he has ḫaṭṣatān 'adverb' here is said by L. and Abū Dāmyer in more strength and power; but it really means 'quilt', worship accompanied by force. 'Craft', cf. Kraft, appears to be the best rendering. The passage is a reminiscence of Sūra 13:14 and the idea may be found in the Qurān saying of God: Khayyārū 'l-māhiṣirīn, 3:47. It has preserved four lines of no poetic merit which L.H. preferred to excise.

Nufayl also said:

Our greetings, Rudayn!
You rejoice our eyes this morning!
[Your fuel-seeker came to us last night,
But we had given to him.] If you had seen, but you will not see, Rudayn,
What we saw on al-Muḥadab's side:
You would have forgiven me and praised my action
And not have vexed at what has passed and gone.2
I praised God when I saw the birds,
And I feared the stones that might fall upon us.
Everyone was asking for Nufayl
As though I owed the Abyssinians a debt.

As they withdrew they were continually falling by the wayside dying miserably by every waterhole. Abraha was smitten in his body, and as they took him away his fingers fell off one by one. Where the finger had been, there arose an evil sore exuding pus and blood, so that when they brought him to Šan'a' he was like a young fledgeling. They allege that as he died his heart burst from his body. (A. Deserters from the army, labourers, and camp-followers remained in Mecca and became workers and shepherds for the population.)

Ya'qūb b. 'Uthā told me that he was informed that that year was the first time that measles and smallpox had been seen in Arabia; and, too, that it was the first time that bitter herbs like rue, colocynth, and Asclepias gigantea were seen.

When God sent Muḥammad he specially recounted to the Qurāsh his goodness and favour in turning back the Abyssinians in order to preserve their state and permanence. 'Did you not see how your Lord dealt with the owners of the elephant? Did He not reduce their guile to sheer terror? And sent upon them flocks of birds, throwing hard clay stones upon them, making them as blades of corn that have been devoured.'

And again: 'For the uniting of Qurāsh, their uniting the caravans to ply summer and winter. Then let them worship the Lord of this temple, who has fed them so that they hunger not, and made them safe from fear', 3

1 A place between Mecca and Mīnā in the valley of Mecca. See Yāfiq.  T. 942
2 Possibly bayyān is a poetical form of ba'yān, 'between us'. The line is based on Sūra 57:23.  Azz. 91
3 Sūra 105.  Sūra 106. A good discussion of this difficult passage will be found in Lane's Lexicon, p. 798 and 8. There are three rival readings: ṭīf (adopted by our author), ṭīf, and ṭīf. According to all three the meaning is said to be 'for their keeping to the journey etc.' Other authorities say that the first reading means 'for the preparing and fitting out'. Others say that according to the third reading the meaning is 'the protecting'. According to Ibn al-ʿA):(h the point of this is that the four sons of 'Abdu Manāf were given freedom to travel by the Byzantines, Persian, Abyssinians, and Ḥimyarīs respectively and so were able to go and bring corn from neighbouring territories. There may be a sound historical kernel to
REFERENCES IN POETRY TO THE STORY OF THE ELEPHANT

When God turned back the Abyssinians from Mecca and executed His vengeance upon them, the Arabs held the Quraysh in great honour, saying, 'They are the people of God: God fought for them and thwarted their attack of their enemies.' On this theme they composed many poems. Thus 'Abdullah b. al-Zibra'ī b. 'Adly b. Qaya b. 'Adly b. Sa'd b. Sahm b. 'Amr b. Huṣayn b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr said:

Withdraw from the vale of Mecca for From of old its sanctuary has not been violated When it was sanctified, Sūrahad has not been created, No mighty man has ever attacked it, Ask the commander of the Abyssinians what he saw.

He who knows what happened will tell the ignorant. Sixty thousand men returned not home, Nor did their sick recover after their return, 'Ad and Jurfum were (in Mecca) before them, God has set it above all creatures.

The words 'nor did their sick recover after their return' refer to Abraha whom they carried with them when he was smitten, until he died in San'a'.


His work it was on the day of the Abyssinian elephant. Whenever they urged it forward it held its ground, (They drove) their books beneath its flanks, They split its nose and it was torn. They used a knife as a whip. When they applied it to its back it made a wound. It turned and faced the way it had come, Those there bore the burden of their injustice.

The four brothers gave this protection (ṣidf) to those journeying to the several countries. Thus for ṣidf the meanings of covenant, protection, and responsibility for safety are illustrated.

'Axūs reports from I. that envoys from the tribes went to congratulate Sayf b. Dhū Yusuf on his restoration to kingship. He stripped out Quraysh for special treatment.

This tradition. The four brothers gave this protection (ṣidf) to those journeying to the several countries. Thus for ṣidf the meanings of covenant, protection, and responsibility for safety are illustrated.

I prefer the reading ḥiṣabī (W) to the ṣaybī of C.

Abū Qays b. al-Asālī also said:

Rise and pray to your Lord and stroke The corners of this temple between the mountains. He gave you a convincing test On the day of 'Abū Yaksūm leader of the squadrons. His cavalry was in the plain, his infantry Upon the passes of the distant hills. When the help of the Lord of the Throne reached you, His armies repulsed them, pelting them and covering them with dust. Quickly they turned tail in flight, and none But a few returned to his people from the army (45).

Ṭalib b. 'Abū Ṭalib b. 'Abdu l-Mu'tṭalib said:

Know you not what happened in the war of Dāḥis And 'Abū Yaksūm's army when it filled the pass? But for the help of God the Sole Existent One You would have been unable to save your lives (46).

'Abū l-Salt b. Abū Rabi'a al-Thaqafī referring to the elephant and to the Ḥanafī religion being that of Abraham said (47):

The signs of our Lord are illuminating, None but infidels doubt them. Night and Day were created and all Is abundantly plain, its reckoning is fixed. Then the merciful Lord revealed the day By the sun whose rays are seen everywhere. He held the elephant fast in al-Mugammas until It sank to the ground as though it was hamstrung.

1 With some hesitation I read this line: faqaffushū . . . al-qurum, W. reads yafqaffushū; C. reads zaqaffushū. The form I have read as indicated. Both W. and C. read al-qurum which means 'small bodies'. Abū Dharr (Gettle, 21) reads al-qurum, which he explained by saṁī'āt lağwūn. This line that follows seems to require a reference to sheep here.

The term saḥlaštī refers to the mountains of Mecca.

2 i.e. the angels.

3 Or, 'from the Abyssinians'. See n. 2, p. 28. These lines occur again in W., p. 180.

4 Dāhī is the name of a horse. Final play during a race led to a long and bloody feud between the tribes of 'Abā and Dāhīyân. See Nicholason, L.H.A., 61-62. The term ashlaštī refers to the mountains of Mecca.

5 Or, 'property'.

6 Reading thiṣbūdūn with C.

7 Reading thiṣbūdūn with C.

8 'Abū l-Salt, lightened, Cufa, Itá del M., 1245-1264, viii, 198 reads nahšūn, but the received text is better. I owe this explanation of bāṣa to my colleague Dr. el-Tayyib. Commentators and translators have missed the point.
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when Abraha died his son Yaksūm became king of the Abyssinians. (T. Himyar and the tribes of Yaman were humiliated under the heel of the Abyssinians. They took their women and killed their men and seized their young men to act as interpreters.) When Yaksūm b. Abraha died his brother Māsriq b. Abraha reigned over the Abyssinians in the Yaman.

The Journey of Sayf b. Dhu Yazan and the Rule of Wahriz in the Yaman

When the people of the Yaman had long endured oppression, Sayf b. Dhu Yazan the Himyarite, who was known as Abū Murra, went to the Byzantine emperor and complained to him of his troubles, asking him to drive out the Abyssinians and take over the country. He asked him to send what forces he pleased and promised him the kingdom of the Yaman.

The emperor paid no attention to his request, so he went to al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir, who was Chosroes' governor at al-Hira and the surrounding country of Iraq. When he complained of the Abyssinians, al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir told him that he paid a formal visit every year to Chosroes and he asked him to stay with him until then. Accordingly he took him with him and introduced him to Chosroes. Now he used to sit in his audience chamber which contained his crown. According to reports, his crown was like a huge grain-measure with rubies, pearls, and topazes set in gold and silver, suspended by a golden chain from the top of the dome in his hall of audience. Such was the weight of the crown that his neck could not bear it. He was hidden behind a robe until he sat on his throne; then his head was inserted into the crown, and when he was seated comfortably on his throne the robes were taken from him. Everyone who saw him for the first time fell to his knees in awe. When Sayf b. Dhu Yazan entered his presence he fell to his knees (49).

He said 'O King, ravens' have taken possession of our country.' Chosroes asked, 'What ravens, Abyssinians or Sindians?' 'Abyssinians,' he replied, 'and I have come to you for help and that you may assume the kingship of my country.' He answered, 'Your country is far distant and has little to attract me; I cannot endanger a Persian army in Arabia and there is no reason why I should do so.' Then he made him a present of 10,000 drachmas of silver and invested him in a fine robe. Sayf went out with the silver and began to scatter it among the people; (T. Boys and T. 947 slaves of both sexes scurried for the coins). When the king was told of this he thought it very extraordinary and sent for him and said, 'You mean to throw away a royal gift?' He answered: 'What use is silver to me? The mountains of my country from which I come are nothing but gold and silver.' This he said to excite his cupidity. Chosroes thereupon gathered his advisers together and asked their opinion about the man and his project. One of them reminded the king that in his prisons there were men who were condemned to death. If he were to send them with him and they were killed, that would merely be the fate that he had determined for them; on the other hand, if they conquered the country he would have added to his empire. Thereupon Chosroes sent those who were confined in his prisons to the number of eight hundred men.

He put in command of them a man called Wahriz who was of mature age and of excellent family and lineage. They set out in eight ships, two of which foundered, so that only six reached the shores of Aden. Sayf brought all the people that he could to Wahriz saying, 'My foot is with your foot, we die or conquer together.' 'Right,' said Wahriz. Māsriq b. Abraha the king of Yaman came out against him with his army, and Wahriz sent one of his sons to fight them so as to get experience in their way of fighting. His son was killed and he was filled with rage against them. When the men were drawn up in their ranks Wahriz said, 'Show me their king.' They said, 'Do you see a man on an elephant with a crown on his head and a red ruby on his forehead? That is their king.' 'Let him be,' he said, and they waited a long time and then he said, 'What is he riding now?' They said: 'He is now beside a horse'; again they waited. He asked the same question and they said he was beside a mule. Said Wahriz: 'An ass's silly! A weak creature, and so is his kingdom. I will shoot him. If you see that his followers have not moved, then stand fast until I give you permission to advance, for I shall have missed the fellow. But if you see the people flocking round him I shall have hit him, so fall upon them.' Then he bent his bow (the story goes that it was so tough that no one but he could bend it) and ordered that his eyebrows be fastened back; then he shot Māsriq and split the ruby in his forehead and the arrow pierced his head and came out at the back of his neck. He fell off his mount and the Abyssinians gathered round him. When the Persians fell upon them, they fled and were killed as they bolted in all directions. Wahriz advanced to enter into San'a, and when he reached its gate he said that his standard should never be lowered and he ordered them to destroy the gate and went in with his flag flying. * His eyes were half closed from age
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Sayf b. Dhu Yazan al-Himyari said:

Men thought the two kings had made peace
And those who heard of their reconciliation found the matter was
very grave.
We slew the prince Masruq and reddened the sands with blood.
The new prince, the people's prince,
Wahriz swore an oath that
He would drink no wine until he had captured prisoners and spoil (50).

Abū al-Ṣalt b. Abū Rabī' al-Thaqafi (51) said:

Let those seek vengeance who are like Ibn Dhu Yazan
Who spent long years at sea because of his enemies,
When the time for his journey came he went to Caesar
But did not attain what he sought.
Then he turned to Chosroes after ten years,
Counting his life and money cheap,
Until he came bringing the Persians with him.
By my life you were swift in action,
What a noble band came out:
Never were their like seen among men!
Nobles, princes, mighty men, archers,
Lions who train their cubs in the jungle!
From curved bows they shot arrows
Stout as the poles of the howdah
Bringing the victim a speedy death.
You sent lions against black dogs,
Their fugitives are scattered all over the earth.
So drink your fill, wearing your crown,
On Ghumdān's top reclining in a house you have chosen.
Drink your fill, for they are dead,
And walk proudly today in your flowing robes.
Such are noble deeds, not two pails of milk mingled with water
Which afterwards become urine (53).

‘Adiy b. Zayd al-Ḥijrī, one of B. Tamīm, said:

What is there after San'a in which once lived
Rulers of a kingdom whose gifts were lavish?
Its builder raised it to the flying clouds,
Its lofty chambers gave forth music,
Protected by mountains against the attacks of enemies,
Its lofty heights unscaleable.

T. When Wahriz had conquered the Yaman and driven out the Abyssinians he wrote to Chosroes telling him of what had been done and sending him captured treasure. In his reply the king told him to appoint Sayf king of the Yaman. He also gave Sayf instructions to collect taxes every year and to remit them to him. He summoned Wahriz to his presence and Sayf became king, he being the son of Dhu Yazan of the Kings of the Yaman. This is what Ibn Ḫumayd told me from Salama on the authority of Ibn Iṣḥāq.4

(When Wahriz had gone to Chosroes and made Sayf king of the Yaman, T. 957 the latter began to attack the Abyssinians, killing them and slaying the women with child until he exterminated all but an insignificant number of miserable creatures whom he employed as slaves and runners to go before him with their lances. Before very long he was out with these armed slaves when suddenly they surrounded him and stabbed him to death. One of them established himself as leader and they went through the Yaman slaying and laying waste the country. When the Persian king heard of this he sent Wahriz with 4,000 Persians and ordered him to kill every Abyssinian or child of an Abyssinian and an Arab woman, great or small, and not leave alive a single man with crisp curly hair. Wahriz arrived and in due course carried out these instructions and wrote to tell the king that he had done so. The king then gave him viceregal authority and he ruled under Chosroes until his death.)

1 Reading umma for C's ima.
2 Fayj, the reading of C (against W's fayj) is a Persian word for a crowd of men. I.K. has hayj.
3 A variant is ḥabān, 'treacherous'.
4 In this chapter T.'s version is much more vivid and detailed and reads much more like the lively style of Ibn Iṣḥāq. No doubt Ibn Hishām cut down this to him unimportant chapter as much as he could.

B 4080

1 Ḫalid here I take to mean a resourceful foe. The Cairo editors prefer to find a reference to God.
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They went to the Yaman and remained there (59).

Mudar b. Nizār begat two sons: ʿIyās and ʿAylan (60). ʿIyās begat three sons: Mudrika, Ṭāбиkha, and Qamʿa. Their mother was Khidīf, a Yamanite woman (61). The name of Mudrika was ʿAmr and the name of Ṭāびkha was ʿAmr. There is a story that when they were pasturing their camels they hunted some game and sat down to cook it, when some raiders swooped upon their camels. ʿAmr said to ʿAmr: 'Will you go after the camels or will you cook this game?' ʿAmr replied that he would go on cooking, so ʿAmr went after the camels and brought them back. When they returned and told their father he said to ʿAmr: 'You are Mudrika' (the one who overtook), and to ʿAmr he said 'You are Ṭāびkha' (the cook). When their mother heard the news she came hurriedly from her tent and he said: 'You are trotting!' (kuhandaft) and so she was called Khidīf.

As to Qamʿa the genealogists of Mudar assert that Khuzaiʿa was one of the sons of ʿAmr b. Luhayy b. Qamʿa b. ʿIyās.

The Story of ʿAmr b. Luhayy and an Account of the Idols of the Arabs

ʿAbdullah b. ʿAbī Bakr b. Muhammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm on the authority of his father told me as follows: I was told that the apostle of God said: ‘I saw ʿAmr b. Luhayy dragging his intestines in hell, and when I asked him about those who had lived between his time and mine he said that they had perished.’

Muhammad b. Ḥabīb b. al-Ḥāʾrith b. al-Ṭamīmī told me that Abū Sāliḥ al-Samʿānī told him that he heard Abū Hurayra (62) say: I heard the apostle of God saying to Aktham b. al-Jawwāl b. Ḥukzab, ʿO Aktham I saw ʿAmr b. Luhayy b. Qamʿa b. Khidīf dragging his intestines in hell, and never did I see two men so much alike as you and he! Will this resemblance injure me?’ asked Aktham. ‘No,’ said the apostle, ‘for you are a believer and he is an infidel. He was the first to change the religion of Ishmael, to set up idols, and institute the custom of the baḥīra, saḥa, wajjila, and ḥamā (63).’

They say that the beginning of stone worship among the sons of Ishmael was when Mecca became too small for them and they wanted more room in the country. Everyone who left the town took with him a stone from the sacred area to do honour to it. Wherever they settled they set it up and walked round it as they went round the Kaʿba. This led them to worship what stones they pleased and those which made an impression on them. Thus as generations passed they forgot their primitive faith and adopted...
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another religion for that of Abraham and Ishmael. They worshipped idols and adopted the same errors as the peoples before them. Yet they retained and held fast practices going back to the time of Abraham, such as honouring the temple and going round it, the great and little pilgrimage, and the standing on "Arava and Muzdalifa, sacrificing the victims, and the pilgrim cry at the great and little pilgrimage, while introducing elements which had no place in the religion of Abraham. Thus, Kinânâ and Quraisy used the pilgrim cry: 'At Thy service, O God, at Thy service! At Thy service, Thou without an associate but the associate Thou hast. Thou ownest him and what he owns.' They used to acknowledge his unity in their cry and then include their idols with God, putting the ownership of them in His hand. God said to Muhammad: 'Most of them do not believe in God without associating others with Him,' i.e. they do not acknowledge My oneness with knowledge of My reality, but they associate with Me one of My creatures. They of Nahî had images to which they were devoted. God told His apostle about them when He said: 'And they said, "Forsake not your gods; forsake not Wadd and Suwâ' and Yaghîh and Ya'qûb and Nasa,' And they had led many astray.' Among those who had chosen those idols and used their names as compounds when they forsook the religion of Ishmael—both Ishmaelites and others—was Hudhayl b. Mudrika b. Ilyas b. Muqdar. They adopted Suwâ' and they had him in Rohât, and Ka'b b. Wâbara of Quḍā' who adopted Wudd in Damiâl-Jandal.

Kâ'b b. Mâlik al-Andârî said:

We forsook al-Lât and al-Uzzâ and Wudd,
We stripped off their necklaces and earrings (64).

An'âm of Ta'yîî and the people of Jurash of Madhjib adopted Yaghîh
in Jurash. (65)

Khaywânî, a clan of Hamdân, adopted Ya'qûb in the land of Hamdân in the Yaman (66).

Dhîl-Kalî' of Hîmyâr adopted Nasî in the Hîmyâr country.

Khuṭlân had an idol called 'Ammanâs in the Khuṭlân country. Accord-

1 Sûra 12, 106.
2 While the whole of this section is worth comparing with I. al-Kalbi's K. al-Alâmî, this passage is important for the light it throw on I.'s sources. Where he writes your names I.K. says 'I was told by my father and others'. It seems clear that I.I. has borrowed from I.K.'s statements. Where I.K. writes 'their gods' I.I. says 'their idols', and his language tends to follow that of the Qur'an.
3 Sûra 71, 32. 4 e.g. 'Abdul'L-Uzza.
5 Jurash is a province in the Yaman. 6 Khyâwânî was a town two nights' journey from Sûr'a on the way to Mecca. I.K. goes out of his way to say that he has never heard of any Arab using the name of Ya'qûb or any poetry about him. He thinks the reason is the influence of Jûdânî on Hamdân. I.H.'s citation should not be taken at its face value.
7 C. 'Ammanâs. 'Amman is a divine name met with all over Arabia. G. Ryckman, Les Religions arabes prâislâmiques, Louvain, 1931, p. 43, writes: 'Le dieu lumière qatabânite

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...ing to their own account they used to divide their crops and cattle between it and Allah. If any of Allah's portion which they had earmarked for him came into 'Ammanâs' portion they left it to him; but if any of 'Ammanâs' portion was in Allah's portion they returned it to him. They were a clan of Khuṭlân called al-Adîm. Some say that it was concerning them that God revealed: 'They assign to Allah of the cattle he has created a portion; and they say this is Allah's—in their assertion—and this is for our partners. Thus what is for their partners does not reach Allah and what is for Allah goes to their partners—Evil is their judgment!' (67)

The B. Miklûn b. Kinânâ b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika b. Ilyâs b. Muqdar had an image called Sa'd, a lofty rock in a desert plain in their country. They have a story that one of their tribesmen took some of his stock camels to the rock to stand by it so as to acquire its virtue. When the camels, which were grazing-camels that were not ridden, saw the rock and smelt the blood which had been shed on it they shied from it and fled in all directions. This so angered the Miklûnî that he seized a stone and threw it at the idol saying, 'God curse you. You have scared away my camels!' He went in search of them, and when he had collected them together once more he said:

'We came to Sa'd to improve our fortunes
But Sa'd dissipated them.' We have nothing to do with Sa'd.
Sa'd is nothing but a rock on a bare height.
It cannot put one right or send one wrong.

Da'aus had an idol belonging to 'Amr b. Hirmâma al-Dastî (68).

Quraisy had an idol by a well in the middle of the Kha'b called Hubâl (69). And they adopted 'Ibî (or Aâ'î) and Nâ'lla by the place of Zamas, sacrificing beside them. They were a man and a woman of Jurash—'Ibî b. Bagby and Nâ'lla b. Dîk—who were guilty of sexual relations in the Kha'b and so God transformed them into two stones.

'Abdullah b. Abû Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Hazîn on the authority of 'Amr b. 'Abdul'A'âmî and one of Ammanî. Les gens de Chairan se qualifient volontiers "fils de 'Amman", "toubis de 'Amman". On connaît l'expression "'Amman le croissant et gyran". I gave the following references to the personal name 'Amman b. Amman to Prof. S. Smith. In Min'ah. R.E.S. No. 2546, 1925, pp. 135-46. There is an un published parallel name: No. 257. Sura 32: 233; I. Bâdîî and S. M. al-Haddad, relation des égyptiens avec la Syrie, 1223, No. 107. If the wording of I.K. is misunderstood, the authority's proposal (Roscher, 23) to that effect is badly sound, because it would then be a personal, not a divine, name of the form 'Ammanî, the same borne by Amman's father-in-law. Further examples from old Hebrew can be found in any lexicon. See further Robertsson Smith, R.S. 55 and D. S. Margoliouth, Relation between Arabs and Jews, London, 1934, pp. 16 & 166. The best known example of the name 'Amman is in the compound Ammanmâs (discussed under the forms Hazzânî and Khuṭlânî in most European works). Amman (Amman) I take to be a synonym of Rabîn. 1 Sûra 6, 127.

This plain was the shore of Jidda; cf. Yusef, iii, 92.
2 Lit. "blesse" hurânâ, there is a play on the words godfearer and dispersing which is difficult to render in English.
of 'Amra d. 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. Sa'd b. Zuhra that she said, 'I heard 'A'isha say, 'We always heard that Isaf and Na'il were a man and a
down the Ka'ba so God transformed them
to two stones.' But God alone knows if this is the truth.'

Abū Tālib said:

Where the pilgrims make their camels kneel
Where the waters flow from Isaf and Na'il.1

Every household had an idol in their house which they used to worship.
When a man was about to set out on a journey he would rub himself
against it as he was about to ride off; indeed that was the last thing he used
to do before his journey; and when he returned from his journey the first
thing he did was to rub himself against it before he went in to his family.
When God sent Muhammad with the message of monotheism Quraysh said:
'Would he make the ends into one God? That is indeed a strange
proceeding!'

Now along with the Ka'ba the Arabs had adopted Tawākhtū, which were
temples which they venerated as they venerated the Ka'ba. They had
their guardians and overseers and they used to make offerings to them as they
did to the Ka'ba and to circumambulate them and sacrifice at them. Yet
they recognized the superiority of the Ka'ba because it was the temple and
mosque of Abraham the friend (of God).

Quraysh and the B. Khālidā in Nakhlah, its guardians and
overseers were the B. Shaybān of Sulaym, allies of the B. Ḥūshim (70).

An Arab poet said:

Asma was given as a dowry the head of a little red cow
Which a man of the Banū Ghārum had sacrificed.
He saw a blemish in her eye when he led her away
To al-'Uzzā's slaughter-place2 and divided her into goodly portions.

Their practice when they sacrificed was to divide the victim among the
worshippers present. Ghabghab was the slaughter-place where the blood
was poured out (71).

[Arz. i. 74: 'Amr b. Lu'ayy put al-'Uzzā in Nakha, and when they had finished their
kajj and the circumambulation of the Ka'ba they continued to be under taboo until they came to al-'Uzzā and had gone round it; there
they abandoned the pilgrim taboo and stayed a day beside it. It belonged
to Khuzayma. All Qaraysh and B. Khālidā used to venerate al-'Uzza along
with Khuzayma, and all Muḍjar. Her sadness who used to guard (hajjād) her
were B. Shaybān of B. Sulaym, allies of B. Ḥūshim. Cf. I.H. 839.]

Al-'A'am belonged to Thaqif in Ṭafīf, its overseers and guards being
B. Ma'atīb of Thaqif.

Mu'āt was worshipped by al-Aus and al-Khazraj and such of the people

1 The poem in which this line occurs is to be found in W. 173 v. 4.
2 Ghabghab.
3 Al-Kabi says the B. 'Iyub b. Malik.
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The Bahira, Sa'iba, Wa'sila, and Hani

The Bahira is the filly of the Sa'iba: the Sa'iba is the she camel which gives birth to ten fillies without an intervening colt. She is eat free, is never ridden, her hair is not shorn, and only a guest is allowed to drink her milk. If she gives birth to a filly after that its ear is split and it is allowed to go its way with its mother, not ridden, hair unshorn, and only a guest may drink her milk as in the case of her mother. Such is the Bahira, the filly of the Sa'iba. The Wa'sila is an ewe which has ten twin ewes in successive births without a male lamb intervening. She is made a Wa'sila. They use the expression wassalat. Any ewes which she gives birth to after that belong to the males, except that if one of them dies all share in eating it, both males and females (78).

The Hani is a stallion who is the sire of ten successive fillies without an intervening colt. His back is elbow and he is not ridden; his hair is not shorn and he is left to run among the camels in between them. Beyond that no use is made of him (79).

53 When God sent his apostle Muhammad he revealed to him: 'God has not made Bahira, or Sa'iba or Wa'sila or Hani, but those who disbelieve invent a lie against God, though most of them do not know it.' And again: 'They say, What is in the wombs of these sheep is reserved for our males and prohibited to our wives; but if it is (born) dead they share in it. He will repay them for such division, verily He is knowing and wise.' And again: 'Say, have you considered what provision God has sent down to you and you have made some of it taboo and some of it permitted? Say, has God given you permission or do you invent lies against God?' And again: 'Of the sheep two and of the goats two. Say, has He prohibited the two males or the two females, or what the wombs of the two females contain? Inform me with knowledge if you speak the truth. And of the camels two and of the cattle two. Say, has He prohibited to you the two males or the two females, or that which the wombs of the two females contain, or were you witnesses when God enjoined this upon you? Who is more sinful than those who invent a lie against God to make men err without knowledge? Verily God will not guide the wrong-doing people' (80).

Continuation of the Genealogies

Khuz'at say: We are the sons of Amr b. 'Amr from the Yaman (81).

Mudrika b. al-Ya' had two sons, Khuzayma and Hudhayl, their mother being a woman of Quda'a. Khuzayma had four sons: Khina'a, Asad, Asada', and al-Fun. Khina'a's mother was 'Uwana d. Sa'd b. Qays b. 'Ayil b. Mu'addar (82).

The Story of Sama

Sama b. Lu'ayy went forth to 'Umran and remained there. It is said that 'Amir b. Lu'ayy drove him out because there was a quarrel between them and Sama knocked out 'Amir's eye. In fear of 'Amir he went to 'Umran. The story goes that while Sama was riding on his she-camel she lowered

1 The text is at fault somewhere. I.1, its comment follows naturally on what has gone before, but has nothing to do with what he is last removed as having written. The significant words are 'al-Nadr is Quraysh'; but these are attributed to L.H. and neither W. nor C. can make any mention of a variant reading qala ba'na bani Hibis. We can at least be certain that what L.H. had to tell us about the origin of Quraysh is not to be found in the Sura as it stands, though 'Ab. makes another attempt in his quotation from the lost passages of 1.1. They were named after Quraysh b. Badr b. Yakhlud b. al-Nadr b. al-Nadr b. Khina'a who was called Quraysh because he put to shame the B. of al-Nadr. Whenever they appeared the Arabs said, The name of Quraysh has come.' T. goes on (t.94) to give the right explanation that the name means 'shark'. Doubly is it a totem name like so many of the old tribal names in Arabia.
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...her head to graze and a snake seized her by the lip and forced her downward until she fell on her side. Then the snake bit Sima so that he died. The story goes that when Sima felt death upon him, he said...

Eye, weep for Sama b. Lu'ayy.
The clinging snake has clung to Sama's leg.¹
Never have I seen such a victim of a camel.
As Sama b. Lu'ayy when they came upon him,
Send word to 'Amir and Ka'b,
That my soul yearns for them.

Though my home be in 'Uman
I am a Ghafîbî, I came forth not driven by poverty.
Many a cup hast thou spilt, O b. Lu'ayy,
For fear of death, which otherwise would not have been spilt
Thou didst wish to avoid death, O b. Lu'ayy,
But none has power to avoid death.
Many a camel silent on night journeys didst thou leave prostrate²
After its prodigious exertion (89).

THE MIGRATION OF 'AUF B. LU'AYY

It is alleged that 'Auf b. Lu'ayy went out with a caravan of Quraysh as far as the district of Ghaṭafân b. Sa'd b. Qays b. 'Ayân when he was left behind and his tribesmen went on without him. Thâlabâ b. Sa'd (he being his brother according to the kindred reckoning of B. Dhuabyân, Thâlabâ b. Sa'd b. Dhuabyân b. Baghîd b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafân and 'Auf b. Sa'd b. Dhuabyân b. Baghîd b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafân) came to him, bound him to himself, gave him a wife, and took him into his tribe as a blood-brother. His relationship became well known among B. Dhuabyân. It was Thâlabâ, they say, who said to 'Auf when he lagged behind and his tribe abandoned him:

Tether your camel by me, O Ibn Lu'ayy,
Your tribe has left you and you have no home.¹

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr, or it may have been Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmân b. 'Abdullâh b. Huṣayn, told me that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭîb said: 'If I were to claim to belong to any tribe of the Arabs or to want to attach them to us I would claim to belong to B. Murra b. 'Auf. We know that among them there are men like ourselves. We know, too, where that man went,' meaning 'Auf b. Lu'ayy. In the genealogy of Ghaṭafân he is

1 So C, following al-Aqbatî.
The dour, plodding beast that treads on through the night without uttering a sound.
Reading manâl with Tab. and MS. D in W's numeration. This is the best MS. used by W., and it is strange that he should have abandoned it for the reading ma'turî 'ought not to be left' of the majority of inferior texts. However, the latter is supported by Mu'addî, p. 101

² Or 'contested'.

Litt. 'in the course of the states'.

³ The importance of the genealogical tables is bound up with the control of pay and pensions. It was 'Umar who ordered that registers should be compiled. See Spee, Das Leben d. Mohammed, 111, note 8.
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leaders. Of them were Harim b. Sinan b. Abu Hâridha b. Murra b. Nushba; Kharija b. Sinan b. Abu Hâridha; al-Hâridh b. 'Auf; al-Husayn b. al-Humain; and Hâshim b. Hârrâma of whom someone has said:

Hâshim b. Hârrâma revived his father
On the day of al-Hâridh the day of al-Yâ'mal.
You could see the kings alone beside him.
As he slew the guilty and the innocent (91).

They were a people of a lively reputation among Ghaflân and Qays, and they retained their relationship with them. Among them the practice of Ba'is obtained.

According to reports Ba'is is the name given to eight months of the year which the Arabs unreservedly regard as sacred. During those months they may go wherever they like without fear of violence. Zhâlayr b. Abû Sulmân said with reference to B. Murra (92):

'Think! If they are not in al-Mururât in their dwellings
Then they will be in Na'akh,
A place where I have enjoyed their fellowship.
If they are in neither then they will be at large during the Ba'is.

He means that they will be travelling during the holy period.
al-A'âshâ of B. Qays b. Thâlabah said:6

Is your woman guest to be taboo to us
While our woman guest and her husband are open to you?


Murra b. Kâb had three sons: Kilîb, Taym, and Yaqaza. Kilîb's mother was Hind b. Surayr b. Thâlabah b. al-Hâridh b. Fhîr b. Mâlik b. al-Nâfr b. Kûsâm b. al-Bûrîqâyya, a woman of Bâriq of the Asd of Yaman. Some say she was the mother of Taym; others say Taym's mother was Hind d. Surayr the mother of Kilîb (93).


Of Sa'd b. Sayal the poet says:

Never among men whom we know have we seen
A man like Sa'd b. Sayal.

1 He brought him to life as it were by taking revenge on his slayers.
2 Two famous battles.
3 i.e. he was not accused of incurring a blood feud.
4 I have removed the chapter heading 'The Ba'is' because it is a mere paragraph interpolated in the genealogy which has no heading to indicate where it is resumed.
5 Either a place in Najd, belonging to Ghaflân, or a place 'two nights' journey from Medina. Sharîq ûlûôm Zuhayr, Cairo, 1944, 100

THE DIGGING OF THE WELL ZAMZAM

While 'Abdul 'Abdâr was sleeping in the sacred enclosure he had a vision in which he was ordered to dig Zamzam which is a depression between the two idols of Quraysh, Isfâ and Na'ilah, at the slaughter-place of Quraysh. Jurhum had failed it in at the time they left Mecca. It is the well of Ismael the son of Abraham where God gave him water when he was thirsty as a little child. His mother went to seek water for him and could not find it, so she went up to al-Šafâ praying to God and imploring aid for Ismael; then she went to al-Marwa and did the same. God sent Gabriel, who hollowed out a place in the earth with his heel where water appeared. His mother heard the cries of wild beasts which terrified her on his account, and she came hurrying towards him and found him scrambling with his hand at the water beneath his cheek while he drank, and she made him a small hole.

JURHUM AND THE FILLING IN OF THE WELL ZAMZAM

The story of Jurhum, of their filling in Zamzam, of their leaving Mecca, and of those who ruled Mecca after them until 'Abdul 'Abdâr died, according to what Ziyad b. 'Abdullah al-Bakkât told me on the authority of Muhammad b. Isâq b. Mu'talîb, is that when Ismael the son of Abraham died, his son Nâbit was in charge of the temple as long as God willed, then it was in charge of Mu'ad b. 'Amr al-Jurhum (98). The sons of Ismael and the sons of Nâbit were with their grandfather Mu'ad b. 'Amr and their maternal uncles of Jurhum—Jurhum and Qâfîrâ—who were cousins being at that time the people of Mecca. They had come forth from the Yaman and travelled together and Mu'ad was over Jurhum and
Samaydā', one of their men, over Qatārā'. When they left the Yaman, they refused to go unless they had a king to order their affairs. When they came to Mecca they saw a town blessed with water and trees, and, delighted with it, they settled there. Musdād b. 'Amr the men of Jurfham settled in the upper part of Mecca in Qu'ayqin and went no farther. Samaydā' with Qatārā' settled in the lower part of Mecca in Ayyād the lower part of Mecca, and went no farther. Musdād used to take a tithe from those who entered Mecca from above, while Samaydā' did the same to those who entered from below. Each kept to his own people, neither entering the other's territory.

Then Jurfham and Qatārā' quarrelled and contended for the supremacy in Mecca; at that time Musdād had with him the sons of Ishmael and Nābit, and he had the oversight of the temple as against Samaydā'. They went out to fight each other. Musdād from Qu'ayqin with his horsemen making for Samaydā' equipped with spears, leather shields, swords and quivers, rattling as they charged. It is said that Qu'ayqin was so named for that reason. Samaydā' went out from Ayyād with horse and foot, and it is said Ayyād got its name from the fine horses (jīwād) that formed Samaydā's cavalry. The two parties met in Fāşil, and after a severe battle Samaydā' was killed and Qatārā' humiliated. It is said that the name Fāšil was given for this reason. Then they made peace and went on until they reached al-Matābk, a shrine above Mecca; there they made peace and surrendered authority to Musdād. When he was in power and held sovereignty he slaughtered beasts for the people and gave them as food. The people cooked and ate, and that is why the place is called Matābk. Some learned people allege that the name was given because Tubba' had slaughtered there and given the food away and it was his base. The dispute between Musdād and Samaydā' was the first open wrong committed in Mecca, at least so some allege.

Then God multiplied the offspring of Ishmael in Mecca and their uncles from Jurfham were rulers of the temple and judges in Mecca. The sons of Ishmael did not dispute their authority because of their ties of kindness and their respect for the sanctuary lest there should be quarrelling or fighting therein. When Mecca became too confined for the sons of Ishmael they spread abroad in the land, and whenever they had to fight a people, God gave them the victory through their religion and they subdued them.

THE TRIBES OF KINĀNA AND KHUZĀ'À GET POSSESSION OF THE TEMPLE AND EXPEL JURHUM

Afterwards Jurham behaved high-handedly in Mecca and made lawful that which was taboo. Those who entered the town who were not of their tribe they treated badly and they appropriated gifts which had been made

1 The Cairo editors rightly reject this etymology: ajyād is the plural of jīd, neck.
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The temq flow, weeping for a town
Wherein is a sure sanctuary and the sacred places.
Weeping for a temple whose doves unharmed,
Dwell safely there, with flocks of sparrows.
Wild creatures there are tame, unharried,
But leaving its sanctuary are hunted freely (too).

"Amr b. al-Hārith, remembering Bakr and Ghubshān and the townsmen
of Mecca whom they had left behind there, said also:

Journey forth, O men; the time will come
When one day you will not be able to leave,
Hasten your breasts and loosen their reins,
Before death comes; and do what you must do.
We were men like you; fate changed us
And you will be as we once were (101).

THE DESPOTISM OF KHUZÀ’I IN THEIR CUSTODY OF
THE TEMPLE

Then Ghubshān of Khuzā’i controlled the temple instead of B. Bakr b.
Abd Manāf, the man who was controlling it being "Amr b. al-Hārith al-
Ghubshān. Quraysh at that time were in scattered settlements, and tents
dispersed among their people, B. Kināna. So Khuzā’i possessed the temple,
passing it on from son to son until the last of them, Hulayl b. Ḥabashiya b.

THE MARRIAGE OF QUŠAYY B. KİLĀB WITH HUBBÀ
DAUGHTER OF HULAYL

Quṣayy b. Kilāb asked Hulayl b. Ḥubshān for his daughter Ḥubba. Hulayl
agreed and gave her to him and she bore him "Abd al-Dār, "Abd Manāf, "Abdul-
"Uzza, and "Abd. By the time that the children of Quṣayy had spread
abroad and increased in wealth and reputation Hulayl died. Now Quṣayy
thought that he had a better claim than Khuzā’i and B. Bakr to control
the Ka’ba and Mecca, and that Quraysh were the noblest off-
spring of Isha‘ā’ b. Abraham and the purest descendants of his sons.
He spoke to Quraysh and B. Kināna asking them to drive out Khuzā’i
and B. Bakr from Mecca and they agreed to do so.

Now Ṣa’d b. Ḥārām of Udhra b. Ṣa’d b. Zayd had come to Mecca
after the death of Kilāb and had married Ṣafīma d. Ṣa’d b. Sayal, (Zuhra

at that time was a grown man and stayed behind, while Quṣayy had just
been wanted.) Ṣa’d b. Ḥārām took Ṣafīma away to his land and she carried Quṣayy
with her, and subsequently gave birth to Ṣa’il. When Quṣayy reached
man’s estate he came to Mecca and dwelt there.

Thus it was that when his people asked him to join them in the war he
wrote to his brother Ṣa’il, who shared the same mother, asking him to
come and support him. Thereupon Ṣa’il set out accompanied by his half-
brothers Ḥunān, Maḥmūd, and Juhaymān, all sons of Ṣa’d b. but not by
Ṣafīma, together with a number of Quṣayy’s among the Arab pilgrims, having
agreed to support Quṣayy.

Khuzā’i allege that Hulayl b. Ḥubshān had enjoined this on Quṣayy
when he saw how his daughter’s children had multiplied, saying: ‘You
have a better right to the Ka’ba and to rule in Mecca than Khuzā’i’, so that
this was the reason why Quṣayy acted as he did. But this is a story which
we have not heard from any other source, and only God knows the truth.

When the people had assembled in Mecca and gone to the "mawṣil,
completed the Ḥajj and came down to Mīrā, Quṣayy assembled his possess-
ions and his followers from his own tribe of Quṣayy, the B. Kināna, and
such of the Quṣayy’s as were with him, there only remained the ceremony of

AL-GHAUTH’S AUTHORITY OVER MEN ON PILGRIMAGE

Al-Ghauth b. Murr b. Udd b. al-Ya’s b. Muqār used to give permission2
to men on pilgrimage to leave ‘Arafa, and this function descended to his
children after him. He and his sons used to be called Ṣufa.3 Al-Ghauth
used to exercise this function because his mother was a woman of Jurhum
who had been barren and vowed to Allah that if she bore a son she would
give him to the Ka’ba as a slave to serve it and to look after it. In course of
time she gave birth to al-Ghauth and he used to look after the Ka’ba in
early times with his Jurhum uncles and presided over the order of departure
from ‘Arafa because of the office which he held in the Ka’ba. His sons

1 Or ‘houses’.

2 T. 1095. 12–15. The narrative goes on with the word ‘Ṣufa used to send the people away’—W. 76, 17.

3 It seems possible that the Ṣufa or “permission”, i.e. the word of command that termin-
nates the moṣaf, was originally the permission to fall upon the slaughtered victims. In the
Meccan pilgrimage the Ṣufa which terminated the moṣaf at ‘Arafa was the signal for a hot
race to the neighbouring sanctuary of Moulidh, where the sacred fire of the god Couzah
burned; it was, in fact, not so much the permission to leave ‘Arafa as to draw near to Couzah.
The race itself is called Ṣufa, which may mean “dispersion” or “distribution”. It cannot well
mean the former, for ‘Arafa is not holy ground, but merely the point of assemble just
outside the Haram, at which the ceremonies begin, and the station at ‘Arafa is only the
preparation for the vigil at Moulidh. On the other hand, if the meaning is “distribution”,
the Ṣufa answers to the ritual of Nilus’s Samasen to partake of the sacrifice.” W.R.S., R.S.

4 The meaning of this name is obscure.
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Murr b. Udd, referring to the fulfillment of the mother's oath, said:

O Lord, I have made one of my sons
A devotee in Mecca the exalted,
So bless me for the vow fulfilled,
And make him the best of creatures to my credit.

Al-Ghauth, so they allege, used to say when he sent the people away:

O God! I am following the example of others.
If that is wrong the fault is Qūdā’s.

Yahyā b. ‘Abbāb b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father ‘Abbāb said:
Sūfā used to send the people away from ‘Arafa and give them permission to depart when they left Minā. When the day of departure arrived they used to come to throw pebbles, and a man of Sūfā used to throw for the men, none throwing until he had thrown. Those who had urgent business used to come and say to him: ‘Get up and throw so that we may throw with you,’ and he would say, ‘No, by God, not until the sun goes down’; and those who wanted to leave quickly used to throw stones at him to hurry him, saying, ‘Confound you, get up and throw.’ But he refused until the sun went down and then he would get up and throw while the men threw stones with him.

When they had finished the stoning and wanted to leave Minā, Sūfā held both sides of the hill and kept the men back. They said: ‘Give the order to depart, Sūfā.’ No one left until they had gone first. When Sūfā left and had passed on, men were left to go their own way and followed them. This was the practice until they were cut off. After them the next of kin inherited. They were of B. Sa’d in the family of Sāfāwān b. al-Hārith b. Shājūn (193). It was Sāfāwān who gave permission to the pilgrims to depart from ‘Arafa, and this right was maintained by them up to Islam, the last being Karib b. Sāfāwān.

Aub b. Tamīm b. Maghra‘ al-Sa’dī said:
The pilgrims do not quit their halting-place at ‘Arafa
Until it is said, ‘Give permission O family of Sāfāwān.’

‘Adwān and the Departure Ceremony at Muzdalifah

Hushām b. ‘Amr the ‘Adwānīte who was called Dhī‘l-Iṣbā‘ because he had a finger missing said:

Bring an excuse for the tribe of ‘Adwān.
They were the serpents of the earth.”

1 i.e. ‘for what they have done the one to the other’. They were rent by civil war. See Cassanin de Pecceval, Essai sur l’histoire des Arabes, ii. 633.
2 i.e. ‘cunning and treacherous.

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Some acted unlawfully against others
And some spared not others.
Some of them were princes
Who faithfully met their obligations.
Some used to give men the parting signal
By custom and divine command.
Of them was a judge who gave decisions
And his verdict was never annulled.

Since the permission to depart from Muzdalifah was with ‘Adwān, as 78 Ziyād b. Abdullah al-Baikū‘ told me on the authority of Muhammad b. Ishāq, they used to pass it on from father to son until the last of them; when Islam came, Abū Sayyār ‘Umrāl b. al-‘A‘zal, about whom a certain poet said:

We have defended Abū Sayyār
And his clients the Banū Fāṣār
Until he made his ass pass through safely
As he faced Mecca praying to its Guardian.

Abū Sayyār used to send away the people while sitting upon a she ass of his; that is why he says ‘making his ass pass safely.’


His words ‘a judge who gave decisions’ refers to the above-named. The Arabs used to refer every serious and difficult case to him for decision and would accept his verdict. Once it happened that a case in dispute in reference to a hermaphrodite was brought to him. They said, ‘Are we to treat it as a man or a woman?’ They had never brought him such a difficult matter before, so he said, ‘Wait awhile until I have looked into the matter, for by Allah you have never brought me a question like this before.’ So they agreed to wait, and he passed a sleepless night turning the matter over and looking at it from all sides without any result. Now he had a slave-girl Sukhlaylah who used to pasture his flock. It was his habit to tease her when she went out in the morning by saying sarcastically, ‘You’re early this morning, Sukhlaylah’; and when she returned at night he would say, ‘You’re late to-night, Sukhlaylah,’ because she had gone out late in the morning and came back late in the evening after the others. Now when this girl saw that he could not sleep and tossed about on his bed she asked what his trouble was, ‘Get out and leave me alone, for it is none of your business,’ he retorted. However, she was so persistent that he said to himself that it might be that she would provide him with some solution of his problem, so he said: ‘Well then, I was asked to adjudicate on the inheritance of a

1 In this section the work of I. I. and I. L. are not clearly distinguished. Probably the first poem comes from the former and the comments from the latter.
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79 hermaphroditic. Am I to make him a man or a woman? By God I do not know what to do and I can see no way out.' She said, 'Good God, merely follow the course of the urinatory process. 'Be as late as you please henceforth, Sukhaya; you have solved my problem,' said he. 'Then in the morning he went out to the people and gave his decision in the way she had indicated.

H ow Q uṣayy b. K ilāb g ained p owe r in M eecca;
H ow he united Q uraysh and th e h elp w hich Q udā' a g ave h im

In that year Sūfa behaved as they were accustomed. The Arabs had borne them patiently since they felt it a duty in the time of Jurhum and Khuzā' when they were in authority. Qusayy came to them with his tribesmen from Quraysh and kināna and Qudā'ā at al-'Aqaba saying, 'We have a better right to this authority than you.' (T. They disputed one with another and they tried to kill him.) Severe fighting followed resulting in the defeat of Sūfa, and Qusayy assumed their authority.

Thereupon Khuzā'ā and B. Bakr withdrew from Qusayy knowing that he would impose the same restrictions on them as Sūfa had done and that he would come between them and the Ka'ba and the rule of Mecca. When they had withdrawn, Qusayy showed his hostility and gathered his forces to fight them. (T. His brother Rizāḥ b. Rabi'ah with his men from Qudā'ā stood with him.) Khuzā'ā and B. Bakr came out against him and a severe battle took place in the valley of Mecca and both parties suffered heavily. Thereupon they agreed to make peace and that one of the Arabs should arbitrate between them. They appointed as umpire Ya' mar b. 'Au f b. Ka' h b. 'Amī r b. Layth b. Bakr b. 'Abdū Manāt b. Kināna. His verdict was that Qusayy had a better claim to the Ka'ba and to rule Mecca than Khuzā'ā and that all bloodshed by Qusayy was to be cancelled and compensation disregarded, but Khuzā'ā and B. Bakr must pay bloodwit for the men of Quraysh, Kināna, and Qudā'ā whom they had killed and that Qusayy should be given a free hand with the Ka'ba and Mecca. Ya' mar b. 'Au f was immediately called al-Shadjahk because he had cancelled the claim to bloodwit and remitted it (104).

Thus Qusayy gained authority over the temple and Mecca and brought in his people from their dwellings to Mecca. He behaved as a king over his tribe and the people of Mecca, and so they made him king; but he had guaranteed to the Arabs their customary rights because he felt that it was a duty upon himself which he would come with the right to alter. Thus he confirmed the family of Safwān and 'Adwān and the intercalators and Murra b. 'Au f in their customary rights which obtained until the coming of Islam when God put an end thereby to them all. Qusayy was the first of

1 The point was important because a male received double as much as a female

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R. Ka'h b. Lu'ayy to assume kingship and to be obeyed by his people as king. He held the keys of the temple, the right to water the pilgrims from the well of Zamzam, to feed the pilgrims, to preside at assemblies, and to hand out the war banners. In his hands lay all the dignities of Mecca; he divided the town into quarters among his people and he settled all the Quraysh into their houses in Mecca which they held.

People assert that the Quraysh were afraid to cut down the trees of the sanctuary in their quarters, but Qusayy cut them down with his own hand or through his assistants. Qusayy called him the 'uniter;' because he had brought them together and they drew a happy omen from his rule. So far as Quraysh were concerned no woman was given in marriage, no man married, no discussion about public affairs was held, and no ban on war was entered upon except in his house, where one of his sons would hand it over. When a girl reached marriageable age she had to come to his house to put on her shift. The shift was split over her head in his house, then she put it on and was taken away to her people. His authority among the Quraysh during his life and after his death was like a religious law which could not be infringed. He chose for himself the house of meeting and made a door which led to the mosque of the Ka'ba; in it the Qusayy used to settle affairs (105).

'Thālab b. 'Amr b. Rāshīd told me that his father said that he heard al-ṣāhib b. Khadāb, author of al-Maṣūṣ, reporting that he heard a man 8 saying 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb when he was caliph, the story of Qusayy, how he united Quraysh and expelled Khuzā'ā and B. Bakr from Mecca, and how he gathered the state and the affairs of Mecca. Umar made no attempt to gainsay him.' (T. Qusayy's authority in Mecca, where he enjoyed great esteem, remained uncontested. He left the pilgrimage unchanged because he deemed it a religious taboo. The Sūfa continued, until they were cut off, in the family of Safwān b. al-Ḥārith b. Shuṭa by right of inheritance. 'Adwān, the Nāṣir b. Mālik b. Kināna, and Murra b. 'Au f continued as before until Islam came and God destroyed all these offices.)

When Qusayy's war was over his brother Rizāḥ b. Rabi'ah went away to his own land with his countrymen. Concurring his response to Qusayy he composed the following poem:

When a messenger came from Qusayy
And said, 'Respect your friend's request,'
We sprang to his aid leading our horses,
Casting from us the half-hearted and slow-moving.
We rode all night until the dawn
Hiding ourselves by day lest we should be attacked.
Our steeds were swift as grouse hurrying to water
Bringing our answer to the call of Qusayy.

The du'ā' was a large piece of cloth. Normally a woman cut an opening through which she can put her head. She then adds sleeves and sews up the two sides
We collected tribesmen from Sîr and the two Ashmadhs. From every tribe a clan.
What a fine force of cavalry that night,
More than a thousand, swift, smooth-paced!
When they passed by al-'Aṣūd and took the easy road from Mustanîkh and passed by the edge of Wariqân and passed by al-'Aṣūd, a tribe encamped there,
They passed by the thornbushes without cropping them; Running hard the livelong night from Marr.
We brought the colts near their mothers;
That their neighing might be gentle.
And when we came to Mecca we Subdued the men tribe by tribe.
We smote them there with the edge of the sword
And with every stroke we deprived them of their wits.
We trod them down with our horses' hooves
As the strong tread down the weak and helpless.
We killed Khuza'â in their homeland.
And Bakr we killed group by group.
We drove them from God's land.
We would not let them possess a fertile country.
We kept them bound in iron fetters.
On every tribe we quenched our vengeance.

82 Thâlab b. 'Abd-Allah b. Dihuyûn b. al-Hârith b. Sa'd Hudhaym al-Qudâ'î said concerning Qusayy's invitation and their response:

We urged on our slender high-stepping horses
From the sandhills, the sandhills of al-Jinâb
To the lowlands of Tihâma, and we met our foe
In a barren depression of a desert.
As for Shâfa the effeminate,
They forsook their dwellings in fear of the sword.
But the sons of 'Ali when they saw us
Leaped to their swords like vandals that yearn for home.

Qusayy b. Klibb said:

I am the son of the protectors, the B. Lu'sayy,
In Mecca is my home where I grew up.

It is disputed whether these are two tribes or two mountains between Medina and Khyâbar.

1 Reading sawâl with Aâz. i. 60; for idâl in 1.1.

83 When Qusayy grew old and feeble, he spoke to 'Abdu'l-Dâir. He was his first born but (T. they say he was weak) 'Abdul Manâf had become famous during his father's lifetime and done all that had to be done along with 'Abdu'l-‘Urza and 'Abd. He said: 'By God, my son I will put you on a par with the others; though they have a greater reputation than yours; none of them shall enter the Ka'bâ until you open it for them; none shall give the Quraysh the war banner but you with your own hand; none shall drink in Mecca except you allow it; and no pilgrim shall eat food unless you provide it; and Quraysh shall not decide any matter except in your house,' He gave him his house, it being the only place where Quraysh could settle their affairs, and he gave him the formal rights mentioned above.

The Rîfâ'da was a tax which Quraysh used to pay from their property to Qusayy at every festival. With it he used to provide food for the pilgrims who were unable to afford their own provisions. Qusayy had laid this as a duty upon Quraysh, saying: 'You are God's neighbours, the people of his temple and sanctuary. The pilgrims are God's guests and the visitors to His temple and have the highest claim on your generosity; so provide food and drink for them during the pilgrimage until they depart out of your territory.' Accordingly they used to pay him every year a tax on their flocks and he used to provide food for the people therefrom, while they
were at Mina, and his people carried out this order of his during the time of ignorance until Islam came. To this very day it is the food which the sultan provides every year in Mina until the pilgrimage is over.

My father Iaṣaṣ b. ʿAṣār from al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ʿĀli b. Abū Ṭālib told me about this affair of Quṣayy’s and what he said to ʿAbdul-Lā’d concerning the transfer of his power to him in these words, ‘I heard him saying this to a man of ʿAbdul-Lā’d called Ṣuḥail b. Wāḥib b. ʿĀmir b. ʿIrīmā b. ʿĀmir b. Ḥāshim b. ʿAbdul-Manaf b. ʿAbdul-Lā’d b. Quṣayy,’ al-Ḥasan said: ‘Quṣayy gave him all the authority that he had over his people. Quṣayy was never contradicted nor was any measure of his overthrown.’

THE RIPT IN QUＲAYSH AFTER QUṢAYY AND THE CONFEDERACY OF THE SCENTED ONES

After the death of Quṣayy his sons assumed his authority over the people and marked out Mecca in quarters, after he had allotted space there for his own tribe. They allotted quarters among their people and among other allies, and sold them. Quṣayy took part in this with them without any discord or dispute. Then the sons of ʿAbdul-Manaf—Abū Shams and Ḥāshim and al-Muṭṭalib and Naufal—agreed to seize the rights that the sons of ʿAbdul-Lā’d possessed which Quṣayy had given to ʿAbdul-Lā’d himself, namely those mentioned above. They considered that they had a better right to them because of their superiority and their position among their people. This caused discord and quarreling among Quṣayy, one section siding with B. ʿAbdul-Manaf, and the other with B. ʿAbdul-Lā’d. The former held that the new claimants had a better right; the latter that rights which Quṣayy had given to one branch should not be taken away from them.

The leader of B. ʿAbdul-Manaf was ʿAbdul-Shams, because he was the eldest son of his father; and the leader of B. ʿAbdul-Lā’d was ʿĀmir b. Ḥāshim b. ʿAbdul-Manaf b. ʿAbdul-Lā’d. The B. ʿAsad b. ʿAbdul-Lā’d b. Quṣayy and B. Zuhra b. Kīlāb and B. Taym b. Murra b. Kaʿb b. B. al-Ḥārith b. Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Naṣr were with B. ʿAbdul-Manaf, while B. ʿAbdul-Lā’d were B. Makkūm b. Yaṣṣāq b. Murra, and B. Ṣahm b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbdul-Manaf b. Kaʿb and B. Jumāḥ b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbdul-Manaf b. Kaʿb and B. ʿAdīyy b. Kaʿb. The men who remained neutral were ʿĀmir b. Luʿayy and Mūḥārīb b. Fihr.

They all made a firm agreement that they would not abandon one another and would not betray another as long as the sea wetted seaweed. The B. ʿAbdul-Manaf brought out a bowl full of scent (they assert that some of the women of the tribe brought it out to them) and they put it for their allies in the mosque beside the Kaʿba; then they dipped their hands into it and they and their allies took a solemn oath. Then they rubbed their hands on the Kaʿba strengthening the solemnity of the oath. For this reason they were called the Scented Ones.

The other side took a similar oath at the Kaʿba and they were called the Confederates. Then the tribes formed groups and linked up one with another. The B. ʿAbdul-Manaf were ranged against B. ʿAsad; B. Naufal against B. ʿAbdul-Lā’d; Zubra against B. Jumāḥ; B. Taym against B. Makkūm; and B. al-Ḥārith against ʿAdīyy b. Kaʿb. They ordered that each tribe should exterminate the opposing units.

When the people had thus decided on war, suddenly they demanded peace on the condition that B. ʿAbdul-Manaf should be given the rights of watering the pilgrims and collecting the tax; and that access to the Kaʿba, the standard of war, and the assembly house, should belong to the ʿAbdul-Lā’d as before. The arrangement commended itself to both sides and was carried out, and so war was prevented. This was the state of affairs until God brought Islam, when the apostle of God said, ‘Whatever alliance there was in the days of ignorance Islam strengthens it.’

THE CONFEDERACY OF THE FUDŪL

Ziyād b. ʿAbdullāh al-Bakkāʾi related to me the following as from Ibn Iaṣāṣ: The tribes of Quṣayy decided to make a covenant and assembled for that purpose in the house of ʿAbdullāh b. Jūḏān b. ʿAmr b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd b. Taym b. Murra b. Kaʿb b. Luʿayy because of his seniority and the high reputation he enjoyed. Those parties to the agreement with him were B. Ḥāshim, B. ʿIrīmā b. Muttalib, ʿAsad b. ʿAbdul-Lūzāz, Zubra b. Kīlāb, and Taym b. Murra. They bound themselves by a solemn agreement that if they found that anyone, either a native of Mecca or an outsider, had been wronged they would take his part against the aggressor and see that the stolen property was restored to him. Quṣayy called that confederacy ‘The Confederacy of the Fudūl.’

Muḥammad b. ʿAzīd b. al-Muhājir b. Qunfudh al-Taymī told me that he heard Ṭalib b. ʿAbdullāḥ b. ʿAuf al-Zuhrī say: The apostle of God said, ‘I witnessed in the house of ʿAbdullāh b. Jūḏān a covenant which I would not exchange for any number of fine camels: if I were invited to take part in it during Islam I should do so.’

Yazīd b. ʿAbdullāh b. Ṣulīmī b. al-Hādī al-Layyītī told me that Muḥammad b. ʿIrīmā b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī told him that there was a dispute between al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAṭī b. Abū Ṭālib and al-Walīd b. Ṭalib b. ʿAbū Suṭafa about some property they held in Dhūʾ-ʾal-Marwa. At that time al-Walīd was governor of Medina, his uncle, Muṣawwīya b. ʿAbū Suṭafa having given him the appointment. Al-Walīd had defrauded al-Ḥusayn of his

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1 Fudūl is explained as meaning that the confederates did not allow wrongdoers to retain any stolen property. Fudūl sometimes means ‘remains of spoil.’ Another somewhat far-fetched explanation is that this covenant was modelled on an older covenant of the same character in which three men each with the name of Fudūl took part.
rights, for as governor he had the power to do so. Husayn said to him: 'By God you shall do me justice or I will take my sword and stand in the apostle's mosque and invoke the confederacy of the Fudūl.' Abdullah b. al-Zubayr who was with al-Walid at the time said: 'And I swear by God that if he invokes it I will take my sword and stand with him until he gets justice, or we will die together.' When the news reached al-Miswar b. Makhrama b. Naufal al-Zuhri and 'Abdu'l-Ḥaṣmī b. Uthmān b. Ubaydullāh al-Taymi they said the same. As soon as he realized what was happening al-Walid gave al-Husayn satisfaction.

This same Yazdī, on the same authority, told me that Muhammad b. Jubayr b. Mu'īm b. Adiyy b. Naufal b. 'Abdu Manāf, who was the most learned of the Quraysh, met 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwān b. al-Hakam when he had killed Ibn al-Zubayr and the people had gathered against 'Abdu'l-Malik. When he went in to see him he said: 'O Abu Sa'īd, were not we and you—meaning B, 'Abdu Shams b. Abu Manāf and B. Naufal b. 'Abdu Manāf—partners in the confederacy of the Fudūl?' 'You should know bett,' he replied. 'Abdu'l-Malik said, 'No, you tell me, Abu Sa'īd, the truth of the matter,' He answered: 'No, by God, you and we kept out of that!' 'You're right,' said 'Abdu'l-Malik.

Ḥāshim b. Abu Manāf superintended the feeding and watering of the pilgrims because 'Abdu Shams was a great traveller who was seldom to be found in Mecca; moreover he was a poor man with a large family, while Ḥāshim was a well-to-do man. It is alleged that when the pilgrims were there he got up and addressed Quraysh thus: 'You are God's neighbours and the people of His temple. At this feast there come to you God's visitors and pilgrims to His temple. They are God's guests, and His guests have the best claim on your generosity; so let together what food they will need for the time they have to stay here. If my own means were sufficient I would not lay this burden upon you.' Thereupon they taxed themselves each man according to his capacity and used to provide food for the pilgrims until they left Mecca.

It is alleged that Ḥāshim was the first to institute the two caravan journeys of Quraysh, summer and winter, and the first to provide ṭarīd (broth in which bread is broken up) in Mecca. Actually his name was 'Amr, but he was called Ḥāshim because he broke up bread in this way for his people in Mecca. A Quraysh poet, or one of the Arabs, composed this poem:

'Amr who made bread-and-broth for his people,
A people in Mecca who suffered lean years.
He it was who started the two journeys,
The winter's caravan and the summer's train (107).

Ḥāshim b. 'Abdu Manāf died in Ghazza in the land of Syria while travelling with his merchandise, and al-Muttaṣallīb b. 'Abdu Manāf assumed the right of feeding and watering the pilgrims. He was younger than 'Abdu Shams and Ḥāshim. He was held in high esteem among his people, who 88 called him al-Fayd on account of his liberality and high character.

Ḥāshim had gone to Medina and married Salmā b. 'Amr, one of B. 'Adiyy b. al-Najār. Before that she had been married to Uḥayya b. al-Julīb b. al-Harīf b. Kulla b. 'Aur b. 'Amr b. Auf b. Malik b. al-Aus and bore him a son called 'Amr. On account of the high position she held among her people she would only marry on condition that she should retain control of her own affairs. If she disliked a man she left him.

To Ḥāshim she bore 'Abdu'l-Muttaṣallī and called his name Shayba. Ḥāshim left him with her while he was a little boy. Then his uncle al-Muttaṣallī came to take him away and bring him up among his people in his town. But Salmā declined to let him go with him. His uncle argued that his nephew was now old enough to travel and was as an exile away from his own tribe who were the people of the temple, of great local reputation, holding much of the government in their hands. Therefore it was better for the boy that he should be among his own family, and therefore he refused to go without him. It is popularly asserted that Shayba refused to leave his mother without her consent; and this she ultimately gave. So his uncle took him away to Mecca, riding behind him on his camel, and the people cried: 'It's al-Muttaṣallī's slave whom he has bought!' and that is how he got the name of 'Abdu'l-Muttaṣallī. His uncle called out: 'Rubbish! This is my nephew whom I have brought from Medina.'

Subsequently al-Muttaṣallī died in Ṣanʿā and an Arab mourned him in the following lines:

Thirsty are the pilgrims now al-Muttaṣallī is gone.
No more bowls with overflowing brims.
Now that he is gone would that Quraysh were in torment!

Maṭṭāq b. Ḳaḥb al-Khuṣṣi wrote this elegy over al-Muttaṣallī and all the sons of 'Abdu Manāf when the news came that Naufal the last of them was dead:

O night! most miserable night,
Disturbing all other nights,
With thoughts of what I suffer
From sorrow and the blows of fate.
When I remember my brother Naufal,
He reminds me of days gone by,
He reminds me of the red waist-sashes,
The fine new yellow robes.
There were four of them, everyone a prince,
Sons and grandsons of princes.
One dead in Ṣanʿā, one in Salmān,
A third lies near Ghazza,
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A fourth lies in a grave by the Ka'ba
To the east of the sacred buildings.
'Abdu Manûf brought them up virtuously
Safe from the reproach of all men.
Yea there are none like Mughîra's children
Among the living or the dead.

'Abdu Mânûf's name was al-Mughîra. Hâshîm was the first of his sons to die at Ghazza in Syria, followed by 'Abdu Shams in Mecca, then al-Mu'ttâlîb in Radmân in the Yemen, and lastly Naufal in Salmân in Iraq.

It was said at Mâtrûd—at least they assert so—"Your lines are very good, but if you had done more justice to the theme they would have been still better." 'Give me a night or two,' he replied, and after a few days he produced the following:

O eye, weep copiously, pour down thy tears,
Weep over Mughîra's sons, that noble breed of Ka'b;
O eye, cease not to weep thy gathering tears,
Bewail my heartfelt sorrow in life's misfortunes.
Weep over all those generous trustworthy men,
Lavish in gifts, munificent, bounteous,
Pure in soul, of high intent,
Firm in disposition, resolute in grave affairs,
Strong in emergency, no churls, not relying on others,
Quick to decide, lavish in generosity.
If Ka'b's line is reckoned, a hawk,
The very heart and summit of their glory,
Weep for generosity and Mu'ttâlîb the generous,
Release the fountain of thy tears,
Gone from us in Radmân today as a foreigner,
My heart grieves for him among the dead.
Woe to you, weep if you can weep,
For 'Abdu Shams on the east of the Ka'b,
For Hâshîm in the grave in the midst of the desert
Where the wind of Ghazza blows o'er his bones.
Above all for my friend Naufal
Who found in Salmân a desert grave.
Never have I known their like, Arab or foreigner,
When their white camels bore them along.
Now their camps know them no more
Who used to be the glory of our troops.
Has time annihilated them or were their swords blunt,
Or is every living thing food for the Fates?
Since their death I have come to be satisfied
With mere smiles and friendly greetings.
Weep for the father of the women with dishevelled hair

Who weep for him with faces unveiled as camels doomed to die.
They mourn the noblest man who ever walked,
Bewailing him with floods of tears.
They mourn a man generous and liberal,
Rejecting injustice, who settled the greatest matters.
They weep for 'Amr al-'Ula' when his time came,
Benign was his nature as he smiled at the night's guests.
They weep prostrated by sorrow,
How long was the lamentation and woe!
They mourned him when time exiled them from him,
Their faces pale like camels denied water.
With their loins girded because of fate's hard blow.
I passed the night in pain watching the stars
I wept and my little daughters wept to share my grief.
No prince is their equal or peer,
Among those left behind none are like their offspring.
Their sons are the best of sons,
And they are the best of men in the face of disaster.
How many a smooth running fast horse have they given,
How many a captive mare have they bestowed,
How many a fine matted Indian sword,
How many a lance as long as a well rope,
How many slaves did they give for the asking,
Lavishing their gifts far and wide.
Were I to count and others count with me
I could not exhaust their generous acts;
They are the foremost in pure descent
Wherever men boast of their forebears,
The ornament of the houses which they left
So that they have become solitary and forsaken,
I say while my eye ceases not to weep,
May God spare the unfortunate (family)! (108)

By the 'father of the women with dishevelled hair' the poet means Hâshîm b. 'Abdu Manûf.

Following his uncle al-Mu'ttâlîb, 'Abdul-Mu'ttâlîb b. Hâshîm took over the duties of watering and feeding the pilgrims and carried on the practices of his forefathers with his people. He attained such eminence as none of his forefathers enjoyed; his people loved him and his reputation was great among them.

5 The words 'camels doomed to die' refer to the ola-camal which used to be buried by the grave of her dead master until she died of hunger and thirst. The heathen Arabs believed she would ride him in the next world.
6 'The left one.'
'Abdul-Muttalib was sleeping in the hijr,1 he was ordered in a vision to dig Zamzam. Yanib b. Abū Habīb al-Miṣrī narrates from Marthad b. Abdullah al-Yazari from 'Abdallāh b. Zayray al-Ghāfiqī that he heard 'Abî b. Abū Talib telling the story of Zamzam. He said that 'Abdul-Muttalib said: "I was sleeping in the hijr when a supernatural visitant came and said, 'Dig Tiba'." I said, 'What is Tiba?'; then he left me. I went to bed again the next day and slept, and he came to me and said 'Dig Barra'; when I asked what Barra was he left me. The next day he came and said 'Dig al-Ma'dūna'; when I asked what that was he went away again. The next day he came while I was sleeping and said 'Dig Zamzam'. I said, 'What is Zamzam?'; he said:

'Twill never fail or ever run dry,
Twill water the pilgrim company,
It lies 'twixt the dung and the flesh bloody,2
By the nest where the white-winged ravens fly,
By the nest where the ants to and fro do ply.'

When the exact spot had been indicated to him and he knew that it corresponded with the facts, he took a pick-axe and went with his son al-Harith —for the had no other son at that time—and began to dig. When the top of the well appeared he cried 'Allah akbar!' Thus Quraysh knew that he had obtained his object and they came to him and said, 'This is the well of our father Ishmael, and we have a right to it, so give us a share in it.' ‘I will not,’ he answered, ‘I was specially told of it and not you, and I was the one to be given it.’ They said: ‘Do us justice, for we shall not leave you until we have got a judicial decision in the matter.’ He said: ‘Apport anyone you like as umpire between us.’ He agreed to accept a woman diviner of B. Sa'd Hudhaym, who dwelt in the uplands of Syria. So

1 The hijr is the semicircular spot between the wall called Ḥajjim and the Ka'b, which is said to mark the graves of Hagar and Ishmael. Cf. Ashqaf, 48 f.
2 The language is characteristic of Arabic oracles composed in doggerel known as ṣīn. The words ‘between the dung and the blood’ occur in the Quran, Sūra 16, verse 68. ‘We give you to drink of what is in their bellies between the fæces and the blood, pure milk easily swallowed by the drinkers.” But this throws no light on the meaning of the passage here, which plainly has a local significance. Abu Dharr passed it by without comment. Al-Suhaib, p. 96, sees that the term must go with the two following terms, and serve to show exactly where Zamzam was to be found. He therefore reports a story to the effect that ‘Abdu'l-Muttalib saw the ants’ nest and the ravens’ nest when he went to dig the well, but saw neither dung nor blood. At that moment a cow escaped her butcher and entered the haram. There she was slaughtered, and where the dung and blood flowed, ‘Abdu'l-Muttalib proceeded to dig. This gallant attempt to explain the ancient oracle cannot be accepted for the reason that it gives no point to the precise reference that the well was to be found between the dung and the blood, which in this story obviously must have occupied pretty much the same space, and indeed would render the following indications superfluous by giving the exact site. Most probably, therefore, we should assume that the sacrificial victims were tethered at a certain spot and there they would ordure before they were led to the foot of the image at which they were slaughtered. A point between these two spots is more closely defined by the ants and the ravens’ nest.

Then pray for much water as crystal clear
To water God's pilgrims at the sites they revere
As long as it lasts you've nothing to fear.

On hearing these words he went to the Quraysh and said, 'You know that I have been ordered to dig Zamzam for you,' and they asked, 'But have you been told where it is?' When he replied that he had not, they told him to go back to his bed where he had the vision and if it really came from God it would be made plain to him; but if it had come from a demon, he would not return to him. So 'Abdul-Muttalib went back to his bed and slept and received the following message:

Dig Zamzam, 'twill not to your hopes give lie,
'Tis yours from your father eternally.
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"I will never fail or ever run dry,
I will water the pilgrim company
Like an ostrich flock a fraternity,
Their voice God hears most graciously.
A pact most sure from days gone by
Nought like it cannot thou descry,
It lies 'twixt the dung and the flesh bloody (109).''

It is alleged that when this was said to him and he inquired where Zamzam was, he was told that it was by the ants' nest where the raven will peck tomorrow, but God knows how true this is. The next day 'Abdūl-Muttaqīn with his son al-Ḥārith, who at that time was his only son, went and found the ants' nest and the raven pecking beside it between the two idols Isāf and Nīlā at which Quraysh used to slaughter their sacrifices. He brought a pickaxe and began to dig where he had been commanded. Quraysh seeing him at work came up and refused to allow him to dig between their two idols where they sacrificed. 'Abdūl-Muttaqīn then told his son to stand by and protect him while he dug, for he was determined to carry out what he had been commanded to do. When they saw that he was not going to stop work they left him severely alone. He had not dug deeply before the stone top of the well appeared and he gave thanks to God knowing that he had been rightly informed. As digging went further, he found the two gazelles of gold which Jutlam had buried there when they left Mecca. He also found some swords and coats of mail from Qa‘a.2 Quraysh claimed that they had a right to share in this find. 'Abdūl-

Wells Belonging to the Clans of Quraysh in Mecca

Before the digging of Zamzam Quraysh had already dug wells in Mecca, according to what Ziyād b. 'Abdullāh al-Bakkātī told me from Muhammad b. Ishāq. He said that 'Abdūl Shams b. 'Abdūl Manāf dug al-Tawīy which is a well in the upper part of Mecca near al-Bayḍāt, the house of Muhammad b. Yūsuf al-Thaqāfī.

Hāshim b. 'Abdūl Manāf dug Badhdhār which is near al-Mustandhar, a spur of Mount al-Khandama at the mouth of the pass of Abū Tālib. They allege that when he had dug it he said: 'I will make it a means of subsistence for the people' (110).

He' dug Sajsā which is a well belonging to al-Muṭ‘īm b. 'Adīy b. Naufal. b. 'Abdūl Manāf which is still used today. The B. Naufal allege that al-Muṭ‘īm bought it from Asād b. Hāshim, while B. Hāshim allege that he gave it to him when Zamzam was uncovered and people had no further use for the other wells.

Umayya b. 'Abdūl Shams dug al-Hafr for himself. The B. Asād b. 'Abdūl-'Uzzā dug Suqayyā which belongs to them. The B. 'Abdūl-Dār dug Umm Ahrād. The B. Jumāḥ dug al-Sunbula which belongs to Khalīf b. Wāḥib. The B. Sāḥm dug al-Ghamr which belongs to them.

There were some old wells outside Mecca dating from the time of Murra b. Ka‘b and Khalīf b. Murra from which the first princes of Quraysh used to draw water, namely Rumm and Khumm. Rumm was dug by Murra b. Ka‘b b. Lu‘ayy, and Khumm by B. Khalīf b. Murra, and so was al-Hafr.2 There is an old poem of Hudhayfah b. Ghānim, brother of B. 'Adīy b. Ka‘b b. Lu‘ayy (111), which runs:

In the good old days we were long satisfied
To get our water from Khumm or al-Hafr.

Zamzam utterly eclipsed the other wells from which the pilgrims used to get their water, and people went to it because it was in the sacred enclosure and because its water was superior to any other; and, too, because it was the well of Isāfī b. Ibrāhim. Because of it B. 'Abdūl Manāf behaved boastfully towards Quraysh and all other Arabs.

Here are some lines of Musilī b. Aḥī A‘mar b. Umayya b. 'Abdūl Shams b. 'Abdūl Manāf boasting over Quraysh that they held the right of watering and feeding them, that they discovered Zamzam, and that B.

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1 The editor has been untidy here. Commentators point out that Hāshim did not dig this well, and al-Sunjāyī quotes a poem beginning 'I am Quraysh, and I dug Sajā''
2 Neither Yaqūt (iii. 293 and 295), nor the ancients knew whether the well was called Suqayyā or Shulayyā. Azī: ii. 177 names only Shulayyā.
3 It has just been said that Umayya b. 'Abdūl Shams dug al-Hafr. Yaqūt says 'Hafr belongs to B. 'Abdūl Shams; Quraysh, al-Hashim spoke is Jafir.' This may account for the inconsistency, as it seems that there were two wells, Jafir and Jafir, in Mecca.
'Abdu Manāf were one family in which the honour and merit of one belonged to all:

*Glory came to us from our fathers.*

We have carried it to greater heights.

*Do not we give the pilgrims water?*

And sacrifice the fat milch camels?

*When death is at hand we are found brave and generous.*

Though we perish (for none can live for ever)

A stranger shall not rule our kin.

Zamzam belongs to our tribe.

We will pluck out the eyes of those who look enviously at us.

Hudhayfa b. Ghārin [mentioned above] said:

(Weep for him) who watered the pilgrims, son of him who broke bread?

And 'Abdu Manāf that Fhiṣl, lord.

He laid bare Zamzam by the Maṣqūm,

His control of the water was a prouder boast than any man's (112).

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**'Abdu'l-Muttalib's Vow to Sacrifice His Son**

It is alleged, and God only knows the truth, that when 'Abdu'l-Muttalib encountered the opposition of Quraysh when he was digging Zamzam, he vowed that if he should have ten sons to grow up and protect him, he would sacrifice one of them to God at the Ka'bah. Afterwards when he had ten sons who could protect him he gathered them together and told them about his vow and called on them to keep faith with God. They agreed to obey him and asked what they were to do. He said that each one of them must get an arrow, write his name on it, and bring it to him; this they did, and he took them before Hubal in the middle of the Ka'bah. (The statue of) Hubal stood by a well there. It was that well in which gifts made to the Ka'bah were stored.

Now beside Hubal there were seven arrows, each of them containing some words. One was marked 'bloodwit.' When they disputed about who should pay the bloodwit they cast lots with the seven arrows and he on whom the lot fell had to pay the money. Another was marked 'yes,' and another 'no,' and they acted accordingly on the matter on which the oracle had been invoked. Another was marked 'of you'; another *māsāq,* another 'not of you'; and the last was marked 'water.' If they wanted to dig for water, they cast lots containing this arrow and wherever it came forth they

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1 I read *Hubal* with more MS.

2 Cf. p. 99. *Tālīb* 'Hubal bring the greatest (or, most revered) of the idols of Quraysh in Mecca.'

3 Not a member of the tribe.

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...to work. If they wanted to circumcise a boy, or make a marriage, or bury a body, or doubt someone's genealogy, they took him to Hubal with a hundred dirhams and a slaughter camel and gave them to the man who cast love; then they brought near the man with whom they were concerned saying, 'O our god this is A the son of B with whom we intend to do so and so, show the right course concerning him.' Then they would say to the man who cast the arrows 'Cast!' and if there came out 'of you' then he was a true member of their tribe; and if there came out 'not of you' he was an [if there came out *māsāq* he had no blood relation to them and was not an ally. Where 'yes' came out in other matters, they acted accordingly; and if the answer was 'no' they deferred the matter for a year until they could bring it up again. They used to conduct their affairs according to the decision of the arrows.

'Abdu'l-Muttalib said to the man with the arrows, 'Cast the lots for my sons with these arrows', and he told him of the vow which he had made. Each man gave him the arrow on which his name was written. Now 'Abdullāh was his father's youngest son, he and al-Zubayr and Abū Ṭalīb were born to Fāṭima d. 'Ārr b. 'A'dīd b. 'Abd b. Makhzūm b. Yaqaza b. Murra b. Ka'b b. L'u'ay y b. Gālib b. Fhiṣl (112). It is alleged that 'Abdullāh was 'Abdu'l-Muttalib's favourite son, and his father thought that if the arrow missed him he would be spared. (He was the father of the apostle of God.) When the man took the arrows to cast lots with them, 'Abdu'l-Muttalib stood by Hubal praying to Allah. Then the man cast lots and 'Abdullāh's arrow came out. His father led him by the hand and took a large knife; then he brought him up to Isāf and Nā'ila (T. two idols of Quraysh at which they slaughtered their sacrifices) to sacrifice him; but Quraysh came out of their assemblies and asked what he was intending to do. When he said that he was going to sacrifice him they and his sons said 'By God! you shall never sacrifice him until you offer the greatest expiatory sacrifice for him. If you do a thing like this there will be no stopping men from coming to sacrifice their sons, and what will become of the people then?' Then said al-Maghīra b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Ārr b. Makhzūm b. Yaqaza, 'Abdullāh's mother being from his tribe, 'By God, you shall never sacrifice him until you offer the greatest expiatory sacrifice for him. Though his ransom be all our property we will redeem him.' Quraysh and his sons said that he must not do it, but take him to the Hijaz for there there was a sorcerer who had a familiar spirit, and he must consult her. Then he would have liberty of action. If she told him to sacrifice him, he would be no worse off; and if she gave him a favourable response, he could accept it. So they went off as far as Medina and found that she was in Khaybar, so they allege. So they rode on until they got to her, and when 'Abdu'l-Muttalib acquainted her with the facts she told them to go away until her familiar spirit visited her and she could ask him. When they had left her 'Abdu'l-Muttalib prayed to Allah, and when they visited her...
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the next day she said, 'Word has come to me. How much is the blood money among you?' They told her that it was ten camels, as indeed it was. She told them to go back to their country and take the young man and ten camels. Then cast lots for them and for him; if the lot falls against your man, add more camels, until your lord is satisfied. If the lot falls against the camels then sacrifice them in his stead, for your lord will be satisfied and your client escape death. So they returned to Mecca, and when they had agreed to carry out their instructions, 'Abdu'l-Muttaßib was praying to Allah. Then they brought near 'Abdulllah and ten camels while 'Abdu'l-Muttaßib stood by Hubal praying to Allah. Then they cast lots and the arrow fell against Abdullah. They added ten more camels and the lot fell against Abdullah, and so they went on adding ten at a time, until there were one hundred camels, when finally the lot fell against them. Quraysh and those who were present said, 'At last your lord is satisfied 'Abdu'l-Muttaßib.' 'No, by God,' he answered (so they say), 'not until I cast lots three times.' This they did and each time the arrow fell against the camels. They were duly slaughtered and left there and no man was kept back or hindered (from eating them) (114).

OF THE WOMAN WHO OFFERED HERSELF IN MARRIAGE TO 'ABDULLAH B. 'ABDU'l-MUTTALIB

Taking 'Abdulllah by the hand 'Abdu'l-Muttaßib went away and they passed—so it is alleged—a woman of B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-Uzza b. Quasyya b. Kilâb b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghâlib b. Fihr who was the sister of Waraq b. Naufal b. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-Uzza, who was at the Ka'ba. When she looked at him she asked, 'Where are you going Abdullah?' He replied, 'With my father.' She said, 'If you will take me you can have as many camels as were sacrificed in your stead.' I am with my father and I cannot act against his wishes and leave him,' he replied.


It is alleged that 'Abdulllah consummated his marriage immediately and his wife conceived the apostle of God. Then he left her presence and met the woman who had proposed to him. He asked her why she did not make the proposal that she made to him the day before; to which she replied that the light that was with him the day before had left him, and she no longer had need of him. She had heard from her brother Waraq b. Naufal, who had been a Christian and studied the scriptures, that a prophet would arise among this people.

My father Ishaq b. Ya'qûb told me that he was told that 'Abdulllah went in to a woman that he had beside Amina d. Wahb when he had been working in clay and the marks of the clay were on him. She put him off when he made a suggestion to her because of the dirt that was on him. He then left her and washed and bathed himself, and as he made his way to Amina he passed her and she invited him to come to her. He refused and went to Amina who conceived Muhammad. When he passed the woman again she asked her if she wanted anything and she said 'No! When you passed me there was a white blaze between your eyes and when I invited you you refused me and went in to Amina, and she has taken it away.'

It is alleged that that woman of his used to say that when he passed by her between his eyes there was a blaze like the blaze of a horse. She said: 'I invited him hoping that that would be in me, but he refused me and went to Amina and she conceived the apostle of God.' So the apostle of God was the noblest of his people in birth and the greatest in honour both on his father's and his mother's side. God bless and preserve him!

WHAT WAS SAID TO AMINA WHEN SHE HAD CONCEIVED

THE APOSTLE

It is alleged in popular stories (and only God knows the truth) that Amina d. Wahb, the mother of God's apostle, used to say when she was pregnant with God's apostle that a voice said to her: 'You are pregnant with the lord of this people and when he is born say, "I put him in the care of the One from the evil of every envier; then call him Muhammad."' As she was pregnant with him she saw a light come forth from her by which she could see the castles of Buṣâr in Syria. Shortly afterwards 'Abdulllah the apostle's father died while his mother was still pregnant.

THE BIRTH OF THE APOSTLE AND HIS SUCKLING

The apostle was born on Monday, 17th Rabî'ul-awwal, in the year of the elephant. Al-Muttaßib b. 'Abdulllah who had it from his grandfather Qays b. Maskhama said: 'I and the apostle were born at the same time in the year of the elephant.' (T. It is said that he was born in the house known as T. 998 I. Yûsûf's, and it is said that the apostle gave it to 'Aqil b. Abî Tâlib who kept it until he died. His son sold it to Muhammad b. Yûsuf, the brother
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...she-camel provide a morning draught, but we were hoping for rain and relief. 'I rode upon my donkey which had kept back the other riders through its weakness and emaciation so that it was a nuisance to them. When we reached Mecca, we looked out for foster children, and the apostle of God was offered to everyone of us, and each woman refused him when she was told he was an orphan, because we hoped to get payment from the child's father. We said, "An orphan! and what will his mother and grandfather do?", and we spurned him because of that. Every woman who came with me got a suckling except me, and when we decided to depart I said to my husband: "By God, I do not like the idea of returning with my friends without a suckling; I will go and take that orphan." Her reply, "Do as you please; perhaps God will bless us on his account." So I went and took him for the sole reason that I could not find anyone else. I took him back to my baggage, and as soon as I put him in my bosom, my breasts overflowed with milk which he drank until he was satisfied, as also did his foster-brother. Then both of them slept, whereas before this we could not sleep with him. My husband got up and went to the old she-camel and lo, her udders were full; he milked it and he and I drank of her milk until we were completely satisfied, and we passed a happy night. In the morning my husband said: "Do you know, Halima, you have taken a blessed creature?" I said, "By God, I hope so." Then we set out and I was riding my she-ass and carrying him with me, and she went at such a pace that the other donkeys could not keep up so that my companions said to me, "Confound you! stop and wait for us. Isn't this the donkey on which you started?" "Certainly it is," I said. They replied, "By God, something extraordinary has happened." Then we came to our dwellings in the Banū Sa'd country and I do not know a country more barren than that.

...When we had him with us our flock used to yield milk in abundance. We milked them and drank while other people had not a drop, nor could they find anything in their animals' udders, so that our people were saying to their shepherds, "Woe to you! send your flock to graze where the daughter of Abū Dhuyyā's shepherd goes." Even so, their flocks came back hungry not yielding a drop of milk, while mine had milk in abundance. We ceased not to recognize this bounty as coming from God for a period of two years, when I weaned him. He was growing up as none of the other children grew and by the time he was two he was a well-made child. We brought him to his mother, though we were most anxious to keep him with us because of the blessing which he brought us. I said to her: "I should like you to leave my little boy with me until he becomes a big boy, for I am afraid on his account of the pest in Mecca." We persisted until she sent him back with us.

Some months after our return he and his brother were with our flocks behind the tents when his brother came running and said to us, "Two men..."
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The apostle lived with his mother, Amina d. Wabib and his grandfather 'Abdul-Muttaalib in God's care and keeping like a fine plant, God willing to honour him. When he was six years old his mother Amina died.

'Abdul-Muttaalib, the apostle's father, told me that the apostle's mother died in Abwa' between Medina and Medinah. He said that the apostle came to visit her from a visit with him to his paternal uncles of B. Na'imi b. Al-Najjar when he was six years old (117). Thus the apostle was left to his grandfather for whom they made a bed in the shade of the Ka'bah. His son used to sit round the bed until he came out to it, but none of them sat upon it out of respect for him. The apostle, still a little boy, used to come and sit on it and his uncles would drive him away. When 'Abdul-Muttaalib saw this he said: 'Let my son alone, for by Allah he has a great future.' Then he would make him sit beside him on his bed and would stroke his back with his hand. It used to please him to see what he did.

The Death of 'Abdul-Muttaalib and the Elegies Thereon

When the apostle was eight years of age, eight years after the 'year of the elephant', his grandfather died. This date was given me by al-'Abbâs b. 'Abdul-Muttaalib, one of his uncles. Muhammad b. Sa'id b. Al-Mustayyib told me that when 'Abdul-Muttaalib knew that death was at hand he summoned his six daughters Safiya, Barra, Aïsha, Umm Hâkima al-Baydî, Umayma, and Arwa, and said to

when I was in the upper part of Mecca he escape me and I don't know where he is.' So 'Abdul-Muttaalib went to the Ka'ba praying to God to restore him. They assert that Waraqah b. Nawfal b. Asad and another man of Quraysh found him and brought him to 'Abdul-Muttaalib saying, 'We have found this son of yours in the upper part of Mecca.' 'Abdul-Muttaalib took him and put him on his shoulder as he went round the Ka'ba and God's protection and praying for him; then he sent him to his mother Amina.

A learned person told me that when he grew up his foster-mother to return him to his mother, apart from what she told his mother, was that a number of Abyssinian Christians saw him with her when he brought him back after he had been weaned. They looked at him, asked questions about him, and studied him carefully, then they said to her, 'Let us take this boy, and bring him to our king and our country; for he will have a great future. We know all about him.' The person who told me this alleged that she could hardly get him away from them.

Amina Dies and the Apostle Lives with His Grandfather

Thur b. Yazid from a learned person who I think was Khalid b. Ma'dân al Kâli'i told me that some of the apostle's companions asked him to tell them about himself. He said: 'I am what Abraham my father prayed for and the good news of (T. my brother) Jesus. When my mother was carrying me she saw a light proceeding from her which showed her the castles of Syria. I was sucked among the B. Sa'id b. Bakr, and while I was with a brother of mine behind our tents shepherding the lambs, two men in white raiment came to me with a gold basin full of snow. Then they seized me and opened up my belly, extracted my heart and split it; then they extracted a black drop from it and threw it away; then they washed my heart and my belly with that snow until they had thoroughly cleaned them. Then one said to the other, weigh him against ten of his people; they did so and I outweighed them. Then they weighed me against a hundred and then a thousand, and I outweighed them. He said, 'Leave him alone, for he could not stand against his people, he would outweigh them.'

The apostle of God used to say, 'There is no prophet but has shepherded a flock.' When they said, 'You, too, apostle of God?' he said 'Yes.'

The apostle of God used to say to his companions, 'I am the most Arab of you all. I am of Quraysh, and I was sucked among the B. Sa'id b. Bakr. It is alleged by some, but God knows the truth, that when his foster-mother brought him to Mecca he escaped among the crowd while she was taking him to his people. She sought him and could not find him, so she went to 'Abdul-Muttaalib and said: 'I brought Muhammad Brought and

Cf. Sûrû 94, 1

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in white have seized that Qurayshih brother of mine and throw
him down and opened up his belly, and set him up.' We ran towards
him and found him standing up with a livid face. We took hold of him and
asked him what was the matter. He said, 'Two men in white raiment came
and threw me down and opened up my belly and searched therein for I
know not what.' So we took him back to our tent.

His father said to me, 'I am afraid that this child has had a stroke, so
take him back to his family before the result appears.' So we picked him
up and took him to his mother who asked why we had brought him when
I had been anxious for his welfare and desireless of keeping with me.
I said to her, 'God has let my son live so far and I have done my duty. I am
afraid that ill will befall him, so I have brought him back to you as you
wished.' She asked me what happened and gave me no peace until I told her.
When she asked if I feared a demon possessed him, I replied that I
did. She answered that no demon had any power over her son who had a
great future before him, and then she told how when she was pregnant with
him a light went out from her which illuminated the castles of Buṣrat in
Syria, and that she had borne him with the least difficulty imaginable.
When she bore him he put his hands on the ground lifting his head towards
the heavens. 'Leave him then and go in peace,' she said.

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a flock.' When they said, 'You, too, apostle of God?' he said 'Yes.'

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came to visit her from a visit with him to his paternal uncles of B. Adiy b. Al-Najjar when he was six years old (117). Thus the apostle was left to his grandfather for whom they made a bed in the shade of the Ka'bah. His son used to sit round the bed until he came out to it, but none of them sat upon it out of respect for him. The apostle, still a little boy, used to come and sit on it and his uncles would drive him away. When 'Abdul-Muttaalib saw this he said: 'Let my son alone, for by Allah he has a great future.' Then he would make him sit beside him on his bed and would stroke his back with
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knew that death was at hand he summoned his six daughters Safiya,
Barra, Aïsha, Umm Hâkima al-Baydî, Umayma, and Arwa, and said to
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them, 'Compose eulogies over me so that I may hear what you are going to say before I die.' (118)

Safiya b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib said in mourning her father:

I could not sleep for the voices of the weeping women,
Bewailing a man on the crown of life's road,
It caused the tears to flow
Down my cheeks like falling pearls
For a noble man, no wretched weeping,
Whose virtue was plain to all.
The generous Shayba, full of merits,
Thy good father inheritor of all virtue,
Truthful at home, no weeping,
Standing firm and self-reliant.
Powerful, fear-inspiring, massive,
Praised and obeyed by his people,
Of lofty lineage, smiling, virtuous,
A very rain when camels had no milk.
Noble was his grandfather without spot of shame,
Surpassing all men, bond or free,
Exceeding mild, of noble stock,
Who were generous, strong as lions,
Could men be immortal through ancient glory,
(Alas immortality is unobtainable!)
He would make his last night endure for ever
Through his surpassing glory and long descent.

His daughter Barra said:

Be generous, O eyes, with your pearly tears,
For the generous nature who never repelled a beggar.
Of glorious race, successful in undertaking,
Of handsome face, of great nobility.
Shayba, the laudable, the noble,
The glorious, the mighty, the renowned,
The clement, decisive in misfortunes,
Full of generosity, lavish in gifts,
Excelling his people in glory,
A light shining like the moon in its splendour.
Death came to him and spared him not,
Change and fortune and fate overtook him.

His daughter 'Átika said:

Be generous, O eyes, and not niggardly
With your tears when others sleep,
Weep copiously, O eyes, with your tears,
While you beat your faces in weeping.

A sharp sword in war
Destroying his enemies in battle,
Easy natured, open handed,
Loyal, stout, pure, good.
His house proudly rooted in high honour
Mounted to glory unobtainable by others

His daughter Umm Hakim al-Raydah said:

Weep, O eyes, long and freely
For one, no dotard weeping,
The strong, generous in time of need,
Noble in purpose, faithful to his word.
Shayba, the laudable, successful in undertaking,
The reliable and the steady,
A sharp sword in war
Destroying his enemies in battle,
Easy natured, open handed,
Loyal, stout, pure, good.
His house proudly rooted in high honour
Mounted to glory unobtainable by others

Alas, has the shepherd of his people, the generous one, perished,
Who gave the pilgrims their water, the defender of our fame,
Who used to gather the wandering guest into his tents,
When the heavens begrudged their rain.
You have the noblest sons a man could have
And have never ceased to grow in fame, O Shayba!
Abi'l Hāriḥ, the bountiful, has left his place,
Go not far for every living thing must go far.
I shall weep for him and suffer as long as I live.
His memory deserves that I suffer.
May the Lord of men water thy grave with rain!
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I shall weep for him though he lies in the grave.
He was the pride of all his people,
And was praised wherever praise was due.

His daughter Arwâ said:

My eye wept and well it did
For the generous modest father,
The pleasant natured man of Mecca's vale,
Noble in mind, lofty in aim,
The bountiful Shayba full of virtues,
Thy good father who has no peer,
Long armed, elegant, tall,
'Twas as though his forehead shone with light,
Lean waisted, handsome, full of virtues,
Glory, rank, and dignity were his,
Resenting wrong, smiling, able,
His ancestral fame could not be hid,
The refuge of Malik, the spring of Fihr,
When judgement was sought he spoke the last word
He was a hero, generous, liberal,
And bold when blood was to be shed,
When armed men were afraid of death
So that the hearts of most of them were as air,
Forward he went with gleaming sword,
The cynosure of all eyes.

Muhammad b. Sa’îd b. al-Mu’ayyib told me that 'Abdu’l-Mu’tazzib made a sign to the effect that he was satisfied with the elegies, for he could not speak (111).

Hudhayfa b. Ghānim, brother of B. ‘Adiy b. Ka’b b. Lu’ayy, mentioned his superiority and that of Quṣayy and his sons over the Quraysh, because he had been seized for a debt of 4,000 dirhams in Mecca and Abū 'Ajava Abdur-Rahmân b. Abdur-Rahmân, in the same place, he had been seized, and he had been saved by the generosity of his guests:

O eyes, let the generous tears flow down the breast,
Weary not, may you be washed with falling rain,
Be generous with your tears, every morn
Weeping for a man whom fate did not spare.
Weep floods of tears while life does last,
Over Quṣayy's most modest hero who concealed his good deeds,
A powerful zealous defender of his dignity,
Handsome of face, no weakling, and no braggart,
The famous prince, generous and liberal,
Spring rain of Lu’ayy in drought and dearth,
Best of all the sons of Ma’add,

Cf. Sûra 14. 44 'and their hearts were sâr'.

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Noble in action, in nature and in race,
Their best in root and branch and ancestry.
Most famous in nobility and reputation,
First in glory, kindness and sagacity,
And in virtue when the lean years exact their toil.
Weep over Shayba the praiseworthy, whose face
Illumined the darkest night, like the moon at the full,
Who watered the pilgrims, son of him who broke bread,1
And 'Abdu’l-Manî the Fihr lord,
Who uncovered Zamzam by the Sanctuary,
Whose control of the water was a prouder boast than any man's
Let every captive in his misery weep for him
And the family of Quṣayy, poor and rich alike.
Noble are his sons, both young and old,
They have sprung from the eggs of a hawk,
Quṣayy who opposed Kinâa all of them,
And guarded the temple in weal and woe.
Though fate and its changes bore him away,
He lived happy in successful achievement,
He left behind well armed men
Bold in attack, like very spears,
Abū ‘Ubayd who gave me his gift,
White blood camels of the purest white.
Hamzâ like the moon at the full rejoicing to give,
Chaste and free from treachery,
And 'Abdu’l-Manî the glorious, defender of his honour,
Kind to his kindred, gentle to his relatives.
Their men are the best of men,
Their young men like the offspring of kings who neither perish nor diminish.
Whenever you meet one of their scions
You will find him going in the path of his forefathers.
They filled the vale with fame and glory.
When rivalry and good works had long been practised,2
Among them were great builders and buildings,
'Abdu’l-Manî their grandfather being the repairer of their fortunes,
When he married 'Auf to his daughter to give her protection
From our enemies when the Banû Fîhr betrayed us,
We went through the land high and low under his protection,
Until our camels could plunge into the sea.
They lived as townsmen while some were nomads

1 Cf. p. 66. Or, 'then for the good Hashim (lilhâzây fî lilhâzâbā).
2 Cf. Sûra 2. 143 'Vie with one another in good works', and cf. 5. 53 for this use of the verb istâbâqā.

2 Zal'aama it
None but the sheikhs of Banū 'Amr were there
They built many houses and dug wells
Whose waters flowed as though from the great sea
That pilgrims and others might drink of them,
When they hastened to them on the morrow of the sacrifice,
Three days their camels lay
Quietly between the mountains and the hijr.
Of old we had lived in plenty,
Drawing our water from Khumm or al-Ḥafīr.
They forgot wrongs normally avenged,
And overlooked foolish slander,
They collected all the allied tribesmen,
And turned from us the evil of the Banū Bakr,
O Khaṭṭīja, when I die cease not to thank them
Until you are laid in the grave,
And forget not Ibn Lubnā's kindness,
A kindness that merits thy gratitude.
And thou Ibn Lubnā art from Qaysy when genealogies are sought
Where man's highest hope is attained,
Thyself has gained the height of glory
And joined it to its root in valour.
Surpassing and exceeding thy people in generosity
As a boy thou wast superior to every liberal chief.
Thy mother will be a pure pearl of Khunā'a,
When experienced genealogists one day compile a roll.
To the heroes of Sheba she can be traced and belongs.
How noble her ancestry in the summit of splendour!
Abū Shamlūr is of them and 'Amr b. Mālik
And Ḍū Jada' and Abū'ī-Jābār are of her people, and
As'ad who led the people for twenty years
Assuring victory in those lands (120).

Maṭrūb b. Ka'b the Khuzā'ite bewailing 'Abdu'l-Muṣṭafā and the sons of 'Abdu Manāf said:

O wanderer ever changing thy direction,
Why hast thou not asked of the family of 'Abdu Manāf?
Good God, if you had lived in their homeland
They would have saved you from injury and unworthy marriages;
Their rich mingle with their poor
So that their poor are as their wealthy.
Munificent when times were bad,
Who travel with the caravans of Qaysy
Who feed men when the winds are stormy
Until the sun sinks into the sea.

1 The sons of Ḥāshim are meant: his name was 'Amm. See Cairo edition.
2 i.e. Khaṭṭīja b. Huchīfā
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passed by him in the past and he never spoke to them or took any notice of them until this year, and when they stopped near his cell he made a great feast for them. It is alleged that that was because of something he saw while in his cell. They allege that while he was in his cell he saw the apostle of God in the carven when they approached, with a cloud overshadowing him among the people. Then they came and stopped in the

of a tree near the monk. He looked at the cloud when it overshadowed the tree, and its branches were bending and drooping over the apostle of God until he was in the shadow beneath it. When Bahirah saw that, he came out of his cell and sent word to them. *I have prepared food for you, O men of Quraysh, and I should like you all to come both great and small, bond and free.* One of them said to him, *By God, Bahirah! something extraordinary has happened today, you used not to treat us so, and we have often passed by you. What has befallen you today?* He answered, *You are right in what you say, but you are guests and I wish to honour you and give you food so that you may eat.* So they gathered together with him, leaving the apostle of God behind with the baggage under the tree, on account of his extreme youth. When Bahirah looked at the people he did not see the mark which he knew and found in his books, so he said, *Do not lest one of you remain behind and not come to my feast.* They told him that no one who ought to come had remained behind except a boy who was the youngest of them and had stayed with their baggage. *Thereupon he told them to invite him to come to the meal with them.* One of the men of Quraysh said, *By al-Lat and al-Uzza, we are to blame for leaving behind the son of Abdullah b. Abi-l-Muttabil.* Then he got up and embraced him and made him sit with the people. When Bahirah saw him he stared at him closely, looking at his body and finding traces of his description (in the Christian books). When the people had finished eating and gone away, Bahirah got up and said to him, *Boy, I ask you by al-Lat and al-Uzza to answer my question.* Now Bahirah said this only because he had heard his people swearing by these gods. They allege that the apostle of God said to him, *Do not ask me by al-Lat and al-Uzza, for by Allah nothing is more hateful to me than these two.* Bahirah answered, *Then by Allah, tell me what I ask;* he replied, *Ask me what you like;* so he began to ask him about what happened in his (T. wakay and in his) sleep, and his habits, and his affairs generally, and what the apostle of God told him coincided with what Bahirah knew of his description. Then he looked at his back and saw the seal of prophethood between his shoulders.† in the very place described in his book (123).† When he had finished he went to his uncle Abi Talib and asked him what relation this boy was to him, and when he told him he was his son, he said that he was not, for it could not be that the father of this boy was alive. *He is my nephew,* he

said, and when he asked what had become of his father he told him that he had died before the child was born. *You have told the truth,* said Bahirah. *Take your nephew back to his country and guard him carefully against the Jews, for by Allah! if they see him and know about him what I know, they will do him evil; a great future lies before this nephew of yours, so take him home quickly.*

So his uncle took him off quickly and brought him back to Mecca when he had finished his trading in Syria. People allege that Zuhayr and Tamim and Dari, who were people of the scriptures, had noticed in the apostle of God what Bahirah had seen during that journey which he took with his uncle, and they tried to get at him, but Bahirah kept them away and reminded them of God and the mention of the description of him which they would find in the sacred books, and that if they tried to get at him they would not succeed. He gave them no peace until they recognized the truth of what he said and left him and went away. The apostle of God grew up, God protecting him and keeping him from the vileness of heathenism because he wished to honour him with apostleship, until he grew up to be the finest of his people in manliness, the best in character, most noble in lineage, the best neighbour, the most kind, truthful, reliable, the furthest removed from filthiness and corrupt morals, through loftiness and nobility, so that he was venerated among his people as 'The trustworthy' because of the good qualities which God had implanted in him. The apostle, so I was told, used to tell how God protected him in his childhood during the period of heathenism, saying, *I found myself among the boys of Quraysh carrying stones such as boys play with; we had all uncovered ourselves, each taking his shirt and putting it round his neck as he carried the stones. I was going and fro in the same way, when an unseen figure slapped me most painfully saying, *Put your shirt on!* so I took it and fastened it on me and then began to carry the stones upon my neck wearing my shirt alone among my fellows.*

† Properly a wrapper which covered the lower part of the body.

‡ Suhayl, 120, after pointing out that a somewhat similar story is told of the prophet's modesty and its preservation by supernatural means, at the time that the rebuilding of the Ka'bah was undertaken when Muhammad was a grown man, says significantly that if the account here is correct divine intervention must have occurred twice. It may well be that he was led to make this comment by the fact that 'I omitted the story altogether and in its place (T. 116, 10) writes: 'I. Hamid said that Sahih told him that I. related from Muhammad b. 'Abdullah b. Qays b. Makhrama from al-Hassan b. Muhammad b. Ali b. Abi Talib from his father Muhammad b. Ali from his grandfather Ali b. Abi Talib; I heard the apostle say, *I never gave a thought to what the people of the pagan era used to do twice, because God came between me and my desires. Afterwards I never thought of evil when God honoured me with apostleship. Once I said to a young Quraysh who was shepherding me with he high ground of Mecca, 'I should like you to look after my beasts for me while I go and spend the night in Mecca as young men do.' He agreed and I went off with that intent, and when I came to the first house in Mecca I heard the sound of tambourines and flutes and was told that a marriage had just taken place. I sat down to look at them when God sent me my ear and I fell asleep until I was woken by the sun, and came to my friend and in reply to his questions told him what had happened: Exactly the same thing occurred on another occasion. Afterwards I never thought of evil until God honoured me with his apostleship.'
This war broke out when the apostle was twenty years of age. It was so called because these two tribes, Kinaa and Qays 'Ayân, fought in the sacred month. The chief of Quraish and Kinaa was Harb b. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams. At the beginning of the day Qays got the upper hand but by midday victory went to Kinaa (125).

THE APOSTLE OF GOD MARRIES KHADIJA (126)

Khadija was a merchant woman of dignity and wealth. She used to hire men to carry merchandise outside the country on a profit-sharing basis, for Quraish were a people given to commerce. Now when she heard about the prophet's truthfulness, trustworthiness, and honourable character, she sent for him and proposed that he should take her goods to Syria and trade with them, while she would pay him more than she paid others. He was to take a lad of hers called Mayasa. The apostle of God accepted the proposal, and the two set forth until they came to Syria.

The apostle stopped in the shade of a tree near a monk's cell, when the monk came up to Mayasa and asked who the man was who was resting beneath the tree. He told him that he was of Quraish, the people who held the sanctuary; and the monk exclaimed: 'Now but a prophet ever sat beneath this tree.'

Then the prophet sold the goods he had bought and bought what he wanted to buy and began the return journey to Mecca. The story goes that at the height of noon when the heat was intense as he rode his beast Mayasa saw two angels shading the apostle from the sun's rays. When he brought Khadija her property she sold it and it amounted to double or treble that. Mayasa for his part told her about the two angels who shaded him and of her property's words. Now Khadija was a determined, noble, and intelligent woman possessing the properties with which God willed to honour her. So when Mayasa told her these things she sent to the apostle of God and—so the story goes—said: 'O son of my uncle I like you because of our relationship and your high reputation among your people, your trustworthiness and good character and truthfulness.' Then she proposed marriage. Now Khadija at that time was the best born woman in Quraish, of the greatest dignity and, too, the richest. All her people were eager to get possession of her wealth if it were possible.


The apostle of God told his uncle of Khadija's proposal, and his uncle 'Umar b. 'Abdu-Mun'talib went with him to Khawwaylid b. Asad and asked for her hand and he married her (127).

She was the mother of all the apostle's children except Ibrahim, namely al-Qasim (whereby he was known as Abu'l-Qasim); al-Tâhir, al-Tayyib,1 Zaynab, Ruqayya, Umm Kalthum, and Fatima (128).

Al-Qasim, al-Tayyib, and al-Tâhir died in paganism. All his daughters lived into Islam, embraced it, and migrated with him to Medina (129).

Khadija had told Wârqa b. Naufal b. Asad b. 'Abdu-'Uzza, who was her cousin and a Christian who had studied the scriptures and was a scholar, what her slave Mayasa had told her that the monk had said and how he had seen the two angels shading him. He said, 'If this is true, Khadija, verily Muhammad is the prophet of this people. I knew that a prophet of this people was to be expected. His time has come;' or words to that effect. Wârqa was finding the time of waiting wearisome and used to say 'How long? Some lines of his on the theme are:

I persevered and was persistent in remembering
An anxiety which often evoked tears. And
Confirmatory evidence kept coming from Khadija.
Long have I had to wait, O Khadija,
In the vale of Mecca in spite of my hope
That I might see the outcome of thy words.
I could not bear that the words of the monk
You told me of should prove false:
That Muhammad should rule over us.
Overcoming those who would oppose him.
And that a glorious light should appear in the land
To preserve men from disorders.
His enemies shall meet disaster
And his friends shall be victorious.
Would that I might be there then to see,
For I should be the first of his supporters,
Joining in that which Quraish hate.
However loud they shout in that Mecca of theirs,
I hope to ascend through him whom they all dislike.
To the Lord of the Throne though they are catt down.
Is it folly not to disbelieve in Him
Who chose him Who raised the starry heights?
If they and I live, things will be done
Which will throw the unbelievers into confusion.
And if I die, 'tis but the fate of mortals
To suffer death and dissolution.

1 Commentators point out that there are not names, but epithets (The Pure, The Good) supplied to the son 'Abdallah.
The Rebuilding of the Ka'ba When the Apostle Acted as Umpire

Quraysh decided to rebuild the Ka'ba when the apostle was thirty-five years of age (T. fifteen years after the sacrilegious war). They were planning to roof it and feared to demolish it, for it was made of loose stones above a man's height, and they wanted to raise it and roof it because men had stolen part of the treasure of the Ka'ba which used to be in a well in the middle of it. The treasure was found with Duwayq a freedman of B. Mulayh b. 'Amr of Khuzā' (130). Quraysh cut his hand off; they say that the people who stole the treasure deposited it with Duwayq.

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(1. Among those suspected were al-Hārith b. 'Amir b. Naufal, and Abū Ihbāb b. 'Aṣlāb b. Qays b. Suwayd al-Tamimi who shared the same mother, and Abū Lahrab b. 'Abdūl-Muṭṭalib. Quraysh alleged that they who took the Ka'ba's treasure and deposited it with Duwayq, a freedman of B. Mulayh, and when Quraysh suspected them they informed against Duwayq and so his hand was cut off. It was said that they had left it with him, and people say that when Quraysh felt certain that the treasure had been with al-Hārith they took him to an Arab sorceress and in her rhymed utterances she decreed that he should not enter Mecca for ten years because he had profaned the sanctity of the Ka'ba. They allege that he was driven out and lived in the surrounding country for ten years.)

Now a ship belonging to a Greek merchant had been cast ashore at Judda and became a total wreck. They took its timbers and got them ready to roof the Ka'ba. It happened that in Mecca there was a Copt who was a carpenter, so everything they needed was ready to hand. Now a snake used to come out of the well in which the sacred offerings were thrown and sun itself every day on the wall of the Ka'ba. It was an object of terror because whenever anyone came near it it raised its head and made a rustling noise and opened its mouth, so that they were terrified of it. While it was thusPs, it one day, God sent a bird which seized it and flew off with it. Thereupon Quraysh said, 'Now we may hope that God is pleased with what we propose to do. We have a friendly craftsman, we have got the wood and God has rid us of the snake.' When they had decided to pull it down and rebuild it Abū Wāḥib b. 'Āmir b. 'Ādīth b. 'Abd b. Iďrīs b. Makheēn (131) got up and took a stone from the Ka'ba and he kept it out of his hand so that it returned to its place. He said, 'Quraysh, do not bring into this building ill-gotten gains, the hire of a harlot, nor money taken in usury, nor anything resulting from wrong and violence.' People ascribe this saying to al-Wālīd b. al-Mughira b. 'Abdūlhab b. 'Umar b. Makkāmāh.

'Abdūlhab b. Abū Najīh al-Makkī told me that he was told on the authority of 'Abdūlhab b. Saswān b. Umayya b. Khalaf b. Wāḥib b. Hudayfā b. 'Umar b. Husayy b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy that he saw a son of Ja'da b. Habayra b. Abū Wāḥib b. 'Āmir circumambulating the temple, and when he enquired about him he was told who he was. 'Abdūlhab b. Saswān said, 'It was the grandfather of this man (meaning Abū Wāḥib), who took the stone from the Ka'ba when Quraysh decided to demolish it and it sprang from his hand and returned to its place, and it was he who said the words which have just been quoted.'

Abū Wāḥib was the maternal uncle of the apostle's father. He was a noble of whom an Arab poet said

If I made my camel kneel at Abū Wāḥib's door,
It would start the moon's journey with well filled saddle-bags;
He was the noblest of the two branches of Lu'ayy b. Ghalib,
When noble lineage is reckoned.

Refusing to accept injustice, delighting in giving,
His ancestors were of the noblest stock.

A great pile of ashes lie beneath his cooking-pot,
He fills his dishes with bread topped by luscious meat.

Then Quraysh divided the work among them; the section near the door was assigned to B. 'Abdūl Masāf and Zuhra. The space between the black stone and the southern corner to B. Mak̄̄chim and the Qurayshite tribes which were attached to them. The back of the Ka'ba to B. Jumayyāh and Sāhm, the two sons of 'Amr b. Husayy b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy. The side of the Jāfr to B. 'Abdūl Dār b. Quasayy and to B. Asad b. al-Ŷātāt b. Quasayy, and to B. 'Adīy b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy which is the Hatam.

The people were afraid to demolish the temple, and withdrew in awe from it. Al-Wālīd b. al-Mughira said, 'I will begin the demolition.' So he took a pick-axe, went up to it saying the while, 'O God, do not be afraid.' Then he demolished the part at the two corners. That night the people watched, saying, 'We will look out; if he is smitten we won't destroy any more of it and will restore it as it was; but if nothing happens to him then God is pleased with what we are doing and we will demolish it.' In the morning al-Wālīd returned to the work of demolition and the people worked with him, until they got down to the foundation of Abūmā'id. They came on green stones like camels' humps joined one to another.

A certain traditionist told me that a man of Quraysh inserted a crowbar between two stones in order to get one of them out, and when he moved the stone the whole of Mecca shuddered so they left the foundation alone. (T. so they had reached the foundation.)

I was told that Quraysh found in the corner a writing in Syria. They could not understand it until a Jew read it for them. It was as follows: 'I am Allah the Lord of Bukka, I created it on the day that I created heaven.

Professor Abiād reminds me that the second half of this verse is reminiscent of Ismā'īl's

Qays (1. 12) where the fine but rich of the camel is compared with white silk finely woven.

'The feminine form indicates that the Ka'ba itself is addressed.

* * *

Or two sacred stones.
and earth and formed the sun and moon, and I surrounded it with seven pious angels. It will stand while its two mountains stand, a blessing to its people with milk and water,' and I was told that they found in the magam a writing, 'Mecca is God's holy house, its sustenance comes to it from three directions; let its people not be the first to profane it.'

Layth b. Abū Sulaym alleged that they found a stone in the Ka'ba forty years before the prophet's mission, if what they say is true, containing the inscription 'He that sows good shall reap joy; he that sows evil shall reap sorrow; can you do evil and be rewarded with good? Nay, as grapes cannot be gathered from thorns. 1

The tribes of Quraysh gathered stones for the building, each tribe collecting them and building by itself until the building was finished up to the black stone, where controversy arose, each tribe wanting to lift it to its place, until they went their several ways, formed alliances, and got ready for battle. The B. 'Abdū'l-Dār brought a bowl full of blood; then they and the B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy pledged themselves unto death and thrust their hands into the blood. For this reason they were called the blood-lickers. Such was the state of affairs for four or five nights, and then Quraysh gathered in the mosque and took counsel and were equally divided on the question.

A traditionist alleged that Abū Umayya b. al-Mughārā b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm who was at that time the oldest man of Quraysh, urged them to make the first man to enter the gate of the mosque umpure in the matter in dispute. They did so and the first to come was the apostle of God. When they saw him they said, 'This is the trustworthy one. We are satisfied. This is Muhammad.' When he came to them and they informed him of the matter he said, 'Give me a cloak,' and when it was brought to him he took the black stone and put it inside it and said that each tribe should take hold of an end of the cloak and they should lift it together. They did this so that when they got it into position he placed it with his own hand, and then building went on above it.

Quraysh used to call the apostle of God before revelation came to him, 'the trustworthy one'; and when they had finished the building, according to their desire, al-Zubayr the son of 'Abdūl-Muṭṭalib said about the snake which made the Quraysh dread rebuilding the Ka'ba:

I was amazed that the eagle went straight
To the snake when it was excited.
It used to rustle ominously
And sometimes it would dart forth.
When we planned to rebuild the Ka'ba
It terrified us for it was fearsome.
When we feared its attack, down came the eagle,
Deadly straight in its swoop.

1 A strange place in which to find a quotation from the Gospel; cf. Mt. 7. 16.

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It bore it away, thus leaving us free
To work without further hindrance.
We attacked the building together,
We had its foundations and the earth
On the morrow we raised the foundation,
None of our workers wore clothes.
Through it did God honour the sons of Lu'ayy,
Its foundation was ever associated with them,
Band 'Adiy and Mūrra had gathered there,
Kilāb having preceded them.
For this the King settled us there in power,
For reward is to be sought from God (133).

The Humas

I do not know whether it was before or after the year of the elephant that Quraysh invented the idea of Humas and put it into practice. They said, 'We are the sons of Abraham, the people of the holy territory, the guardians of the temple and the citizens of Mecca. No other Arabs have rights like ours or a position like ours. The Arabs recognize none as they recognize us, so do not attach the same importance to the outside country as you do to the sanctuary, for if you do the Arabs will despise your tabou and will say, 'They have given the same importance to the outside land as to the sacred territory.' So they gave up the halt at 'Arafa and the departure from it, while they recognized that these were institutions of the pilgrimage and the religion of Abraham. They considered that other Arabs should halt there and depart from the place; but they said, 'We are the people of the sanctuary, so it is not fitting that we should go out from the sacred territory and honour other places as we, the Humas, honour that; for the Humas are the people of the sanctuary.' They then proceeded to deal in the same way with Arabs who were born within and without the sacred territory. Khubla and Khuzā'a joined with them in this (134).

The Humas went on to introduce innovations for which they had no warrant. They thought it wrong that they should eat cheese made of sour milk or clarify butter while they were in a state of taboo. They would not enter tents of camel-hair or seek shelter from the sun except in leather tents while they were in this state. They went further and refused to allow those outside the haram to bring food in with them when they came on the great or little pilgrimage. Nor could they circumambulate the house except in the garments of the Humas. If they had no such garments they had to go round naked. If any man or woman felt scruples when they had no humas garments, then they could go round in their ordinary clothes; but they had
to throw them away afterwards so that neither they nor anyone else could make use of them.\(^1\)

The Arabs called these clothes ‘the cast-off’. They imposed all these restrictions on the Arabs, who accepted them and halted at 'Arafāt, hastened from it, and circumambulated the house naked. The men at least went naked while the women laid aside all their clothes except a shift wide open back or front. An Arab woman who was going round the house thus said:

Today some or all of it can be seen,
But what can be seen I do not make common property!

Those who went round in the clothes in which they came from outside threw them away so that neither they nor anyone else could make use of them. An Arab mentioning some clothes which he had discarded and could not get again and yet wanted. said:

It's grief enough that I should return to her
As though she were a tabooed cast-off in front of the pilgrims.

\(^{1}\) i.e. she could not be touched.

This state of affairs lasted until God sent Muhammad and revealed to him when He gave him the laws of His religion and the customs of the pilgrimage: ‘Then hasten onward from the place whence men hasten onwards, and ask pardon of God, for God is forgiving, merciful.’ The words are addressed to Quraish and ‘men’ refer to the Arabs. So in the rule of the hajj he hastened them up to 'Arafāt and ordered them to halt there and to hasten thence.

In reference to their prohibition of food and clothes at the temple such as had been brought from outside the sacred territory God revealed to him: ‘O Sons of Adam, wear your clothes at every mosque and eat and drink and be not prodigal, for God loves not the prodigal. Say, Who has forbidden the clothes which God has brought forth for His servants and the good things which He has provided? Say, They on the day of resurrection will be only for those who in this life believed. Thus do we explain the signs for people who have knowledge.\(^2\) Thus God set aside the restrictions of the Hums and the innovations of Quraish against men's interests when He sent his apostle with Islam.

‘Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ‘Amir b. Ḥazm from 'Uṯmān b. Abū Sūlaymān b. Ḫūbayr b. Muţ‘īm from his uncle Ṣā‘īd b. Ḫūbayr from his father Ḫuṣayb b. Muţ‘īm said: ‘I saw God’s apostle before revelation came to him and lo he was halting on his beard in 'Arafāt with men in the midst of his tribe until he quitted it with them—a special grace from God to him.’

\(^{2}\) Sura 7, 29.

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\(^{1}\) The survival of the idea of contagious ‘holiness’ which on the one hand prohibited the introduction of profane food into the sanctuary, and when it could not prevent the introduction of profane clothes, forbade their use for common purposes after they had come in contact with taboo, would seem to indicate an antiquity far greater than that ascribed to these practices here.

\(^{2}\) Sura 2, 105.

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\[\text{Arr. i. 115 f.}\]

['Uṯmān b. Ṣā‘īd from Muḥammad b. Ḫūṣayb from Abū Sūlaymān b. Ṣā‘īd, freedman of Umm Ḥanāfī from Ibn 'Abbas: The Hums were Quraish, ḫāṣṣāt, al-Asūs and al-Ḳahāraz]. Jūtham, B. Ṣa‘īd b. Ḧalīl b. Ḧadi al-Naṣīr b. Ḫūṣayb married his son Maḏj to the daughter of Tāyim Ṣa‘īd b. Ḧalīl b. Ḧadi al-Kīlāb who said:

My people watered the sons of Maḏj and I catches of man and I

Watar Natmār and the tribes of Hīlāl.

Maṣūr b. Ḧaṣrūn b. Khaṣṣūṣā b. Qays b. ‘Abdullāh married Salmād b. Dhuwayd b. ‘Alī b. Ya‘ṣūr b. Ṣa‘īd b. Qays b. ‘Abdullāh and she bore to him Ḫawāzīn. When he fell seriously ill she vowed that if he recovered she would make him a Hums, and when he recovered she fulfilled her vow. . . The Hums strictly observed the sacred months and never wronged their protégés therein nor wronged anyone therein. They went round the Ka‘bah wearing their clothes. If one of them before and at the beginning of Islam was in a state of taboo if he happened to be one of the housesdwellers, i.e. living in houses or villages, he would dig a hole at the back of his house and go in and out by it and not enter by the door. The Hums used to say, ‘Do not respect anything profane and do not go outside the sacred area during the hajj, so they cut out the rites of the pilgrimage and the halt at 'Arafāt, it being in the profane area, and would not halt at it or go forth from it. They made their stopping-place at the extreme end of the sacred territory at Namira at the open space of al-Ma‘ṣīmān, standing there the night of 'Arafāt and sheltering by day in the trees of Namira and starting from it to al-Mudawlah. When the sun turned the tops of the mountains they set forth. They were called Hums because of their strictness in their religion. . . . The year of Hudaybiya the prophet entered his house. One of the Anṣār was with him and he stopped at the door, explaining that he was an Ahmāṣī. The apostle said, ‘I am an Ahmāṣī too. My religion and youns are the same’, so the Anṣārī went into the house by the door as he saw the apostle do.

Outsiders used to circumambulate the temple naked, both men and women. The B. ‘Amir b. Ṣa‘īd and ‘Akk were among those who did thus. When a woman went round naked she would put one hand behind her and the other in front.\(^3\)]

\(^{3}\) A great deal more follows in the name of I. 'Abbas. It is doubtful whether it comes from I. because though there is new matter in it, some statements which occur in the foregoing are repeated, so that it is probable that they reached 'Abbas from another source. In the foregoing I have translated only passages which provide additional information,
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REPORTS OF ARAB SOOTHSAWERS, JEWISH RABBIS, AND
CHRISTIAN MONKS

139 Jewish rabbis, Christian monks, and Arab soothsayers had spoken about
the apostle of God before his mission when his time drew near. As to the
rabbis and monks, it was about his description and the description of his
time which they found in their scriptures and what their prophets had
enjoined upon them. As to the Arab soothsayers they had been visited by
saints from the jinn with reports which they had secretly overheard before
they were prevented from hearing by being pelted with stars. Male and
female soothsayers continued to let fall mention of some of these matters
to which the Arabs paid no attention until God sent him and these things
which had been mentioned happened and they recognized them. When
the prophet's mission came the saints were prevented from listening and
they could not occupy the seats in which they used to sit and steal the
heavenly tiding for they were pelted with stars, and the jinn knew that
that was due to an order which God had commanded concerning mankind.
God said to His prophet Muhammad when He sent him as he was telling
him about the jinn when they were prevented from listening and knew
what they knew and did not deny what they saw: 'Say, It has been revealed
to me that a number of the jinn listened and said, 'We have heard a wonderful
Quran which guides to the right path, and we believe in it and we will
not associate anyone with our Lord and that He (exalted be the glory of
our Lord) hath not chosen a wife or a son. A foolish one among us used to
speak lies against God, and we had thought men and jinn would not speak
a lie against God and that when men took refuge with the jinn, they
increased them in revolt,' ending with the words: 'We used to sit on places
therein to listen, he who listens now finds a flame waiting for him. We do
not know whether evil is intended against those that are on earth or whether
their lord wishes to guide them in the right path.'

When the jinn heard
the Quran they knew that they had been prevented from listening before
that so that revelation should not be mingled with news from heaven so
that men would be confused with the tidings which came from God about
it when the proof came and doubt was removed; so they believed and
acknowledged the truth. Then They returned to their people warning
them, saying, 'Our people we have heard a book which was revealed after
Moses confirming what went before it, guiding to the truth and to the
upright path.'

In reference to the saying of the jinn, 'that men took refuge with them
and they increased them in revolt,' Arabs of the Quraysh and others when
they were journeying and stopped at the bottom of a vale to pass a night
therein used to say, 'I take refuge in the lord of this valley of the jinn
toonight from the evil that is therein' (135).

Ya’qūb b. Ḫutayba b. Al-Mughira b. Al-Akhnas told me that he was in-
fomed that the first Arabs to be afraid of falling stars when they were
pelted with them were this clan of Taqif, and that they came to one of
their tribesmen called 'Amr b. Umayya, one of B. Ḥijjār who was a most
astute and shrewd man. and asked him if he had noticed this pelting
with stars. He said, 'Yes, but wait, for if they are the well-known stars
which guide travellers by land and sea, by which the seasons of summer
and winter are known to help men in their daily life, which are being
thrown down by God, it means the end of the world and the destruction
of all that is in it. But if they remain constant and other stars are
being thrown, then it is for some purpose which God intends towards
mankind.'

of the Anṣār mentioned that the apostle of God said to them, 'What were
you saying about this shooting star?' They replied, 'We were saying, a
king is dead, a king has been appointed, a child is born, a child has died.'
He replied, 'It is not so, but when God has decreed something concerning
His creation the bearers of the throne hear it and praise Him, and those
below them praise Him, and those lower still praise Him because they
have praised, and this goes on until the praise descends to the lowest
heaven where they praise. Then they ask each other why and are told
that it is because those above them have done so and they say, 'Why
don't you ask those above you the reason?,' and so it goes on until
they reach the bearers of the throne who say that God has decreed so-and-so
concerning His creation and the news descends from heaven to heaven to the lowest heaven where they discuss it, and the stars steal it by
listening, mingling it with conjecture and false intelligence. Then they
convey it to the soothsayers and tell them of it, sometimes being wrong
and sometimes right, and so the soothsayers are sometimes right and
sometimes wrong. Then God shuts off the soothsayers with which they were
pelted, so soothsaying is cut off today and no longer exists.'

'Amr b. Abū Ja'far from Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū Labība
from 'Ali b. al-Husayn b. 'Ali told me the same tradition as that of Ibn
Shihāb.

A learned person told me that a woman of B. Sahm called al-Ghaytala
who was a soothsayer in the time of ignorance was visited by her familiar
spirit one night. He chirped beneath her, then he said,

'I know what I know,
The day of wounding and slaughter.'

1 The reading here varies; the word 'angels' means the shriek of birds or the crying
noise of a dove, and can be applied to a man's voice. If we read 'ruins', it means the fall
of the swoop of a bird. In view of the chirping and murmuring of soothsayers all the world
over, the first reading seems preferable.
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When the Quraysh heard of this they asked what he meant. The spirit came to her another night and chirped beneath her saying,

"Death, what is death?"

In it bones are thrown here and there."

When Quraysh heard of this they could not understand it and decided to wait until the future should reveal its meaning. When the battle of Badr and Uhud took place in a glen, they knew that this was the meaning of the spirit's message (156).

'Ali b. Nafi' al-Jurashi told me that Jabr, a tribe from the Yaman, had a soothsayer in the time of ignorance, and when the news of the apostle of God was blazed abroad among the Arabs, they said to him, 'Look into the matter of this man for us', and they gathered at the bottom of the mountain where he lived. He came down to them when the sun rose and stood leaning on his bow. He raised his head toward heaven for a long time and began to leap about and say:

O men, God has honoured and chosen Muhammad,
Purified his heart and bowels.
His stay among you, O men, will be short.

Then he turned and climbed up the mountain whence he had come.

A person beyond suspicion told me on the authority of `Abdullah b. Ka'b, a freedman of Uthmân b. `Affân that he was told that when `Umar b. al-Khattâb was sitting with the people in the mosque, an Arab came in to visit him. When `Umar saw him he said: 'This fellow is still a polytheist, he has not given up his old religion yet, (or, he said), he is a soothsayer in the time of ignorance.' The man greeted him and sat down and `Umar asked him if he was a Muslim; he said that he was. He said, 'But were you a soothsayer in the time of ignorance?' The man replied, 'Good God, commander of the faithful, you have thought ill of me and have greeted me in a way that I never heard you speak to anyone of your subjects since you came into power.' `Umar said, 'I ask God's pardon. In the time of ignorance we did worse than this; we worshipped idols and images until God honoured us with his apostle and with Islam.' The man replied, 'Yes, by God, I was a soothsayer.' `Umar said, 'Then tell me what (I. was the most amazing thing) your familiar spirit communicated to you.' He said, 'He came to me a month or so before Islam and said:

Have you considered the jinn and their confusion,
Their religion a despair and a delusion,
Clinging to their canes and their saddled mule in procession?' (157).

`Abdullah b. Ka'b said, Thereupon `Umar said, 'I was standing by an idol with a number of the Quraysh in the time of ignorance when an Arab sacrificed a calf. We were standing by expecting to get a part of it, when I heard a voice more penetrating than I have ever heard coming out of the belly of the calf (this was a month or so before Islam), saying:

O blood red one,
The deed is done,
A man will cry
Beside God none.' (138)

Such is what I have been told about soothsayers among the Arabs."

The Jewish Warning about the Apostle of God

'Asim b. 'Umar b. `Amr told me that some of his tribesmen said: 'What induced us to accept Islam, apart from God's mercy and guidance, was what we used to hear the Jews say. We were polytheists worshipping idols, while they were people of the scriptures with knowledge which we did not possess. There was continual enmity between us, and when we got the better of them and excited their hate, they said, 'The time of a prophet who is to be sent has now come. We will kill you with his aid as Ad and Iram perished.' We often used to hear them say this. When God sent His apostle we accepted him when he called us to God and we realized what their threat meant and joined him before them. We believed in him but they denied him. Concerning us and them, God revealed the verse in the chapter of the Cow: 'And when a book from God came to them confirming what they already had (and they were formerly asking for victory over the unbelievers), when what they knew came to them, they disbelieved it. The curse of God is on the unbelievers.'" (159)

Sâlih b. Ibrahim b. `Abdul-'Rahmân b. `Auf from Mahmûd b. Lahid, brother of B. `Abdul-'As-Salâm al-Ashârî from Sulâm b. Salâm b. Wâqd (Salâm 125 was present at Badr) said: 'We had a Jewish neighbour among B. `Abdul-'As-Salâm, who came out to us one day from his house. (At that time) I was the

1 This ominous oracle can vie with any oracle from Delphi in obscurity. We can render, 'Glens what are glens?', and this, as the sequel shows, is the way Ibn Ishaq understood the enigma when the battles of Badr and Uhud took place in glens. But such a translation ignores the fact that the antecedent fâhû (not fâhî) must be a singular, and no form shâb' is known in the singular. This translation carries with it the necessity of rendering the following line thus, 'Wherein Ka'b is lying prostrate', and commentators are unanimous that 'Ka'b' refers to the tribe of Ka'b; Lâ'ayya, who provided most of the slain in the battles of Badr and Uhud and so were found 'thrown on their sides'. (I can find no authority for translating Ka'b by 'heels'—Person as do Weil and G. Hecules, Die Propheten, Leipzig, 1914, p. 86. 'Ankle' in the singular is the meaning, and this can hardly be right.) In view of the proof text cited by Lane, 2616b, where shâb' (people) and Kâb' (the tribe) and 'ânâl (bones used as dice like our knucklebones) are all found in a single couplet, I am inclined to think that the oracle is still further complicated and that a possible translation is that given above. This, at any rate, has the merit of correct syntax since it requires us to read shâb'.

2 A much longer account is given by S. 135-40.

3 If this report is true it indicates that the Messianic hope was still alive among the Arabian Jews.

4 Not in T. 1145.
asserted that he had been accurately described, so they went and became Muslims and saved their lives, their property, and their families. Such is what I have been told about the Jewish reports.¹

HOW SALMĀN BECAME A MUSLIM

‘Aṣīm b. ‘Umar b. Qatādā al-Anṣārī told me on the authority of Mahmūd b. Labid from ‘Abdulbāb b. ‘Abbās as follows: Salmān said while I listened to his words: ‘I am a Persian from Ispāhān from a village called Ḥāry. My father was the principal landowner in his village and I was dearer to him than the whole world. His love for me went to such lengths that he shut me in his house as though I were a slave girl. I was such a zealous Magian that I became keeper of the sacred fire, replenishing it and not letting it go out for a moment. Now my father owned a large farm, and one day when he could not attend to his farm he told me to go to it and learn about it, giving me certain instructions. ‘Do not let yourself be detained,’ he said, ‘because you are more important to me than my farm and worrying about you will prevent me going about my business.’ So I started out for the farm, and when I passed by a Christian church I heard the voices of the men praying. I knew nothing about them because my father kept me shut up in his house. When I heard their voices I went to see what they were doing; their prayers pleased me and I felt drawn to their worship and thought that it was better than our religion, and I decided that I would not leave them until sunset. So I did not go to the farm. When I asked them where their religion originated, they said ‘Syria’. I returned to my father who had sent after me because anxiety on my account had interrupted all his work. He asked me where I had been and reproached me for not obeying his instructions. I told him that I had passed by some men who were praying in their church and was so pleased with what I saw of their religion that I stayed with them until sunset. He said, ‘My son, there is no good in that religion, the religion of your fathers is better than that.’ ‘No,’ I said, ‘It is better than our religion.’ My father was afraid of what I would do, so he bound me in fetters and imprisoned me in his house. I sent to the Christians and asked them if they would tell me when a caravan of Christian merchants came from Syria. They told me, and I said to them: ‘When they have finished their business and want to go back to their own country, ask them if they will take me.’ They did so and I cast off the fetters from my feet and went with them to Syria. Arrived there I asked for the most learned person in their religion and they directed me to the bishop. I went to him and told him that I liked his religion and should like to be with him and serve him in his church, to learn from him and to pray with him. He invited me to come in and I did so. Now he was a bad man who used to command people to give alms and induced them to

So C. but the beginning of the story suggests that we should read 'abdār 'from the Jewish rabbi'.
do so and when they brought him money he put it in his own coffers and did not give it to the poor, until he had collected seven jars of gold and silver. I conceived a violent hatred for the man when I saw what he was doing. Sometime later when he died and the Christians came together to bury him I told them he was a bad man who exhorted them and persuaded them to give alms, and when they brought money put it in his coffers and gave nothing to the poor. They asked how I could possibly know this, so I led them to his treasure and when I showed them the place they brought out seven jars full of gold and silver. As soon as they saw them they said, "By God, we will never bury the fellow," so they crucified him and stoned him and appointed another in his place.

I have never seen any non-Muslim whom I consider more virtuous, more ascetic, more devoted to the next life, and more consistent night and day than he. I loved him as I had never loved anyone before. I stayed with him a long time until when he was about to die I told him how I loved him and asked him to whom he would confide me and what orders he would give me now that he was about to die. He said, "My dear son, I do not know anyone who is as I am. Men have died and have either altered or abandoned most of their true religion, except a man in Mausil; he follows my faith, so join yourself to him. So when he died and was buried, I approached myself to the bishop of Mausil telling him that so-and-so had confided me to him when he died and told me that he followed the same path. I stayed with him and found him just as he had been described, but it was not long before he died and I asked him to do for me what his predecessor had done. He replied that he knew of only one man, in Nasibin, who followed the same path and he recommended me to go to him.1

1 I stayed with this good man in Nasibin for some time and when he died he recommended me to go to a colleague in Amurria. I stayed with him for some time and laboured until I possessed some cows and a small flock of sheep; then when he was about to die I asked him to recommend me to someone else. He told me that he knew of no one who followed his way of life, but that a prophet was about to arise who would be sent with the religion of Abraham; he would come forth in Arabia and would migrate to a country between two lava belts, between which were palms. He has unmistakable marks. He will eat what is given to him but not things given as alms. Between his shoulders is the seal of prophecy. "If you are able to go to that country, do so." Then he died and was buried and I stayed in Amurria as long as God willed. Then a party of Arab merchants passed by and I asked them to take me to Arabia and I would give them those cows and sheep of mine. They accepted the offer and took me with them until we reached Wadi-l-Qur'ah, when they sold me to a Jew as a slave.

I saw the palm-trees and I hoped that this would be the town which my master had described to me, for I was not certain. Then a cousin of his from B. Quraya of Medina came and bought me and carried me away to Medina, and, by God, as soon as I saw it I recognized it from my master's description. I dwelt there and the apostle of God was sent and lived in Mecca; but I did not hear him mentioned because I was fully occupied as a slave. Then he migrated to Medina and as I was in the top of a palm-tree belonging to my master, carrying out my work while my master sat below, suddenly a cousin of his came up to him and said: "God smite the B. Qayla! They are gathering at this moment in Qubhah a round a man who has come from Mecca today asserting that he is a prophet." (140)

"When I heard this I was seized with trembling (142), so that I thought I should fall on my master; so I came down from the palm and began to say to his cousin, "What did you say? What did you say?" My master was angered and gave me a smart blow, saying, "What do you mean by this? Get back to your work." I said, "Never mind, I only wanted to find out the truth of his report." Now I had a little food which I had gathered, and I took it that evening to the apostle of God who was in Qubhah and said, "I have heard that you are an honest man, and that your companions are strangers in want; here is something for alms, for I think that you have more right to it than others." So I gave it to him. The apostle said to his companions, "Eat!" but he did not hold out his own hand and did not eat. I said to myself, "That is one;" then I left him and collected some food and the apostle went to Medina. Then I brought it to him and said, "I see that you do not eat food given as alms, here is a present which I freely give you." The apostle ate it and gave his companions some. I said, "That's two;" then I came to the apostle when he was in Baq'a-l-Gharqad where he had followed the bier of one of his companions. Now I had two cloaks, and as he was sitting with his companions, I saluted him and went round to look at his back as I could see whether the seal which my master had described to me was there. When the apostle saw me looking at his back he knew that I was trying to find out the truth of what had been described to me, so he threw off his cloak laying bare his back and I looked at the seal and recognized it. Then I bent over him kissing him and weeping. The apostle said, "Come here;" so I came and sat before him and told him my story as I have told you, O b. 'Abbas. The apostle wanted his companions to hear my story. Then servitor occupied Salmano so that we could not be at Baq'a and Uhud with the apostle.

Salman continued: "Then the apostle said to me, "Write an agreement," so I wrote to my master agreeing to plant three hundred palm-trees for him, digging out the base, and to pay forty oaks of gold. The apostle called on his companions to help me, which they did; one with thirty little palms, another with twenty, another with fifteen, and another with ten, each helping as much as he could until the three hundred were complete. The..."
apostle told me to go and dig the holes for them, saying that when I had done so he would put them in with his own hand. Helped by my companions I dug the holes and came and told him; so we all went out together, and as we brought him the palm shoots he planted them with his own hand, and by God, not one of them died. Thus I had delivered the palm-trees, but the money was still owing. Now the apostle had been given a piece of gold as large as a hen’s egg from one of the mines and he summoned me and told me to take it and pay my debt with it. “How far will this relieve me of my debt, O Apostle of God?” I said. “Take it,” he replied, “for God will pay your debt with it.” So I took it and weighed it out to them, and by God, it weighed forty oks, and so I paid my debt with it and Salma was free. I took part with the Apostle in the battle of the Ditch as a free man and thereafter I was at every other battle.’

Yazid b. Abi Habib from a man of ‘Abdul-l-Qays from Salma told me that the latter said: ‘When I said, “How far will this relieve me of my debt?” the apostle took it and turned it over upon his tongue, then he said, “Take it and pay them in full”; so I paid them in full, forty oks.’

‘Asim b. ‘Umar b. Qatada on the authority of a trustworthy informant from ‘Umar b. ‘Abdul-l-Aziz b. Marwan said that he was told that Salma the Persian told the apostle that his master in ‘Amrniriya told him to go to a certain place in Syria where there was a man who lived between two thickets. Every year as he used to go from one to the other, the sick used to stand in his way and everyone he prayed for was healed. He said, ‘Ask him about this religion which you seek, for he can tell you of it.’ So I went on until I came to the place where I had been told of, and I found that people had gathered there with their sick until he came out to them that night passing from one thicket to the other. The people came to him with their sick and everyone he prayed for was healed. They prevented me from getting to him so that I could not approach him until he entered the thicket he was making for, but I took hold of his shoulder. He asked me who I was as he turned to me and I said, ‘God have mercy on you, tell me about the Hanifiyah, the religion of Abraham.’ He replied, ‘You are asking about something men do not inquire of today; the time has come near when a prophet will be sent with this religion from the people of the haram. Go to him, for he will bring you to it.’ Then he went into the thicket. The apostle said to Salma, ‘If you have told me the truth, you met Jesus the son of Mary.’

FOUR MEN WHO BROKE WITH POLYTHEISM

One day when the Quraysh had assembled on a feast day to venerate and circumambulate the idol to which they offered sacrifices, this being a feast

For an interesting account of the reposing of an ancient mine on the Wajh Yashur area of the Hijaz see K. S. Twidwell, Saudi Arabia, Princeton, 1947, pp. 159 f. Kufic inscriptions, said to date from A.D. 750, were found there, and this may well have been one of ‘King Solomon’s mines’.

1 The use being roughly an ounce, a miracle is involved.

which they held annually, four men drew apart secretly and agreed to keep their counsel in the bonds of friendship. They were (i) Waraqa b. Naufal b. Asad b. ‘Abdu-l-Uzza b. Quasyay b. Khall b. Murra b. Ka’b b. Lu’ayy; (ii) ‘Ubaydullah b. Jaflah b. Ri’ab b. Ya’mar b. Sabra b. Murra b. Kabir b. Qhanm b. Ddab b. Asad b. Khazayma whose mother was Umaayma d. ‘Abdu-l-Mu’talib; (iii) Uthman b. al-Huwayirith b. Asad b. ‘Abdu-l-Uzza b. Quasyay; and (iv) Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl b. ‘Abdu-l-Uzza b. ‘Abdullah b. Qur’t b. Riyah b. Rayah b. ‘Adiyy b. Ka’b b. Lu’ayy. They were of the opinion that these people had corrupted the religion of their father Abraham, and that the stone they went round was of no account; it could neither hear, nor see, nor hurt, nor help. ‘Find for yourselves a religion,’ they said; ‘for by God you have none.’ So they went their several ways in the lands, seeking the Hanifiyah, the religion of Abraham.

Waraqa attached himself to Christianity and studied its scriptures until he had thoroughly mastered them. ‘Ubaydullah went on searching until Islam came; then he migrated with the Muslims to Abyssinia taking with him his wife who was a Muslim, Uma Habiba, d. Abu Sufyan. When he arrived there he adopted Christianity, parted from Islam, and died a Christian in Abyssinia.

Muhammad b. Ja’far b. al-Zubayr told me that when he had become a Christian ‘Ubaydullah as he passed the prophet’s companions who were there used to say: ‘We see clearly, but your eyes are only half open,’ i.e. ‘We see, but you are only trying to see and cannot see yet.’ He used the word r’z because when a puppy tries to open its eyes to see, it only half sees. The other word fagalla means to open the eyes. After his death the apostle married his widow Uma Habiba. Muhammad b. Ali b. Husayn told me that the apostle sent ‘Amr b. Umaayma al-Damr to the Negus to ask for the throne he married him to her. He gave her as a dowry, on the apostle’s behalf, four hundred dinars. Muhammad b. Ali said, ‘We think that ‘Abdu-l-Malik b. Marwan fixed the maximum dowry of women at four hundred dinars because of this precedent.’ The man who handed her over to the prophet was Khaliid b. Sa’id b. al-‘As.

Uthman b. al-Huwayrith went to the Byzantine emperor and became a Christian. He was given high office there (142).

Zayd b. ‘Amr stayed as he was: he accepted neither Judaism nor Christianity. He abandoned the religion of his people and abstained from idols, animals that had died, blood, and things offered to idols. 2 He forbade the killing of infant daughters, saying that he worshipped the God of Abraham, and he publicly rebuked his people for their practices.

Hisham b. ‘Urwa from his father on the authority of his mother Asma d. Abu Bakr said that she saw Zayd as a very old man leaning his back on the Ka’ba and saying, ‘O Quraysh, By Him in whose hand is the soul of

1 So C.
2 The influence of the Jewish formula, taken over by early Christianity (Acts 15. 29) is clear.
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Zayd, not one of you follows the religion of Abraham but I.' Then he said:
143 'O God, if I knew how you wished to be worshipped I would so worship
you; but I do not know.' Then he prostrated himself on the palms of his
hands.

I was told that his son, Sa' id b. Zayd, and 'Umar b. al-Khattâb, who
was his nephew, said to the apostle, 'Ought we to ask God's pardon for
Zayd b. 'Amr?' He replied, 'Yes, for he will be raised from the dead as the
sole representative of a whole people.'

Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl composed the following poem about leaving his
people and the treatment he received from them

Am I to worship one lord or a thousand?
If there are as many as you claim,
I renounce al-Lat and al-'Uzzâ both of them.
As any strong-minded person would.
I will not worship al-'Uzzâ and her two daughters,
Nor will I visit the two images of the Banû 'Amr.
I will not worship HubalI though he was our lord.
In the days when I had little sense.
I wondered (for in the night much is strange
Which in daylight is plain to the discerning),
That God had annihilated many men
Whose deeds were terribly evil
And spared others through the piety of a people
So that a little child could grow to manhood.
A man may languish for a time and then recover
As the branch of a tree revives after rain.
I serve my Lord the compassionate
That the forgiving Lord may pardon my sin,
So keep to the fear of God your Lord;
While you hold to that you will not perish.
You will see the pious living in gardens,
While for the infidels hell fire is burning.
Shamed in life, when they die
Their breasts will contract in anguish.

Zayd also said: (143)

To God I give my praise and thanksgiving,
A sure word that will not fail as long as time lasts,
To the heavenly King—there is no God beyond Him
And no lord can draw near to Him.
Beware, O men, of what follows death!
You can hide nothing from God.

146 This is the reading of al-Kabî, but all MSS. have Ghamm, a deity unknown Cf. also
Yaq. iii. 665. 8.

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Beware of putting another beside God,
For the upright way has become clear.
Mercy I implore, others trust in the jinn,
But thou, my God, art our Lord and our hope.
I am satisfied with thee, O God, as a Lord,
And will not worship another God beside thee.
Thou of thy goodness and mercy
Didst send a messenger to Moses as a herald.
Thou saist to him, Go thou and Aaron,
And summon Pharaoh the tyrant to turn to God
And say to him, 'Did you spread out this (earth) without a support,
Until it stood fast as it does?'
Say to him 'Did you raise this (heaven) without support?
What a fine builder then you were!'
Say to him, 'Did you set the moon in the middle thereof
As a light to guide when night covered it?'
Say to him, 'Who sent forth the sun by day
So that the earth it touched reflected its splendour?'
Say to him, 'Who planted seeds in the dust
That herbage might grow and wax great?
And brought forth its seeds in the head of the plant?'
Therein are signs for the understanding.
Thou in thy kindness did deliver Jonah
Who spent nights in the belly of the fish.
Though I glorify thy name, I often repeat
'O Lord forgive my sins.'
O Lord of creatures, bestow thy gifts and mercy upon me
And bless my sons and property.

Zayd b. 'Amr in reproaching his wife Safiyya, d. al-Hadrâmî (144) said:

Now Zayd had determined to leave Mecca to travel about in search of
the Hanîfiya, the religion of Abraham, and whenever Safiyya saw that he
had got ready to travel she told al-Khattâb b. Nufayl, who was his uncle
and his brother by the same mother.1 He used to reproach him for
forsaking the religion of his people. He had instructed Safiyya to tell him
if she saw him getting ready to depart; and then Zayd said:

Don't keep me back in humiliation,
O Safiyya. It is not my way at all.

1 Or 'I should add to my sins unless thou forgivest me'.
2 What he said is reserved till the circumstances which gave rise to the poem have been
described.
3 This was because his mother was first married to Nufayl and gave birth to al-Khattâb;
then she married her stepson 'Amr and gave birth to Zayd: thus the double relationship
came over being.
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When I fear humiliation
I am a brave man whose steed is submissive.¹
A man who persistently frequents the gates of kings
Whose camel crosses the desert;
One who severs ties with others
Whose difficulties can be overcome without (the aid of) friends.
A donkey only accepts humiliation
When its coat is worn out.
It says, 'I will never give in
Because the load chafes my sides.'²
My brother, (my mother's son and then my uncle),
Uses words which do not please me.
When he reproaches me I say,
'I have no answer for him.'³
Yet if I wished I could say things
Of which I hold the keys and door.

I was told by one of the family of Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl that when Zayd faced the Ka'ba inside the mosque he used to say, 'La-lhayka in truth, in worship and in service'⁴

Then he said:

A humble prisoner, O God, my face in the dust,
Whatever thy commandment do I must.

Then the traveller at midday is not as he who sleeps at noon (145).

And Zayd said:

I submit myself to him to whom
The earth which bears mighty rocks is subject.
He spread it out and when He saw it was settled
Upon the waters, He fixed the mountains on it.
I submit myself to Him to whom clouds which bear
Sweet water are subject.
When they are borne along to a land
They obediently pour copious rain upon it.

Now al-Khaṭṭāb had so harassed Zayd that he forced him to withdraw to the upper part of Mecca, and he stopped in the mountain of Hirā facing the town. Al-Khaṭṭāb gave instructions to the young irresponsible men of Quraṣṣ that they should not let him enter Mecca and he was able to do so

¹ So A.Dh. Perhaps mubhayya means 'quick to take leave'.
² So A.Dh., but one would expect plāshūn to mean 'his tough ones'.
³ i.e. 'Here I am as a sincere worshipper'.

in secret only. When they got to know of that they told al-Khaṭṭāb and drove him out and harassed him because of their fear that he would show their religion in its true colours and that some would join him in seceding from it. He said, making much of its sanctity among these of his people who treated it as ordinary:

O God, I am of the holy land, no outsider,
My house is in the centre of the place
Hard by al-Ṣafī.
It is no home of error.

Then he went forth seeking the religion of Abraham, questioning monks and Rabbanis until he had traversed al-Maṣṣāl and the whole of Meopotamia; then he went through the whole of Syria until he came to a monk in the high ground of Balqī.² This man, it is alleged, was well instructed in Christianity. He asked him about the Hanifīya, the religion of Abraham, and the monk replied, 'You are seeking a religion to which no one today can guide you, but the time of a prophet who will come forth from your own country which you have just left has drawn near. He will be sent with the Hanifīya, the religion of Abraham, so stick to it, for he is about to be sent now and this is his time.' Now Zayd had sampled Judaism and Christianity and was not satisfied with either of them; so at these words he went away at once making for Mecca; but when he was well inside the country of Lakhm he was attacked and killed.

Waraqā b. Nufayl b. Asad composed this elegy over him:

You were altogether on the right path Ibn 'Amr,
You have escaped hell's burning oven
By serving the one and only God
And abandoning vain idols.
And by attaining the religion which you sought
Not being unmindful of the unity of your Lord
You have reached a noble dwelling
Wherein you will rejoice in your generous treatment.
You will meet there the friend of God,²
Since you were not a tyrant ripe for hell,
For the mercy of God reaches men,
Though they be seventy valleys deep below the earth (146).

THE WORD APPLIED TO THE APOSTLE OF GOD IN THE GOSPEL

Among the things which have reached me about what Jesus the Son of Mary stated in the Gospel which he received from God for the followers of the Gospel, in applying a term to describe the apostle of God, is the

² One would expect mistrūfīya for mūsālūn in view of what has been said about the Ιωάννης.
³ The district of which 'Amman was the capital
⁴ i.e. Abraham.
they transmitted that obligation to those who believed in them among the two monotheistic religions.

(3. One whom I do not suspect told me from Sa'd b. Abū 'Arūba from T. 1142 Qatādā b. Dī‘āma al-Salātī from Abū‘l-Jald: *'The Furqān came down on the 14th night of Ramāḍān. Others say, No, but on the 17th; and in support of this they appeal to God's word: 'And what we sent down to our servant on the day of the Furqān, the day the two companies met' which was the meeting of the apostle and the polytheists at Badr, and that took place on the morning of Ramāḍān 17th."

Al-Zuhri related from 'Urwa b. Zubayr that 'A‘isha told him that when Allah desired to honour Muhammad and have mercy on His servants by means of him, the first sign of prophethood vouchsafed to the apostle was true visions, resembling the brightness of daybreak, which were shown to him in his sleep. And Allah, she said, made him love solitude so that he liked nothing better than to be alone.

‘Abdul-Malik b. ‘Ubaydullāh b. Abū Su‘yfān b. al-da‘ī b. Jāriya the Thaqāfi who had a retentive memory related to me from a certain scholar that the apostle at the time when Allah willed to bestow His grace upon him and endow him with prophethood would go forth for his affair and journey far afield until he reached the glens of Mecca and the beds of its valleys where no house was in sight; and not a stone or tree that he passed by but would say, 'Peace unto thee, O apostle of Allah.' And the apostle would turn to his right and left and look behind him and he would see naught but trees and stones. Thus he stayed seeing and hearing so long as it pleased Allah that he should stay. Then Gabriel came to him with the gift of God's grace whilst he was on Hira' in the month of Ramāḍān.

Wahb b. Kaisān a client of the family of al-Zubayr told me: I heard ‘Abdul-lah b. al-Zubayr say to ‘Ubayd b. ‘Umayr b. Qatādā the Laythī, ‘O ‘Ubayd tell us how began the prophethood which was first bestowed on the apostle when Gabriel came to him.' And ‘Ubayd in my presence related to ‘Abdul-lah and those with him as follows: The apostle would pray in seclusion on Hira' every year for a month to practice takbārā as was the custom of Quraysh in heathen days. Tahānmāsh is religious devotion. Abū Tālib said:

By Thaur and him who made Thabir firm in its place
And by those going up to ascend Hira' and coming down (147).

Wahb b. Kaisān told me that ‘Ubayd said to him: Every year during that month the apostle would pray in seclusion and give food to the poor that came to him. And when he completed the month and returned from his seclusion, first of all before entering his house he would go to the Ka‘bah and walk round it seven times or as often as it pleased God; then he would go back to his house until in the year when God sent him, in the month of Surā 3. 42.

2 Thaur and Thabir are mountains near Meca. The poem is given on p. 173; cf. Yāqūt ii. 938

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1 The passage quoted is John 15: 23 ff. It is interesting to note that the citation comes from the Palestinian Syriac Lectio and not from the ordinary Bible of the Syriac-speaking Churches. The text is corrupt in one or two places; e.g. the phrase 'puffed up with pride and think that they will overcome me' Bāzīrī is an obvious corruption of nāsūrī, which agrees with the Syriac and underlying Greek. Razāmān seems to be another attempt to make sense of the passage. The next word I am unable to explain. The most interesting word is that rendered 'Comforter' which we find in the Palestinian Lectionary, but all other Syriac versions render 'paraclete', following the Greek. This word was well established in the Hebrew- and Aramaic-speaking world. The maqāmān in Syriac means the life-giver and especially one who raises from the dead. Obviously such a meaning is out of place here and what is meant is one who consoles and comforts people for the loss of one dear to them. This is the meaning in the Talmud and Targum. It ought to be pointed out that by the omission of the words 'that is written' before 'in the law' quite another meaning is given to the prophecy. The natural rendering would be 'the word that concerns the Nāmūs must be fulfilled'. To Muslims the Nāmūs was the angel Gabriel. Furthermore, the last words are translated as the ordinary Arab reader would understand rashūkā; but in Syrian Arabic it could bear the meaning of the Gospel text 'stumble'. See further my article in *Al-Indābi* cat. xx, fasc. 2 (1950), 399–406.

2 Sūra 34. 27.

3 Sūra 3. 75.
Ramadan in which God willed concerning him what He willed of His grace, the apostle set forth to Hira as was his wont, and his family with him. When it was the night on which God honoured him with his mission and showed mercy on His servants thereby, Gabriel brought him the command of God. 'He came to me,' said the apostle of God, 'while I was asleep, with a coverlet of brocade whereon was some writing, and said, 'Read!’ I said, 'What shall I read?’ He pressed me with it so tightly that I thought it was death; then he let me go and said, ‘Read!’ I said, 'What shall I read?’ I pressed me with it the third time so that I thought it was death and said 'Read!' I said, 'What then shall I read?’—and this I said only to deliver myself from him, lest he should do the same to me again. He said:

"Read in the name of thy Lord who created,

Who created man of blood coagulated.

Read! Thy Lord is the most beneficent,

Who taught by the pen,

Taught that which they knew not unto men."

So I read it, and he departed from me. And I awoke from my sleep, and it was as though these words were written on my heart. (T. Now none of God's creatures was more hateful to me than an (ecstatic) poet or a man possessed: I could not even look at them. I thought, Woe is me poet or possessed—Never shall Quraysh say this of me! I will go to the top of the mountain and throw myself down that I may kill myself and gain rest. So I went forth to do so and then) when I was midway on the mountain, I heard a voice from heaven saying, 'O Muhammad! thou art the apostle of God and I am Gabriel.' I raised my head towards heaven to see (who was speaking), and lo, Gabriel in the form of a man with feet astride the horizon, saying, 'O Muhammad! thou art the apostle of God and I am Gabriel.' I stood gazing at him, (T. and that turned me from my purpose) moving neither forward nor backward; then I began to turn my face away from him, but towards whatever region of the sky I looked, I saw him as before. And I continued standing there, neither advancing nor turning back, until Khadija sent her messengers in search of me and they gained the high ground above Mecca and returned to her while I was standing in the same place; then he parted from me and I from him, returning to my family. And I came to Khadija and sat by her thigh and drew close to her. She said, 'O Abûl-Qasim, where hast thou been? By God, I sent my messengers in search of thee, and they reached the high ground above Mecca and returned to me.' (T. I said to her, 'Woe is me poet or possessed.' She said, 'I take refuge in God from that Abûl-Qasim. God would not treat you thus since he knows your truthfulness, your great trustworthiness, your fine character, and your kindness. This cannot be, my dear. Perhaps

Sun 96. 1-5.

The kunya or 'name of honour' of Muhammad.
PART II

MUHAMMAD'S CALL AND
PREACHING IN MECCA
THE BEGINNING OF THE SENDING DOWN OF THE QURĀN

The apostle began to receive revelations in the month of Ramāḍān. In the words of God, "The month of Ramāḍān in which the Qurān was brought down as a guidance to men, and proofs of guidance and a decisive criterion." And again, "Verily we have sent it down on the night of destiny, and what has shown you what the night of destiny is? The night of destiny is better than a thousand months. In it the angels and the spirit descend by their Lord's permission with every matter. It is peace until the rise of dawn." Again, "H.M. by the perspicuous book, verily we have sent it down in a blessed night. Verily, we were warning. In it every wise matter is decided as a command from us. Verily we sent it down." And again, "Had you believed in God and what we sent down to Our servant on the day of decision, the day on which the two parties met," i.e., the meeting of the apostle with the polytheists in Badr. Abū Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Ali b. al-Husayn told me that the apostle of God met the polytheists in Badr on the morning of Friday, the 17th of Ramāḍān.

Then revelation came fully to the apostle while he was believing in Him and in the truth of His message. He received it willingly, and took upon himself what it entailed whether of man's goodwill or anger. Prophecy is a troublesome burden—only strong, resolute messengers can bear it by God's help and grace, because of the opposition which they meet from men in conveying God's message. The apostle carried out God's orders in spite of the opposition and ill treatment which he met with.

KHADIJAH, DAUGHTER OF KHUWAYLID, ACCEPTS ISLAM

Khadija believed in him and accepted as true what he brought from God, and helped him in his work. She was the first to believe in God and His apostle, and in the truth of his message. By her God lightened the burden of His prophet. He never met with contradiction and charges of falsehood, which saddened him, but God comforted him by her when he went home. She strengthened him, lightened his burden, proclaimed his truth, and belittled men's opposition. May God Almighty have mercy upon her!

Hishām b. ‘Urwa told me on the authority of his father ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr from ‘Abdulrahmān b. Ja‘far b. Abū Ṭālib that the apostle said, 'I was commanded to give Khadija the good news of a house of qasab wherein would be no clamour and no toil' (148).

Then revelations stopped for a time so that the apostle of God was distressed and grieved. Then Gabriel brought him the Sūra of the Morning, in which his Lord, who had so honoured him, aware that He had not for-
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saken him, and did not hate him. God said, 'By the morning and the night
when it is still, thy Lord hath not forsaken nor hated thee,' meaning that
He has not left you and forsaken you, nor hated you after having loved
you. 'And verily, the latter end is better for you than the beginning,' i.e.
What I have for you when you return to Me is better than the honour
which I have given you in the world. 'And your Lord will give you and
will satisfy you,' i.e. of victory in this world and reward in the next. 'Did
he not find you an orphan and give you refuge, going astray and guided
you, found you poor and made you rich?' God thus told him of how He
had begun to honour him in his earthly life, and of His kindness to him as
an orphan poor and wandering astray, and of His delivering him from all
that by His compassion (149).

157 'Do not oppress the orphans and do not repel the beggars.' That is, do not
be a tyrant or proud or harsh or mean towards the weakest of God's
creatures.

'Speak of the kindness of thy Lord,' i.e. tell about the kindness of God
in giving you prophecy, mention it and call men to it.

So the apostle began to mention secretly God's kindness to him and to
his servants in the matter of prophecy to everyone among his people whom
he could trust.

The Prescription of Prayer

The apostle was ordered to pray and so he prayed. Salih b. Kaisan
from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from 'A'isha told me that she said, 'When prayer was
first laid upon the apostle it was with two prostrations for every prayer; then
God raised it to four prostrations at home while on a journey the former
ordinance of two prostrations held.'

158 A learned person told me that when prayer was laid upon the apostle
Gabriel came to him while he was on the heights of Mecca and dug a hole
for him with his heel in the side of the valley from which a fountain gushed
forth, and Gabriel performed the ritual ablation as the apostle watched
him. This was in order to show him how to purify himself before prayer.

Then the apostle performed the ritual ablation as he had seen Gabriel do it.

Then Gabriel said a prayer with him while the apostle prayed with his
prayer. Then Gabriel left him. The apostle came to Khadija and per-
formed the ritual for her as Gabriel had done for him, and she copied him.
Then he prayed with her as Gabriel had prayed with him, and she prayed
his prayer.

'Utbah b. Muslim freedman of B. Taym from Naqib b. Jubaib b. Mu'tam
(who was prolific in relating tradition) from I. 'Abbas b. Khattab said:
'When prayer was laid upon the apostle Gabriel came to him and prayed the noon
prayer when the sun declined. Then he prayed the evening prayer when
his shadow equaled his own length. Then he prayed the sunset prayer
when the sun set. Then he prayed the last night prayer when the twilight
had disappeared. Then he prayed with him the morning prayer when the
dawn rose. Then he came to him and prayed the noon prayer on the
morrow when his shadow equaled his height. Then he prayed the evening
prayer when his shadow equaled the height of both of them. Then he
prayed the sunset prayer when the sun set at the time it had the day
before. Then he prayed with him the last night prayer when the first third
of the night had passed. Then he prayed the dawn prayer when it was clear
but the sun was not shining. Then he said, "O Muhammad, prayer is in
what is between your prayer today and your prayer yesterday."' (T. T.
Yunus b. Bukayr said that Muhammad b. Ishaq told him that Yahya b.
Abu'l-Ash'ath al-Kindi of the people of Kufa said that Isma'il b. Iyaz b.
'Aff from his father from his grandfather said, 'When I was a merchant
I came to al-'Abbas during the days of pilgrimage; and while we were
a together a man came out to pray and stood facing the Ka'ba; then
a woman came out and stood praying with him; then a young man came out
and stood praying with him. I said to 'Abbas, 'What is their religion? It
is some thing new to me.' He said, 'This is Muhammad b. Abdullah who
alleges that God has sent him with it and that the treasures of Chosroes
and Caesar will be opened to him. The woman is his wife Khadija
who believes in him, and this young man is his nephew 'Aff who believes in him.'

'Aff said, 'Would that I could have believed that day and been a third!''

(T. Ibn Hamid said that Salama b. al-Fadl and 'Ali b. Mu'ajib said T.
him. Salama said, Muhammad b. Ishaq told me from Yahya b. Abu'l-
Ash'ath—'Abbas said, 'It is in another place in my book from Yahya b.
Abu'l-Ash'ath from Isma'il b. 'Iyaz b. 'Aff al-Kindi, 'Aff b. Khattab said:
'Aff being the brother of al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindi by the same mother and the son of his uncle—
from his father, from his grandfather 'Aff: 'Abbas b. 'Abdul-Muttalib
was a friend of mine who used to go often to the Yarman to buy aromatics
and sell them during the fairs. While I was with him in Minâ there
came a man in the prime of life and performed the full rites of ablation
and then stood up and prayed. Then a woman came out and did her
ablations and stood up and prayed. Then a youth just approaching
manhood, did his ablutions, then stood up and prayed by his side.
When I asked al-'Abbas what was going on, he said that it was his nephew
Muhammad b. 'Abdul-Muttalib who alleges that Allah has sent him as an apostle; the other is my brother's son 'Ali b. Abû Tâlib
who has followed him in his religion; the third is his wife Khadija d.

3 Yahya takes the author's task for saying what he should not. Traditionists are agreed
that this story belongs to the morrow of the prophet's night journey (ru'ya) some five
years later. Opinions differ as to whether this occurred eighteen months or a year before
the Hijra, but that would have been long after the beginning of revelation.

2 This may be one of the traditions which I. I. was accused of producing or recording in
support of the 'Abidas. It is certainly open to criticism. See Introduction, pp. mm.

1 Qur. 93.

2 Qur. 93.

3 A hadit al-'Abbas.
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Khuwaylid who also follows him in his religion.' 'Aṣif said after he had become a Muslim and Islam was firmly established in his heart, "Would that I had been a fourth!"' 1

'ALI B. ABŪ ČALĪB THE FIRST MALE TO ACCEPT ISLAM

'Ali was the first male to believe in the apostle of God, to pray with him and to believe in his divine message, when he was a boy of ten. God favoured him in that he was brought up in the care of the apostle before Islam began.

Abdullah b. Abū Najīḥ on the authority of Muḥāhid b. Jahr Abū’-Hājiṣṣṭa told me that God showed His favour and goodwill towards him when a grievous famine overtook Quraysh. Now Abū Čalīb had a large family, and the prophet approached his uncle, Al-ʿAbbās, who was one of the richest of B. Ḥāshim, suggesting that in view of his large family and the famine which affected everyone, they go together and offer to relieve him of the burden of some of his family. Al-ʿAbbās agreed, and so they went to Abū Čalīb offering to relieve him from his responsibility of two boys until conditions improved. Abū Čalīb said, 'Do what you like so long as you leave me 'Aqīl!' (150). So the apostle took 'Ali and kept him with him and Al-ʿAbbās took Jaʿfar. 'Ali continued to be with the apostle until God sent him forth as a prophet. 'Ali followed him, believed him, and declared his truth, while Jaʿfar remained with Al-ʿAbbās until he became a Muslim and was independent of him.

A traditionist mentioned that when the time of prayer came the apostle used to go out to the glens of Mecca accompanied by 'Ali, who went unknown to his father, and his uncles and the rest of his people. There they used to pray the ritual prayers, and return at nightfall. This went on as long as God intended that it should, until one day Abū Čalīb came upon them while they were praying, and said to the apostle, 'O nephew, what is this religion which I see you practising?' He replied, 'O uncle, this is the religion of God, His angels, His apostles, and the religion of our father Abraham.' Or, as he said, 'God has sent me as an apostle to mankind, and you, my uncle, most deserve that I should teach you the truth and call you to guidance, and you are the most worthy to respond and help me,' or words to that effect. His uncle replied, 'I cannot give up the religion of my fathers which they followed, but by God you shall never meet with anything to distress you so long as I live.' They mention that he said to 'Ali, 'My boy, what is this religion of yours?' He answered, 'I believe in God and in the apostle of God, and I declare that what he has brought is true, and I pray to God with him and follow him.' They allege that he said, 'He would not call you to anything but what is good so stick to him.'

Zayd the freedman of the apostle was the first male to accept Islam after


1 I have omitted the intervening names in genealogies which have been given already.
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He brought them to the apostle when they had accepted his invitation and they accepted Islam and prayed. I have heard that the apostle of God used to say: ‘I have never invited anyone to accept Islam but he has shown signs of reluctance, suspicion, and hesitation, except Abu Bakr. When I told him of it he did not hold back or hesitate’ (153). These were the first eight men to accept Islam and prayed and believed in the divine inspiration of the apostle.

After them came:


1 See C.
2 Not in T.

THE APOSTLE'S PUBLIC PREACHING AND THE RESPONSE

People began to accept Islam, both men and women, in large numbers until the fame of it was spread throughout Mecca, and it began to be talked about. Then God commanded His apostle to declare the truth of what he had received and to make known His commands to men and to call them to Him. Three years elapsed from the time that the apostle concealed his state until God commanded him to publish his religion, according to information which has reached me. Then God said, ‘Proclaim what you have been ordered and turn aside from the polytheists.’ And again, ‘Warn thy family, thy nearest relations, and lower thy wing to the followers who follow thee.’ And ‘Say, I am the one who warns plainly’ (164).

(T: Ibn Hamíd from Salama from Ibn Ishaq from 'Abdullāh b. al-Ghafield b. al-Qāsim from al-Minhâb b. 'Amr from 'Abdullāh b. al-Harith b. Nufayl b. al-Harith b. 'Abdullāh-Mu'talib from 'Abdullāh b. 'Abbâ from 'Ali b. Ābu Ṭalâ'î said: When these words ‘Warn thy family, thy nearest relations’ came down to the apostle he called me and said, ‘God has ordered me to warn my family, my nearest relations and the task is beyond my strength. I know that when I made this message known to them I should meet with great unpleasanthness as I kept silence until Gabriel came to me and told me that if I did not do as I was ordered my Lord would punish me. So get some food ready with a leg of mutton and fill a cup with milk and then get together the sons of ‘Abdullâh-Mu'talib so that I can address them and tell them what I have been ordered to say.’ I did what he ordered and summoned them. There were at that time forty men more or less including his uncles Ābu Ṭalâ'î, Hamza, al-Abbâs, and Ābu Lahab, when they were assembled he told me to bring in the food which I had prepared for them, and when I produced it the apostle took a bit of the meat and split it in his teeth and threw it into the dish. Then he said, ‘Take it in the name of God.’ The men ate till they could eat no more, and all I could see (in the dish) was the place where their hands had been. And as sure as I live if there had been only one man he could have eaten what I put before the lot of them. Then he said, ‘Give the people to drink,’ so I brought them

1 Sûra 15: 94.
2 Sûra 15: 8, 9.
3 Sûra 26, 214, i.e. ‘deal gently with’. 
the cup and they drank until they were all satisfied, and as sure as I live if there had been only one man he could have drunk that amount. When the apostle wanted to address them Abū Lāhab got up in first and said, 'Your host has bewitched you'; so they dispersed before the apostle could address them. On the morrow he said to me, 'This man spoke before I could, and the people dispersed before I could address them, so do exactly as you did yesterday.' Everything went as before and then the apostle said, 'O Sons of Abū'l-Muttaṣīb, I know of no Arab who has come to his people with a nobler message than mine. I have brought you the best of this world and the next. God has ordered me to call you to Him. So which of you will co-operate with me in this matter, my brother, my executor, and my successor being among you?' The men remained silent and I, though the youngest, most rheumy-eyed, fattest in body and thinnest in legs, said: 'O prophet of God, I will be your helper in this matter.' He laid his hand on the back of my neck and said, 'This is my brother, my executor, and my successor among you. Hearken to him and obey him.' The men got up laughing and saying to Abū Talīb, 'He has ordered you to listen to your son and obey him!'

(T. 1173. Ibn Hāmid from Sa'da from Ibn Isḥaq from 'Amr b. 'Ubayd from al-Hasan b. Abū-l-Hāṣim said: When this verse came down to the apostle, he stood in the vale and said, 'O Sons of Abū'l-Muttaṣīb; O Sons of Abū Manāf; O Sons of Qurayy. Then he named Quraysh tribe by tribe until he came to the end of them—i.e. 1 call you to God and I warn you of his punishment.)

When the apostle's companions prayed they went to the glens so that their people could not see them praying, and while Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ was with a number of the prophet's companions in one of the glens of Mecca, a band of polytheists came upon them while they were praying and rudely interrupted them. They blamed them for what they were doing until they came to blows, and it was on that occasion that Sa'd smote a polytheist with the jawbone of a camel and wounded him. This was the first blood to be shed in Islam.

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

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

T. 1174. 168b b. al-Muttaṣīb b. al-Akhbar told me that he was told that after hearing these words from the Qu'ayṣ Abū Talīb sent for his nephew and told him what his people had said. 'Spare me and yourself,' he said, 'Do not put on me a burden greater than I can bear.' The apostle thought that his uncle had the idea of abandoning and betraying him, and that he was going to lose his help and support. He answered, 'O my uncle, by God, if they put the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left on condition that I abandoned this course, until God has made it victorious, or I perish therein, I would not abandon it.' Then the apostle broke into tears, and got up. As he turned away his uncle called him and said, 'Come back, my nephew,' and when he came back, he said, 'Go and say what you please, for by God I will never give you up on any account.'

When the Qu'ayṣ perceived that Abū Talīb had refused to give up the apostle, and that he was resolved to part company with them, they went to him with 'Umāra b. Abī Wahid b. al-Muttaṣīb and said, according to my information, 'O Abū Talīb, this is 'Umāra, the strongest and most handsome young man among Qu'ayṣ, so take him and you will have the benefit of his intelligence and support; adopt him as a son and give up to us this nephew of yours, who has opposed your religion and the religion of your fathers, severed the unity of your people, and mocked our way of life, so that we may kill him. This will be man for man.' He answered, 'By God, this is an evil thing that you would put upon me, would you give me your

abū talīb means the civilization and virtues of the pre-Islamic Arabs. See the excellent discussion of jahl and kāhin in Gebelser's Mohammedanische Studien, i. 226.
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Ahi Ṭālib was delighted at the response of his tribe and their kindness, and began to praise them and to bring to men's memory their past. He mentioned the superiority of the apostle among them and his position so that he might strengthen their resolve and that they might extend their kindness to him. He said:

If one day Quraysh gathered together to boast,
'Abdu Manāf would be their heart and soul;
And if the nobles of 'Abdu Manāf were reckoned,
Amongst Ḥashim would be their noblest and chief;
If they boast one day, then Muhammad
Would be the chosen noble and honourable one.
Quraysh summoned everyone against us;
They were not successful and they were beside themselves.
Of old we have never tolerated injustice;
When people turned away their faces in pride we made them face us.
We protected their sanctuary whenever danger threatened
And drove the assailant from its buildings.
Through us the dry wood becomes green,
Under our protection its roots expand and grow.

AL-WALĪD B. AL-MUGHIRĀ

When the fair was due, a number of the Quraysh came to al-Walid b. al-Mughira, who was a man of some standing, and he addressed them in these words: 'The time of the fair has come round again and representatives of the Arabs will come to you and they will have heard about this fellow of yours, so agree upon one opinion without dispute so that none will give the lie to the other.' They replied, 'You give us your opinion about him.' He said, 'No, you speak and I will listen.' They said, 'He is a kāhin.' He said, 'By God, he is not that, for he has not the unintelligent murmuring and rhymed speech of the kāhin.' Then he is possessed,' they said. 'No, he is not that;' he said, 'we have seen possessed ones, and here is no choking, spasmodic movements and whispering.' 'Then he is a poet,' they said. 'No, he is no poet, for we know poetry in all its forms and metres.' 'Then he is a sorcerer,' they said. 'No, we have seen sorcerers and their sorcery, and here is no spitting and no knots.' 'Then what are we to say, O Abū 'Abdu Shams?' they asked. He replied, 'By God, his speech is sweet, his root is a palm-tree whose branches are fruitful (168), and everything you have said would be known to be false. The nearest thing to the truth is your saying that he is a sorcerer, who has brought a message by which he separates a man from his father, or from his brother, or from his wife, or from his family.'

1 Cf. Sūra 113. 4. Spitting, or perhaps 'blowing.'
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At this point they left him, and began to sit on the paths which men take when they come to the fair. They warned everyone who passed them about Muhammad's doings. God revealed concerning al-Walid:

Leave to Me him I made,
Giving him wealth and trade,
While sons before him played,
The road for him I laid,
Then he covered none of My aid,
Ay, Our signs hath he gainsaid (169)."  

172 'I shall impose on him a grievous burden; he thought and planned; may he perish how he planned, may he perish how he planned. Then he looked, then he frowned, and showed anger' (175).

"Then he turned his back in pride and said, "This is nothing but ancient sorcery, this is nothing but the speech of a mortal"."  

Then God revealed concerning the men who were with him, composing a term to describe the apostle and the revelation he brought from God, 'As we sent down upon the dividers who had split the Quran into parts, by thy Lord we will ask them all about what they used to do' (171).

So these men began to spread this report about the apostle with everyone they met so that the Arabs away from that fair knew about the apostle, and he was talked about in the whole of Arabia. When Aḥā Tālib feared that the multitude would overwhelm him with his family he composed the following ode, in which he claimed protection in the sanctuary of Mecca and by his position therein. He showed his affection for the nobles of his people while, nevertheless, he told them and others in his poetry that he was not going to give up the apostle or surrender him on any account whatever, but he would die in his defence.

When I saw the people had no love for us
And had severed every tie and relationship,
And shown us enmity and ill-will,
Obeys the orders of persecuting enemies,
And had allied themselves with treacherous people against us,
Biting their fingers in rage at our backs,
I stood firm against them with my plant spear,
And my shining sword, heirloom of princes.
Round the temple I gathered my clan and my brothers,
And laid hold of the striped red cloth that covered it,
Standing together, facing its gates,
Where everyone who takes an oath completes his vow.  

Sura 74, 11-15: it is strange that after al-Walid has made the point that Muhammad cannot be a kalīm because he does not deliver messages in such a way, the next question from the sūrah should be an example (to which I fear I have not done justice) of that very form.

173 Sura 15, 99.

2 This is the meaning which A. Dh. gives to wazīrāt. In the context, the term may mean 'a person holding a high office'.

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Where the pilgrims make their camels kneel,
Where the blood flows between Isfāh and Nāṣība,
Camels marked on the shoulders or neck,
Tamed ones, between six and nine years old;
You see amulets on them, and alabaster ornaments
Bound on their necks like date-bearing branches.
I take refuge with the Lord of men from every adversary
And every lying assaulter;
From the hate with his hurtful slander,
And from him who adds to religion what we have not tried.
By Thaur and Him who fixed Thabīr in his place,
And by him who goes up and down Hirā',
By the true temple of the valley of Mecca;
By God who is never unmindful;
By the black stone, when they strike it
When they go round it morning and evening;
By Abraham's footprint in the rock still fresh,
With both feet bare, without sandals;
By the running between Marwa and Safā,
And by the statues and images therein;
By every pilgrim riding to the house of God,
And everyone with a vow and everyone on foot;
By Hira, the further sacred spot to which they go
Where the streamlet opens out;
By their halt at even above the mountains
When they help the camels by their hands to rise;  
By the night of the meeting, by the stations of Minā,
Are any holy places and stations superior?
By the crowd, when the home-going horses pass by quickly
At though escaping from a storm of rain;
By the great stone heap, when they make for it
Aiming at its top with stones;
By kindred, when they are at al-Hijār at even,
When the pilgrims of Bakr b. Wāli pass by them
Two allies who strengthened the tie between them,
And directed to it all means of unity;

3 Hirā', Thaur, and Thabīr were all mountains round Mecca.

4 Hira, in the Lisan is said to be a strip of sand where the people halt. But the line in Nāṣība, 37, 38 and 39, 1. 4 show that it was the name of a sanctuary (and possibly, as Wellhausen, p. 82, says, of the God of Arabia).

The word sugār suggests the way in which men get a reluctant camel to its feet. One man guides up the camel's chest while the other pulls its head up by the reins. Here perhaps the lower action alone is meant as the 'grasping' in speaking of a halt; even so, 'they raise the horses with their hands' is an unnatural way of speaking of pulling on the reins.

5 The largest of the three heaps of stones at Minā, presumably that known as 'Jumma' or 'Jumā'. Thābit's laconism where the epithet 'large' when describing the stone is not mentioned in the Quran, but we shall meet it again in the Shān on pp. 334 and 335 of the Arabic text. See further Djamār in D.I.
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They obeyed Ubay and the son of their 'Abdu Yaghuth
And did not observe what others said of us;
So, too, were we treated by Subay and Naufal,
And everyone who turned away from us, not treating us kindly.
If they throw down their arms, or God give us the better of them.
We will pay them measure for measure.
That fellow Abū 'Amr would do naught but hate us,
To send us away among shepherds and camel-drivers;
He talks about us confidently night and morning.
Talk on, Abū 'Amr, with your guile!
He swears by God he won't deceive us,
But we see him openly doing nothing else;
He hates us so much that he takes the hill-tops
Between Mecca's hills and Syria's forts
Are too narrow to hold him.
Ask Abū'-l-Walid, what have you done to us with your slander
Turning away like a deceitful friend.
You were a man by whose opinion men guided their lives,
And you were kind to us, nor are you a fool.
O 'Uthba, do not listen to an eneny's words against us,
Envious, lying, hating and malicious.
Abū Sufyān averted his face from me as he passed,
Sweeping along as though he were one of the great ones of the earth,
He betook himself to the high ground and its cool waters,
Pretending that he does not forget us.
He tells us that he is sorry for us like a good friend,
But he hides evil designs in his heart.
O, Mu'tim! I did not desert you when you called for help,
Nor on the day of battle when mighty deeds were called for,
Nor when they came against you full of enmity,
Opponents whose strength matched yours.
O Mu'tim, the people have given you a task to do,
I too when entrusted with a task do not try to evade it.
God requite 'Abdu Shams and Naufal for us
With evil punishment quick and not delayed,
With an exact balance, not a grain too little,
The balance its own witness that it is exact.
Proud are the minds of people who exchanged us
For Banū Khalaf and the Ghayyātīs.\(^1\)
We are the pure stock from the summit of Ḥāshim
And the family of Qusayy in matters of import.
Sahm and Makhrūzī stirred up against us
Every soundbred and low-born churl.
'Abdu Manīf, you are the best of your people,
\(^{1}\) See page 123 of the Arabic text where this line is quoted and explained.
Do not make common cause with every outsider.  
You have proved fickle and weak  
And done a thing far from right.  
You were still lately the sticks under one pot  
But now you are the sticks under many pots and vessels.  
Let the Banu 'Abdu Manaf get satisfaction from parting from us,  
Deserting us and leaving us imprisoned in our quarters!  
If we are men we shall take revenge1 for what you have done  
And you will suffer the full effects of war.  
The best men among Lu'ayy b. Ghilb,  
Every bold chief exiled to us;  
The family of Nafayl is the worst that ever trod the earth,  
The most contemptible of all the sons of Ma'add,  
Tell Quasayy that our cause will be blazed abroad,  
And give Quasayy the good news that after us there will be a falling  
 apart (among our enemies).  
Yet if calamity befall Quasayy one night,  
We should have been the first to protect them;  
If they fought bravely in defence of their houses,  
We should show them how to protect the mothers of children.  
Yet every friend and nephew on whom we ought to count  
We find useless when put to the test  
Except for certain men of Khali b. Murra  
Whom we exempt from the stigma of the deserters.2

1 Or 'bear a grudge', according to another reading.  
2 We came to them by night, they all scattered.  
   Every liar and fool disappeared from our sight.  
   Ours was the watering-place among them,  
   We are the rock-like defence of Ghilb,  
   The young men of the scented ones and Hakimm  
   Are like sword blades in the hands of the polisher.  
   They took no revenge, nor shed blood,  
   Nor do they oppose any but the worst tribes.  
   In their fighting you see the youths  
   Like fierce lions quarrelling over lumps of meat.  
   Sons of a favourite Ethiopian3 slave girl,  
   Sons of Jumab, 'Ubayd Qays b. Aqil;  
   But we are the noblest stock of birds  
   Whose heroic deeds were sung in verse.

These seven verses are not in W.'s text, and as he does not mention them in his critical notes it may be assumed that none of his manuscripts contained them. Further, there is not a note in Abi Dharr's commentary, and it is difficult to believe that he would have passed over the extraordinary word hindikya without a note, if the line containing it were before him. I.H. at the end of the poem indicates that he has not used some verses possibly (though I think most improbably) these verses were among them, and even so he says some authorities reject the greater part. It will at once be apparent that the seven lines interrupt the sequence of thought which deals with the honourable exceptions to the general defection. In v. 4 I conjecture hindikya for halilay.

hindikya. Greek and Syrian writers use the term India for South Arabia and Ethiopia and a slave girl from one of those countries is almost certainly indicated here. T. suffix  
is the Pahlavi suffix. See A. Jefferis, Foreign Vocabulary of the Quran, Baroda, 1938, pp. 15 f. and 18 ff.

Undeniably fine is Zuhayr, our nephew.  
A sword loosed from belts,  
The proudest of the proudest chiefs,  
Belonging to the finest stock in glory.  
I'faith I am devoted to Ahmam and his brethren,  
As a constant lover.4  
For who among men can hope to be like him  
When judges assess rival claim to merit,  
Clement, rightly guided, just, serious,  
The friend of God, ever mindful of Him.  
By God! but that I might create a precedent5  
That would be brought against our sheikhs in assemblies,  
We would follow him whatever fate might bring,  
In deeds earnest, not in idle words.  
They know that our son is not held a liar by us,  
And is not concerned with foolish falsehood.  
Ahmam has struck so deep a root among us  
That the attacks of the arrogant fail to affect him.  
I shielded and defended him myself by every means.0

Al-Awad is I. 'Abdu Yaghib b. Wahb b. 'Abdu Manaf b. Zuhra b. Kilib; 'Uthma b. 'Abdul 'Uzza b. Qasayy. He was I. 'Adawiya, one of the 'azans' of Quaysh. He was who roped together Abû Bakr and 'Abdal B. 'Ubaydullah when they went over to Islam. They got the

1 May he never cease to be an adornment to the people of the world.

An ornament to those whom God has befriended.

Not in W. and undoubtedly an interpolation from a pious reader.

2 There is much to be said for the committer reading, but that I might bring shame.

3 C. adds:  
The Lord of mankind strengthen him with his help,  
And display a religion whose truth holds no falsehood!  
Noble men, not swerving from right, whose fathers  
Brought them up in the best of ways,  
Though Ka'b is near to Lu'ayy.  
The day must come when they must fall apart.

These verses are lacking in W.'s version.

4 This and the following paragraph stand under the name of I.H., but the context suggests that they are in part at least from I.H.
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Beware of war! Do not let it cling to you;
A stagnant pool has a bitter draught.
War—it frets seems fine to men
But afterwards they plainly recognize an old bag.
It scorches unseasonably the weak,
And aims death-dealing blows at the great.
Know you not what happened in the war of Dâhis?
Or the war of Hārîb? Take a lesson from them!
How many a noble chief it slew,
The generous host whose guest lacked naught,
A huge pile of ashes beneath his pot,
Praised by all, noble in character, his sword
Drawn only in righteous cause;
'Tis as water poured out at random,
As if winds from all quarters scattered the clouds;
A truthful, knowledgeable man will tell you of its battles
(For real knowledge is the result of experience).
So sell your spears to those who love war
And remember the account you must render, for God is the best 180
reckoner.

Man's Lord has chosen a religion,
So let none guard you but the Lord of heaven.
Raise up for us a kâbîf's religion.
You are our object: one is guided in travel by heights,
You are a light and protection to this people,
You lead the way, not lacking virtues.
If men were valued, you would be a jewel,
The best of the vale is yours in noble pride.
You preserve noble, ancient peoples
Whose genealogy shows no foreign blood;
You see the needy come to your houses
Wave after wave of starving wights.
The people know that your leaders
Are ever the best people of the stations of Minâ, 2
Best in counsel, loftiest in custom,
Most truthful amid the assemblies.

1 If the subject of the metaphor is war the reading kâbîf is right, and indiscriminate
bloodshed is indicated; if the variant kâbîf 'perverse soul' is adopted, the poet is continuing
his description of the generous warrior whose hospitality extends to the most miserable
guest.

2 See Al-‘Uqayl, 182, who says that I.L. so explains the word. He is quoting from p. 300
of the text. Al-Bâqî says it was a well at Minâ where the blood of the sacrificial victims was
collected. It was a spot verminated by the Arabs. The word jihâd apparently means the
stomach of a ruminate, and naturally a large number of such skins used for carrying water
would be available there; therefore it is possible that the term 'people of the stomach skins'
simply means Arabs, the people who more than any other used this kind of vessel for
carrying food and water, and so the meaning of the poet is that the tribe of Lu‘ayy is the finest
tribe in Arabia.
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Rise and pray to your Lord and rub yourselves
Against the corners of this house between the mountains
He gave you a convincing test
On the day of Abu Yalashim, leader of the squadrons,
His cavalry was in the plains,
His infantry upon the passes of the hills.
When the help of the Lord of the throne reached you
His armies repulsed them, pelting them, and covering them with dust;
Quickly they turned tail in flight
And none but a few returned to his people from the army.
If you perish, we shall perish, and the faith by which men live
These are the words of a truthful man (176).

182 Hakim b. Umayya b. Haritha b. al-Auqas al-Sulami, an ally of B. Umayya who had become a Muslim, composed the following verses to turn his people from their determined enmity to the apostle. He was a man of good birth and authority.

Does one who says what is right stick to it,
And is there one listening who would be angry at the truth?
Does the chief whose tribe hope to profit from him
Gather friends from near and far?
I disown all but Him who controls the wind
And I abandon you for ever.
I submit myself utterly to God
Though friends threaten me with terror.

183 HOW THE APOSTLE WAS TREATED BY HIS OWN PEOPLE

When the Quraysh became distressed by the trouble caused by the enmity between them and the apostle and those of their people who accepted his teaching, they stirred up against him foolish men who called him a liar, insulted him, and accused him of being a poet, a sorcerer, a diviner, and of being possessed. However, the apostle continued to proclaim what God had ordered him to proclaim, concealing nothing, and exciting their dislike by contending their religion, forsaking their idols, and leaving them to their unbelief.

Yahya b. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr on the authority of his father from 'Abdul-lah b. 'Amr b. al-'As said that he was asked what was the worst way in which Quraysh showed their enmity to the apostle. He replied: 'I was with them one day when the notables had gathered in the Hijr and the apostle was mentioned. They said that they had never known anything like the trouble they had endured from this fellow; he had declared their

mode of life foolish, insulted their forefathers, reviled their religion, divided the community, and cursed their gods. What they had borne was past all bearing, or words to that effect.'

While they were thus discussing him the apostle came towards them and kissed the black stone, then he passed them as he walked round the temple. As he passed they said some injurious things about him. This I could see from his expression. He went on and as he passed them the second time they attacked him similarly. This I could see from his expression. Then he passed the third time, and they did the same. He stopped and said, 'Will you listen to me O Quraysh? By him who holds my life in His hand I bring you slaughter.' This word so struck the people that not one of them but stood silent and still; even one who had hitherto been most violent spoke to him in the kindest way possible, saying, 'Depart, O Abu'l-Qasim, for by God you are not violent.' So the apostle went away, and on the morrow they assembled in the Hijr, I being there too, and they asked one another if they remembered what had taken place between them and the apostle so that when he openly said something unpleasant they let him alone. While they were talking thus the apostle appeared, and they leaped upon him as one man and encircled him, saying, 'Are you the one who said so-and-so against our gods and our religion?' The apostle said, 'Yes, I am the one who said that.' And I saw one of them seize his robe. Then Abu Bakr interposed himself weeping and saying, 'Would you kill a man for saying Allah is my Lord?' Then they left him. That is the worst that I ever saw Quraysh do to him.

One of the family of Ummi Kulthum, Abu Bakr's daughter, told me that she said, 'Abu Bakr returned that day with the hair of his head torn. He was a very hairy man and they had dragged him along by his beard' (177).

HAMZA ACCEPTS ISLAM

A man of Aslam, who had a good memory, told me that Abul Jahl passed by the apostle at al-Safa, insulted him and behaved most offensively, speaking spitefully of his religion and trying to bring him into disrepute. The apostle did not speak to him. Now a freedwoman, belonging to 'Abdullah b. Juddan b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murra, was in her house listening to what went on. When he went away he betook himself to the assembly of Quraysh at the Ka'ba and sat there. Within a little while Hamza b. 'Abdul-l-Mutallib arrived, with his bow hanging from his shoulder, returning from the chase, for he was fond of hunting and used to go out shooting. When he came back from a hunt he never went home until he had circumambulated the Ka'ba, and that done when he passed by an assembly of the Quraysh he stopped and saluted and talked with them. He was the strongest man of Quraysh, and the most unyielding. The apostle

1 Dhabb
had gone back to his house when he passed by this woman, who asked him if he had heard of what Abū-l-Hakam b. Ḥishām had done just recently to his nephew, Muhammad; how he had found him sitting quietly there, and insulted him, and cursed him, and treated him badly, and that Muhammad had answered not a word. Ḥamza was filled with rage, for God purposed to honour him, so he went out at a run and did not stop to greet anyone, meaning to punish Abū Jahl when he met him. When he got to the mosque he saw him sitting among the people, and went up to him until he stood over him, when he lifted up his bow and struck him a violent blow with it, saying, 'Will you insult him when I follow his religion, and say what he says? Hit me back if you can!' Some of B. Muhārmūn got up to go to Abū Jahl's help, but he said, 'Let Abū 'Umār alone for, by God, I insulted his nephew deeply.' Ḥamza's Islam was complete, and he followed the apostle's commands. When he became a Muslim the Quraysh recognized that the apostle had become strong, and had found a protector in Ḥamza, and so they abandoned some of their ways of harassing him.

WHAT 'UTBA SAID ABOUT THE PROPHET

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

NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE APOSTLE AND THE LEADERS OF QURAYSH AND AN EXPLANATION OF THE SURA OF THE CAVE

Islam began to spread in Mecca among men and women of the tribes of Quraysh, though Quraysh were imprisoning and seducing as many of the Muslims as they could. A traditionist told me from Sa'd b. Juhayr and from 'Ikrima, freedman of 'Abdullāh b. 'Abhās, that the leading men of every clan of Quraysh—'Utba b. Rabī' ā, and Shaybān his brother, and Abī Sufyān b. Harb, and al-Nadr b. al-Ḥarith, brother of the Basā' Abūd-Dār, and Abūl-Bakhtāri b. Ḥishām, and al-Aswād b. al-Muṭṭalib, Abī Jahl b. Ḥishām, and Abū Ummayya, and Abīs b. al-Aswād, and al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrā, and Abī Jahl b. Ḥishām, and 'Abdullāh b. Abī Ummayya, and al-'As b. Wā'il, and Nubayh and Munābīh, the sons of al-Ḥajjāj, both of Sahm, and Ummayyā b. Khalaf and possibly others—gathered together after sunset outside the Ka'ba. They decided to send for Muhammad and to negotiate and argue with him so that they could not be held to blame on his account in the future. When they sent for him the apostle came quickly because he thought that what he had said to them had made an impression, for he was most zealous for their welfare, and their wicked way of life painted him. When he came and sat down with them, they explained that they had sent for him in order that they could talk together. No Arab had ever treated his tribe as Muhammad had treated them, and they repeated the charges which have been mentioned on several occasions. If it was money he wanted, they would make him the richest of them all; if it was honour, he should be their prince; if it was sovereignty, they would make him king; if it was a Sūra 41. 1.

i.e. verse 37 'Prostrate yourselves to God.'
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spirit which had got possession of him (they used to call the familiar spirit of the jinn ra'ay), then they would exhaust their means in finding medicine to cure him. The apostle replied that he had no such intention. He sought not money, nor honour, nor sovereignty, but God had sent him as an apostle, and revealed a book to him, and commanded him to become an announcer and a warner. He had brought them the messages of his Lord, and given them good advice. If they took it then they would have a portion in this world and the next; if they rejected it, he could only patiently await the issue until God decided between them, or words to that effect. 'Well, Muhammad,' they said, 'if you won't accept any of our propositions, you know that no people are more short of land and water, and live a harder life than we, so ask your Lord, who has sent you, to remove for us these mountains which shut us in, and to straighten out our country for us, and to open up in it rivers like those of Syria and Iraq, and to resurrect for us our forefathers, and let there be among those that are resurrected for us Quasyy b. Kilab, for he was a true shaykh, so that we may ask them whether what you say is true or false. If they say you are speaking the truth, and you do what we have asked you, we will believe in you, and we shall know what your position with God is, and that He has actually sent you as an apostle as you say.' He replied that he had not been sent to them with such an object. He had conveyed to them God's message, and they could either accept it with advantage, or reject it and await God's judgement. They said that if he would not do that for them, let him do something for himself. Ask God to send an angel with him to confirm what he said and to contradict them; to make him gardens and castles, and treasures of gold and silver to satisfy his obvious wants. He stood in the streets as they did, and he sought a livelihood as they did. If he could do this, they would recognize his merit and position with God, if he were an apostle as he claimed to be. He replied that he would not do it, and would not ask for such things, for he was not sent to do so, and he repeated what he had said before. They said, 'Then let the heavens be dropped on us in pieces,' as you assert that your Lord could do if He wished, for we will not believe you unless you do so.' The apostle replied that this was a matter for God; if He wanted to do it with them, He would do it. They said, 'Did not your Lord know that we would sit with you, and ask you these questions, so that He might come to you and instruct you how to answer us, and tell you what He was going to do with us, if we did not receive your message? Information has reached us that you are taught by this fellow in al-Yamaha, called al-Rahmah, and by God we will never believe in the Rahmah. Our conscience is clear. By God, we will not leave you and our treatment of you, until either we destroy you or you destroy us.' Some said, 'We worship the angels, who are the daughters of Allah.' Others said, 'We will not believe in you until you come to us with God and the angels as a surety.'

When they said this the apostle got up and left them. 'Abdullah b. Abū

1 Cf. Sūr 17, 94

Umayya b. al-Mughira b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm (who was the son of his aunt Ṭāika d. of 'Abdūl-Muṭalib) got up with him and said to him, 'O Muhammad, your people have made you certain propositions, which you have rejected; first they asked you things for themselves that they might know that your position with God is what you say it is so that they might believe in you and follow you, and you did nothing; then they asked you to take something for yourself, by which they might know your superiority over them and your standing with God, and you would not do it; then they asked you to hasten some of the punishment with which you were frightened them, and you did not do it,' or words to that effect, 'and by God, I will only believe in you until you let a ladder to the sky, and mount it up until you come to it, while I am looking on, and until four angels shall come with you, testifying that you are speaking the truth, and by God, even if you did that I do not think I should believe you.' Then he went away, and the apostle went to his family, sad and grieving, because his hope that they had called him to accept his preaching was vain, and because of their estrangement from him. When the apostle had gone Abū Jahl spoke, making the usual charges against him, and saying, 'I call God to witness that I will wait for him tomorrow with a stone which I can hardly lift,' or words to that effect, 'and when he prostrates himself in prayer I will split his skull with it. Betray me or defend me, let the B. Abū Manṣūf do what they like after that.' They said that they would never betray him on any account, and he could carry on with his project. When morning came Abū Jahl took a stone and sat in wait for the apostle, who behaved as usual that morning. While he was in Mecca he faced Syria in prayer, and when he prayed, he prayed between the southern corner and the black stone, putting the Ka'ba between himself and Syria. The apostle rose to pray while Quraysh sat in their meeting, waiting for what Abū Jahl was to do. When the apostle prostrated himself, Abū Jahl took up the stone and went towards him, until when he got near him, he turned back in flight, pale with terror, and his hand had withered upon the stone, so that he cast the stone from his hand. The Quraysh asked him what had happened, and he replied that when he got near him a camel's stallion got in his way. 'By God', he said, 'I have never seen anything like his head, shoulders, and teeth on any stallion before, and he made as though he would eat me.'

I was told that the apostle said, 'That was Gabriel. If he had come near, he would have seized him.'

When Abū Jahl said that to them, al-Nadr b. al-Hārith b. Kalaba b. 'Afgama b. Abū Manṣūf b. Abūl-Ūṣir b. Quasyy (176) got up and said: 'O Quraysh, a situation has arisen which you cannot deal with. Muhammad was a young man most liked among you, most truthful in speech, and most trustworthy, until, when you saw grey hairs on his temple, and he brought you his message, you said he was a sorcerer, but he is not, for we have seen such people and their splitting and their knots; you said, a diviner, but we
have seen such people and their behaviour, and we have heard their rhymes; and you said a poet, but he is not a poet, for we have heard all kinds of poetry; you said he was possessed, but he is not, for we have seen the possessed, and he shows no signs of their gasping and whispering and delirium. Ye men of Quraysh, look to your affairs; for by God, a serious thing has befallen you. Now Al-Nadr b. Al-Harith was one of the sultans of Quraysh; he used to insult the apostle and show him enmity. He had been to al-Hira and learnt there the tales of the kings of Persia, the tales of Rustum and Isbandiyar. When the apostle had held a meeting in which he reminded them of God, and warned his people of what had happened bygone generations as a result of God’s vengeance, Al-Nadr got up when he sat down, and said, ‘I can tell a better story than he, come to me.’ Then he began to tell them about the kings of Persia, Rustum and Isbandiyar, and then he would say, ‘In what respect is Muhammad a better story-teller than I?’ (779).

Ibn 'Abbas, according to my information, used to say eight verses of the Quran came down in reference to him, ‘When our verses are read to him, he says fairy tales of the ancients’; and all those passages in the Quran in which ‘fairy tales’ are mentioned.

When Al-Nadr said that to them, they sent him and ‘Uqba b. Abû Mu‘ayy to the Jewish rabbis in Medina and said to them, ‘Ask them about Muhammad; describe him to them and tell them what he says, for they are the first people of the scriptures and have knowledge which we do not possess about the prophets.’ They carried out their instructions, and said to the rabbis, ‘You are the people of the Taurit, and we have come to you so that you can tell us how to deal with this tribesman of ours.’ The rabbis said, ‘Ask him about three things of which we will instruct you; if he gives you the right answer then he is an authentic prophet, but if he does not, then the man is a rogue, so form your own opinion about him. Ask him what happened to the young men who disappeared in ancient days, for they have a marvellous story. Ask him about the mighty traveller who reached the confines of both East and West. Ask him what the spirit is. If he can give you the answer, then follow him, for he is a prophet. If he cannot, then he is a forger and treat him as you will.’ The two men returned to Quraysh at Mecca and told them that they had a decisive way of dealing with Muhammad, and they told them about the three questions.

They came to the apostle and called upon him to answer these questions.

193 He said to them, ‘I will give you your answer tomorrow,’ but he did not say, ‘if God will.’ So they went away; and the apostle, as they say, waited for fifteen days without a revelation from God on the matter, nor did Gabriel come to him, so that the people of Mecca began to spread evil reports, saying, ‘Muhammad promised us an answer on the morrow, and today is the fifteenth day we have remained without an answer.’ This delay caused the apostle great sorrow, until Gabriel brought him the Chapter of The Cave, in which he reproaches him for his sadness, and told him the answers of their questions, the youths, the mighty traveller, and the spirit.

I was told that the apostle said to Gabriel when he came, ‘You have shut yourself off from me, Gabriel, so that I became apprehensive.’ He answered, ‘We descend only by God’s command, whose is what lies before us, behind us, and what lies between, and thy Lord does not mean Muhammad.

‘Verily thou art an apostle from Me,’ i.e. confirming what they ask about thy prophethood. ‘He hath not made therein crookedness, it is straight,’ i.e. it is level, without any difference. ‘To warn of a severe punishment from Him,’ that is, His immediate judgement in this world. ‘And a painful judgement in the next,’ that is, from thy Lord, who has sent thee as an apostle. ‘To give those who believe, who do good works, the good news that they will have a glorious reward, enjoying it everlasting,’ i.e. the eternal abode. ‘They shall not die therein,’ i.e. those who have accepted your message as true, though others have denied it, and have done the works that you have ordered them to do. ‘And to warn those who say God has taken a son.’ He means the Quraysh when they say, ‘We worship the angels who are the daughters of Allah.’ ‘They have no knowledge about it, nor had their forefathers’, who take hardly your leaving them and shaking their religion. ‘Dreadful is the word that proceedeth from their mouth’ when they say the angels are God’s daughters. ‘They say nothing but a lie, and it may be that thou wilt destroy thyself’; O Muhammad. ‘In grief over their course if they believe not this saying,’ i.e. because of his sorrow when he was disappointed of his hope of them; i.e. thou shalt not do it (180). ‘Verily we have made that which is upon the earth an ornament to it to try them which of them will behave the best,’ i.e. which of them will follow My commandment and act in obedience to Me. ‘And verily we will make that which is upon it a harden mound,’ i.e. the earth and what is upon it will perish and pass away, for all must return to Me that I may reward them according to their deeds, so do not despair nor let what you hear and see therein grieve you (181).

Then comes the story of what they asked him about the young men, and God said: ‘Have you considered that the dwellers in the Cave and al-Raqim were wonders from our signs? i.e. there were still more wonderful signs in the proofs I have given to men (182). Then God said: ‘When the
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young men took refuge in the Cave they said, O Lord, show us kindness and give us guidance by Your command, so We sealed up their hearing in the Cave for many years. Then We brought them to life again that We might know which of the two parties would best calculate the time that they had been there.' Then He said: 'We will tell you the true account of them; they were young men who believed in their Lord, and We gave them further guidance, and We strengthened their hearts. Then they stood and said, Our Lord is the Lord of heaven and earth. We will pray to no other god but Him. If we were to say otherwise we should speak blasphemy, i.e. they did not associate anyone with Me as you have associated with Me what you know nothing about (183). 'These people of ours have chosen gods in addition to Him, though they bring no plain authority for them,' i.e. a clear proof. 'Who is more wicked than he who invents a lie against God? When you withdraw from them and what they worship instead of God, then take refuge in the Cave; your Lord will spread for you by His mercy and prepare a pillow for you in your plight. You might see the sun when it rises move away from their Cave towards the right, and when it sets it would go past them to the left, while they were in a clifft of the Cave' (184). 'That was one of the signs of God', i.e. for a proof against those of the people of the scriptures who knew their story and who ordered those men to ask you about them concerning the truth of their prophecy in giving a true account of them. Whom God guides is rightly guided, and for him whom He leads astray you will find no friend to direct. And you would think they were awake while they were sleeping, and we would turn them over to the right and the left, while their dog was lying with its forepaws on the threshold' (185). 'If you observed them closely you would turn your backs on them fleeing, and be afraid of them' up to the words 'those who gained their point said,' i.e. the people of power and dominion among them. 'Let us build a mosque above them; they will say,' i.e. the Jewish rabbis who ordered them to ask these questions. 'Three, their dog being the fourth of them, and some say five, their sixth being the dog, guessing in the dark,' i.e. they know nothing about it, 'and they say seven and their dog the eighth. Say: My Lord knows best about their number; none knows them save a few, so do not contend with them except with an open contention,' i.e. do not be proud with them. 'And do not ask anyone information about them,' for they know nothing about it. 'And do not say of anything I will do it tomorrow unless you say, If God will. And mention your Lord if you have forgotten and say, Perhaps my Lord will guide me to a nearer way of truth than this.' i.e. do not say about anything which they ask you what you said about this, viz. I will tell you tomorrow, and make God's will the condition, and remember Him when you have forgotten to do so and say, Perhaps my Lord will guide me to what is better than what they ask of me in guidance, for you do not know what I am doing about it. 'And they remained in their Cave three hundred years and they added nine,' i.e. they will say this. 'Say: Your Lord knows best

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how long they stayed there. The secrets of heaven and earth are with Him. How wonderfully He sees and hears. They have no friend but Him, and He allows none in His dominion as a partner,' i.e. nothing of what they ask you is hidden from Him.

And He said about what they asked him in regard to the mighty traveller, 'And they will ask you about Dhīl-Qarnayn; say, I will recite to you a remembrance of him. Verily We gave him power in the earth, and We gave to him every road and he followed it'; so far as the end of his story.

It is said that he attained what no other mortal attained. Roads were stretched out before him until he traversed the whole earth, east and west. He was given power over every land he trod on until he reached the farthest confines of creation.

A man who used to purvey stories of the foreigners, who were handed down among them, told me that Dhīl-Qarnayn was an Egyptian, whose name was Mursab b. Mardhaba, the Greek, descended from Yannāb b. Yāfīth b. Nāh (186). Thaur b. Yazīd from Khalīd b. Ma’dān al-Kalā’, who was a man who reached Islamic times, told me that the apostle was asked about Dhīl-Qarnayn, and he said, 'He is an angel who measured the earth beneath ropes.'

Khalīd said, 'Umar heard a man calling someone Dhīl-Qarnayn, and he said, 'God pardon you, are you not satisfied to use the names of the prophets for your children that you must now name them after the angels!' God knows the truth of the matter, whether the apostle said that or not. If he said it, then what he said was true.

God said concerning what they asked him about the Spirit, 'They will ask you about the Spirit, say, the Spirit is a matter for my Lord, and you have only a little knowledge about it.'

I was told on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās that he said, When the apostle came to Medina, the Jewish rabbis said, 'When you said, 'And you have only a little knowledge about it,' did you mean us or your own people?' He said, 'Both of you.' They said, 'Yet you read in what you brought that we were given the Taurât in which is an exposition of everything,' He replied that in reference to God's knowledge that was little, but in it there was enough for them if they carried it out. God revealed concerning what they asked him about that 'If all the trees in the world were pens and the ocean were ink, though the seven seas reinforced it, the words of God would not be exhausted. Verily God is mighty and wise.' i.e. The Taurât compared with God's knowledge is little. And God revealed to him concerning what his people asked him for themselves, namely, removing the mountains, and cutting the earth, and raising their forefathers from the dead, 'If there were a Qurân by which mountains could be moved, or the earth split, or the dead spoken to [it would be this one], but to God belongs the disposition of all things,' i.e. I will not do anything of the kind

Or 'the Persians'.

550 551 552

31:57

31:26
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unless I choose. And He revealed to him concerning their saying, 'Take for yourself', meaning that He should make for him gardens, and castles, and treasures, and should send an angel with him to confirm what he said, and to defend him. And they said, 'What is this apostle doing, eating food, and walking in the markets? Unless an angel were sent to him to be a warner with him, or he were given a treasure or a garden from which he might eat [we would not believe]'; and the evil-doers say, 'You follow only a man bewitched'. See how they have coined proverbs of thee, and have gone astray and cannot find the way. Blessed is He, who is He? He willed, could make for thee something better than that, i.e. than that you should walk in the marketplaces, seeking a livelihood. 'Gardens beneath which run rivers, and make for thee castles.'

And He revealed to him concerning their saying, 'When We sent messengers before thee did eat and walk in the markets, and we made some of you a test for others, whether you would be steadfast, and your Lord is looking on', i.e. I made some of you a test for others that you might be steadfast. Had I wanted to make the world side with my apostles, so that they would not oppose them, I would have done so.

And he revealed to him concerning what 'Abdullah b. Umayya said, 'And they said: 'We will not believe in thee until mountains burst forth for us from the earth, or you have a garden of dates and grapes and make the rivers within it burst forth copiously, or make the heavens fall upon us in fragments as you assert, or bring God and the angels as asurety, or you get a house of gold, or mount up to heaven, we will not believe in thy ascent until you bring down to us a book which we can read.' Say: exalted be my Lord, am I sought but a mortal messenger? (187).'

He revealed to him with reference to their saying 'We have heard that a man in al-Yamaima called al-Ruhmān teaches you. We will never believe in him. 'Thus did We send you to a people before whom other peoples had passed away that you might read to them that which We have revealed to thee, while they disbelieved in the Ruhmān. Say, He is my Lord, there is no other God but He. In Him I trust and unto Him is the return.'

And He revealed to him concerning what Abū Jahl said and intended: 'Have you seen him who prohibited a servant when he prayed, have you seen if he was rightly guided or gave orders in the fear of God, have you seen if he lied and turned his back; does he not know that Allah sees everything? If he does not cease we will drag him by the forelock, the lying sinful forelock; let him call his gang, we will call the guards of hell. Thou shalt certainly not obey him, prostrate thyself and draw near to God.' (188).

And God revealed concerning what they proposed to him in regard to their money, 'Say, I ask no reward of you, it is yours: my reward is God's concern alone and He witnesses everything.' When the apostle brought
to them what they knew was the truth so that they recognized his truthfulness and his position as a prophet in bringing them tidings of the unseen when they asked him about it, envy prevented them from admitting his truth, and they became insolent against God and openly forsook his commandments and took refuge in their polytheism. One of them said, 'Do not listen to this Qurān; treat it as nonsense and probably you will get the better of it', i.e. treat it as nonsense and false; and treat him as a mere raver—you will probably get the better of him, whereas if you argue or debate with him any time he will get the better of you.

Abū Jahl, when he was mocking the apostle and his message one day, 'Muhammad pretends that God's troops who will punish you in hell and imprison you there, are nineteen only, while you have a large population. Can it be that every hundred of you is unequal to one man of them?' In reference to that God revealed, 'We have made the guardians of hell angels, and We have made the number of them a trial to those who disbelieve', to the end of the passage, 1 Whereupon when the apostle recited the Qurān loudly as he was praying, they began to disperse and refused to listen to him. If anyone of them wanted to hear what he was reciting as he had to listen stealthily for fear of Quraysh; and if he saw that they knew that he was listening to it, he went away for fear of punishment and listened no more. If the apostle lowered his voice, then the man who was listening thought that they would not listen to any part of the reading, while he himself heard something which they could not hear, by giving all his attention to the words.

Dā'ūd b. al-Ruṣāfan freedman of Amr b. Uthmān told me that 'Irīma freedman of Ibn 'Abbās had told them that 'Abdullah b. 'Abbās had told them that the verse, 'Don't speak loudly in thy prayer and don't be silent; adopt a middle course', was revealed because of those people. He said, 'Don't speak loudly in thy prayer' so that they may go away from you, and 'Don't be silent' so that he who wants to hear, of those who listen stealthily, cannot hear; perhaps he will give heed to some of it and profit thereby.

The First One Who Pronounced the Qurān Loudly

Yahyā b. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me as from his father that the first man to speak the Qurān loudly in Mecca after the apostle was 'Abdullah b. Mas'ūd. The prophet's companions came together one day and remarked that Quraysh had never heard the Qurān distinctly read to them, and who was there who would make them listen to it? When 'Abdullah said that he would, they replied that they were afraid on his behalf and wanted only a man of good family who would protect him from the populace if they attacked him. He replied, 'Let me alone, for God will protect me.' So in the morning he went to the sanctuary while Quraysh were in their

Sūra 25, 8. 1 Sūra 25, 22. 2 Sūra 17, 92. 3 Sūra 17, 40. 4 Sūra 34, 46.
conferences, and when he arrived at the Maqām, he read, 'In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful,' raising his voice as he did so, 'the compassionate who taught the Qur'an.' Then he turned towards them as he read so that they noticed him, and they said, 'What on earth is this son of a slave woman saying?' And when they realized that he was reading some of what Muhammad prayed, they got up and began to hit him in the face; but he continued to read so far as God willed that he should read. Then he went to his companions with the marks of their blows on his face. They said, 'This is just what we feared would happen to you.' He said, 'God's enemies were never more contemptible in my sight than they are now, and if you like I will go and do the same thing before them tomorrow.' They said, 'No, you have done enough, you have made them listen to what they don't want to hear.'

**THE QURAYSH LISTEN TO THE PROPHET'S READING**

Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhri told me that he was told that Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and Abū Jahl b. Hishām and al-Akhnas b. Shāriq b. 'Amr b. Wahāb al-Thaqqif, an ally of B. Zuhra, had gone out by night to listen to the apostle as he was praying in his house. Everyone of them chose a place to sit where he could listen, and none knew where his fellow was sitting. So they passed the night listening to him, until as the dawn rose they dispersed. On the way home they met and reproached one another, and one said to the other, 'Don't do it again, for if one of the light-minded fools sees you, you will arouse suspicion in his mind.' Then they went away, until on the second night everyone of them returned again to his place, and they passed the night listening. Then at dawn the same thing happened again, and again on the third night, when on the morrow they said to one another, 'We will not go away until we take a solemn obligation that we will not return.' This they did and then dispersed. In the morning al-Akhnas took his stick and went to the house of Abū Sufyān and asked him to tell him his opinion of what he had heard from Muhammad. He replied, 'Ihyā', I heard things that I know, and know what was meant by them, and I heard things whose meaning I don't know, nor what was intended by them.' Al-Akhnas replied, 'I feel precisely the same.' Then he left him and went to Abū Jahl's house, and asked him the same question. He answered, 'What did he hear? We and B. Abū Manṣūr have been rivals in honour. They have fed the poor, and so have we; they have assumed others' burdens, and so have we; they have been generous, and so have we, until we have progressed side by side, and we were like two horses of equal speed. They said, 'We have a prophet to whom revelation comes from heaven', and when shall we attain anything like that? By God, we will never believe in him and treat him as truthful.' Then al-Akhnas got up and left him.

When the apostle recited the Qur'an to them and called them to God, they said in mockery, 'Our hearts are veiled, we do not understand what you say. There is a load in our ears so that we cannot hear what you say, and a curtain divides us from you, so follow your own path and we will follow ours, we do not understand anything you say.' Then God revealed, 'And when you read the Qur'an we put between you and those who do not believe in the last day a hidden veil,' as far as the words 'and when you mention your Lord alone in the Qur'an they turn their backs in aversion', that is, how can they understand thy assertion that thy Lord is one if I have put veils over their hearts and heaviness in their ears, and between you and them is a curtain as they allege?' i.e. that I have not done it. 'We know best about what they listen to when they listen to you, and when they take secret counsel, the wicked said, 'You are only following a man bewitched'; i.e. that is the way they order people not to listen to the message I have given you. 'See how they have made parables of you, and gone astray, and cannot find the way, i.e. they have made false proverbs about you, and cannot find the path, and what they say is not straightforward.'

And they say, when we are bones and dried morsels shall we be raised a new creation? i.e. you have come to tell us that we shall be raised after death when we are bones and dried fragments, and that is something that cannot be. 'Say, By ye hard stones or iron, or anything that you think in your minds is harder, they will say, 'Who will raise us?' Say, He who created you in the beginning,' i.e. He who created you from what you know, for to create you from dust is no more difficult than that to him.

'Abdullāh b. Abū Najīlī from Muḥājirīn from Ibn 'Abbās told me that the latter said, 'I asked him what was meant by the word of God 'or something that you think is harder' and he said, 'Death.'

**THE POLYTHEISTS PERSECUTE THE MUSLIMS OF THE LOWER CLASSES**

Then the Quraysh showed their enmity to all those who followed the apostle; every clan which contained Muslims attacked them, imprisoning them, and beating them, allowing them no food or drink, and exposing them to the burning heat of Mecca, so as to seduce them from their religion. Some gave way under pressure of persecution, and others resisted them, being protected by God.

Bilāl, who was afterwards freed by Abū Bakr but at that time belonged to one of the Jumāḥ, being slave born, was a faithful Muslim, pure of heart. His father's name was Rūbā'ī and his mother was Ḥamāla. 'Umāya b. Khalaf b. Wāb b. Ḥudhfa b. Jumāḥ used to bring him out at the hottest
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part of the day and throw him on his back in the open valley and have a great rock put on his chest; then he would say to him, 'You will stay here till you die or deny Muhammad and worship Al-Lât and al-'Uzzâ.' He used to say while he was enduring this, 'One, one!'

Hishâm b. 'Urwa told me on the authority of his father: Waraqa b. Naufal was passing him while he was being thus tortured and saying, 'One, one,' and he said, 'One, one by God, Bilâl.' Then he went to Umayya and those of B. Jumâh who had thus maltreated him, and said, 'I swear by God that if you kill him in this way I will make his tomb a shrine.' One day Abû Bakr passed by while they were thus ill-treating him, for his house was among this clan. He said to Umayya, 'Have you no fear of God that you treat this poor fellow like this? How long is it to go on?' He replied, 'You are the one who corrupted him, so save him from his plight that you see.' 'I will do so,' said Abû Bakr, 'I have got a black slave, tougher and stronger than he, who is a heathen. I will exchange him for Bilâl.' The transaction was carried out, and Abû Bakr took him and freed him.

Before he migrated to Medina he freed six slaves in Islam, Bilâl being the seventh, namely: 'Amir b. Fuhayra, who was present at Badr and Ujrud and was killed at the battle of Bait Mu'âma and Umm 'Ubays and Zainab (she lost her sight when he freed her and Quraysh said, 'Al-Lât and al-'Uzzâ are the ones that have taken away her sight.' but she said, 'By the house of God, you lie. Al-Lât and al-'Uzzâ can neither harm nor heal,' so God restored her sight.

And he freed al-Nahdiyya and her daughter who belonged to a woman of B. 'Abdu'l-Dâr; he passed by them when their mistresses had sent them about some flour of hers, and she was saying, 'By God, I will never free you.' Abû Bakr said, 'Free yourself from your oath.' She said, 'It is free; you corrupted them so you free them.' They agreed upon the price, and he said, 'I will take them and they are free. Return her flour to her.' They said, 'Oughtn't we to finance the grinding and then take it back to her?' He said, 'Yes, if you like.'

He passed by a slave girl of B. Mu'ammâl, a clan of B. 'Adîy b. Ka'b who was a Muslim. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭâţ was punishing her to make her give up Islam. At that time he was a polytheist. He beat her until he was tired and said, 'I have only stopped beating you because I am tired.' She said, 'May God treat you in the same way.' Abû Bakr bought her and freed her.

Muhammad b. 'Abdullâh b. Abû 'Atiq from 'Amir b. 'Abdullâh b. al-Zubayr from one of his family told me: Abû Qurâfâ said to his son Abû Bakr, 'My son, I see that you are freeing weak slaves. If you want to do what you are doing, why don't you free powerful men who could defend you and protect you?' He said, 'I am only trying to do what I am attempting for God's sake.' It is said that these verses came down in reference to him and what his father said to him: 'As to him who gives and fears God and believes in goodness,' up to the divine words, 'none is rewarded by God with favour but for seeking his Lord's most sublime face and in the end he will be satisfied.'

The B. Makhdâm used to take out 'Amr b. Yâsir with his father and mother, who were Muslims, in the heat of the day and expose them to the heat of Mecca, and the Apostle passed by them and said, 'I have heard, 'Patience, O family of Yâsir! Your meeting-place will be paradise.' They killed his father, for she refused to abandon Islam.

It was that evil man Abû Jahl who stirred up the Meccans against them. When he heard that a man had become a Muslim, if he was a man of social importance and had relations to defend him, he reprimanded him and poured scorn on him, saying, 'You have forsaken the religion of your father who was better than you. We will declare you a blockhead and brand you as a fool, and destroy your reputation.' If he was a merchant he said, 'We will boycott your goods and reduce you to beggary.' If he was a person of no social importance, he beat him and incited people against him.

Hâkim b. Jubayr from Sa'd b. Jubayr told me: 'I said to 'Abdullâh b. 'Abdîb, 'Were the polytheists treating them so badly that spoils was excusable?'' 'Yes, by God, they were,' he said, 'they used to beat one of them, depriving him of food and drink so that he could hardly sit upright because of the violence they had used on him, so that in the end he would do whatever they said.' If they said to him, 'Are al-Lât and al-'Uzzâ your gods and not Allah?' he would say, 'Yes' to the point that if a beetle passed by them they would say to him, 'Is this beetle your God and not Allah?' he would say yes, in order to escape from the suffering he was enduring.

Al-Zubayr b. 'Ukasha b. 'Abdullâh b. Abû Ahmad told me that he was told that some men of B. Makhdâm went to Hishâm b. al-Walîd when his brother al-Walid b. al-Walîd became a Muslim. They had agreed to seize some young men who had become Muslims, among whom were Salma b. Hishâm and 'Ayyâsh b. Abû Rabî'a. They were afraid of his violent temper and so they said, 'We wish to admonish these men because of this religion which they have newly introduced; thus we shall be safe in the case of others.' 'All right,' he said, 'admonish him, but beware that you do not kill him.' Then he began to recite:

My brother 'Uyyas shall not be killed,
Otherwise there will be war between us for ever.

'Be careful of his life, for I swear by God that if you kill him, I will kill the noblest of you to the last man.' They said, 'God damn the man. After what he has said who will want to bring trouble on himself, for, by God, if this man were killed while in our hands the best of us would be killed to a man.' So they left him and withdrew, and that was how God protected him from them.

1 Surâ xx. 5.
2 Lit. 'reciprocal curving,' which was an inseparable accompaniment to war among the pagan Arabs.
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When the apostle saw the affliction of his companions and that though he escaped it because of the standing of Allah and his uncle Abū Ṭalīb, he could not protect them, he said to them: 'If you were to go to Abyssinia (it would be better for you), for the king will not tolerate injustice and it is a friendly country, until such time as Allah shall relieve you from your distress.' Thenceupon his companions went to Abyssinia, being afraid of apostasy and fleeing to God with their religion. This was the first hıra in Islam.

The first of the Muslims to go were: B. Umayya: 'Afdan... with his wife Ruqayya, d. the apostle.

B. Abdu'l-Shamsa: Abū Ḥudhayfa b. 'Utba... with his wife Sahla d. Suhayl b. 'Amr one of B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy.

B. Asad b. Abdu'l-Uzza: Abū-Zubayr b. Al-Awwam...

B. Abdu'l-Dār: Muṣ'ab b. Umayr.

B. Zuhra b. Kithāb: Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Auf...


B. Jumā b. 'Amr b. Husayn... Umm Uthmān b. Māṭūn...

B. Adī b. Ka'b: 'Amir b. Rabi'a, an ally of the family of Al-Qattāb of Anṣār b. Wa'il (18), with his wife Laylà b. Abū Iyadhna b. Hudhfa...

B. 'Amr b. Lu'ayy: Abū Saba b. Abū Ruhm b. Abdu'l-Uzza b. Abū Qays... 'Amir. Others say it was Abi Ḥāib b. 'Amr b. Abdu'l-Shams of the same descent. It is said that he was the first to arrive in Abyssinia.

B. Al-Hārith: Suhayl b. Bayda, These ten were the first to go to Abyssinia according to my information (190).

Afterwards Ja'far b. Abū Ṭalīb went, and the Musliims followed one another until they gathered in Abyssinia; some took their families, others went alone.

B. Hāshim: Ja'far... who took his wife Aabita d. 'Umayr b. Al-Nu'mān...


B. Abdu'l-Shams: Abū Ḥudhayfa b. 'Utba... Abū Mūsā al-Ashtar whose name was Abūdullāh b. Qays, an ally of the family of 'Utba. Two men.


B. 'Abdullāh b. Qaysūy: Ṭulayb b. Umayr... One man.

B. Abdu'l-Dār: Muṣ'ab b. Umayr... Suwayyib b. Sa'd... Jām b. Qays... with his wife Umm Harma d. Abdu'l-Aswad... of Khuzai'a and his two sons 'Amr and Khuzayma; Abdu'l-Rūm b. Umayr b. Hāshim... Fīrās b. Al-Nadr b. Al-Hārith. Five persons.

B. Zuhra: Abdu'l-Rahmān b. 'Auf... 'Amir b. Abū Waqqās (Abū Waqqās was Mālik b. Uhayb)... Al-Muṭṭalib b. Aṣhar... with his wife Ramla b. Abū 'Auf b. Durbayra... She bare his son 'Abdullāh in Abyssinia.


B. Makhrūm b. Yaqzā: Abū Salama b. Abdu'l-Asad... with his wife Umm Salama d. Abū Umayya b. Al-Mughīra... She bare him a daughter, Zaynab, in Abyssinia. (His name was 'Abdullāh and his wife's name was Hind.) Shamūmā b. Ummayy b. Al-Shārid... (94). Habbār b. Sufyān b. Abdu'l-Asad... and his brother 'Abdullāh; Hishām b. Abū Ḥudhayla b. Al-Mughira... Salama b. Hishām... 'Ayyāsh b. Abū Rabi'a... Of their allies Mu'āstīb b. 'Auf... of Khuzai'a who was called Ayāmā. Eight persons (195).

B. Jumā b. Amr... Ummān b. Maqīn... and his son al-Sā'ib; his two brothers Qudāma and 'Abdullāh; Ḥābib b. Al-Hārith... with his wife Fāṭima d. Al-Mujiṣālīd... and his two sons Muhammad and Al-Hārith; and his brother Ḥāṣib with his wife Fukayla d. Yasr; Sufyān b. Ma'mar... With his two sons Jābir and Junāda with his wife Wasana who was their mother; and their brother on their mother's side Shurābiṭ b. 'Abdullāh one of the Ghauṭā (96); Ummān b. Rabi'a b. Uhmān b. Wāḥb b. Hudda'ī. Eleven men.

B. Sahm b. Amr... 'Abdullāh b. Qays b. Al-Hārith...
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And shame in death, not safe from blame.
We have followed the apostle of God, and they
Have rejected the words of the prophet, and been deceitful.*
Visit thy punishment on the people who transgress
And protect me lest they rise and lead me astray.

*Abdullah b. al-Ḥārith also said when he spoke of the Quraysh expelling them from their country, and reproached some of his people

My heart refuses to fight them
And so do my fingers; I tell you the truth,
How could I fight a people who taught you
The truth that you should not mingle with falsehood?
Jinn worshippers exiled them from their noble land
So that they were exceeding sorrowful;
If there were faithfulness in 'Adiy b. Sa'd
Springing from piety and kinship ties,
I should have hoped that it would have been among you,
By the grace of Ilim who is not moved by bribes.
I got in exchange for the bountiful refuge of poor widows
A whelp, and that mothered by a bitch.

He also said:

Those Quraysh who deny God's truth
Are as 'Ad and Madyan and the people of al-Ḥijr who denied it.
If I do not raise a storm let not the earth,
Spacious land or ocean hold me!
In a land wherein is Muhammad, servant of God.
I will explain what is in my heart
When exhaustive search is made.

Because of the second verse of this poem *Abdullah was called al-Mubriq,* the thunderer (or threatener).

Uthman b. Mas'ūd, reproaching Umeya b. Khalaf b. Waḥb b. Ḥūdāta b. Jumah, who was his cousin, and who used to ill-treat him because, made the following verses. Umeya was a leader among his people at that time.

O Taym b. 'Amr, I wonder at him who came in enmity,
When the sea and the broad high land lay between us,*

---

1 Such is the commentators' explanation of 'gone high in the balance'. The line is explained by Lane, 2200; it begins 'They said We have followed', etc.
2 Commentators find this verse difficult. Abū Dharr says that sharāni is a place-name, or with other vowels it means the sea; while bark is either another place-name or a herd of kneeling camels. Abūa's meaning 'all' is generally preceded by qa'lla, Subayy says that sharāni is the sea and bark is wide high ground. He prefers the opening line to begin: 'O Taym b. 'Amr, I wonder at him whose anger burned,' Subayy is right. In Eth. bärkd means 'land'.

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O rider, take a message from me
To those who hope for the demonstration of God and religion,1
To everyone of God's persecuted servants,
Mistreated and hard tried in Mecca's vale,
Namely, that we have found God's country spacious,
Giving security from humiliation, shame and low-repute,
So do not live a life in humiliation

---

*This seems to be an allusion to the last verse of Sura 14.
The Life of Muhammad

Did you drive me out of Mecca's vale where I was safe
And make me live in a loathsome white castle?¹
You feather arrows, whose feathering will not help you;
You sharpen arrows, whose feathers are all for you;
You fight noble strong people
And destroy those from whom you once sought help.
You will know one day, when misfortune attacks you
And strangers betray you, what you have done.

Taym b. 'Amr, whom 'Uthmān addresses, was Jumāh. His name was Taym.

The Quraysh Send to Abyssinia to Get the Emigrants Returned

When Quraysh saw that the prophet's companions were safely ensconced in Abyssinia and had found security there, they decided among themselves to send two determined men of their number to the Negus to get them sent back, so that they could seduce them from their religion and get them out of the home in which they were living in peace. So they sent 'Abdullāh b. Abī Rabi'a and 'Amr b. al-`Āq b. Wā'il. They got together some presents for them to take to the Negus and his generals. When Abī Ṭālib perceived their design he composed the following verse for the Negus to move him to treat them kindly and protect them:

Would that I knew how far-away Ja'far and 'Amr fare,
(The bitterest enemies are oft the nearest in blood.)
Does the Negus still treat Ja'far and his companions kindly,
Or has the mischief-maker prevented him?
Thou art noble and generous, mayst thou escape calamity;
No refugees are unhappy with thee.
Know that God has increased thy happiness
And all prosperity cleaves to thee.
Thou art a river whose banks overflow with bounty
Which reaches both friend and foe.

Muhammad b. Muslim al-Zahrī from Abū Bakr b. `Abdul-rahmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī from Umm Salama d. Abū Umrayya b. al-Mughīra wife of the apostle said, 'When we reached Abyssinia the Negus gave us a kind reception. We safely practised our religion, and we worshipped God, and suffered no wrong in word or deed. When the Quraysh got to know of that, they decided to send two determined men to the Negus and to give him presents of the choicest wares of Mecca. Leatherwork was especially prized there, so they collected a great many skins so that they were able to give some to every one of his generals. The sent 'Abdullāh and 'Amr with instructions to give each general his present before they spoke to the Negus about the refugees. Then they were to give their presents to the Negus and ask him to give the men up before he spoke to them. They carried out these instructions to the letter, and said to each of the generals, 'Some foolish fellows from our people have taken refuge in the king's country. They have forsaken our religion and not accepted yours, but have brought in an invented religion which neither we nor you know anything about. Our nobles have sent us to the king to get him to return them, so when we speak to the king about them advise him to surrender them to us and not to speak to them, for their own people have the keenest insight and know most about their faults.' This the generals agreed to do. They took their gifts to the Negus and when he had accepted them, they said to him what they had already said to the generals about the refugees. Now there was nothing which 'Abdullāh and 'Amr disliked more than that the Negus should hear what the Muslims had to say. The generals about his presence said that the men had spoken truly, and their own people best knew the truth about the refugees, and they recommended the king to give them up and return them to their own people.

The Negus was enraged and said, 'No, by God, I will not surrender them.
No people who have sought my protection, settled in my country, and chosen me rather than others shall be betrayed, until I summon them and ask them about what these two men allege. If they are as they say, I will give them up to them and send them back to their own people; but if what they say is false, I will protect them and see that they receive proper hospitality while under my protection.'

Then he summoned the apostle's companions, and when his messenger came they gathered together, saying one to another, 'What will you say to the man when you come to him?' They said, 'We shall say what we know and what our prophet commanded us, come what may.' When they came into the royal presence they found that the king had summoned his bishops with their sacred books exposed around him. He asked them what was the religion for which they had forsaken their people, without entering into his religion or any other. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib answered, 'O King, we were an uncivilized people, worshipping idols, eating corpses, committing abominations, breaking natural ties, treating guests badly, and our sons devoured our weak. Thus we were until God sent us an apostle whose lineage, truth, trustworthiness, and clemency we know. He summoned us to acknowledge God's unity and to worship him and to renounce the stones and images which we and our fathers formerly worshipped. He commanded us to speak the truth, be faithful to our engagements, mindful of the ties of kinship and kindly hospitality, and to refrain from crimes and bloodshed. He forbade us to commit abominations and to speak lies, and to devour the property of orphans, to vilify chaste women. He commanded us to worship God alone and not to associate anything with Him, and he

¹ Again the reading and the meaning are in question. *Sarh* means 'castle' or 'room' in Etrh.
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gave us orders about prayer, almsgiving, and fasting (enumerating the commands of Islam). We confessed his truth and believed in him, and we followed him in what he had brought from God, and we worshipped God alone without associating aught with Him. We treated as forbidden what he forbade, and as lawful what he declared lawful. Theretofor our people attacked us, treated us harshly and seduced us from our faith by trying to make us go back to the worship of idols instead of the worship of God, and to regard as unlawful the evil deeds we once committed. So when they got the better of us, treated us unjustly and circumscribed our lives, and came between us and our religion, we came to your country, having chosen you above all others. Here we have been happy in your protection, and we hope that we shall not be treated unjustly while we are with you, O King.'

The Negus asked if they had with them anything which had come from God. When Ja'far said that he had, the Negus commanded him to read it to him, so he read him a passage from ( sûra) KHY'S. The Negus wept until his beard was wet and the bishops wept until their scrolls were wet, when they heard what he read to them. Then the Negus said, 'Of a truth, this and what Jesus brought have come from the same niche. You two may go, for by God, I will never give them up to them and they shall not be betrayed.'

When the two had gone, 'Amr said, 'Tomorrow I will tell him something that will uproot them all.' Abdullah, who was the more godfearing of them in his attitude towards us, said, 'Do not do it, for they are our kindred though they have gone against us.' He said, 'By God, I will tell him that they assert that Jesus, son of Mary, is a creature.' He went to him in the morning and told him that they said a dreadful thing about Jesus, son of Mary, and that he should send for them and ask them about it. He did so. Nothing of the kind had happened to them before, and the people gathered together asking one another what they should say about Jesus when they were asked. They decided that they would say what God had said and what the prophet had brought, come what may. So when they went into the royal presence and the question was put to them, Ja'far answered, 'We say about him that which our prophet brought, saying, he is the slave of God, and his apostle, and his spirit, and his word, which he cast into Mary the blessed virgin.' The Negus took a stick from the ground and said, 'By God, Jesus, son of Mary, does not exceed what you have said by the length of this stick.' His generals round about him snorted when he said this, and he said, 'Though you snort, by God! Go, for you are safe in my country.' ( Shu'ûm means al-âmînâ.) Then he repeated three times the words, 'He who curses you will be fined. Not for a mountain of gold would

I allow a man of you to be hurt' (199). Give them back their presents, for I have no use for them. God took no bribe from me when He gave me back my kingdom, that I should take a bribe for it, and God did not do what men wanted against me, so why should I do what they want against Him?' So they left his presence, crestfallen, taking away their rejected gifts, while we lived with him comfortably in the best security.

While we were living thus, a rebel arose to snatch his kingdom from him, and I never knew us to be so sad as we were at that, in our anxiety lest this fellow would get the better of the Negus, and that a man would arise who did not know our case as the Negus did. He went out against him, and the Nile lay between the two parties. The apostle's companions called for a man who would go to the battle and bring back news, and al-Zubayr b. al-Awâm volunteered. Now he was the youngest man we had. We inflated a waterskin and he put it under his chest, and swam across until he reached that point of the Nile where the armies faced one another. Then he went on until he met them. Meanwhile we prayed to God to give the Negus victory over his enemy and to establish him in his own country: and as we were doing so, waiting for what might happen, up came al-Zubayr running, waving his clothes as he said, 'Hurrah, the Negus has conquered and God has destroyed his enemies and established him in his land.' By God, I never knew us to be so happy before. The Negus came back, God having destroyed his enemy and established him in his country, and the chiefs of the Abyssinians rallied to him. Meanwhile we lived in happiest conditions until we came to the apostle of God in Mecca.

HOW THE NEGUS BECAME KING OF ABYSSINIA

Al-Zuhri said: I told 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr the tradition of Abû Bakr b. 'Abdu'l-rahmân from Umm Salama the prophet's wife and he said: 'Do you know what he meant when he said that God took no bribe from me when He gave me back my kingdom that I should take a bribe for it, and God did not do what men wanted against me so why should I do what they want against Him?' When I said that I did not know, he said that 'A'isha told him that the father of the Negus was the king, and the Negus was his only son. The Negus had an uncle who had twelve sons who were of the Abyssinian royal house. The Abyssinians said among themselves, 'It would be a good thing if we were to kill the father of the Negus and make his brother king, because he has no son but this younger, while his brother has twelve sons, so they can inherit the kingdom after him so that the future of Abyssinia may be permanently secured.' So they attacked the Negus's father and killed him, making his brother king, and such was the state of affairs for a considerable time.

The Negus grew up with his uncle, an intelligent and resolute young man. He attained an ascendancy over his uncle to such a degree that when
The Abyssinians perceived how great his influence with the king was, they began to fear lest he might gain the crown, and would then put them all to death because he knew that they were the murderers of his father. Accordingly they went to his uncle and said, ‘Either you must kill this young man or you must exile him from among us, for we are in fear of our lives because of him.’ He replied, ‘You wretches, but yesterday I slew his father, and am I to kill him today? But I will put him out of your country.’ So they took him to the market and sold him to a merchant for six hundred dinhars. The latter threw him into a boat and went off with him, but on that very evening the autumn storms clouds massed, and his uncle went out to pray for rain beneath the mass of cloud when he was struck by lightning and killed. The Abyssinians hastened in fear to his sons, and lo! he was a hesetter of fools: he had not a son who was any good at all; the situation of the Abyssinians became very unsettled, and when they feared the pressure of events they said to one another, ‘Know, by God, that your king, the only one who can put us to rights, is the one you sold this morning, and if you care about your country go after him now.’ So they went out in search of him and the man to whom they had sold him, until they overtook him and took the Negus from him. They then brought him home, put the crown on his head, made him sit upon the throne, and proclaimed him king.

The merchant to whom they had sold him came and said, ‘Either you give me my money or I shall tell him about this.’ They said, ‘We will not give you a penny.’ He said, ‘In that case, by God, I will speak to him.’ They said, ‘Well, there he is;’ so he came and stood before him and said, ‘O King. I bought a young slave from people in the market for six hundred dinhars. They gave me my slave and they took my money, yet when I had gone off with my slave they took him and seized my slave and kept my money.’ The Negus said, ‘You must either give him his money back or let the young man place his hand in his, and let him take him wherever he wishes.’ They replied, ‘No, but we will give him his money.’ For this reason he said the words in question. This was the first thing that was reported about his firmness in his religion and his justice in judgement.

Yazid b. Rümân told me from ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr from ‘Aishah that she said: ‘When the Negus died it used to be said that a light was constantly seen over his grave.’

The Abyssinians Revolt Against the Negus

Ja‘far b. Muhammad told me on the authority of his father that the Abyssinians assembled and said to the Negus, ‘You have left our religion’ and they revolted against him. So he sent to Ja‘far and his companions and prepared ships for them, saying, ‘Embark in these and be ready. If I am defeated, go where you please; if I am victorious, then stay where you are.’ Then he took paper and wrote, ‘He testifies that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is His slave and apostle; and he testifies that Jesus, Son of Mary, is His slave, His apostle, His spirit and His word, which He cast into Mary.’ Then he put it in his gown near the right shoulder and went out to the Abyssinians, who were drawn up in array to meet him. He said, ‘O people, have I not the best claim among you?’ ‘Certainly,’ they said. ‘And what do you think of my life among you?’ ‘Excellent,’ ‘Then what is your trouble? You have forsaken our religion and asserted that Jesus is a slave.’ ‘Then what do you say about Jesus?’ ‘We say that he is the Son of God.’ The Negus put his hand upon his breast over his gown, (signifying), ‘He testifies that Jesus, the Son of Mary, was no more than “this”’. By this he meant what he had written, but they were content and went away. News of this reached the prophet, and when the Negus died he prayed over him and begged that his sins might be forgiven.

‘Umar Accepts Islam

When ‘Amr and ‘Abdullah came to the Quraysh, not having been able to bring back the prophet’s companions and having received a sharp rebuff from the Nezar, and when ‘Umar became a Muslim, he being a strong, stubborn man whose protector was none dare attack, the prophet’s companions were so fortified by him and Hamza that they got the upper hand of Quraysh. ‘Abdullah b. Mas‘ūd used to say, ‘We could not pray at the Ka‘ba until ‘Umar became a Muslim, and then he fought the Quraysh until he could pray there and we prayed with him.’ ‘Umar became a Muslim after the prophet’s companions had migrated to Abyssinia.

Al-Bakrāt said:

Mas‘ar b. Kidām from Sa‘d b. ‘Ibrāhīm said that ‘Abdullah b. Mas‘ūd said: “Umar’s (conversion) to Islam was a victory; his migration to Medina was a help; and his government was a divine mercy. We could not pray at the Ka‘ba until he became a Muslim, and when he did so he fought the Quraysh until he could pray there and we rejoined him.”

Abūl-Rahmān b. al-Hārith b. ‘Abdullah b. ‘Ayyāsh b. Abū Rabī‘a from Abūl’-A‘zīz b. ‘Abdullah b. ‘Abī Rabī‘a from his mother Umm Ḍafful b. Zayd b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abî Hafṣah who said: ‘We were on the point of setting out for Abyssinia, and ‘Amir had gone out for something we needed, when ‘Umar came and stopped beside me, he being a polytheist at the time, and we were receiving harsh treatment and affliction from him. He said, “So you are off, O mother of ‘Abdullah.” “Yes,” I said, “we are going to God’s country. You have violently ill treated us until God has given us a way out.” He said, “God be with you,” and I saw in him a compassion which I had never seen before. Then he went away, and I could see plainly that our departure pained him; and when ‘Amir came back with the thing.”

This indicates the recension of TL, which I.H. used. Other MSS. read ‘Ibn Hishām said.”
he needed I said to him, "O father of 'Abdullah, I wish you had seen 'Umar just now and the compassion and sorrow he showed on our account." When he asked me if I had hopes of his becoming a Muslim, I replied that I had, to which he answered, "The man you saw will not become a Muslim until al-Khattāb's donkey does." This he said in despair of him because of his harshness and severity against Islam.

The Islam of 'Umar, so I have heard, was on this wise. His sister was Fātima d. al-Khattāb, and was married to Sa'd b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl, both of whom had become Muslims and concealed the fact from 'Umar. Now Nu'aym b. 'Abdulla al-Nahjām, a man of his tribe from B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b, had become a Muslim and he also concealed the fact out of fear of his people. Khabbāb b. al-Abarāt used often to come to Fātima to read the Qur'an to her. One day 'Umar came out, girt with his sword, making for the apostle, and a number of his companions, who he had been informed had gathered in a house at al-Ṣafā, in all about forty, including women. With the apostle was his uncle Hamza, and Abū Bakr, and 'Āli, from among the Muslims who stayed with the apostle and had not gone out with those who went to Abyssinia. Nu'aym met him and asked him where he was going. 'I am making for Muhammad, the apostate, who has split up the Quraysh, made mockery of their traditions, insulted their faith and their gods, to kill him.' 'You deceive yourself, 'Umar,' he answered, 'do you suppose that B. 'Abdu Manāf will allow you to continue walking upon the earth when you have killed Muhammad? Had not you better go back to your own family and set their affairs in order? What is the matter with my family?' he said. 'Your brother-in-law, your nephew Sa'd, and your sister Fātima, have both become Muslims and followed Muhammad in his religion, so you had better go and deal with them.' Thereupon 'Umar returned to his sister and brother-in-law at the time when Khabbāb was with them with the manuscript of Tā Ḥa, which he was reading to them. When they heard 'Umar's voice Khabbāb hid in a small room, or in a part of the house, and Fātima took the page and put it under her thigh. Now 'Umar had heard the reading of Khabbāb as he came near the house, so when he came in he said, 'What is this balderdash I heard? ' You have not heard anything,' they answered. 'By God, I have,' he said, 'and I have been told that you have followed Muhammad in his religion,' and he seized his brother-in-law Sa'd, and his sister Fātima rose in defence of her husband, and he hit her and wounded her. When he did that they said to him, 'Yes, we are Muslims, and we believe in God and His apostle, and you can do what you like.' When 'Umar saw the blood on his sister he was sorry for what he had done and turned back and said to his sister, 'Give me this sheet which I heard you reading just now so that I may see just what it is which Muhammad has brought,' for 'Umar could write. When he said that, his sister replied that she was afraid to trust him with it. 'Do not be afraid,' he said, and he swore by his gods that he would return it when he had read it. When he said that, she had hopes that he would

become a Muslim, and said to him, 'My brother, you are unclean in your polytheism and only the clean may touch it.' So 'Umar rose and washed himself and gave him the page in which was Tā Ḥa, and when he read the beginning he said, 'How fine and noble is this speech.' When he heard that, Khabbāb emerged and said, 'O 'Umar, by God, I hope that God has singled you out by His prophet's call, for but last night I heard him saying, "O God, strengthen Islam by Abū'l-Ḥakam b. Hishām or by 'Umar b. al-Khattāb." Come to God, come to God, O 'Umar.' At that 'Umar said, 'Lead me to Muhammad so that I may accept Islam.' Khabbāb replied that he was in a house at al-Ṣafā with a number of his companions. So 'Umar took his sword and girt it on, and made for the apostle and his companions, and knocked on the door. When they heard his voice one of the companions got up and looked through a chink in the door, and when he saw him girt with his sword, he went back to the apostle in fear, and said, 'It's 'Umar with his sword on.' Hamza said, 'Let him in; if he has come with peaceful intent, we will treat him well; if he has come with ill intent, we will kill him with his own sword.' The apostle gave the word and he was let in. The apostle rose and met him in the room, seized him round the girdle or by the middle of his cloak, and dragged him along violently, saying, 'What has brought you, son of Khattāb, for by God, I do not think you will cease (your persecution) until God brings calamity upon you.' 'Umar replied, 'O Apostle of God, I have come to you to believe in God and His apostle and what he has brought from God.' The apostle gave thanks to God so loudly that the whole household knew that 'Umar had become a Muslim.

The companions dispersed, having become confident when both 'Umar and Hamza had accepted Islam because they knew that they would protect the apostle, and that they would get justice from their enemies through them. This is the story of the narrators among the people of Medina about 'Umar's Islam.

'Abdullah b. Abī Najīb, the Meccan, from his companions 'Atā and Mujāhid, or other narrators, said that 'Umar's conversion, according to what he used to say himself, happened thus: 'I was far from Islam. I was a winebibber in the heathen period, used to love it and rejoice in it. We used to have a meeting-place in al-Hadwara in which Quraysh used to gather' near the houses of the family of 'Umar b. Abī d. 'Imrān al-Makhzūmī. I went out one night, making for my boon companions in that gathering, but when I got there, there was no one present, so I thought it would be a good thing if I went to so-and-so, the wine-seller, who was selling wine in Mecca at the time, in the hope that I might get something to drink from him, but I could not find him either, so I thought it would be a good thing if I went round the Ka'ba seven or seventy seven times. So I came to the mosque meaning to go round the Ka'ba and there was the apostle standing praying. As he prayed he faced Syria, putting the Ka'ba

1 It was the market of Mecca.
between himself and Syria. His stance was between the black stone and the southern corner. When I saw him I thought it would be a good thing if I could listen to Muhammad so as to hear what he said. If I came near to listen to him I should scare him, so I came from the direction of the hajr and got underneath its coverings and began to walk gently. Meanwhile the prophet was standing in prayer reciting the Quran until I stood in his qibla facing him, there being nothing between us but the covering of the Ka'ba. When I heard the Quran my heart was softened and I wept, and Islam entered into me; but I ceased not to stand in my place until the apostle had finished his prayer. Then he went away. When he went away he used to go past the house of the son of Abū Husayn, which was on his way, so that he crossed the path where the pilgrims run. Then he went to the house of 'Abdās and Ibn 'Azhar b. 'Abdāl 'Araf al-Zuhri; then by the house of Al-Akhnas b. Sharqī until he entered his own house. His dwelling was in al-Dār al-Raqqā, which was in the hands of Mu'awiya b. Abū Sufyān. I continued to follow him, until when he got between the house of 'Abdās and Ibn 'Azhar I overtook him, and when he heard my voice he recognized me and supposed that I had followed him only to ill-treat him, so he repelled me, saying, "What has brought you to this hour?" I replied that I had come to believe in God and His apostle and what he had brought from God. He gave thanks to God and said, "God has guided you." Then he rubbed his breast and prayed that I might be steadfast. Afterwards I left him. He went into his house. But God knows what the truth was.

Nāfi' freedman of 'Abdullāh b. Umar on the authority of Ibn 'Umar said: When my father 'Abdullāh became a Muslim he said, "Which of the Quraysh is best at spreading reports?" and was told that it was Jamāl b. Ma'mar al-Jumāh. So he went to him, and I followed after him to see what he was doing, for although I was very young at the time I understood everything I saw. He went to Jamāl and asked him if he knew that he had become a Muslim and entered into Muhammad's religion; and, by God, hardly had he spoken to him when he got up dragging his cloak on the ground as "Umar followed him and I followed my father, until he stood by the door of the mosque and cried at the top of his voice while the Quraysh were in their meeting-places round the Ka'ba, "Umar has apostatized," while 'Umar behind him shouted, "He is a liar; but I have become a Muslim and I testify that there is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His servant and apostle." They got up to attack him and fighting went on between them until the sun stood over their heads, and he became weary and sat down while they stood over him, as he said, "Do as you will, for I swear by God that if we were three hundred men we would have fought it out on equal terms." At this point a shaykh of the Quraysh, in a Yamani robe and an embroidered shirt, came up and stopped and inquired what was the matter. When he was told that 'Umar had apostatized he said, "Why should not a man choose a religion for himself, and what are you trying to do? Do you think that B. 'Adiy will surrender their companion to you thus? Let the man alone." By God, it was as though they were a garment stripped off him. After my father had migrated to Medina I asked him who the man was who drove away the people on the day he became a Muslim while they were fighting him, and he said, "That, my son, was al-'Agā b. Wā'il al-Sahmī (202)."

'Abdullāh b. al-Hārith from one of 'Umar's clan or one of his family said that 'Umar said, "When I became a Muslim that night I thought of the man who was the most violent in enmity against the apostle so that I might come and tell him that I had become a Muslim, and Abu Jahl came to my mind." Now 'Umar's mother was Hāntama d. Hāshim b. al-Mughrāh. So in the morning I knocked on his door, and he came out and said, "The best of welcomes, nephew, what has brought you?" I answered that I had come to tell him that I believed in God and His apostle Muhammad and regarded as true what he had brought. He slammed the door in my face and said, "God damn you, and damn what you have brought."

THE DOCUMENT PROCLAIMING A BOYCOTT

When Quraysh perceived that the apostle's companions had settled in a land in peace and safety, and that the Negus had protected those who sought refuge with him, and that 'Umar had become a Muslim and that both he and Hamza were on the side of the apostle and his companions, and that Islam had begun to spread among the tribes, they came together and decided among themselves to write a document in which they should put a boycott on B. Hāshim and B. Muṭṭalāb that they should not marry their women nor give women to them to marry; and that they should neither buy from them nor sell to them, and when they agreed on that they wrote it in a deed. Then they solemnly agreed on the points and hung the deed up in the middle of the Ka'ba to remind them of their obligations.

The writer of the deed was Ma'nūr b. l'Krima b. 'Amīr b. Hāshim b. 'Abdul Manāf b. 'Abdullāh b. Quraysh (201) and the apostle invoked God against him and some of his fingers withered.

When Quraysh did that, the two clans of B. Hāshim and B. al-Muṭṭalāb went to Abū Ṭālib and entered with him into his alley and joined him. Abū Lahab 'Abdullāh went out from B. Hāshim and helped Quraysh. Husayn b. 'Abdullāh told me that Abū Lahab met Hind d. 'Utba when he had left his people and joined Quraysh against them, and he said, 'Haven't I helped al-Lūt and al-'Uzza and haven't I abandoned them and assisted their opponents?" She said, 'Yes, and may God reward you well, O Abū 'Utba." And I was told that among the things that he said were, 'Muhammad promises me things which I do not see. He alleges that they will happen after my death; what has he put in my hands after that?" Then he blew on his hands and said, 'May you perish. I can see nothing in you of the things which Muhammad says.'

1 i.e. 'a fear removed'.
The Life of Muhammad

So God revealed concerning him the words, 'Abū Lahab and his hands God blast (223).'

When Quraysh had agreed on this and had done what has just been described, Abū Ṭalib said:

Tell Lu'ayy, especially Lu'ayy of the Banū Ka'b, News of our condition.

Did you not know that we have found Muhammad,
A prophet like Moses described in the oldest books,
And that love is bestowed on him (alone) of mankind
And that none is better than he whom God has singled out in love,
And that the writing you have fixed
Will be a calamity like the cry of the hamstrung camel?²

Awake, awake before the grave is dug
And the blameless and the guilty are as one.
Follow not the slanderers, nor sever
The bonds of love and kinship between us.

Do not provoke a long-drawn-out war,
Often he who brings on war tastes its bitterness.
By the Lord of the temple we will not give up Ahmad,
To harsh misfortunes and times' troubles;
Before hands and necks, yours and ours,
Are cut by the gleaming blades of Qusās³
In a close-hemmed battlefield where you see broken spears
And black-headed vultures circling round like a thirsty crowd.
The galloping of the horses about the scene
And the shout of warriors are like a raging battle.
Did not our father Hāshim gird up his loins
And teach his sons the sword and spear?
We do not tire of war until it tires of us;
We do not complain of misfortune when it comes.
We keep our heads and our valour
When the bravest lose heart in terror.

They remained thus for two or three years until they were exhausted,
Nothing reaching them except what came from their friends unknown to Quraysh.

Abū Jahl, so they say, met Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām b. Khwaylid b. Asad with whom was a slave carrying flour intended for his aunt Khadija, the prophet's wife, who was with him in the alley. He hung on to him and said,

'Are you taking food to the B. Hāshim? By God, before you and your food move from here I will denounce you in Mecca.' Ḥabīl-Bakhtārī came to him and said, 'What is going on between you two?' When he said that Ḥakīm was taking food to the B. Hāshim, he said: 'It is food he has which belongs to his aunt and she has sent him about it. Are you trying to prevent him taking her own food to her? Let the man go his way.' Abū Jahl refused until they came to blosoms, and Abū'l-Bakhtārī took a camel's jaw and knocked him down, wounded him, and trod on him violently, while Ḥuruzza was looking on near by. They did not wish the apostle and his companions to hear this news and rejoice over their discomfort. Meanwhile the apostle was exhorting his people night and day, secretly and publicly, openly proclaiming God's command without fear of anyone.

THE ILL-TREATMENT THE APOSTLE RECEIVED FROM HIS PEOPLE

His uncle and the rest of B. Hāshim gathered round him and protected him from the attacks of the Quraysh, who, when they saw that they could not get at him, mocked and laughed at him and disputed with him. The Qur'an began to come down concerning the wickedness of Quraysh and those who showed enmity to him, some by name and some only referred to in general. Of those named are his uncle Abū Lahab and his wife Umm Jamil, 'the bearer of the wood'. God called her this because she, so I am told, carried thorns and cast them in the apostle's way where he would be passing. So God sent down concerning the pair of them:

Abū Lahab and his hands, God blast,
His wealth and gains useless at the last,
He shall roast in flames, held fast,
With his wife, the bearer of the wood, aghast,
On her neck a rope of palm-fibre cast. (203)¹

I was told that Umm Jamil, the bearer of the wood, when she heard what had come down about her and about her husband in the Qur'an, came to the apostle of God, when he was sitting in the mosque by the Ka'ba with Abū Bakr, with a stone pestle in her hand, and when she stood by the pair of them God made her unable to see the apostle so that she saw only Abū Bakr and asked him where his companion was, 'for I have been told that he is satirizing me,'² and by God, if I had found him I would have smashed his mouth with this stone. By God, I am a poet.' Then she said:

We reject the reprobate,
His words we repudiate,
His religion we loathe and hate.³

¹ Sūra 111. The rhyme of the original has been imitated.
² I.e. composed a Ḥijā, which in early times had the effect of a spell which could bring the fate it described on its victims. See my Prophethood and Divination, pp. 248 ff., 258 ff., n. 89. Umm Jamil's object in trying to smash Muhammad's mouth was to destroy his organs of speech so that he could no longer utter magical curses.
³ This is a rough attempt to render the rough rhyme of the original, which consists of seven syllables, by a strange coincidence similar to the taunt song of children:

I'm the king of the castle,
Get out you dirty rascal.
Then she went off and Abū Bakr asked the apostle if he thought she had seen him. He replied that she had not because God had taken her sight away from him (204).

The Quraysh had called the apostle Muḥammad to revile him. He used to say, 'Aren’t you surprised at the injuries of the Quraysh, which God turns away from me? They curse me and satirize Muḥammad [reprobate] whereas I am Muḥammad [the laudable].'

[Another referred to in the Qur'an] is Umāya b. Khalaf b. Wāhḥ b. Hūdāfā b. Jumah. Whenever he saw the apostle he slandered and reviled him, so God sent down concerning him, 'Woe to every slandering backbiter, who has gathered wealth and increased it, and thinks that his wealth will make him immortal. No, he will be thrown to the devouring fire. What will make you realize what is true? It is God's fire kindled which mounts over the hearts. It is shut in on them in wide columns (205).'

Khabbaṣ b. al-ʿArāf, the prophet's companion, was a smith in Mecca who used to make swords. He sold some to al-ʿĀy b. Wālī so that he owed him some money and he came to him to demand payment. He answered, 'Does not Muḥammad, your companion whose religion you follow, allege that in Paradise there is all the gold and silver and clothes and servants that his people can desire?' 'Certainly,' said Khabbaṣ. 'Then give me till the day of resurrection until I return to that house and pay your debt there; for by God, you and your companion will be no more influential with God than I, and no greater share in it.' So God revealed concerning him, 'Have you considered him who disbelieves Our signs and says, I shall be given wealth and children. Hath he studied the unseen? So far as the words, and we shall inherit from him what he speaks of and he will come to us alone.'

Abū Jahl met the apostle, so I have heard, and said to him, 'By God, Muḥammad, you will either stop cursing our gods or we will curse the God you serve.' So God revealed concerning that, 'Come not those to whom they pray other than God lest they curse God wrongfully through lack of knowledge.' I have been told that the apostle refrained from cursing their gods, and began to call them to Allah.

Abū Nadhir b. al-Ḥārīth b. ʿAlqama b. Kalāda b. Abū Manāf whenever the apostle sat in an assembly and invited people to God, and recited the Qurʾān, and warned the Quraysh of what had happened to former peoples, followed him when he got up and spoke to them about Rustum the Hero and Isfandiyār and the kings of Persia, saying, 'By God, Muḥammad cannot tell a better story than I and his talk is only of old fables which he has copied as I have.' So God revealed concerning him, 'And they say, Stories of the ancients which he has copied down, and they are read to

Sūra 19: 46
Sūra 6: 109
Sūra 2: 289
Sūra 4: 64

And he revealed concerning what he mentioned about Jesus, Son of Mary, that he was worshipped beside God, and the astonishment of al-Walīd and those who were present, at his argument and dispute, "And

him morning and night. Say, He who knows the secrets of heaven and earth has sent it down. Verily, He is merciful, forgiving."

And there came down concerning him, 'When Our verses are read to him he says, fables of the ancients.'

And again, 'Woe to every sinful liar who hears God's verses read before him. Then he continues in pride as though he had not heard them, as though in his ears was deafness. Tell him about a painful punishment' (206).

The apostle sat one day, so I have heard, with al-Walīd b. al-Mughṭira in the mosque, and al-Nadr b. al-Ḥārīth came and sat with them in the assembly where some of Quraysh were. When the apostle spoke al-Nadr interrupted him, and the apostle spoke to him until he silenced him. Then he read to him and to the others: 'Verily ye and what ye serve other than God is the fuel of hell. You will come to it. If these had been gods they would not have come to it, but all will be in it everlasting. There is waiting and there they will not hear' (207).

Then the apostle rose and ʿAbdullāh b. al-Zibārī b. al-Sahmī came and sat down. Al-Walīd said to him: By God al-Nadr could not stand up to the (grandson) of ʿAbduʿl-Muttalib just now and Muḥammad alleged that we and our gods are fuel for hell.' ʿAbdullāh said: 'If I had found him I would have refted him. Ask Muḥammad, "Is everything which is worshipped besides God in Gehenna with those who worship it?" We worship the angels; the Jews worship Ṭuʾayy; and the Christians worship Jesus Son of Mary.' Al-Walīd and those with him in the assembly marvelled at ʿAbdullāh's words and thought that he had argued convincingly. When the apostle was told of this he said: Everyone who wishes to be worshipped to the exclusion of God will be with those who worship him. They worship only satans and those they have ordered to be worshipped.' So God revealed concerning that, 'Those who have received kindness from us in the past will be removed far from it and will get hear its sound and they abide eternally in their heart's desire; i.e. Jesus Son of Mary and Ṭuʾayy and those rabbis and monks who have lived in obedience to God, whom the erring people worship as lords besides God. And He revealed concerning their assertion that they worship angels and that they are the daughters of God. And they say the Messiah has chosen a son, (exalted be He above this); no, they are but honoured slaves, they do not speak before He speaks, and they carry out His commands, as far as the words, and he of them who says, I am God as well as He, that one we shall repay with Gehenna. Thus do they repay the sinful ones.'

And He revealed concerning what he mentioned about Jesus, Son of Mary, that he was worshipped beside God, and the astonishment of al-Walīd and those who were present, at his argument and dispute, 'And
when Jesus, Son of Mary, was cited as an example by people that he was rejected. I. e. they rejected your attitude to what they say. Then he mentions Jesus, Son of Mary, and says, 'He was nothing but a slave to whom We showed favor and made him an example to the Children of Israel. If We had wished We could have made you angels to act as vice-regents in the earth. Verily, there is knowledge of the last hour, so doubt not about it but follow Me. This is an upright path, i.e., the signs which I gave him in raising the dead and healing the sick, therein is sufficient proof of the knowledge of the hour. He says: 'Doubt not about it, but follow Me. This is an upright path.'

Al-Akhmas b. Sharīq b. Amr b. Wāb al-Thaqafī, ally of B. Zuhra, was one of the leaders of his people who was listened to with respect, and he used to give the apostle much trouble and contradict him, so God sent down about him: 'Do not obey every feeble oaths-taker, slanderer, talking with evil tales,' as far as the word 'zanīn.'

He did not say zanīn in the sense of 'ignoble' to insult his ancestry, because God does not insult anyone's ancestry, but he confirmed thereby the epithet given to him so that he might be known. Zanīn means an adopted member of the tribe. Al-Khaftān al-Tamīmī said in pagan days:

An outsider whom men invite as a supernumerary
As the legs are useless additions to the width of a belt.

Al-Walīd said: 'Does God send down revelations to Muhammad and ignore me, the greatest chief of Quraysh, to say nothing of Abū Mas'ūd Amr b. 'Umayr al-Thaqafī, the chief of Thaqif, we being the great ones of Ṭa'īf and Mecca?' So God sent down concerning him, so I am told, 'They said, if this Qur'an had been revealed to a great man of the two towns, as far as the words, 'than what they amass.'

Ubayy b. Khalaf b. Wāb b. Ḥudāfā and 'Uqba b. Abī Mu'āyyad were very close friends. Now 'Uqba had sat and listened to the apostle and when Ubayy knew of that he came to him and said, 'Do I hear that you have sat with Muhammad and listened to him? I swear I will never see you or speak to you again (and he swore a great oath) if you do the same again, or if you do not go and spit in his face.' 'Uqba, the enemy of God, actually did this, God curse him. So God sent down concerning the pair of them,

1 Sūra 43: 57.
2 A difficult phrase. Ṣadha with the preposition min means 'to laugh immoderately or to make a loud noise.' With 'en it means 'to turn away from.' But these two prepositions are often interchangeable. Ibn Ishaq's explanation of the passage is that the fact that Christians pray to Jesus is no justification for the polytheism of the Meccans, as the latter argued, for Christians persistently said the message Jesus brought. When Jesus is addressed as an example (of one who called an evil god to people) to the Meccans rejected Muhammad's attitude toward him in what they said; but this exegesis is not sound. The Sūra is perfectly consistent in showing how prophets were sent to erring peoples and were laughed at. Cf. v. 47: The Meccans laugh when Jesus is mentioned because his mission would seem to justify their worshipping several gods. The citation which follows shows where in Muhammad's opinion they were wrong. I. I. has adopted the reading yashallina (so Nafi', I. 'Amir, and al-Kia'ī') instead of the commoner yashallina.
3 Sūra 43: 30.
4 Sūra 43: 30.
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(3c. reconciliation) to his people, put upon his tongue 'these are the exalted Gharānqī' whose intercession is approved. They were delighted and greatly pleased at the way in which he spoke of their gods and they listened to him; while the believers were holding that what their prophet brought them from their Lord was true, not suspecting a mistake or a vain desire or a slip, and when he reached the prostration and the end of the Sūra in which he prostrated himself the Muslims prostrated themselves when their prophet prostrated confirming what he brought and obeying his command, and the polytheists of Quraysh and others who were in the mosque prostrated when they heard the mention of their gods, so that everyone in the mosque believer and unbeliever prostrated, except al-Walid b. al-Mughira who was an old man who could not do so, so he took a handful of dirt from the valley and bent over it. Then the people dispersed and Quraysh went out, delighted at what had been said about their gods, saying, 'Muhammad has spoken of our gods in splendid fashion. He alleged in what he read that they are the exalted Gharānqī whose intercession is approved.'

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

When the annulment of what Satan had put upon the prophet's tongue came from God, Quraysh said: 'Muhammad has repented of what he said about the position of your gods with Allah, altered it and brought something else.' Now those two words which Satan had put upon the apostle's tongue were in the mouth of every polytheist and they became more violently hostile to the Muslims and the apostle's followers. Meanwhile those of his companions who had left Abyssinia when they heard that the people of Mecca had accepted Islam when they prostrated themselves with the apostle, heard when they approached Mecca that the report was false and none came into the town without protection or secrecy. Of those who did come into Mecca and stayed there until he migrated to Medina and were present at Badr with him was 'Uthmān b. Sa‘īd. . . . . . . . . with his wife Ruqayya d. of the apostle and Abī Hudhayfa b. Utba with his wife Suhaila d. of Suhayl, and a number of others, in all thirty-three men.'

Abū Jahl b. Hishām, when God mentioned the tree of al-Zaqqūm to strike terror into them, said: 'O Quraysh, do you know what the tree of al-Zaqqūm with which Muhammad would scare you is?' When they said that they did not he said: 'It is Yathrib dates buttered. By Allah, if we get hold of them we will gulp them down in one!' So God sent down concerning him, 'Verily the tree of al-Zaqqūm is the food of the sinner like molten brass seething in their bellies like boiling water,' i.e. it is not as he said (208). God revealed concerning it, 'And the tree which is cursed in the Quran; and We will frighten them, but it increases them in naught save great wickedness.'

Al-Walid was having a long conversation with the apostle who greatly desired to convert him to Islam when I. Umm Makrūm, a blind man, passed by and began to ask the apostle to recite the Quran. The prophet found this hard to bear and it annoyed him, because he was diverting him from al-Walid and spoiling the chance of his conversion; and when the man became importunate he went off frowning and left him. So God revealed concerning him, 'He frowned and turned his back when the blind man came to him' as far as the words 'in books honoured, exalted, and purified,' i.e. I sent you only to be an evangelist and a reprover; I did not specify one person to the exclusion of another, so withhold not (the message) from him who seeks it, and do not waste time over one who does not want it (209).

THE RETURN OF THOSE WHO HAD FLED TO ABYSSINIA

The apostle's companions who had gone to Abyssinia heard that the Meccans had accepted Islam and they set out for the homeland. But when they got near Mecca they learned that the report was false, so that they

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2 a Surat 44: 47. Subayh, p. 258, has an interesting note to the effect that this word is of Yemeni origin, and that there it means anything which causes vomiting.
3 a Surat 17: 62.
4 a Surat 80.
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entered the town under the protection of a citizen or by stealth. Some of those who returned to him stayed in Mecca until they migrated to Medina and were present at Badr and Ujду with the apostle, others were shut away from the prophet until Badr and other events were passed; and others died in Mecca. They were:

From B. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Manaf b. Qaysayy: 'Uthman b. Affan b. Abul-’Aṣ b. Umasya b. 'Abdu Shams and his wife, the apostle’s daughter Ruqayya; Abū Hudhayfa b. 'Uthba b. Rabia and his wife Sahda; Suhayl b. 'Amr; and one of their allies 'Abdullah b. Jahl b. R'i."ab.

From B. Naufal b. 'Abdu Manaf: 'Uthba b. Ghazwan, an ally of theirs from Qays b. 'Aylin.


From B. Makram b. Yaqaza: Abū Salama b. 'Abdu'l-Asad b. Hijab b. 'Abdullah b. 'Amr with his wife Umm Salama d. Abū Umasya b. al-Mughira; and Shammas b. 'Uthman b. al-Sayd b. Suwayd b. Harmal b. 'Amir; and Salama b. Hisam b. al-Mughira whom his uncle imprisoned in Mecca so that he did not go to Sanaa until after Badr and Ujdu and the Trench; 'Ayyash b. Abū Rabia b. al-Mughira. He migrated to Medina with the prophet, and his two brothers on his mother's side followed him and brought him back to Mecca and held him there until the three battles were over. Their names were Abū Jahl and al-Harith, sons of Hisam. Of their allies 'Ammar b. Yasir, though it is doubted whether he went to Abyssinia or not; and Mu'attib b. 'Auf b. 'Amr b. Khuzayma.


From B. Salm b. 'Amr b. Husang b. Ka'b: Khunays b. Hudhafa b. Qays b. 'Adiy; and Hisam b. Al-'Aṣ b. Wa'il who was imprisoned in Mecca after the apostle migrated to Medina until he turned u in after the three battles above mentioned.

From B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b: 'Amir b. Rabia; one of their allies, with his wife Layla d. Abū Ḥathma b. Ḥudhafa b. Qānim.

From B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy: 'Abdullah b. Makrama b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza b. Abū Qays; 'Abdullah b. Suhayl b. 'Amr. He was held back from the apostle of God when he emigrated to Medina until when the battle of Badr was joined he deserted the polytheists and joined the battle on the side of the apostle. Abū Sabra b. Abū Rūhm b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza with his wife Umm Kulthum d. Suhayl b. 'Amr; Sakran b. 'Amr b. 'Abdu Shams with his wife Ssword d. Zama b. Qays. He died in Mecca before the apostle emigrated and the apostle married his widow Ssword. Lastly Sa'd b. Khallaf, one of their allies.


The total number of his companions who came to Mecca from Abyssinia was thirty-three men. The names given to us of those who entered under promise of protection are 'Uthman b. Maz'in protected by al-Walid b. al-Mughira; Abū Salama under the protection of Abū 'Auf who was his uncle, Abū Salama’s mother being Bara d. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib.

"Uthman b. Maz'in renounces al-Walid's protection"

Sūlīf b. Ibrahīm b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Auf told me from one who had got it from 'Uthman saying: When 'Uthman b. Maz'in saw the misery in which the apostle's companions were living while he lived night and day under al-Walid's protection he said, 'It is more than I can bear that I should be perfectly safe under the protection of a polytheist while my friends and co-religionists are afflicted and distressed for God's sake.' So he went to al-Walid and renounced his protection. 'Why, nephew,' he asked, 'Can it be that one of my people has injured you?' 'No,' he answered, 'but I want to be under God’s protection. I don't want to ask for anyone else's.' Al-Walid asked him to come to the mosque and renounce his protection publicly as he had given it publicly. When they got there al-Walid said: 'Uthman here has come to renounce my protection.' 'True,' said the latter, 'I have found him loyal and honourable in his protection, but I don't want to ask anyone but God for protection; so I give him back his promise!' So saying he went away.

[On another occasion when] Labīd b. Rabī'a b. Malik b. Ja'far b. Kibīb was in an assembly of the Quraysh when 'Uthman was present he recited a verse:

"Everything but God is vain, True! interjected 'Uthman; but when he went on:

And everything lovely must inevitably cease, "Uthman cried, 'You lie! The joy of Paradise will never cease.' Labīd said: 'O men of Quraysh your friends never used to be annoyed thus. Since when has this sort of thing happened among you?' One of the audience answered: 'This is one of those louts with Muhammad. They have abandoned our religion. Take no notice of what he says." 'Uthman objected so energetically that the matter became serious. Whereupon that man rose to his feet and hit him in the eye so that it became black. Now al-Walid
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was hard by watching what happened to 'Uthmān and he said: 'O nephew, your eye need not have suffered this had you remained in sure protection.' 'Uthmān answered: 'Nay by God my good eye needs what happened to its fellow for God's sake, and I am under the protection of One who is stronger and more powerful than you, O Abū 'Abdū Shams.' Al-Walīd only said, 'Come, nephew, my protection is always open to you,' but he declined it.

How Abū Salama Fared with His Protector

My father Iṣāq b. Yasīr on the authority of Salama b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar b. Abū Salama told me that he told him that when Abū Salama had asked Abū `Abdullāh's protection some of the B. Makhzūm went to him and said: 'You have protected your nephew Muhammad from us, but why are you protecting our tribesmen?' He answered: 'He asked my protection and he is my sister's son. If I did not protect my sister's son I could not protect my brother's son.' Thereupon Abū Lahab rose and said: 'O Quraysh, you have continually attacked this shaykh for giving his protection among his own people. By God, you must either stop this or we will stand in with him until he gains his object.' They said that they would not do anything to annoy him, for he had aided and abetted them against the apostle, and they wanted to keep his support.

Hearing him speak thus Abū `Abdullāh hoped that he would support him in protecting the apostle, and composed the following lines urging Abū Lahab to help them both:

A man whose uncle is Abū 'Umayba
Is in a garden where he is free from violence.
I say to him (and how does such a man need my advice?)
O Abū Mu'tib stand firm upright.
Never in your life adopt a course
For which you will be blamed when men meet together.
Leave the path of weakness to others,
For you were not born to remain weak.
Fight! For war is fair;
You will never see a warrior humiliated till he surrenders
How should you when they have done you no great injury
Nor abandoned you in the hour of victory or defeat?
God requite for us 'Abdū Shams and Naufal and Taym
And Makhzūm for their desertion and wrong
In parting from us after affection and amity
So that they might get unlawful gains.
By God's House you lie! Never will we abandon Muhammad
Before you see a dust-raising day in the zhība (210).!

This is the reading of Abū Dhūayb which seems to be superior to that of W. and C. Qātit means 'a thick cloud of dust' and implies men on the march. No satisfactory meaning

Abū Bakr accepts Ibn Al-Dughunna's protection and then abandons it

Muhammad b. Muslih b. Shihāb al-Zuhri from Urwa from 'Ā'isha told me that when the situation in Mecca became serious and the apostle and his companions suffered ill-treatment from the Quraysh, Abū Bakr asked the apostle's permission to emigrate, and he agreed. So Abū Bakr set forth and when he had gone a day or two's journey from Mecca he fell in with Ibn al-Dughunna, the brother of the B. Hārith b. 'Abdū Manāt b. Kishāna, who was at that time head of the Aḥbāsh. (They were the B. Hārith; and al-Hūn b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika; and the B. al-Mustalq of Khuṭāb.) (211.)

Replied to Ibn al-Dughunna's inquiries Abū Bakr told him that his people had driven him out and ill-treated him. 'But why,' he exclaimed, 'when you are an ornament of the tribe, a standby in misfortune, always kindly in supplying the wants of others? Come back with me under my protection.' So he went back with him and Ibn al-Dughunna publicly proclaimed that he had taken him under his protection and none must treat him other than well.

He continued: Abū Bakr had a mosque by the door of his house among the B. Junāh where he used to pray. He was a tender-hearted man and when he read the Quran he was moved to tears. Youths, slaves, and women used to stand by him astonished at his demeanour. Some men of Quraysh waited till Ibn al-Dughunna saying, 'Have you given this fellow protection so that he can injure us? Lo, he prays and reads what Muhammad has produced and his heart becomes soft and he weeps. And he has a striking appearance so that we fear he may seduce our youths and women and weak ones. Go to him and tell him to go to his own house and do what he likes there.' So Ibn al-Dughunna went to him and said: 'I did not give you protection so that you might injure your people. They dislike the place you have chosen and suffer hurt therefrom, so go into your house and do what you like there.' Abū Bakr asked him if he wanted him to renounce his protection and when he said that he did he gave him back his guarantee Ibn al-Dughunna got up and told the Quraysh that Abū Bakr was no longer under his protection and that they could do what they liked with him.

'Abdullāh b. Qāsim b. Muhammad that as Abū Bakr was going to the Ka'ba one of the loathsome fellows of Quraysh met him and threw dust on his head. Al-Walīd b. al-Mughira, or it may have been Al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il, passed him and he said,
THE ANNULLING OF THE BOYCOTT

The B. Ḥāshim and the B. al-Muṭṭalib were in the quarters which Quraysh had agreed upon in the document they wrote, when a number of Quraysh took steps to annul the boycott against them. None took more trouble in this than Hishām b. 'Amr ... for the reason that he was the son of a brother to Naufa b. Ḥāshim b. Ābu Manaf by his mother and was closely attached to the B. Ḥāshim. He was highly esteemed by his people. I have heard that when these two clans were in their quarters he used to bring a camel laden with food by night and then when he had got it to the mouth of thealley he took off its halter, gave it a whack on the side, and sent it into the alley to them. He would do the same thing another time, bringing clothes for them.

He went to Ṣuhaib b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughira whose mother was 'Ātika d. 'Abdull-'Al-Muṭṭalib and said: 'Are you content to eat food and wear clothes and marry women while you know of the condition of your maternal uncles? They cannot buy or sell, marry, nor give in marriage. By God I swear that if they were the uncles of Abūl-'Hakam b. Hishām and you asked him to do what he has asked you to do he would never agree to it.' He said, 'Confound you, Hishām, what can I do? I'm only one man. By God if I had another man to back me I would soon annul it.' He said, 'I have found a man. Myself. 'Find another,' said he. So Hishām went to al-Muṭ'im b. 'Adiy and said, 'Are you content that two clans of the B. Ābu Manaf should perish while you look on consenting to follow Quraysh? You will find that they will soon do the same with you.' He made the same reply as Zuhayr and demanded a fourth man, so Hishām went to Abūl-Bakhtārī b. Hishām who asked for a fifth man, and then to Zama'ā b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Āsad and reminded him of their kinship and duties. He asked whether others were willing to co-operate in this task and he gave him the names of the others. They all arranged to meet at night on the nearest point of al-Hajjān above Mecca, and there they bound themselves to take up the question of the document until they had secured its annulment. Zuhayr claimed the right to act and speak first. So on the morrow when the people met together Zuhayr clad in a long robe went round the Ka'ba seven times; then he came forward and said: 'O people of Mecca, are we to eat and clothe ourselves while the B. Ḥāshim perish, unable to buy or sell? By God I will not sit down until this evil boycotting document is torn up!' Abūl-Bakhtārī said: 'Zama'ā is right. We are not satisfied with what is written and we don't hold with it.' Al-Muṭ'im said, 'You are both right and anyone who says otherwise is a liar. We take Allah to witness that we dissociate ourselves from the whole idea and what is written in the document.' Hishām spoke in the same sense. Abū Jahl said: 'This is a matter which has been decided overnight. It has been discussed somewhere else.' Now Abū Ṭālib was sitting at the side of the mosque. When al-Muṭ'im went up to the door to tear it in pieces he found that worms had already eaten it except the words 'In Thy name O Allah'. (T. This was the customary formula with which Quraysh began their writing.) The writer of the deed was Manṣūr b. 'Ikrima. It is alleged that his hand shrivelled (212).

When the deed was torn up and made of none effect Abū Ṭālib composed the following verses in praise of those who had taken part in the annulment:

Has not our Lord's doing come to the ears of those
Far distant across the sea (for Allah is very kind to men),
Telling them that the deed was torn up
And all that was against God's wish had been destroyed?
Lies and sorcery were combined in it,
But sorcery never gets the upper hand.
Those not involved in it assembled together for it in a remote place,
While its bird of ill omen hovered within its head.
It was such a heinous offence that it would be fitting
That because of it hands and necks should be severed
And that the people of Mecca should go forth and flee,
Their hearts quaking for fear of evil
And the ploughman be left in doubt what to do—
Whether to go down to the lowland or up to the hills—
And an army come up between Mecca's hills
Equipped with bows, arrows, and spears.
He of Mecca's citizens whose power rises
(Let him know) that our glory in Mecca's vale is older.
We grew up there when men were few
And have ever waxed great in honour and reputation.
We feed our guests till they leave a dish untouched.
When the hands of the mayair players would begin to tremble
God reward the people in al-Hajjān who swore allegiance.

1 So the commentators, but an unnatural extension of the usual meaning of bāṣīr is involved.
2 Commentators suggest as an alternative rendering 'those who took it seriously'. Qarṣar means 'fat soft ground'.
3 This seems to be an adaptation of Sūra 17, 14: 'We have fastened every man's bird of ill omen to his neck.' Dr. Arafa suggests that the ta'dir here means 'ghost', the bird which emerges from the head of a murdered man, and the meaning would then be that the ghost is entering within it before it finally emerges.
4 Reading tābiya as with C. W. has tābiyā.
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To a chief who leads with decision and wisdom,
Sitting by the near side of al-Hajjām as though princes,
Nay they are even more noble and glorious.
Every bold man helped therein
Clad in mail so long that it slowed his stride,
Running to their portentous deeds
Like a flame burning in the torchbearer's hands.
The noblest of Lu'ayb b. Ghālib's line
When they are wronged their faces show their anger.
With long cord to his sword half his shank bare.
For his sake the clouds give rain and blessing.
Prince son of prince of princely hospitality
Gathering and urging food on his guests.
Building and preparing safety for the tribesmen
When we walk through the land.
Every blameless man kept this peace.
A great leader, there was he praised.
They accomplished their work in a night
While others slept; in the morning they took their ease.
They sent back Saḥib b. Bāθi'ī well pleased
And Abū Bakr and Muhammad rejoiced thereat.
When have others joined in our great exploits,
From old have we shown each other affection?
Never have we approved injustice.
We got what we wanted without violence.
O men of Qusayy, won't you consider,
Do you want what will befall you tomorrow?
For you and I are as the words of the saying:
"You have the explanation if you could only speak, O Aswād." 1

Mourning al-Mu'tam b. 'Ady and mentioning his stand in getting the deed annulled, Hassān b. Thābit composed the following: 3

Weep O eye the people's leader, be generous with thy tears.
If they run dry, then pour out blood.
Mourn the leader of both the pilgrim sites 3
To whom men owe gratitude so long as they can speak.
If glory could immortalize anyone

1 Or 'daring'.
2 Commentators explain that Aswād is the name of a mountain on which a dead man was found and there was no indication of his murderer. The relatives addressed the mountain in the words just quoted which became a proverb.
3 See Dād of Hassān b. Thābit, ed. Hartwig Hirschfeld (Gibb Memorial Series), London, 1910, 43 ff. The version given there is sadly at fault, but the text in line 1 was rababahum (instead of I.1. lāhitahum) is right: 'weep for the lord and master of the two sanctuaries'. Cf. Aṣb. xiii, 6, 12 (cited by Lammas, L'Arabie occidentale, Beirut, 1928, p. 146): 'the burying between the two māsh'ār'. I.I., though he denies that I.1. wrote 'both', fails to quote the right reading.

His glory would have kept Mu'tam alive today.
You protected God's apostle from them and they became
Thy slaves so long as men cry lāhubbīka and don the pilgrim garb.
If Ma'ād and Qaṭṭān and all the rest
Of Jurhum were asked about him
They would say he faithfully performs his duty to protect
And if he makes a covenant he fulfills it.
The bright sun above them does not shine
On a greater and nobler than he;
More resolute in refusing yet most lenient in nature,
Sleeping soundly on the darkest night though responsible for his guest (213).

Hassān also said in praise of Hishām b. 'Amr for his part in the matter of the deed:

Is the protection of the Banū Umaiya a bond
As trustworthy a guarantee as that of Hishām?
Such as do not betray their protégés
Of the line of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥubayyib b. Sukhām.
When the Banū Hishāl grant protection
They keep their word and their protégé lives securely.

AL-TUFAYL B. 'AMR AL-DAISY ACCEPTS ISLAM

In spite of his people's behaviour the apostle was continually giving good counsel and preaching salvation from their evil state. When God protected him from them they began to warn all new-comers against him.
Al-Tufayl used to say that he came to Mecca when the apostle was there and some of the Quraysh immediately came up to him. (He was a poet of standing and an intelligent man.) They told him that this fellow had done them much harm; had divided their community and broken up its unity; 'in fact he talks like a sorcerer separating a man from his father, his brother, or his wife. We are afraid that he will have the same effect on you and your people, so don't speak to him or listen to a word from him.'

They were so insistent that I decided not to listen to a word or to speak to him and I went so far as to stuff cotton in my ears when I went to the mosque fearing that I might overhear a word or two against my will. When I got to the mosque there was the apostle of God standing at prayer by the Ka'ba, so I stood near him. God had decreed that I should hear something of his speech and I heard a beautiful saying. So I said to myself, 'God bless my soul! Here am I, an intelligent man, a poet, knowing perfectly well the difference between good and evil, so what is to prevent me from listening to what this man is saying? If it is good I shall accept it; if it is bad I shall reject it.'

I stayed until the apostle went to his house and I followed him and
entered his house with him. I told him what his people had said and that they had so scared me that I had stuffed cotton in my ears lest I should hear what he was saying. But God had not allowed me to remain deaf and I heard a beautiful saying: 'So explain the matter to me,' I said. The apostle explained Islam to me and recited the Quran to me. By God I never heard anything finer nor anything more just. So I became a Muslim and bore true witness. I said, 'O prophet of God, I am a man of authority among my people and when I go back and call them to Islam, pray to God to give me a sign which will help me when I preach to them.' He said, 'O God give him a sign.'

So I went back to my people and when I came to the pass which would bring me down to the settlement a light like a lamp played between my eyes and I said, 'O God, not in my face! for I fear that they will think that a dire punishment has befallen my face because I have left their religion.' So the light moved and lighted on the top of my whip. The people began to look at that light attached to my whip like a candle while I was coming down from the pass to them.

When I got down my father came to me (he was a very old man) and I said, 'Be off with you, father, for I have nothing to do with you or you with me!' But why, my son?' said he. I said, 'I have become a Muslim and follow the religion of Muhammad.' He said, 'All right, my son, then my religion is your religion.' So I said, 'Then go and wash yourself and clean your clothes; then come and I will teach you what I have been taught.' He did so; I explained Islam to him and he became a Muslim.

Then my wife came to me and I said: 'Be off with you, for I have nothing to do with you or you with me.' Why?' she said; 'my father and mother be your ransom!' I said, 'Islam has divided us and I follow the religion of Muhammad.' She said, 'Then my religion is your religion.' I said, 'Then go to the hind (207) (temenos) (!) of Dhu'il-Sharâ and cleanse yourself from it.' Now Dhu'il-Sharâ was an image belonging to Daus and the hind was the temenos which they had made sacred to him; in it there was a trickle of water from a rivulet from the mountain. She asked me urgently, 'Have you any fear from Dhu'il-Sharâ on my account?' 'No,' I said, 'I will go surely for that.' So she went and washed and when she returned she explained Islam to her and she became a Muslim.

Then I preached Islam to Daus but they held back; and I went back to the apostle in Mecca and said, 'O prophet of God, frivolous preoccupation has been too much for me with Daus, so invoke a curse on them.'

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he said, 'O God, guide Daus! Go back to your people and preach to them gently.' I continued in the Daus country calling them to Islam until the apostle migrated to Medina and Badr, Yathud, and the Trench were passed. Then I went to the apostle with my converts while he was in Khaybar. I arrived at Medina with seventy or eighty households of Daus, and then we joined the apostle in Khaybar and he gave us an equal share of the booty with the Muslims.

I remained with the apostle until God opened Merca to him and then I asked him to send me to burn Dhul-Ka'afiyah, the image of 'Amr b. Humma. As he lit the fire he said:

Not of your servants am I, Dhul-Ka'afiyah,
Our birth is far more ancient than thine.
To stuff this fire in your heart I pine.

He returned to Medina to the apostle and remained with him until God took him. When the Arabs revolted he sided with the Muslims and fought with them until they disposed of Tulayhah and the whole of Najd. Then he went with the Muslims to the Yamâma with his son 'Amr, and while on the way he saw a vision of which he told his companions asking for an interpretation. 'I saw my head had been shaved and a bird was coming out of my mouth and a woman met me and took me into her womb, and I saw my son seeking me anxiously; then I saw him withlaid from me.' They said that they hoped it would prove a good omen, but he went on to say that he himself would provide the interpretation of it. The shaving of his head meant that he would lay it down; the bird which flew from his mouth was his spirit; and the woman who received him into her womb was the earth which would be opened for him and he would be hidden therein;'his son's vain search for him meant that he would try to attain what he had attained. He was slain as a martyr in al-Yamâma while his son was severely wounded and recovered later. He was actually killed in the year of the Yarmûk in the time of 'Umar, dying as a martyr (216).

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THE AFFAIR OF THE IRASHITE WHO SOLD HIS CAMELS TO ABU JAH.

Despite Abû Jahl's hostility, hatred, and violence towards the apostle God humiliated him before him whenever he saw him.

I was told by 'Abdu'l-Malik b. 'Abdullah b. Abû Sufyan al-Thaqafi who had a good memory: A man from Iṛash (206) brought some camels of his to Mecca and Abû Jahl bought them from him. He kept back the money, so the man came to the assembly of Quraysh when the apostle was sitting at the side of the mosque and said: 'Who among you will help me to get what is due to me from Abûl'–l-Hakam b. Hishâm? I am a

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255 According to Ibn-ul-Kalbi, al-Amîm, Cairo, 1924, p. 37, it belonged to a sub-section of Daus, called the B. Manahih.

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256 No satisfactory explanation of this word is forthcoming, so probably we should adopt Ibn Thalhah's reading.

257 On Dhul-Sharâ (Djemrah) see F.I. It is a title, not a name, of a god long associated with the Nabataeans. In all probability the title is geographical, denoting ownership. More cannot be safely said at present.

258 Or 'on the children's account'.

259 I have followed the commentators in taking a milder meaning than the ordinary sense which is 'formulation'; if Dhul-Sharâ was an Arab Dionysos, the normal meaning would not be out of place.
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stranger, a wayfarer, and he will not pay his debt.' They said: 'Do you see
that man sitting there?' pointing to the apostle. (In fact they were making
game of him for they knew quite well of the enmity between him and Abú
Jahl.) 'Go to him. He'll help you to your right.'

So the man went and stood over the apostle and said, 'O Servant of
God, Abú'í-Hakam b. Hisháhm has withheld the money he owes me. I am
a stranger, a wayfarer, and I asked these men to tell me of someone who
would help me to my right and they pointed to you, so get your money
from him, God bless you.' He said, 'Go to him,' and the apostle got up
and went with him. When they saw this, the men said to one of their
number, 'Follow him.' The apostle went to his house and knocked on the
door, and when he asked who was there he said, 'Muhammad! Come out to
me.' He came out to him pale with agitation, and the apostle said, 'Pay
this man his due.' 'One moment until I give him his money,' he said,
and went indoors and came out again with the amount he owed and paid it
to the man. The apostle went away saying, 'Go about your business.'
The Irâshite went back to the gathering and said, 'May God reward him,
for he has got me my due.'

Then the men had sent after them back and reported what
he had seen. 'It was extraordinary,' he said; 'he had hardly knocked on the
door when out he came breathless with agitation,' and he related what had
been said. Hardly had he done so when Abú Jahl himself came up and
they said: 'Whatever has happened, man? We've never seen anything like
what you've done.' 'Confound you,' he said; 'By God as soon as he
knocked on my door and I heard his voice I was filled with terror. And
when I went out to him there was a camel stallion towering above his head.
I've never seen such a head and shoulders and such teeth on a stallion
before. By God, if I'd refused to pay up he would have eaten me.'

RUKÁNÁ AL-MUTTALIBI WRESTLES WITH THE APOSTLE

My father Ishaq b. Ya'qûb told me saying: Rukána b. Abú Ya'qûb b.
Hisháhm b. 'Abdu'll-Mutallib b. 'Abdu Manáf was the strongest man among
Quraysh, and one day he met the apostle in one of the passes of Mecca
alone: 'Rukána,' said he, 'why won't you fear God and accept my
preaching?' 'If I knew that what you say is true I would follow you,' he said.
The apostle then asked him if he would recognize that he spoke the truth.
if he threw him, and when he said Yes they began to wrestle, and when the
apostle got a firm grip of him he threw him to the ground, he being unable
to offer any effective resistance. 'Do it again, Muhammad,' he said, and he
did it again. 'This is extraordinary,' he said, 'can you really throw me?'
'I can show you something more wonderful than that if you wish. I will
call this tree that you see and it will come to me.' 'Call it,' he said. He

1 I have endeavoured to reproduce the simple somewhat rough style of the original.

A DEPUTATION OF CHRISTIANS ACCEPT ISLAM

While the apostle was in Mecca some twenty Christians came to him from
Abyssinia when they heard news of him. They found him in the mosque
and sat and talked with him, asking him questions, while some Quraysh-
ites were in their meeting round the Ka'ba. When they had asked all
the questions they wished the apostle invited them to come to God and
read the Quran to them. When they heard the Quran their eyes flowed
with tears, and they accepted God's call, believed in him, and declared his
truth. They recognized in him the things which had been said of him
in their scriptures. When they got up to go away Abú Jahl with a number of
Quraysh intercepted them, saying, 'God, what a wretched band you are!
Your people at home sent you to bring them information about the
fellow, and as soon as you sat with him you renounced your religion and
believed what he said. We don't know a more asinine band than you,' or
words to that effect. 'They answered: Peace be upon you. We will not
engage in foolish controversy with you. We have our religion and you
have yours. We have not been remiss in seeking what is best.'

It is said that these Christians came from Najrân, but God knows
whether that was so. It is also said, and again God knows best, that it was
in reference to them that the verses 'Those to whom we brought the book
after the time of Moses are Muslims too, as far as the words, 'We have our works and you have yours. Peace be upon you; we desire not the ignorant.'

I asked Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri about those to whom these verses had
reference and he told me that he had always heard from the learned that
they were sent down concerning the Negus and his companions and also
the verses from the sura of The Table from the words 'That is because
are of them presbyters and monks and because they are not proud' up to the words 'So inscribe us with those who bear witness'.

When the apostle used to sit in the mosque with his more insignificant
companions such as Khalidh, 'Ammar, Abú Sufyana, Ya'qûb, freedman of
Sa'ud b. Umayya b. Muharrith, Suhayb, and their like, Quraysh used to
jeer at them and say to one another, 'These are his companions, as you
see. Is it such creatures that God has chosen from among us to give

1 Or, 'his call'.
2 Sūra 28. 53-55.
3 Sūra 5. 85
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In this connexion (or perhaps some other) I heard that he said: 'He that drinketh thereof shall never thirst.'

THE COMING DOWN OF 'WHY HAS NOT AN ANGEL BEEN SENT DOWN TO HIM?'

The apostle called his people to Islam and preached to them, and Zama'a b. al-Awad, and al-Nadr b. al-Hārith, and al-Awad b. 'Abdu Yaghīth, and Ubayy b. Khalaf, and al-'Aq b. Wā'il said: 'O Muhammad, if an angel had been sent with thee to speak to men about thee and to be seen with thee! Then God sent down concerning these words of theirs: 'They say Why hath not an angel been sent down to him? If we sent an angel down the matter would be settled; they would be given no more time. Had We appointed him an angel We would have appointed him as a man and We would have obscured for them what they obscure.'

THE COMING DOWN OF 'APOSTLES HAVE BEEN MOCKED BEFORE THEE'

I have heard that the apostle passed by al-Walid b. al-Mughira and Umayya b. Khalaf and Abū Jahl b. Hishām and they reviled and mocked him, and this caused him distress. So God sent down to him concerning this: 'Apostles have been mocked before thee, but that which they mocked is hastened in them.'

THE NIGHT JOURNEY AND THE ASCENT TO HEAVEN

Ziyād b. 'Abdullah b. Bakkātī' from Muhammad b. Ishāq told me the following: Then the apostle was carried by night from Mecca to the Masjid al-Aqṣā, which is the temple of Aelia, when Islam had spread in Mecca among the Quraysh and all the tribes.

The following account reached me from 'Abdullah b. Mas'ud and 'Abbās b. Mas'ud al-Murābi, and 'Yasir the prophet's son, and Muhammad b. Abū Su'ayyā, and al-Hārith b. Abū-Hārith al-Mu'āwī, and Hārith b. Zaid and Qassim b. Amr and Ishaq b. Zaid and Hārith b. Abū-Imr and Umm Himīj b. al-'Aqīb. It is pieced together in the story that follows, each one contributing something of what he was told about what happened when he was taken on the night journey. The matter of the place of the journey and what is said about it is a searching test and a matter of God's power and authority wherein is a lesson for the intelligent; and guidance and mercy and strengthening to those who believe. It was certainly an act of God by which He took him
by night in what way He pleased! to show him. His signs which He willed him to see so that he witnessed His mighty sovereignty and power by which He does what He wills to do.

According to what I have heard, 'Abdullah b. Mas'ūd used to say: 

Buraq, the animal whose every stride carried it as far as its eye could reach, on which the prophets (and Jesus) before him used to ride was brought to the apostle, and he was mounted on it. His companion (Gabriel) went with him to see the wonders between heaven and earth, until he came to Jerusalem's temple. There he found Abraham the friend of God, Moses, and Jesus assembled with a company of the prophets, and he prayed with them. Then he was brought three vessels containing milk, wine, and water respectively. The apostle said: 'I heard a voice saying when these were offered to me: If he takes the water he will be drowned, and his people also; if he takes the wine he will go astray and his people also; and if he takes the milk he will be rightly guided and his people also. So I took the vessel containing milk and drank it. Gabriel said to me, You have been rightly guided and so will your people be, Muhammad.'

I was told that al-Hasan said that the apostle said: 'While I was sleeping in the Hijr Gabriel came and stirred me with his foot. I sat up but saw nothing and lay down again. He came a second time and stirred me with his foot. I sat up but saw nothing and lay down again. He came to me the third time and stirred me with his foot. I sat up and he took hold of my arm, and I stood beside him and he brought me out to the door of the mosque and there was a white animal, half mule, half donkey, with wings on its sides with which it propelled its feet, putting down each forefoot at the limit of its sight and he mounted me on it. Then he went out with me keeping close to me.

I was told that Qatada said that he was told that the apostle said: 'When I came up to mount him he shied. Gabriel placed his hand on its mane and said, Are you not ashamed, O Buraq, to behave in this way? By God, none more honourable before God than Muhammad has ever ridden you before! The animal was so ashamed that he broke out into a sweat and stood still so that I could mount him.'

In his story al-Hasan said: 'The apostle and Gabriel went their way until they arrived at the temple at Jerusalem. There he found Abraham, Moses, and Jesus among a company of the prophets. The apostle acted as their imam in prayer. Then he was brought two vessels, one containing wine and the other milk. The apostle took the milk and drank it, leaving the wine. Gabriel said: 'You have been rightly guided to the way of nature, and so will your people be, Muhammad. Wine is forbidden you.' Then the apostle returned to Mecca and in the morning he told Quraysh what had happened. Most of them said, 'By God, this is a plain absurdity! A caravan takes a month to go to Syria and a month to return and can Muhammad do the return journey in one night? Many Muslims gave up their faith; some went to 'Abū Bakr and said, 'What do you think of your friend now, 'Abū Bakr? He alleges that he went to Jerusalem last night and prayed there and came back to Mecca.' He replied that they were lying about the apostle; but they said that he was in the mosque at that very moment telling the people about it. 'Abū Bakr said, 'If he says so then it is true. And what is so surprising in that? He tells me that communications from God from heaven to earth come to him in an hour of a day or night and I believe him, and that is more extraordinary than that at which you boggle!' He then went to the apostle and asked him if these reports were true, and when he said they were, he asked him to describe Jerusalem to him. Al-Hasan said that he was lifted up so that he could see the apostle speaking as he told 'Abū Bakr what Jerusalem was like. Whenever he described a part of it he said, 'That's true. I testify that you are the apostle of God' until he had completed the description, and then the apostle said, 'And you, 'Abū Bakr, are the Siddiq.' This was the occasion on which he got this honorific.'

Al-Hasan continued: God sent down concerning those who left Islam for this reason: 'We made the vision which we showed thee only for a test to men and the accursed tree in the Quran. We put them in fear, but it only adds to their heinous error.' Such is al-Hasan's story with additions from Qatada.

One of 'Abū Bakr's family told me that 'A'isha the prophet's wife used to say: 'The apostle's body remained where it was but God removed his spirit by night.'

Ya'qūb b. 'Uthmān b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhmas told me that Mu'awiyah b. 'Abū Sufyān when he was asked about the apostle's night journey said, 'It was a true vision from God.' What these two latter said does not contradict what al-Hasan said, seeing that God Himself said, 'We made the vision which we showed thee only for a test to men,' nor does it contradict what God said in the story of Abraham when he said to his son, 'O my son, verily I saw in a dream that I must sacrifice thee,' and he 366 acted accordingly. Thus, as I see it, revelation from God comes to the prophets waking or sleeping.

I have heard that the apostle used to say, 'My eyes sleep while my heart is awake.' Only God knows how revelation came and he saw what he saw. But whether he was asleep or awake, it was all true and actually happened.

Al-Zubair alleged, as Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab that the apostle described to his companions, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, as he saw them that night, saying: 'I have never seen a man more like myself than Abraham.'

1 This indicates that the meaning is not 'Venerable' but 'Testifier to the Truth'.
2 Surah 13: 62.
3 Surah 37: 10.
4 The verb implies grave doubt as to the speaker's veracity.
Moses was a ruddy faced man, tall, thinly fleshed, curly haired with a hooked nose as though he were of the Shanu'a. Jesus, Son of Mary, was a reddish man of medium height with dark hair with many freckles on his face as though he had just come from a bath. One would suppose that his head was dripping with water, though there was no water on it. The man most like him among you is 'Urwa b. Mas'ud al-Thaqafi (221).

The following report has reached me from Umm Hāni' d. of Abū Talib, whose name was Hind, concerning the apostle's night journey. She said: 'The apostle went on no night journey except while he was in my house. He slept that night in my house. He prayed the final night prayer, then he slept and we slept. A little before dawn the apostle woke us, and when we had prayed the dawn prayer he said, 'O Umm Hāni', I prayed with you the last evening prayer in this valley as you saw. Then I went to Jerusalem and prayed there. Then I have just prayed the morning prayer with you as you see.' He got up to go out and I took hold of his robe and laid bare his belly as though it were a folded Egyptian garment. I said, 'O prophet of God, do not talk to the people about it for they will give you the lie and insult you.' He said, 'By God, I certainly will tell them.' I said to a negress, a slave of mine, 'Follow the apostle and listen to what he says to the people, and what they say to him.' He did tell them and they were amazed and asked what proof he had. He replied that he had passed the caravan of so-and-so in such-and-such a valley and the animal he bestrode scared them and a camel bolted, 'and I showed them where it was as I was on the way to Syria. I carried on until in Dājanāt. I passed by a caravan of the Banū Sa'dū so-and-so. I found the people asleep. They had a jar of water covered with something. I took the covering off and drank the water replacing the cover. The proof of that is that their caravan is this moment coming down from al-Ba'dārā by the pass of al-Tā'īnām led by a dusty camel loaded with two sacks one black and the other multihued. The people hurried to the pass and the first camel they met was as he had described. They asked the men about the vessel and they told them that they had left it full of water and covered it and that when they woke it was covered but empty. They asked the others too who were in Mecca and they said that it was quite right: they had been scared and a camel had bolted, and they had heard a man calling them to it so that they were able to recover it.

THE ASCENT TO HEAVEN

One whom I have no reason to doubt told me on the authority of Abū Sa'id al-Khadrī: I heard the apostle say, 'After the completion of my business in Jerusalem a ladder was brought to me finer than any I have ever seen. It was that to which the dying man looks when death approaches. My companion mounted it with me until we came to one of the gates of heaven called the Gate of the Watchers. An angel called Isrā'il was in charge of it, and under his command were twelve thousand angels each of them having twelve thousand angels under his command. As he told me this story the apostle used to say, 'and none knows the armies of God but He.' When Gabriel brought me in, Isrā'il asked who I was, and when he was told that I was Muhammad he asked if I had been given a mission, and on being assured of this he wished me well.

A traditionist who had got it from one who had heard it from the apostle told me that the latter said: 'All the angels who met me when I entered the lowest heaven smiled in welcome and wished me well except one who said the same things but did not smile or show that joyful expression which the others had. And when I asked Gabriel the reason he told me that if he had ever smiled on anyone before or would smile on anyone hereafter he would have smiled on me; but he does not smile because he is Mālik, the Keeper of Hell. I said to Gabriel, he holding the position with regard to God which he has described to you 'obeyed there, trustworthily'. 'Will you not order him to show me hell?' And he said, 'Certainly! O Mālik, show Muhammad Hell.' Thereupon he removed its covering and the flames blazed high into the air until I thought that they would consume everything. So I asked Gabriel to order him to send me back to their place which he did. I can only compare the effect of their withdrawal to the falling of a shadow, until when the flames retreated whence they had come, Mālik placed their cover on them.'

In his tradition Abū Sa'id al-Khadrī said that the apostle said: 'When I entered the lowest heaven I saw a man sitting there with the spirits of men passing before him. To one he would speak well and rejoice in him saying: 'A good spirit from a good body' and of another he would say "It was a spirit from a good spirit of evil body." In answer to my question Gabriel told me that this was our father Adam reviewing the spirits of his offspring; the spirit of a believer excited his pleasure, and the spirit of an infidel excited his disgust so that he said the words just quoted.'
maddened by thirst when they were cast into hell, treading them down, they being unable to move out of the way. These were the usurers.

"Then I saw men with good fat meat before them side by side with lean stinking meat, eating of the latter and leaving the former. These are those who forsake the women which God has permitted and go after those he has forbidden.

"Then I saw women hanging by their breasts. These were those who had fathered bastards on their husbands,"

Ja'far b. 'Abd Allah told me from al-Qasim b. Muhammad that the apostle said: 'Great is God's anger against a woman who brings a bastard into her family. He deprives the true sons of their portion and learns the secrets of the harām.'

To continue the tradition of Sa'id al-Khuzai: 'Then I was taken up to the second heaven and there were the two maternal cousins Jesus, Son of Mary, and John, son of Zakariyya. Then to the third heaven and there was a man whose face was as large as the moon at the full. This was my brother Joseph, son of Jacob. Then to the fourth heaven and there was a man called Idrīs. "We have exalted him to a lotty place." Then to the fifth heaven and there was a man with white hair and a long beard, never have I seen a more handsome man than he. This was the beloved among his people Aaron son of ʿImran. Then to the sixth heaven, and there was a dark man with a hooked nose like the Shāniʿah. This was my brother Moses, son of ʿImraʿ. Then to the seventh heaven and there was a man sitting on a throne at the gate of the immortal mansion. Every day seventy thousand angels went in not to come back until the resurrection day. Never have I seen a man more like myself. This was my father Abraham. Then he took me into Paradise and there I saw a damsel with dark red lips and I asked her to whom she belonged, for she pleased me much when I saw her, and she told me "Zayd b. ʿĀdīrah". The apostle gave Zayd the good news about her.

From a tradition of 'Abdullah b. Masʿūd from the prophet there has reached me the following: When Gabriel took him up to each of the heavens and asked permission to enter he had to say whom he had brought and whether he had received a mission and they would say "God grant him life, brother and friend" until they reached the seventh heaven and his Lord. There the duty of fifty prayers a day was laid upon him.

The apostle said: 'On my return I passed by Moses and what a fine friend of yours he was! He asked me how many prayers had been laid upon me and when I told him fifty he said, "Prayer is a weighty matter and your people are weak, so go back to your Lord and ask him to reduce the number for you and your community." I did so and he took off ten. Again I passed by Moses and he said the same again; and so it went on until only five prayers for the whole day and night were left. Moses again gave me the same advice. I replied that I had been back to my Lord and asked him to reduce the number until I was ashamed, and I would not do it again. He of you who performs them in faith and trust will have the reward of fifty prayers.'

HOW GOD DEALT WITH THE MOCKERS

The apostle remained firm counting on God's assistance, admonishing his people in spite of their branding him as a liar and insulting and mocking him. The principal offenders—so Yazid b. Rūmān from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me—were five men who were respected and honoured among their tribesmen: of the B. Āṣad . . . was al-Āṣad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Āṣad Abū Zama'ā. (I have heard that the apostle had cursed him for his insults and mockery, saying, 'O God, blind him and bereave him of his son!') Of the B. Zuhra . . . was al-Āṣad b. Abū Yaghūth. Of the B. Makhdūm . . . was al-Walīd b. al-Mughira . . . Of the B. Sāh b. Amr . . . was al-Āṣ b. Wāʾil b. Hishām (222). Of the B. Khuzai'ā was al-Ḥārith b. al-Talṭīlī b. Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Abū 'Amr b. ʿĀdīrah b. Malakān.

When they persisted in evil and constantly mocked the apostle, God revealed: 'Proclaim what you have been ordered and turn away from the polytheists. We will surely protect you against the mockers who put another god beside God. In the end they will know.'

The same Yazid told me from 'Urwa (or it may have been from some other traditionist) that Gabriel came to the apostle when the mockers were going round the temple. He stood up and the apostle stood at his side; and as al-Āṣad b. al-Muṭṭalib passed, Gabriel threw a green leaf in his face and he became blind. Then al-Āṣad b. Abū Yaghūth passed and he pointed at his belly which swelled so that he died of dropsy. Next al-Walid passed by. He pointed at an old scar on the bottom of his ankle (the result of a wound he received some years earlier as he was trailing his gown when he passed by a man of Khuzai'ā who was feathering an arrow, and the arrowhead caught in his wrapper and scratched his foot—a mere nothing). But the wound opened again and he died of it. Al-Āṣ passed. He pointed to his instep, and he went off on his ass making for al-Ṭa'if. He tied the animal to a thorny tree and a thorn entered his foot and he died of it. Lastly al-Ḥārith passed. He pointed at his head. It immediately filled with pus and killed him.

THE STORY OF ABŪ UZAYHIR AL-DĀNAŠI

When al-Walīd's death was near he summoned his three sons Hishām, al-Walīd, and Khalīl and said: 'My sons, I charge you with three duties;
be not remiss in any of them. My blood lies on the Khuzā‘a: don't let it remain uncompensated. I know that they are innocent of it, but I fear that you may be ill spoken of because of it when I am dead. Thaqīf owe me money in interest; see that you get it. Lastly my dowry money is with Abū Umayyah al-Dunā‘ī. Don't let him keep it.' Now Abū Uzayhir had married him to a daughter of his and then withheld her from him and did not let him have access to her up to the day of his death.

When al-Walīd died, the B. Makhzūm leaped upon Khuzā‘a demanding blood-money for al-Walīd, saying, 'It was your man's arrow that killed him.' He was one of the B. Ka‘b, an ally of the B. 'Abdullāh-Mu‘tazilī b. Ḥashim. Khuzā‘a refused their demand and a contention in verse followed and the situation became tense. The man whose arrow had killed al-Walīd was one of the B. Ka‘b b. 'Amr of Khuzā‘a, and 'Abdullāh b. Abū Umayyah b. al-Mughīrah b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr b. Makhzūm composed the following lines:

I'll wager that you'll soon run away
And leave al-Zahrā‘ with its yelping foxes.
And that you'll leave the water in the vale of Atriqā
And that you'll ask which Arā‘ trees are the best.
We are folk who do not leave our blood avenged
And those we fight do not get to their feet again.

Al-Zahra‘ and al-Arā‘ were camping-grounds of the B. Ka‘b of Khuzā‘a.
Al-Ja‘a‘ b. Abī‘l-Ja‘a‘, brother of the B. Ka‘b b. 'Amr al-Khuzā‘, answered him:

By God we will not pay unjust bloodwit for al-Walīd
Until you see a day when the stars wax faint;
When your stout ones will be overthrown one after another
Each in death helplessly opening his mouth.
When you eat your bread and your gruel,
Then all of you will weep and wait for al-Walīd.

There followed much argument and recrimination until it was apparent that it was prestige that was at stake, so Khuzā‘a paid some of the blood-money and they relinquished their claim to the rest. When peace had been made al-Ja‘a‘ said:

Many a man and woman when we made peace
Spoke in surprise of what we paid for al-Walīd.
'Did you swear that you would not pay unjust compensation for al-Walīd
Until you had seen a day of great misfortune?'

1 Yaq. i. 310.

But we have exchanged war for peace
Now every traveller may go safely where he will.

But al-Ja‘a‘ did not stop there but went on to boast of the killing of al-Walīd, saying that they had brought about his end, all of which was false. As a result al-Walīd, his son, and his tribe met what they had been warned against. Al-Ja‘a‘ said:

Did not al-Mughīrah claim that in Mecca
Khā`b was a great force?
Don't boast, Mughīrah, because you see us
True Arabs and by-blows walk its streets.
We and our fathers were born there
As surely as that Thabar stands in its place.
Al-Mughīrah said that to learn our state
Or to stir up war between us.
For Walīd's blood will not be paid for:
You know that we do not pay for blood we shed,
The suspicious warrior hit him with an arrow
Poisoned, while he was full and out of breath.
He fell full length in Mecca's vale.
'Twas as though a camel fell,
'Twill save me delaying payment for Abū Hishām with
Miserable little curly haired camels (235).

Then Hishām b. al-Walīd attacked Abū Uzayhir while he was in the market of Dhī‘l-Majāz. Now his daughter 'Aufa was the wife of Abū Sufyān b. Harb. Abū Uzayhir was a chief among his people and Hishām killed him for the dowry money belonging to al-Walīd which he had retained, in accordance with his father's dying injunction. This happened 275 after the apostle's migration to Medina. Badr was over and many of the leaders of heathen Quraysh had been slain. Yazīd b. Abū Sufyān went out and collected the B. 'Abdu Manāf while Abū Sufyān was in Dhī‘l-Majāz, and people said Abū Sufyān's honour in the matter of his father-in-law had been violated and he will take vengeance for him. When Abū Sufyān heard of what his son Yazīd had done he came down to Mecca as fast as he could. He was a mild but stout man who loved his people exceedingly, and he was afraid that there might be serious trouble among Quraysh because of Abū Uzayhir. So he went straight to his son, who was armed among his people the B. 'Abdu Manāf and the 'scented ones', took his spear out of his hand and hit him hard on the head with it, saying, 'God damn you! Do you wish to cause civil war among Quraysh for the sake of a man from Da‘ūs? We will pay them the bloodmoney if they will accept it.' Thus he put an end to the matter.

1 Lit. "mingled".
2 khā‘ is the pl. of khā‘ā‘r, 'weak', 'wretched', not 'abounding in milk' as the commentators explain. See Nöldeke, Fīnaf Mu‘allaqūt, vii. 44.
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Hassān b. Thabit composed the following lines to excite feeling for the murder of Abū Uzayhir and to bring shame on Abū Sufyān for his cowardice and betrayal of trust:

The people on both sides of Dhu'l-Majāz rose one morning,
But Ibn Ḥarb's protégé in Mughammās' did not!
The fanning donkey did not protect him as was bound to defend.  
Hind did not avert her father's shame.
Hishām b. al-Walid covered you with his garments,
Wear them out and mend new ones like them later.
He got what he wanted from him and became famous,
But you were utterly useless.
If the shaykhah at Badr had been present
The people's sandals would have been red with blood newly shed.

When he heard of this satire Abū Sufyān said: 'Hassān wants us to fight one another for the sake of a man from Daus. By God, what a poor idea!'

Khalid b. al-Walid when the people of Ta'if became Muslims spoke to the apostle about his father's interest which Thaqīf owed him, and a traditionist told me that those verses which prohibit the carrying of usury from the ẓahīyyah arose out of Khalid's demanding interest: 'O ye who believe, fear God and give up what usury remains to you if you are (really) believers', to the end of the passage.  

So far as I knew there was no vengeance for Abū Uzayhir until Islam made a clear cut between men; however, Dīrāz b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Mirdās al-Tīhī went out with a number of Quraysh to the Daus country, and came to the dwelling of a woman called Umm Ghaylān, a freedwoman of Daus. She used to comb the women's hair and prepare brides for their husbands. Daus wanted to kill them in revenge for Abū Uzayhir, but Umm Ghaylān and the women stood in their way and defended them. It was in reference to that that Dīrāz said:

God reward Umm Ghaylān and her women w.:l!
For their coming without their finery with dishevelled hair.
They saved us at death's very door
When the avengers of blood came forth.
She called on Daus and the sandbanks flowed with glory,
The streams on either side carried it on.
God require 'Amr well. He was not weak,
He did his best for me.
I drew my sword and made play with its edge
For whom should I fight but myself (224)?

1 al-Mughammās was on the road to Ta'if
2 Hassān was notorious for his coarseness in lampoons
3 Sūrā 2. 273.
beside him.' They clapped their hands and said, 'Do you want to make all the gods into one God, Muhammad? That would be an extraordinary thing.' Then they said one to another, 'This fellow is not going to give you anything you want, so go and continue with the religion of your fathers until God judge between us.' So saying they departed.

Abū Talib said, 'Nephew, I don't think that you asked them anything extraordinary.' On hearing this the apostle had hopes that he would accept Islam, and he said at once, 'You say it, uncle, and then I shall be able to intercede for you on Resurrection Day.' Seeing the apostle's eagerness he replied, 'Were it not that I fear that you and your father's sons would be abused after my death and that Quraysh would think that I had only said it in fear of death, I would say it. I should only say it to give you pleasure.' As his death was near, al-'Abbās looked at him as he was moving his lips and put his ear close to him and said, 'Nephew, by God, my brother has spoken the word you gave him to say.' The apostle replied, 'I did not hear it.'

God revealed concerning the people who came to him with their proposals: 'Sād. By the renowned Qurān, Nay, those who disbelieve are in pride and schism as far as the words 'Does he make the gods one God'. This is an extraordinary thing. Their chiefs went off saying: Go and remain true to your gods. This is a thing designed. We have not heard of this in the last religion,' (meaning Christians because they say) 'Verily God is the third of three,' "This is nothing but an invention." Then Abū Ta-lib died.

THE APOSTLE GOES TO THAQĪF TO SEEK HELP

In consequence of the growing hostility of Quraysh after Abū Ta-lib's death the apostle went to Ta'if to seek help from Thaqīf and their defence against his tribe. Also he hoped that they would receive the message which God had given him. He went alone.

Yazid b. Ziyād told me from Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurāzī: 'When the apostle arrived at Ta'if he made for a number of Thaqīf who were at that time leaders and chiefs, namely three brothers: Abūd b. Yalāyī, Mas'ūd, and Habib, sons of 'Amr b. Umayr. At Ta'if the apostle went. One of them had a Quraysh wife of the B. Junah. The apostle sat with them and invited them to accept Islam and asked them to help him against his opponents at home. One of them swore that he would tear up the covering of the Ka'bah if God had sent him. The other said, 'Could not God have found someone better than you to send?' The third said, 'By God, don't let me ever speak to you. If you are an apostle from God as you say you are, you are far too important for me to reply to, and if you are lying against God it is not right that I should speak to you!' So the apostle got up and went, despairing of getting any good out of Thaqīf.

I have been told that he said to them, "Seeing that you have acted as you have, keep the matter secret," for he was bountiful that his people should hear about it, so that they would be still further emboldened against him (234). But they did not do so and stirred up their louts and slaves to insult him and cry after him until a crowd came together, and compelled him to take refuge in an orchard belonging to 'Utb b. Rabī' and his brother Shabba who were in it at the time. The louts who had followed him went back, and he made for the shade of a vine and sat there while the two men watched him, observing what he had to endure from the local louts. I was told that the apostle had met the woman from the B. Junah and said to her, 'What has befallen us from your husband's people?'

When the apostle reached safety he said, so I am told, "O God, to Thee I complain of my weakness, little resource, and lowliness before men. O Most Merciful, Thou art the Lord of the weak, and Thou art my Lord. To whom wilt Thou confide me? To one afar who will misuse me? Or to an enemy to whom Thou hast given power over me? If Thou art not angry with me I care not. Thy favour is more wide for me. I take refuge in the light of Thy countenance by which the darkness is illumined, and the things of this world and the next are rightly ordered, lest Thy anger descend upon me or Thy wrath light upon me. It is for Thee to be satisfied until Thou art well pleased. There is no power and no might save in Thee."

When 'Utb b. Rabī' and Shabba saw what happened they were moved with compassion and called a young Christian slave of theirs called 'Addās and told him to take a bunch of grapes on a platter and give them to him to eat. 'Addās did so, and when the apostle put his hand in the platter he said "In the name of God" before eating. 'Addās looked closely into his face and said, "By God, this is not the way the people of this country speak." The apostle then asked "Then from what country do you come, O 'Addās? and what is your religion?" He replied that he was a Christian and came from Nineveh. "From the town of the righteous man Jonah son of Makkāl," said the apostle. "But how did you know about him?" asked 'Addās. "He is my brother, he was a prophet and I am a prophet," answered the apostle. 'Addās bent over him and kissed his head, his hands, and his feet.

The two brothers were looking on and one said to the other, "He's already corrupted your slave!" And when 'Addās came back they said to him: "You rascal, why were you kissing that man's head, hands, and feet?" He answered that he was the finest man in the country who had told him things that only a prophet could know. They replied, "You rascal, don't let him seduce you from your religion, for it is better than his."

Then the apostle returned from Ta'if when they despaired of getting anything out of Thaqīf. When he reached Nakhl he rose to pray in the middle of the night, and a number of jinn whom God has mentioned

2 There are two Nakhl, northern and southern. They are wadis about a day's journey from Mecca.

3 Ṣūra 3. 6.

4 For this idiom see Ṣūra 7. 78.
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passed by. They were—so I am told—seven jinn from Naṣībīn. They listened to him and when he had finished his prayer they turned back to
their people to warn them having believed and responded to what they
had heard. God has mentioned them in the words "And when We inclined
thee certain of the jinn who were listening to the Qurʾān as far as "and
He will give you protection from a painful punishment". And again,
"Say: It has been revealed unto me that a number of the jinn listened." 3

The Apostle Offers Himself to the Tribes

When the apostle returned to Mecca his people opposed him more bitterly
than ever, apart from the few lower-class people who believed in him.

T. 1293, 3

(T. One of them said that when the apostle left al-Taʾīf making for Mecca
a Meccan passed and he asked him if he would take a message for him;
and when he said that he would he told him to go to al-Akhna b. Shariq
and say, 'Muḥammad says: Will you give me protection so that I may
convey the message of my Lord?' When the man delivered his message
al-Akhna replied that an ally could not give protection against a member
of the home tribe. When he told the apostle of this he asked him if he
would go back and ask Sulayl b. 'Amr for his protection in the same words.
Sulayl sent word that the B. 'Amir b. Luʾayy say do not give protection against
B. Kaʾb. He then asked the man if he would go back and make the same
application to al-Muṭṭamin b. 'Ady. The latter said, 'Yes, let him enter,'
and the man came back and told the apostle. In the morning al-Muṭṭamin
having girt on his weapons, he and his sons and his nephews went into
the mosque. When Abū Jahl saw him he asked, 'Are you giving protection or
following him?' 'Giving protection, of course,' he said. 'We give protection
him whom you protect,' he said. So the prophet came into Mecca
and dwelt there. One day he went into the sacred mosque when the
polytheists were at the Kaʾba, and when Abū Jahl saw him he said, 'This
is your prophet, O B. Abū Manāf.' Uthā b. Rabīʿa replied: 'And why
should you take it amiss if we have a prophet or a king?' The prophet was
told of this, or he may have heard it, and he came to them and said, 'O
Uthā, you were not angry on God's behalf or his apostle's behalf, but on
your own account. As for you, O Abū Jahl, a great blow of fate will come
upon you so that you will laugh little and weep much; and as for you, O
Leaders of Quraṣṭh, a great blow of fate will come upon you so that you
will experience what you most abhor and that perforce!" 3

The apostle offered himself to the tribes of Arabs at the fairs whenever
opportunity came, summoning them to God and telling them that he was
a prophet who had been sent. He used to ask them to believe in him and
protect him until God should make clear to them the message with which
he had charged his prophet.

One of our friends whom I hold above suspicion told me from Zayd b.
Sūrā 48. 25-34. 8 Sūrā 71. 1. 5 Cf. I.H. on p. 291 of W.

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Aalām from Rabīʿa b. ʿAbdāl-Dīlī or from one whom Abū al-Zinād had
told (226) and Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAbdāl-Dīlī told me: 'I heard my father telling Rabīʿa b. ʿAbdāl-Dīlī that when he was a youngster
with his father in Mīṣāḥ when the apostle used to stop by the Arab encampments
and tell them that he was the apostle of God who ordered them to
worship Him and not associate anything with Him, and to renounce the
rival gods which they worshipped, and believe in His apostle and protect
him until God made plain His purpose in sending him, there followed him
an artful spruce fellow with two locks of hair, wearing an Aden cloak.
When the apostle finished his appeal he used to say, 'This fellow wishes
only to get you to strip off al-Līt and al-Uzza from your necks and your
allies the jinn of B. Mālik b. Uqayl for the misleading innovation he has
brought. Don't obey him and take no notice of him.' I asked my father
who the man was who followed him and contradicted what he said, and he
answered that it was his uncle ʿAbdullāh b. Uzza b. ʿAbdullāh-Muṭṭalinīn
known as Abū Luhāb (227).'

Ṭūb Sihāb al-Zuhīrī told me that he went to the tents of Kinda where
there was a shaykh called Mulaḥ. He invited them to come to God and 288
offered himself to them, but they declined.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdullāh-Rahmān b. ʿAbdullāh b. Ḥusayn told me that he went
to the tents of Kalb to a clan called B. ʿAbdullāh with the same
message, adding, 'O Banu ʿAbdullāh, God has given your father a noble
name.' But they would not give heed.

One of our companions from ʿAbdullāh b. Kaʾb b. Mālik told me that the
apostle went to the B. Ḥanīfa where he met with the worst reception
of all.

Al-Zuhīrī told me that he went to the B. ʿAmir b. Sāʿaʾa and one of them
called Bāḥāra b. Fīrās (228) said: 'By God, if I could take this man from
Quraṣṭh I could eat up the Arabs with him.' Then he said, 'If we actually
give allegiance to you and God gives you victory over your opponents,
shall we have authority after you?' He replied, 'Authority is a matter which
God places where He pleases.' He answered: 'I suppose you want us to
protect you from the Arabs with our breasts and then if God gives you
victory? someone else will reap the benefit! Thank you. No!'

 Afterwards the B. ʿAmir went back to an old shaykh of theirs who was
unable to attend the fairs. Their custom was to give him all the news on
their return. This year when he asked for the news they told him that a
man from Quraṣṭh—one of the B. ʿAbdullāh-Muṭṭalinīn to be precise—pretended that he was a prophet and invited them to protect him, to stand in
with him, and to take him back to their country. The old man put his
hands upon his head and said, 'O Banu ʿAmir, could it have been avoided?
Can the past ever be regulated? No Ismāʿīlī has ever claimed prophethood
falsefully. It was the truth. Where was your common sense?'

Whenever men came together at the fairs or the apostle heard of anyone

3 Some MSS, and T. 1402 have 'if we follow you'.
2 T. 'If you win'.

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of importance coming to Mecca he went to them with his message. ‘Āṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda al-Ansārī—more precisely al-Zafārī—on the authority of some of his shaykhs told me that they said that Suwayd b. al-Sāmit, brother of the B. ‘Arn b. ‘Auf, came to Mecca on pilgrimage. Suwayd’s tribesmen used to call him al-Kāmil because of his toughness, his poetry, his honour, and his lineage. He it was who said

There’s many a man you call friend you’d be shocked
If you knew the lies he tells against you in secret.
While he’s with you his words are like honey;
Behind your back a sword aimed at the base of the neck.
What you see of him pleases you, but underneath
He’s a deceitful backbiting cutting through to the marrow.
His eyes will show you what he’s concealing,
Rancour and hatred are in his evil look.
Strengthen me with good deeds; long have you weakened me.

The best friends strengthen without weakening.

One time had a dispute with a man of the B. Sulaym—of one of the B. Zi`b b. Malik—over a hundred camels, and they appointed an Arab woman diviner arbitrator and she gave judgement in his favour, and he and the Sulaim went away alone. When they reached the parting of the ways Suwayd asked for his property. The man promised to send it, but Suwayd wanted to know who would guarantee that the animals would be handed over. As he could offer none but himself, Suwayd refused to leave him until he got his due. So they came to blows and Suwayd knocked him down, bound him closely and took him away to the country of the B. ‘Arn; and there he had to stay until his tribesmen paid what was owing. It was in reference to that. Suwayd composed these lines:

Don’t think, Ibn Zi`b son of Malik, that I
Am like the man you deceitfully slew in secret.
When I had been thrown I manfully became your match—
Thus the resolute man can change his position—
I locked him under my left arm
And his cheek remained in the dirt.

When he heard about him the apostle sought him out and invited him to Islam. It was the case, ‘It’s perhaps you’ve got something like that which I have.’

And what is that?’ asked the apostle. ‘The roll of Luqman,’ meaning the wisdom of Luqman, he answered. ‘Hand it to me,’ said the apostle, and he handed it over and he said, ‘This discourse is fine, but that which I have is better still, a Quran which God has revealed to me which is a guidance and a light.’ And the apostle recited the Quran to him and invited him to

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Islam; he did not withdraw from it but said, ‘This is a fine saying.’ Then he went off and rejoined his people in Medina and almost at once the Khazraj killed him. Some of his family used to say, ‘In our opinion he was a Muslim when he was killed’; he was (in fact) killed before the battle of Bu`rūth.¹

IVĀS ACCEPTS ISLAM

Al-Huṣayn b. ‘Abdū’l-Raḥmān b. ‘Arn b. Sa`d b. Mu`ādh on the authority of Māhmid b. Labīd told me that when Abū ʿAbdullāh Ṣa`d b. Rāfī’ came to Mecca with members of the B. ‘Abdu’llah-Asalal and Cyatūs b. Mu`ādh seeking an alliance with Quraysh against their sister tribe the Khazraj, the apostle heard about them. He came and sat with them and asked them if they would like to get something more profitable than their present errand. When they asked him what that could be he told them that he was God’s apostle sent to humanity to call on them to serve God and not associate any other with Him; that He had revealed a book to him; then he told them about Islam and read to them some of the Qurān. Īyās, who was a young man, said, ‘By God, people, this is something better than you came for! Thereupon Abū ʿAbdullāh Ṣa`d b. Rāfī’ took a handful of dirt from the valley and threw it in his face, saying, ‘Shut up! We didn’t come here for this.’ So Īyās became silent. The apostle left them and they went to Medina and the battle of Bu`rūth between Anṣār and Khazraj took place.

Within a little while Īyās died. Māhmid said: ‘Those of his people who were present at his death told me that they heard him continually praising and glorifying God until he died. They had no doubt that he died a Muslim, he having become acquainted with Islam at that gathering when he heard the apostle speak.

THE BEGINNING OF ISLAM AMONG THE HELPERS

When God wished to display His religion openly and to glorify His prophet and to fulfill His promise to him, the time came when He met a number of the Helpers at one of the fairs; and while he was offering himself to the Arab tribes as was his wont he met at al-`Aqaba a number of the Khazraj whom God intended to benefit.

‘Āṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda told me on the authority of some of the shaykhs of his tribe that they said that when the apostle met them he learned by inquiry that they were of the Khazraj and allies of the Jews. He invited them to sit with him and expounded to them Islam and recited the Qurān to them. Now God had prepared the way for Islam in that they lived side by side with the Jews who were people of the scriptures and knowledge, while they themselves were polytheists and idolaters. They had often raided them in their district and whenever bad feeling arose the
THE FIRST PLEDGE AT AL-'AQABA AND THE MISSION OF MUṢ'AB

In the following year twelve Helpers attended the fair and met at al-'Aqaba—this was the first 'Aqaba—where they gave the apostle the 'pledge of women'. This was before the duty of making war was laid upon them.


From B. 'Auw of the clan of B. Ghanim b. 'Auw b. 'Amr b. 'Auw who were the Qasqil: 'Ubāda b. al-Ḫāṣib b. Qays b. Aṣram b. Fāhr b. Tha'labā b. Ghaẓan; and Abū 'Abdul-Rahmān who was Yāqūt b. Tha'labā b. Khāzman b. Aṣram b. 'Amr b. 'Amr b. 'Amr b. Aṣram of B. Ghuṣayna of Baklī, an ally of theirs (233).

The Institution of Friday Prayers in Medina

Muḥammad b. Abū Umāna b. Qalb b. Ḫunayf from his father from Abdul-Rahmān b. Ka'b b. Mālik told me that the latter said: I was leading my father Ka'b when he had lost his sight, and when I brought him out to the mosque and he heard the call to prayer he called down blessings on Abū Umāna. As'ad b. Zūrārā. This went on for some time; whenever he heard the aḥdān he blessed him and asked God's pardon for him. I thought that this was an extraordinary thing to do and decided to ask him why he did it. He told me that it was because he was the first man to bring them

1 i.e. no fighting was involved. Cf. Sūra 60. 12
together in the low ground of al-Nabīṭ in the quarter of the B. Baydāja called Nāqūtul-Khadimīt. I asked him how many of them there were, and he told me that they numbered forty men.

'Ubaydullah b. al-Mughira b. Mu'ayyiq and 'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. 'Haṣam told me that As'ad b. Zurrāra went out with Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr to the areas of B. 'Abdullāh Ashkal and of B. Zāfār. Sa'd b. al-Nu'mān b. Ibrāhīm b. Qays b. Zayd b. 'Abdullāh Ashkal was the son of As'ad's aunt. He entered with him one of the gardners of B. Zāfār (295) by a well called Marqāq and sat in the garden and some of the men who had accepted Islam gathered together there. Now Sa'd b. Muṣ'ab b. Būayd b. Hūdāy were at that time leaders of their clan, the B. 'Abdullāh Ashkal, and both followed the heathenism of their tribe. When they heard about him Sa'd said to Usayd: 'Go to these fellows who have entered our quarters to make fools of our weak comrades, drive them out and forbid them to enter our quarters. If it were not that As'ad b. Zurrāra is related to me as you know I would save you the trouble. He is my son's son and I can do nothing to him.' So Usayd took his lance and went to them; and when As'ad saw him he said to Muṣ'ab, 'This is the chief of his tribe who is coming to you, so be true to God with him.' Muṣ'ab said, 'If he will sit down I will talk to him.' He stood over them looking furious and asking what they meant by coming to deceive their weaker comrades. 'Leave us if you value your lives.' Muṣ'ab said, 'Won't you sit down and listen. If you like what you hear you can accept it, and if you don't like it you can leave it alone.' He agreed that that was fair, stuck his lance in the ground, and sat down. He explained Islam to him and read him the Quran. Afterwards they said—according to what has been reported of them—'By God, before he spoke we recognized Islam in his face by its peaceful glow.' He said, 'What a wonderful and beautiful discourse this is! What does one do if he wants to enter this religion?' They told him that he must wash and purify himself and his garments, then bear witness to the truth and pray. He immediately did so and made two prostrations. Then he said, 'There is a man behind me who if he follows you every one of his people will follow suit. I will send him to you at once. It is Sa'd b. Muṣ'ab.' Taking his lance he went off to Sa'd and his people who were sitting in conclave.

When Sa'd saw him coming he said, 'By God, Usayd is coming with a different expression from that he had when he left you.' And when he came up he asked what had happened. He said, 'I have spoken to the two men and I find no harm in them. I forbade them to go on and they said to me. We will do whatever you like; and I was told that the B. Ḥāritha had gone out against Aṣ'sī to kill him because they knew that he was the son of your aunt so as to make you appear a treacherous protector of your guests.' Sa'd enraged just at once, alarmed at what had been said about the B.

Hāritha. He took the lance from his hand, saying, 'By God, I see that you have been utterly ineffective.' He went out to them and when he saw them sitting comfortably he knew that Usayd had intended that he should listen to them. He stood over them, looking furious. To As'ad he said, 'Were it not for the relationship between us you would not have treated me thus. Would you behave in our houses in a way we destitute?' (Now As'ad had said to Muṣ'ab, 'The leader whom his people follow has come to you. If he follows you, no two of them will remain behind.') So Muṣ'ab said to him what he had said to Usayd, and Sa'd stuck his lance in the ground and sat down. The same thing happened again and he went to his people's meeting-place accompanied by Usayd. When they saw him coming they said, 'We swear by God Sa'd has returned with a different expression.' And when he stopped by them he asked them how they knew what had happened to him. They replied, '(You are) our chief, the most active in our interests, the best in judgement and the most fortunate in leadership.' He said, 'I will not speak to a man or woman among you until you believe in God and His apostle.' As a result every man and woman among the B. 'Abdullāh Ashkal joined Islam.

As'ad and Muṣ'ab returned to As'ad's house and stayed there calling men to Islam until every house of the Aṣār had men and women who were Muslims except those of B. Umayya b. Zayd, and Ḥāṭima and Wā'il and Waqīf; the latter were A'sūl b. Aṣār and Bā'ūr b. Ḥāritha. The reason was that Abū Qays b. al-Aṣār whose name was Saṝṣ was among them. He was their poet and leader and they obeyed him and he kept them back from Islam. Indeed he continued to do so until the apostle migrated to Medina, and Badr, and Uhud, and al-Khandaq were over. He said concerning what he thought of Islam and how men differed about his state:

Lord of mankind, serious things have happened.

The difficult and the simple are involved.

Lord of mankind, if we have erred

Guide us to the good path.

Were it not for our Lord we should be Jews

And the religion of Jews is not convenient.

Were it not for our Lord we should be Christians

Along with the monks on Mount Jālīt.¹

But when we were created we were created

Hāfis; our religion is from all generations.

We bring the sacrificial camels walking in fetters

Covered with cloths but their shoulders bare (296).

¹ i.e. Galilee.

THE SECOND PLEDGE AT AL-'AQABĀ

Then Muṣ'ab returned to Mecca and the Muslim Aṣār came to the fair there with the pilgrims of their people who were polytheists. They met
Ma'bad b. Ka'b b. Mārik b. Abū Ka'b b. al-Qayn, brother of the B. Salima, told me that his brother 'Abdullah b. Ka'b was one of the most learned of the Ansār told him that his father Ka'b was one of those who had been present at al-'Aqaba and did homage to the apostle, informed him saying: 'We went out with the polytheist pilgrims of our people having prayed and learned the customs of the pilgrimage. With us was al-Barā' b. Mā'rūr chief and senior. When we had started our journey from Medina al-Barā' said, 'I have come to a conclusion and I don't know whether you will agree with me or not. I think that I will not turn my back on this building' (meaning the Ka'ba), 'that I shall pray towards it.' We replied that so far as we knew our prophet prayed towards Syria' and we did not wish to act differently. He said, 'I am going to pray towards the Ka'ba.' We said, 'But we will not.' When the time for prayer came we prayed towards Syria and he prayed towards the Ka'ba until we came to Mecca. We blamed him for what he was doing, but he refused to change. When we came to Mecca he said to me, 'Nephew, let us go to the apostle and ask him about what I did on our journey. For I feel some misgivings since I have seen your opposition.' So we went to ask the apostle. We did not know him and we had never seen him before. We met a man of Mecca and we asked him about the apostle; he asked if we knew him and we said that we did not. Then do you know his uncle, al-'Abbās b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib? We said that we did because he was always coming to us as a merchant. He said, 'When you enter the mosque he is the man sitting beside al-'Abbās.' So we went into the mosque and there we saw al-'Abbās sitting with the apostle beside him; we saluted them and sat down. The apostle asked al-'Abbās if he knew us, and he said that he did and named us. I shall never forget the apostle's words when Ka'b's name was mentioned. 'The poet?' Al-Barā' said, 'O prophet of God, I came on this journey God having guided me to Islam and I felt that I could not turn my back on this building, so I prayed towards it; but when my companions opposed me I felt some misgivings. What is your opinion, O apostle of God?' He replied, 'You should have had a qibla if you had kept to it,' so al-Barā' returned to the apostle's qibla and prayed with us towards Syria. But his people asserted that he prayed towards the Ka'ba until the day of his death; but this was not so. We know more about that than they (273).''

1 The days of the Tabīrī are the three days following the day of sacrifice, i.e., 11th, 12th, and 13th of Dhu'l-Hijja. Various explanations are given by the lexicographers: (a) because the victims were not sacrificed until the sun rose; (b) because the flesh of the victims was cut into strips and left to dry in the sun on those days; and (c) because in pagan times they used to say at that time Aš'ūrī Thābir khayyama ngā'ir 'Show the sun, O Thāibir, that we may pass on quickly'. See further E.I. and literature cited there.

2 I.e., Jerusalem.

3 The apostle's reply to al-Barā' could be taken in either sense, and considerable doubt is reflected in the commentaries and traditions on the question involved.
is blood not to be paid for. I am of you and you are of me. I will war against them that war against you and be at peace with those at peace with you (238)."

Ka'b continued: "The apostle said, "Bring out to me twelve leaders that they may take charge of their people's affairs." They produced nine from al-Khazraj and three from al-Aus."

**THE NAMES OF THE TWELVE LEADERS AND THE REST OF THE STORY OF AL-'AQABA**

According to what Ziyād b. 'Abdullah al-Bakki told us from Muhammad b. Iṣāq b. al-Muṭṭalib (they were):


'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr told me that the apostle said to the Leaders: "You are the sureties for your people just as the disciples of Jesus, Son of Mary, were responsible to him, while I am responsible for my people, i.e. the Muslims." They agreed.

'Abīn b. 'Umar b. Qatāda told me that when the people came together to plìght their faith to the apostle, al-'Abbās b. Ubāda b. Nādla al-Anderson, brother of B. Sālim b. 'Afr, said, "O men of Khazraj, do you realize to what you are committing yourselves in pledging your support to this man? It is to war against all and sundry. If you think that if you lose your property and your nobles are killed you will give him up, then do so now, for it would bring you shame in this world and the next (if you did so later); but if you think that you will be loyal to your undertaking if you lose your property and your nobles are killed, then take him, for by God it will profit you in this world and the next." They said that they would accept the apostle on these conditions. But they asked what they would get in return for their loyalty, and the apostle promised them paradise. They said, " Stretch forth your hand," and when he did so they pledged their word. 'Āsim added that al-'Abbās said that only to bind the obligation more securely. 'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr said that he said it merely to keep the people back that night, hoping that 'Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Saifūl would come and so give more weight to his people's support. But God knows best which is right (242).

The B. al-Najjār allege that As'ad b. Zurāra was the first to strike his hand in fealty; the B. 'Abdul-Ashāl said that he was not, for Abūl-Haytham was the first. Ma'bad b. Ka'b told me in his tradition from his brother 'Abdullāh b. Ka'b from his father Ka'b b. Mālik that al-Bāz' was the first and the people followed him. When we had all pledged ourselves Sāmīn shouted from the top of al-'Aqabah in the most penetrating voice I have ever heard, 'O people of the stations of Minā, do you want this reprieve and the apostles who are with him? They have come together to make war on you!' The apostle said, 'This is the Izb of the hill. This is the son of Ayāb. Do you hear, O enemies of God, I swear I will make an end of you!' (243).

The apostle then told them to disperse and go back to their caravan, and al-'Abbās b. Ubāda said, 'By God, if you wish it we will fall on the people of Minā tomorrow with our swords.' He replied, 'We have not been commanded to do that; but go back to your caravan.' So we went back to our beds and slept until the morrow.

With the morning the leaders of Quraysh came to our encampment saying that they had heard that we had come to invite Muhammad to leave them and had pledged ourselves to support him in war against them, and that there was no Arab tribe that they would fight more reluctantly than us. Therefore the polytheists of our tribe swore that nothing of the kind had happened and they knew nothing of it. And here they were speaking the truth, for they were in ignorance of what had happened. We looked at one another. Then the people got up, among them al-Hārith b. Hāshim b. al-Mughira al-Makhzumī who was wearing a pair of new sandals. I spoke a word to him as though I wanted to associate the people with what they had said, 'O Abū Jābir, seeing that you are one of our chiefs, can't you get hold of a pair of sandals such as this young Qurayshite has?' Al-Hārith heard me and took them off his feet and threw them at me saying, 'By God you can have them!' Abū Jābir said, 'Gently now, you have angered the

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Muhammad is probably an offensive counterpart to the name Muhammad

1. Sūbū, the plural of Sūbī, the name given to those who had given up their own religion to take another. Hardly an apostate (contrary).

2. The word is said to mean 'small and contemptible'.

i.e. He would treat blood revenge and its obligation as common to both parties. See I.H.'s note.

Lit. 'red and black men'.
young man, so give him back his sandals. 'By God, I will not,' I said; 'it is a
good omen and if it proves to be true I shall plunder him.'

Abdullah b. Abū Bakr told me that they came to 'Abdullah b. Ubayy
and said to him much the same as Ka'bah had said and he replied, 'This is a
serious matter; my people are not in the habit of deciding a question with-
out consulting me in this way and I do not know that it has happened.'

Thereupon they left him.

When the people had left Minā they investigated the report closely and
found that it was true. So they went in pursuit of (our) people and over-
took Sa'd b. Ubadah in Al-Adāh and also al-Mundhir b. 'Amir, brother of
B. Sa'da, both of them being 'leaders'. The latter got away, but they
caught Sa'd and tied his hands to his neck with the thongs of the girt
and brought him back to Mecca beating him on the way and dragging him
by the hair, for he was a very hairy man. Sa'd said, 'As they held me; a
number of Qurašah came up, among them a tall, white, handsome man of
pleasant appearance and I thought that if there was any decency among
them this man would show it. But when he came up he delivered me a
violent blow in the face and after that I despised of fair treatment. As
they were dragging me along, a man took pity on me and said, 'You poor
devil, haven't you any right to protection from one of the Quraysh?'
'Yes,' I said. 'I have. I used to guarantee the safety of the merchants of
Jubayr b. Muq'im b. 'Adiy b. Naufal b. Abū Manāf and protect them from
those who might have wronged them in my country; also al-Hārith
b. Ḥarb b. Umayya b. 'Abdul Šams b. 'Abdu Manāf.' 'Very well, then,
call out the names of these two men and say where there is between you,'
he said. This I did and that man went to them and found them in the
mosque beside the Kā'bah and told them of me and that I was calling for
them and mentioning my claim on them. When they heard who I was they
acknowledged the truth of my claim and came and delivered me.' So Sa'd
went off. The name of the man who let him was Suhayl b. 'Amir, brother of
B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy (244).

The first poetry about the Migration was two verses composed by Dirār
b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Mirdas, brother of B. Muḥarrāb b. Fīhr:

I overtook Sa'd and took him by force.
It would have been better if I had caught Mundhir.
If I had got him his blood would not have to be paid for
He deserves to be humiliated and left unavenged (2444).

Hassān b. Thabit answered him thus:

You were not equal to Sa'd and the man Mundhir
When the people's camels were thin.
But for Abū Wāḥib (my) verses would have passed over
The top of al-Barqūṭī swooping down swiftly.

1 Yaqūt says that this is a place in the desert. He does not say where.
2 The interpretation of this difficult line depends on the identity of Abū Wāḥib. The man
3 This reference appears in its original form in The Life of Muhammad (p. 207).
fastened his sword to it, saying, 'By God, I don't know who has done this; but if you are any good at all defend yourself since you have this sword.' At night when he was asleep they came again and took the sword from its neck and hung a dead dog to it by a cord and then threw it into a cesspit. In the morning 'Amr came and could not find it where it normally was; ultimately he found it face downwards in that pit tied to a dead dog. When he saw it and perceived what had happened and the Muslims of his clan spoke to him he accepted Islam by the mercy of God and became a good Muslim. He wrote some verses when he had come to a knowledge of God in which he mentioned the image and its impotence and thanked God for having delivered him from the blindness and error in which he had lived hitherto:

By Allah, if you had been a god you would not have been
Tied to a dead dog in a cesspit.
Phew! that we ever treated you as a god, but now
We have found you out and left our wicked folly.
Praise be to God most High, the Gracious,
The Bountiful, the Provider, the Judge of all religions
Who has delivered me in time to save me
From being kept in the darkness of the grave.

CONDITIONS OF THE PLEDGE AT THE SECOND 'AQABA

When God gave permission to his apostle to fight, the second 'Aqaba contained conditions involving war which were not in the first act of fealty. Now they bound themselves to war against all and sundry for God and his apostle, while he promised them for faithful service the reward of paradise.

'Ubāda b. al-Walād b. 'Ubāda b. al-Šāmit from his father from his grandfather 'Ubāda b. al-Šāmit who was one of the Leaders told me, 'We pledged ourselves to war in complete obedience to the apostle in war and woe, in case and hardship and evil circumstances; that we would not wrong anyone; that we would speak the truth at all times; and that in God's service we would fear the censure of none.' 'Ubāda was one of the twelve who gave his word at the first 'Aqaba.

THE NAMES OF THOSE PRESENT AT THE SECOND 'AQABA

There were seventy-three men and two women of Aus and Khazraj.1
Of Aus there were:
Usayd b. Ḥudayar . . . a leader who was not at Badr. Abūl-Haytham b. Tayyahān who was at Badr. Salma b. Ṣalāma b. Waqīq b. Zu'ūrī b. Abīl-Ashāh who was at Badr (245). Total 3.

1 The genealogies already given have been omitted together with repetitions.


Of B. 'Amr b. Ḥajjāj, a leader who was present at Badr and was killed there as a martyr beside the apostle (246). Rifā'ī b. Abīl-Mundhir, a leader present at Badr. 'Abdullāh b. Jumayh b. al-Naḍmān b. Umrayn b. al-Burāk, the name of al-Burāk being Imru'ul-Qays b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr who was present at Badr and was killed as a martyr at Ḫudhār commanding the archers for the apostle (247). And Ma'ān b. Ḥadī b. al-'Ajlan b. Hārida b. Dūbāyā b. a client of theirs from Bāyī present at Badr, Ḫudhār and al-Khandaq and all the apostle's battles. He was killed in the battle of al-Yamāma as a martyr in the caliphate of Abū Bakr. And 'Umayr b. Saīdā who was present at Badr, Ḫudhār and al-Khandaq. Total 5.

The total for all client of theirs fromAus was 11.

Of al-Khazraj there were:
Of B. al-Najjar who was Taẓmullah b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. Abū Ayyūb Khalīl b. Zayd b. Kubayy b. Tha'laba b. 'Abd b. 'A'īr b. Ghamār b. Mālik b. al-Najjar. He was present at all the apostle's battles and died in Byzantine territory as a martyr in the time of Mu'āwiyah. Mu'āwiyah b. al-Ḥarīth b. Rūfā'ī b. Sawād b. Mālik b. Ghamār. Present at all battles. He was the son of 'Afrā'ī and his brother was 'A'īr b. al-Ḥarīth who was killed by Badr as a martyr. Mu'āwiyah his brother shared the glory. It was he who killed Abū Jahl b. Hisyār b. al-Mughira; he too was 'Afrā'ī's son (248). And 'Umar b. Ḥāṣim b. Zayd b. Luṭān b. 'Amr b. 'Abd b. 'A'īr b. Ghamār. He was present at all battles and died as a martyr in the battle of al-Yamāma in the caliphate of Abū Bakr. As'ad b. Ṣūrār, a leader. He died before Badr when the apostle's mosque was being built. Total 6.


The total for B. al-Najjar was 11 (250).
Imru’ul-Qays b. Mālik al-Agharr b. Tha’labā b. Ka’b. Present at Badr and killed at Uhud as a martyr. ‘Abdullah b. Rawāḥa, a leader, present at all the apostle’s battles except the occupation of Mecca and was killed at Muta as a martyr as one of the apostle’s commanders. Bashir b. Sa’d b. Tha’labā b. Khalāl b. Zayd b. Mālik . . . . . the father of al-Nūmān was present at Badr. ‘Abdullah b. Zayd b. Tha’labā b. ‘Abdullah b. Zayd Manṣūr b. al-Ḥāridh. Present at Badr. He it was who was shown how to call to prayer and was ordered by the apostle to perform it. Khallād b. Suwayd b. Tha’labā b. ‘Amr b. Ḥāridh b. Imru’ul-Qays b. Mālik. Present at Badr, Ḥud and al-Khandaq and was killed as a martyr in fighting B. Qurayya when a millstone was thrown from one of their castles and crushed his skull. The apostle said—so they say—that he will have the reward of two martyrs. ‘Uqba b. ‘Amr b. Tha’labā b. Usayn b. ‘Usayn b. Judiyya b. ‘Auf who is Abī Mas’ūd, the youngest of those at al-‘AQABA. Died in the time of Mu’awiya. Was not at Badr. Total 7.


Of B. ‘Afu b. al-Khazraj then of the B. Sālim b. ‘Afu b. ‘Amr b. ‘Afu: ‘Ubāda b. al-Sāmīt, a leader who was at all the battles . . . (256). Al-‘Abbās b. ‘Ubāda b. Nadī . . . one of those who joined the apostle in Mecca, lived there with him, and was called an Anṣārī Muhāji. He was killed at Ḥud as a martyr. Abū ‘Abdullāh-Raḥmān Yassīd b. Tha’labā b. Khansā’ b. Asrām b. ‘Amr b. Ammār, an ally from the B. Ghuṣayna of Bally. ‘Amr b. al-Ḥāridh b. Labūdā b. ‘Amr b. Tha’labā. They were the Qawāḍ. Total 4.


1 Some authorities mean that this is the same person as the one just mentioned above.
2 Some read Udhan. See Suhaayl in loc.
3 i.e. the biblical Emmanuel.
The Life of Muhammad

Of the B. Sā'īda b. Ka'b; Sa'd b. 'Ubāda a leader. Al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, a leader, present at Badr and Uhud and killed at B.'s Ma'inb commanding for the aposfle. It was said of him 'He hastened to death' (259). Total 2.

The total number of those present at the second 'Aqaba from the Aus and Khazraj was seventy-three men and two women who they allege pledged their obedience also. The apostle used not to strike hands with women; he merely stated the conditions, and if they accepted them he would say, 'Go, I have made a covenant with you.'

(Of these two women) Nusayba was of B. Māzīn b. al-Najjar. She was d. of Ka'b b. 'Amr b. 'Auf b. Mabdāh b. 'Amr b. Ghann b. Māzīn. mother of 'Umāra. She and her sister went to war with the apostle. Her husband was Zayd b. 'Āsim b. Ka'b, and her two sons were Ḥabīb and 'Abdullah. Musaylima the liar, the Haṣāfī chief of the Yamama, got hold of Ḥabīb and began to say to him, 'Do you testify that Muhammad is the apostle of God?' And when he said that he did, he went on, 'And do you testify that I am the apostle of God?' he answered, 'I do not hear.' So he began to cut him to pieces member by member until he died. He tried putting the same questions to him again and again, but he could get no different answers. Nusayba went to al-Yamāma with the Muslims and took part in the war in person until God slew Musaylima, when she returned having suffered twelve wounds from spear or sword. It was Muhammad b. Ṭāhā b. Ḥabbān who told me this story from 'Abdullah b. 'Abdullāh-Rahmān b. Abū Sā'a.

The other woman was of B. Salama, Umm Mani', named Amri. d. 'Amr b. ʿAdiy b. Nībī b. 'Amr b. Sawād b. Ghann b. Ka'b b. Salama.

THE APOSTLE RECEIVES THE ORDER TO FIGHT

The apostle had not been given permission to fight or allowed to shed blood before the second 'Aqaba. He had simply been ordered to call men to God and to endure insult and forgive the ignorant. The Quraysh had persecuted his followers, seducing some from their religion, and exiling others from their country. They had to choose whether to give up their religion, be maltreated at home, or to flee the country, some to Abyssinia, others to Medina.

When Quraysh became insolent towards God and rejected His gracious purpose, accusing His prophet of lying, and ill treated and exiled those who served Him and proclaimed His unity, believed in His prophet, and held fast to His religion, He gave permission to His apostle to fight and to protect himself against those who wronged them and treated them badly.

The first verse which was sent down on this subject from what I have heard from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr and other learned persons was: 'Permission is given to those who fight because they have been wronged. God is well able to help them;'—those who have been driven out of their houses without right only because they said God is our Lord. Had not God used

some men to keep back others, cloisters and churches and oratories and mosques wherein the name of God is constantly mentioned would have been destroyed. Assuredly God will help those who help Him. God is Almighty. Those who if we make them strong in the land will establish prayer, pay the poor-tax, enjoin kindness, and forbid iniquity. To God belongs the end of matters.' The meaning is: 'I have allowed them to fight only because they have been unjustly treated while their sole offence against men has been that they worship God. When they are in the ascend-ant they will establish prayer, pay the poor-tax, enjoin kindness, and forbid iniquity, i.e. the prophet and his companions all of them.' Then God sent down to him: 'Fight them so that there be no more seduction,' i.e. until no believer is seduced from his religion. And the religion is God's, i.e. Until God alone is worshipped.

When God had given permission to fight and this clan of the Ansār had pledged their support to him in Islam and to help him and his followers, and the Muslims who had taken refuge with them, the apostle commanded his companions, the emigrants of his people and those Muslims who were with him in Mecca, to emigrate to Medina and to link up with their brethren the Ansār, 'God will make for you brethren and houses in which you may be safe.' So they went out in companies, and the apostle stayed in Mecca waiting for his Lord's permission to leave Mecca and migrate to Medina.

THOSE WHO MIGRATED TO MEDINA

The first of the Quraysh to migrate to Medina from among the apostle's companions was one of B. Machā'īm, Abū Salama b. 'Abdullāh-Asad b. Ḥiłāl b. Abū Abdullah b. 'Umar b. Machā'īm whose forename was 'Abdullāh. He went to Medina a year before the pledge at al-'Aqaba, having come to the apostle in Mecca from Abyssinia. He migrated because the Quraysh ill-treated him and he had heard that some of the Ansār had accepted Islam.

My father Ishāq b. Yasār on the authority of Salama who had it from his grandmother Umm Salama the prophet's wife told me that she said: When Abū Salama had decided to set out for Medina he saddled his camel for me and mounted me on it together with my son Salama who was in my arms. Then he set out leading the camel. When the men of B. al-Mughirā b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar b. Machā'īm saw him they got up and said: 'So far as you are concerned you can do what you like; but what about your wife? Do you suppose that we shall let you take her away?' So they snatched the camel's rope from his hand and took me from him. Abū Salama's family, the B. 'Abdullāh-Asad, were angry at this and said: 'We will not leave our son with her seeing you have torn her from our tribe.' So they dragged at my little boy Salama between them until

Sūrā 22, 42-43

2 Sūrā 2, 196.
by it on their way to the upper part of Mecca. (Today it is the house of Aba b. Uthmân in Radm.) 'Uthba looked at it with its doors blowing to
and fro, empty of inhabitants, and sighed heavily and said:

Every house however long its prosperity lasts
Will one day be overtaken by misfortune and trouble (269).

Then 'Uthba went on to say, 'The house of the B. Jahsh has become 317
tenantless.' To which Abu Jahl replied, 'Nobody will sweep over that
house.'

He went on: This is the work of this man's nephew. He has divided our
community, disrupted our affairs, and driven a wedge between us. Abu
Salama and 'Amir b. Rabî' and 'Abdullah b. Jahsh and his brother Abu
Ahmad b. Jahsh were billeted on Muhâshir b. 'Abdul-Mundhir b. Zanbar in Quba' among the B. 'Amir b. 'Auf,

Then the refugees came in companies and the B. Ghamm b. Dukkan were
Muslims who had gone to Medina as a body with the apostle as emigrants
both men and women: 'Abdullah b. Jahsh and his brother Abu Ahmad
and 'Ukasha b. Muhâsan and Shujâ' and 'Uqba, the two sons of Wahb,
and Arhab b. Humâyira (262), and Munqu'd b. Nabâ'în and Sa'd b.
Raqysh and Muhib b. Nadâ'î and Yâsid b. Raqysh, and Qays b. Jabir
and 'Amr b. Muhâsan and Mâlik b. 'Amr and Shâfîwân b.
'Amr and Tha'îf b. 'Amr and Rabî' b. Aktham and al-Zubayr b.
'Abid and Tamamm b. 'Ubayd and Sakhir b. 'Ubayd and Muhammad b.
'Abdullah b. Jahsh.

Their women were Zaynab and Umm Habib daughters of Jahsh,
Jundâm d. Jandal and Umm Qays b. Muhâsan and Umm Habib d.
Thamâm and Aminâ d. of Raqysh and Sakhirâ d. Tanâm and
Hammâm d. Jahsh.

Abu Ahmad, mentioning the migration of the B. Asad b. Khuzaymah of
his people to God and his apostle and their going in a body when they
were called on to emigrate, said:

He also said:

When Umm Ahmad saw me setting out
In the protection of One I secretly fear and reverence,

1 C's text has 'And what if Ghamm has gone', &c. Abu Dhâr queries the word qayn rendered 'inhabitants'
THE LODGEMENTS OF THE EMIGRANTS IN MEDINA

'Umar accompanied by various members of his family, and his brother Zayd, and 'Amr and 'Abdullah the sons of Surāya b. al-Mu'tamir, and Khunays b. Hudsāfa al-Sahwī (who had married 'Umar's daughter Haṣa whom the apostle married after the death of her husband), and Wāqiq b. 'Abdullah al-Tamīmī an ally of theirs, and Khail and Mālik b. Abū Khauli, two allies (265), and four sons of al-Bukayr, namely Iyās, 'Aqīl, 'Amīr, and Khālid; and their allies from B. Sa'd b. Layth; when they arrived at Medina stayed with Rifi'ah b. 'Abdull-'Umdāhir b. Zanbar among B. 'Amr b. 'Afīq in Qubā'. 'Ayyāsh also stayed with him when he came to Medina.

Then came successive waves of emigrants: Taḥla b. 'Abayd Allah b. Uthmān; Sūhayb b. Sinān stayed with Khubayb b. Isāf brother of the B. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj, in al-Sunḥ. Others deny this and say that Taḥla stayed with As'ad b. Zurāra brother of the B. al-Najjār (266).

The following stayed with Kulkhām b. Ḥidm brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Afīq in Qubā': Hāmza b. 'Abdull-'Muṭṭalib; Zayd b. Hāritha; Abū Marthād Kannāb b. Ḥisān (267); and his son Marthad of the tribe Gāni, allies of Hamza; Anas; and Abū Kabsha, freedmen of the apostle. Other reports are that they stayed with Sa'd b. Khaythama; and that Hamza stayed with As'ad b. Zurāra.


With Sa'd b. al-Rabī' brother of the B. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj in the house of the latter stayed 'Abdull-'Rahmān b. 'Afīq with some male emigrants.


With Sa'd b. Mu'ādh b. al-Nu'mān brother of the B. 'Abdull-'Ashḥāl in their dwelling stayed Muṣṭāb b. 'Umār b. Ḥishām brother of the B. 'Abdull-'Dār.

With 'Abdāb b. Bishr b. Wāṣh brother of the B. 'Abdull-'Ashḥāl in the latter's dwelling stayed Abū Ḥudhayfa b. 'Utbah b. Rabi'a and his freedman Sālim; and 'Utbah b. Ghaẓwān b. Jābir (268).

With Aṣūr b. Thābit b. al-Mundhir, brother of Hassān b. Thābit in the dwelling of B. al-Najjār stayed 'Uthmān b. Affān. This was the reason why Hassān was so fond of 'Uthmān and lamented him when he was slain.

It is said that the celibate emigrants stayed with Sa'd b. Khaythama because he himself was unmarried; but God knows best about that.

1 In the upper part of Medina.
After his companions had left, the apostle stayed in Mecca waiting for permission to migrate. Except for Abū Bakr and 'Ali, none of his supporters were left but those under restraint and those who had been forced to apostatize. The former kept asking the apostle for permission to emigrate and he would answer, 'Don't be in a hurry; it may be that God will give you a companion.' Abū Bakr hoped that it would be Muhammad himself.

When the Quraysh saw that the apostle had a party and companions not of their tribe and outside their territory, and that his companions had migrated to join them, and knew that they had settled in a new home and had gained protectors, they feared that the apostle might join them, since they knew that he had decided to fight them. So they assembled in their council chamber, the house of Qusayy b. Kilab, where all their important business was conducted, to take counsel what they should do in regard to the apostle, for they were now in fear of him.

One of our companions whom I have no reason to doubt told me on the authority of 'Abdullah b. Abī Najif from Mūjahid b. Jubayr, father of al-Hajjāj; and another person of the same character on the authority of 'Abdullah b. 'Abdās told me that when they had fixed a day to come to a decision about the apostle, on the morning of that very day which was called the day of al-Zāhima the devil came to them in the form of a handsome old man clad in a mantle and stood at the door of the house. When they saw him standing there they asked him who he was and he told them that he was a shaykh from the highlands who had heard of their intention and had come to hear what they had to say and perhaps to give them counsel and advice. He was invited to enter and there he found the leaders of Quraysh. From B. 'Abdu Shams were 'Uthay and Shaykh sons of Rabī'; and Abū Sufyān. From B. Naufal b. 'Abdu Manāf Tu'ayma b. 'Ady; Jūbyr b. Mut'im; and al-Ijarīth b. 'Amīr b. Naufal. From B. Abū l-Dar al-Naḍr b. al-Ijarīth b. Kalada. From B. Asad b. 'Abdu l-'Uzza Abīl-Bakhtārī b. Ḥishām and Zam'a b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭtālah; and Ḥakim b. Ḥishām. From B. Makhrūm Abū Jahl b. Ḥishām. From B. Sām Nubayrī and Munābbih the sons of al-Hajjāj. From B. Jurābī Ṣumayya b. Khalaf; and others including some who were not of Quraysh.

The discussion opened with the statement that now that Muhammad had gained adherents outside the tribe they were no longer safe against a sudden attack and the meeting was to determine the best course to pursue. One advised that they should put him in irons behind bars and then wait until the same fate overtook him as befell his like, the peers Zuhayr and Nābigha, and others. The shaykh objected to this on the ground that news would leak out that he was imprisoned, and immediately his followers would attack and snatch him away; then their numbers would so grow that they would destroy the authority of Quraysh altogether.
They must think of another plan. Another man suggested that they should drive him out of the country. They did not care where he went or what happened to him once he was out of sight and they were rid of him. They could then restore their social life to its former state. Again the shaykh objected that it was not a good plan. His fine speech and beautiful diction and the compelling force of his message were such that if he settled with some Beduin tribe he would win them over so that they would follow him and come and attack them in their land and rob them of their position and authority and then he could do what he liked with them. They must think of a better plan.

Thereupon Abū Jahil said that he had a plan which had not been suggested hitherto, namely that each clan should provide a young, powerful, well-born, aristocratic warrior: that each of these should be provided with a sharp sword; then that each of them should strike a blow at him and kill him. Thus they would be relieved of him, and responsibility for his blood would lie upon all the clans. The B. 'Abdu Manṣūr could not fight them all and would have to accept the blood-money which they would all contribute to. The shaykh exclaimed: 'The man is right. In my opinion it is the only thing to do.' Having come to a decision the people dispersed.

Then Gabriel came to the apostle and said: 'Do not sleep tonight on the bed on which you usually sleep.' Before much of the night had passed they assembled at his door waiting for him to go to sleep so that they might fall upon him. When the apostle saw what they were doing he told 'Allah be on his head and to wrap himself in his green Ḥijārī mantle; for no harm would befall him. He himself used to sleep in this mantle.

'Yazid b. Ziyād on the authority of Muhammad b. Ka'b. al-Qurayṣī told me that when they were all outside his door Abū Jahil said to them:

'Muhammad alleges that if you follow him you will be kings of the Arabs and the Persians. Then after death you will be raised to gardens like those of the Jordan. But if you do not follow him you will be slaughtered, and when you are raised from the dead you will be burned in the fire of hell.' The apostle came out to them with a handful of dust saying: 'I do say that. You are one of them.' God took away their sight so that they could not see him and he began to sprinkle the dust on their heads as he recited these verses: 'Ya Sin, by the wise Quran. Thou art of those that art sent on a straight path, a revelation of the Mighty the Merciful' as far as the words 'And we covered them and they could not see.' When he had finished reciting not one of them but had dust upon his head. Then he went wherever he wanted to go and someone not of their company came up and asked them what they were waiting for there. When they said that they were waiting for Muhammad he said: 'But good heavens Muhammad came out to you and put dust on the head of every single man of you' 1

and then went off on his own affairs. Can't you see what has happened to you? They put up their hands and felt the dust on their heads. Then they began to search and saw 'Ali on the bed wrapped in the apostle's mantle and said, 'By God it is Muhammad sleeping in his mantle.' Thus they remained until the morning when 'Ali rose from the bed and then they realized that the man had told them the truth.

Among the verses of the Quran which God sent down about that day and what had agreed upon are: 'And when the unbelievers plot to shatter thee up or to kill thee or to drive thee out they plot, but God plots also, and God is the best of plotters,' 2 and 'Or they say he is a poet for whom we may expect the misfortune of fate. Say: Go on expecting for I am with you among the expectant.' 3 It was then that God gave permission to his prophet to migrate. Now Abū Bakr was a man of means, and at the time that he asked the apostle's permission to migrate and he replied 'Do not hurry; perhaps God will give you a companion,' hoping that the apostle meant himself he bought two camels and kept them tied up in his house supplying them with fodder in preparation for departure.

A man whom I have no reason to doubt told me as from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr that 'Aisha said: The apostle used to go to Abū Bakr's house every day either in the early morning or at night; but on the day when he was given permission to migrate from Mecca he came to us at noon, an hour at which he was not wont to come. As soon as he saw him Abū Bakr realized that something had happened to bring him at this hour. When he came in Abū Bakr gave up his seat to him. Only my sister Amrā and I were there and the apostle asked him to send us away. 'But they are my two daughters and they can do no harm, may my father and my mother be your ransom,' said Abū Bakr. 'God has given me permission to depart and migrate,' he answered. 'Together?' asked Abū Bakr. 'Together,' he replied. And by God before that day I had never seen anyone weep for joy as Abū Bakr wept then. At last he said, 'O prophet of God, these are the two camels which I have held in readiness for thee. So they hired 'Abdullah b. Arqat, a man of B. 'Irād b. Bakr whose mother was a woman of B. Sahm b. 'Amr, and a polytheist to lead them on the way, and they handed over to him their two camels and he kept them and fed them until the appointed day came.'

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1 Sūra 8, 30
2 Sūra 52, 30
3 At this point in Subayl's commentary (6, 7) there is a note of considerable importance in the light it throws on the textual tradition of our author. It runs thus: Ibn Ishaq said (in a narration which does not come via Ibn Hibāyīn) in a long, sound, tradition which I have shortened that when Abū Bakr migrated with the apostle he left his daughters behind in Mecca. When they got to Medina the apostle sent 'Abdullah b. Ḥaritha and Ahmad b. Ḥarrān to his freedman, and Abū Bakr sent 'Abdullah b. Urayqīt together with 500 dinars with which they bought a mount in Qadāy. Arrived at Mecca they brought away Sa'da b. Zayda's and Fatima and 'Umm Kālih. 'Aisha said: My mother came out with them and 'Aisha b. 'Abd Allah (then young) followed with them; and when we were in Qadāy the canons with which my mother 'Umm Rūmān and I were riding in a litter, bolted, and my mother began to cry Ar'as, my daughter, alas my husband! In the tradition of Yanab from Ibn Ishaq there is
According to what I have been told none knew when the apostle left except 'Ali and Abū Bakr and the latter's family. I have heard that the apostle told 'Ali about his departure and ordered him to stay behind in Mecca in order to return goods which men had deposited with the apostle; for anyone in Mecca who had property which he was anxious about left it with him because of his notorious honesty and trustworthiness.

When the apostle decided to go he came to Abū Bakr and the two of them left by a window in the back of the latter's house and made for a cave on Thaur, a mountain below Mecca. Having entered, Abū Bakr ordered his son 'Abdullah to listen to what people were saying and to come to them by night with the day's news. He also ordered 'Amir b. Fuhayra, his freedman, to feed his flock by day and to bring them to them in the evening in the cave. Asmā' his daughter used to come at night with food to sustain them (276).

The two of them stayed in the cave for three days. When Quraysh missed the apostle they offered a hundred she-camels to anyone who would bring him back. During the day 'Abdullah was listening to their plans and conversation and would come at night with the news. 'Amir used to pasture his flock with the shepherds of Mecca and when night fell would bring them to the cave where they milked them and slaughtered some. When 'Abdullah left them in the morning to go to Mecca, 'Amir would take the sheep over the same route to cover his tracks. When the three days had passed and men's interest waned, the man they had hired came with their camels and one of his own. Asmā' came too with a bag of provisions; but she had forgotten to bring a rope, so that when they started she could not tie the bag on the camel. Thereupon she undid her girdle and using it as a rope tied the bag to the saddle. For this reason she got the name 'She of the girdle' (271).

When Abū Bakr brought the two camels to the apostle he offered the better one to him and invited him to ride her. But the apostle refused to ride an animal which was not his own and when Abū Bakr wanted to give him it he demanded to know what he had paid for it and bought it from them. They rode off, and Abū Bakr carried 'Amir his freedman behind him to act as a servant on the journey.

I was told that Asmā' said, 'When the apostle and Abū Bakr had gone, a number of Quraysh including Abū Jahl came to us and stood at the door. When I went out to them they asked where my father was and when I said that I did not know Abū Jahl, who was a rough dissolute man, slapped my face so violently that my earring flew off. Then they took themselves off and we remained for three days without news until a man of the Jinn came from the lower part of Mecca singing some verses in the Arab way. And lo people were following him and listening to his voice but they could not see him, until he emerged from the upper part of Mecca saying the while:

God the Lord of men give the best of his rewards
To the two companions who rested in the two tents of Umm Ma'had.
They came with good intent and went off at nightfall.
May Muhammad's companion prosper!
May the place of the Bani Ka'b's woman bring them luck,
For she was a look-out for the believers' (272).

Asmā' continued: 'When we heard his words we knew that the apostle was making for Medina. There were four of them: the apostle, Abū Bakr, 'Amir, and 'Abdullah b. Arqat their guide' (273).

Yahya b. 'Abbūd b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr told me that his father 'Abbūd told him that his grandmother Asmā' said: 'When the apostle went forth with Abū Bakr the latter carried all his money with him to the amount of five or six thousand dirhems. My grandfather Abū Qahfā who had lost his sight came to call on us saying that he thought that Abū Bakr had put us in a difficulty by taking off all his money. I told him that he had left us plenty of money. And I took some stones and put them in a niche where Abū Bakr kept his money; then I covered them with a cloth and took his hand and said, "Put your hand on this money, father." He did so and said: "There's nothing to worry about; he has done well in leaving you this, and you will have enough." In fact he had left us nothing, but I wanted to set the old man's mind at rest.'

Al-Zuhrī told me that 'Abdullāh b. 'Abdul-Rahmān b. Mālik b. Ju'ashā told him from his father, from his uncle Surāqā b. Mālik b. Ju'ashā: 'When the apostle migrated Quraysh offered a reward of a hundred camels to anyone who would bring him back. While I was sitting in my people's assembly one of our men came up and stopped saying, "By God, I've just seen three riders passing. I think they must be Muhammad and his companions," I gave him a wink enjoining silence and said "They are the so-and-so looking for a lost camel." "Perhaps so," he said and remained silent. I remained there for a short while; then I got up and went to my house and ordered my horse to be got ready, for it was tethered for me in the bottom of the valley. Then I asked for my weapons and they were brought from the back of the room. Then I took my divining arrows and went out, having put on my armour. Then I cast the divining arrows and came to the arrow which I did not want: "Do him no harm." I did the same again and got the same result. I was hoping to bring him back to Quraysh so that I might win the hundred camels reward.

'I rode in pursuit of him and when my horse was going at a good pace
he stumbled and threw me. I thought this was somewhat unusual so I resorted to the divining arrows again and out came the detestable "Do him no harm." But I refused to be put off and rode on in pursuit. Again my horse stumbled and threw me, and again I tried the arrows with the same result. I rode on, and at last as I saw the little band my horse stumbled with me and its forelegs went into the ground and I fell. Then as it got its legs out of the ground smoke arose like a sandstorm. When I saw that I knew that he was protected against me and would have the upper hand. I called to them saying who was and asking them to wait for me; and that they need have no concern, for no harm would come to them from me. The apostle told Abū Bakr to ask what I wanted and I said, "Write a document for me which will be a sign between you and me" and the apostle instructed Abū Bakr to do so.

He wrote it on a bone, or a piece of paper, or a potsherd and threw it to me and I put it in my quiver and went back. I kept quiet about the whole affair until when the apostle conquered Mecca and finished with al-Ṭāʿif and Hunayn I went out to give him the document and I met him in al-ajība.

I got among a squadron of the Ḥāša cavalry and they began to beat me with their spears, saying, "Be off with you; what on earth do you want?"

However, I got near to the apostle as he sat on his camel and his shank in his stirrup looked to me like the trunk of a palm-tree. I lifted my hand with the document, saying what it was and what my name was. He said: "It is a day of repaying and good deeds. Let him come near." So I approached him and accepted Islam. Then I remembered something that I wanted to ask him. All I can remember now is that I said "Stray camels used to come to my cistern which I kept full for my own camels. Shall I get a reward for having let them have water?" "Yes," he said, "for watering every thirsty creature there is a reward." Then I returned to my people and brought my alms to the apostle" (274).

Their guide, 'Abdullah b. Arqat, took them below Mecca; then along the shore where he crossed the road below 'Usfān; then below Amaj; then after passing Qudayd by way of al-Kharrār and Thaniyyatul-Marra to Liqf (275).

He took them past the waterhole of Liqf, then down to Madhajatu Mahjāb (276), then past Marjīḥ Mahjāb, then down to Marjīḥ of Dhūl-Ghadwayn (277), then the valley of Dhū Kshir; then by al-jadīdī, then al-Araj, then Dhū Salm of the valley of A'dā, the waterhole of Tā'ūs, then by al-Abāhīd (278), then by way of al-Ḫīja (279). Then he took them down to al-ʿArj; and one of their mounts having dropped behind, a man of Ṭaslim, Aus b. Ḥuṣayn by name, took the prophet to Medina on his camel which was called Ibn al-Riḍā, sending him a servant called Mas'ūd b. Hunaydī. From 'Arj the guide took them to Thaniyyatul-ʿAyr (280) to the right of Rakūba until they brought them down to the valley of Ri'm; then to Qubā to B. Amr b. 'Auṭ on Monday 12th Rabiʿal-awwal at high noon.2

Muhammad b. Jafar b. al-Zubayr from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from 'Abdu'l-ʿRājamīn b. 'Uwaymir b. Sā'īda told me, saying, 'Men of my tribe who were the apostle's companions told me, "When we heard that the apostle had left Mecca and we were eagerly expecting his arrival we used to go out after morning prayers to our lava tract beyond our land to await him. This we did until there was no more shade left and then we went indoors in the hot season. On the day that the apostle arrived we had sat as we always had until there being no more shade we went indoors and then the apostle arrived. The first to see him was a few. He had seen what we were in the habit of doing and that we were expecting the arrival of the apostle and he called out at the top of his voice 'O Banū Qayla your luck has come!' So we went out to greet the apostle who was in the shadow of a palm-tree with Abū Bakr who was of like age. Now most of us had never seen the apostle and as the people crowded round him they did not know him from Abū Bakr until the shade left him and Abū Bakr got up with his mantle and shielded him from the sun, and then we knew.'"

The apostle, so they say, stayed with Kūthlūm b. Ḥidm brother of the B. Amr b. 'Auṭ, one of the B. 'Ubayd. Others say he stayed with Sa'd b. Khaythama. Those who assert the former say that it was only because he left Kūthlūm to go and sit with the men in Sa'd's house (for he was a bachelor; and housed the apostle's companions who were bachelors) that he said: so that he stayed with Sa'd, for his house used to be called the house of the bachelors. God knows the truth of the matter.

Abū Bakr stayed with Khubayb b. Isāf, one of the B. al-Ḥārīrī b. al-Khazraj in al-Sunh. Some say it was with Khārijja b. Zayd b. Abū Zuhayr, brother of the B. al-Ḥārīrī.

Ali stayed in Mecca for three days and nights until he had restored the deposits which the apostle held. This done he joined the apostle and 335 lodged with him at Kūthlūm's house. He stayed in Qubā only a night or two. He used to say that in Qubā there was an unmarried Muslim woman and he noticed that a man used to come to her in the middle of the night and knock on her door; she would come out and he would give her something. He felt very suspicious of him and asked her what was the meaning of this nightly performance as she was a Muslim woman without a husband. She told him that the man was Saḥl b. Hunayfī b. Wāḥib who knew that she was all alone and he used to break up the idols of his tribe at night and 1 Yet a third possibility is al-Ǧāhib, T. 1337, following 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr. Cf. Yaq. iii. 966 and I.H.'s note. 2 This paragraph occurs under the heading 'Ibn Hisham said'. But clearly it belongs to the original narrative, one of I.H.'s characteristic interpolations occurring in the middle of it.
bring her the pieces to use as fuel. 'Ali used to talk of this incident until Sahl died in Iraq while he was with him. Hind b. Sa‘d b. Sahl b. Hunayf told me this story from what ‘Ali said.

The apostle stayed in Qub‘a among B. ‘Amr b. ‘Auf from Monday to Thursday and then he laid the foundation of his mosque. Then God brought him out from them on the Friday. The B. ‘Amr allege that he stayed longer with them, and God knows the truth of the matter. Friday prayer found the apostle among B. Sālim b. ‘Auf and he prayed in the mosque which is in the bottom of the Wādī Rānūnā. This was the first Friday prayer that he prayed in Medina.

I‘tāb b. Mālik and ‘Abbās b. Ubēda b. Naḍīa with some of B. Sālim b. ‘Auf came and asked him to live with them and enjoy their wealth and protection, but he said, ‘Let her go her way,’ for his camel was under God’s orders; so they let her go until she came to the home of B. Bayādā, where he was met by Ziyād b. Labīd and Farwār b. ‘Amr with some of their clansmen. They gave the same invitation and met with the same reply. The same thing happened with B. Sā‘ida when Sa‘d b. ‘Ubēda and al-Mundhir b. ‘Amr invited him to stay; and with B. ‘l-Ḥārith b. al-Khaṣṣajī represented by Sa‘d b. al-Rabī‘ and Khāṭīb b. Zayyād and ‘Abdullāh b. Rawhā; and with B. ‘Ady b. al-Najjār (who were his nearest maternal relatives the mother of ‘Abdu‘l-Muṭṭaḥid al-Salām d. ‘Amr being one of their women), being represented by Sallāt b. Qays and Abū Sallāt and Usayyār b. Abū Khāṭīb. Finally the camel came to the home of B. Mālik b. al-Najjār when it knelt at the door of his mosque, which at that time was used as a drying-place for dates and belonged to two young orphans of B. al-Najjār of B. Mālik clan, who were under the protection of Mu‘ādh b. ‘Afīrā, Sahl and Suḥayl the sons of ‘Amr. When it knelt the apostle did not alight, and it got up and went a short distance. The apostle left its rein free, not guiding it, and it turned in its tracks and returned to the place where it had knelt at first and knelt there again. It shook itself and lay exhausted with its chest upon the ground. The apostle alighted and Abū Ayyūb al-Khālid b. Zayd took his baggage into the house (T. The ʿAnṣār invited him to stay with them, but he said ‘A man (stays) with his baggage’ and the apostle stayed with him. When he asked to whom the date-store belonged Mu‘ādh b. ‘Afīrā’ told him that the owners were Sahl and Suḥayl the sons of ‘Amr who were orphans in his care and that he could take it for a mosque and he would pay the young men for it.

The apostle ordered that a mosque should be built, and he stayed with Abū Ayyūb until the mosque and his houses were completed. The apostle joined the work to encourage the Muslims to work and the muḥājirīn and the ʿanṣār laboured hard. One of the Muslims rhymed:

If we eat down while the prophet worked
It could be said that we had shirked.

2 T. 1390. 7.

As they built, the Muslims sang a ṭarrāj verse:

There’s no life but the life of the next world.
O God, have mercy on the ʿanṣār and the muḥājirīn (281).

The apostle used to sing it in the form:

There’s no life but the life of the next world.
O God, have mercy on the muḥājirīn and the ʿanṣār.

‘Ammār b. Yāsir came in when they had overloaded him with bricks, saying, ‘They are killing me. They load me with burdens they can’t carry themselves.’ Umm Salama the prophet’s wife said: I saw the apostle run his hand through his hair—for he was a curly-haired man—and said ‘Abū Ibn Sumayya! It is not they who will kill you but a wicked band of men.’

‘Ali composed a ṭarrāj verse on that day:

There’s one that labours night and day
To build us mosques of brick and stone
And one who turns from dust away! (282.)

And ‘Ammār learned it and began to chant it.

When he persisted in it one of the prophet’s companions thought that it was he who was referred to in it according to what Ziyād b. ‘Abbūd b. al-Baqqā‘ī told me from Ibn Iṣḥāq. The latter had actually named the man.1

He said: ‘I have heard what you have been saying for a long time, O Ibn Sumayya, and by God I think I’ll hit you on the nose!’ Now he had a stick in his hand and the apostle was angry and said, ‘What is wrong between them and ‘Ammār? He invites them to Paradise while they invite him to hell. ‘Ammār is as dear to me as my own face. If a man behaves like this he will not be forgiven, so avoid him.’

Su‘yān b. ‘Uyayn mentioned on the authority of Zakariyya from al-Sha‘bī that the first man to build a mosque was ‘Ammār b. Yāsir.

The apostle lived in Abū Ayyūb’s house until his mosque and dwellings were built; then he removed to his own quarters.

Su‘yān b. Abū Ḥabīb from Marthad b. ‘Abbūd al-‘Yazānī from Abū Ruhm al-Sakītī told me that Abū Ayyūb told him: When the apostle came to lodge with me in my house he occupied the ground floor, while I and Umm Ayyūb were above. I said to him, ‘O prophet of God, you

1 By this altercation the rhyme and rhythm were destroyed.

2 This prophecy is said to have been uttered when ‘Ammār was killed at Siffin; Su‘yān.

3 ‘Su‘yān says: ‘Iṣḥāq did name the man, but Ibn ‘Alī preferred not to do so as not to mention one of the prophet’s companions in discreditable circumstances. [Cf. what Ibn Hāšām says in his introduction.] Therefore it can never be right to inquire after his identity. Abū Dā‘ūd says: Ibn ‘Iṣḥāq did name the man and said ‘This man was Ummān b. Abī‘rīn.’ The Caire edition says that this is in the Miswāb al-‘Adamīny (al-Qaṣīdah, d. 600). ‘Abd al-‘Uzān says that the man is said to be ‘Ummān b. Mā‘īn. This last writer may safely be ignored on this point.
are dear to me as my parents, and I am distressed that I should be above
and you below me. So leave your present quarters and exchange places
with us." He retorted: "O Abū Ayyūb, it is more convenient for me and
my guests that we should be on the ground floor of the house." So we
remained as we were. Once we broke a jar of water and Umm Ayyūb and
I took one of our garments to mop up the water in fear that it would drop
on the apostle and cause him annoyance. We had no cloth which we could
use.

"We used to prepare his evening meal and send it to him. When he
returned what was left, Umm Ayyūb and I used to touch the spot where
his hand had rested and eat from that in the hope of gaining a blessing.
One night we prepared for him onions or garlic and the apostle returned it
and I saw no mark of his hand in it. I went to him in some anxiety to tell
him of our practice and that this time there was no mark of his hand, and
he replied that he had perceived the smell of the vegetables and he was a
man who had to speak confidentially to people but that we should eat them.
So we ate the dish and never sent him onions again."

The emigrants followed one another to join the apostle, and none was
left in Mecca but those who had apostatized or been detained. Whole
families with their property did not come together except the B. Maz'ūn
from B. Jama'ū; the B. Jabsh b. Rā'āb, allies of B. Umayya; and the B.
Bukayr from B. Sa'd b. Layth, allies of B. 'Ady b. Kā'b. Their houses in
Mecca were locked up when they migrated, leaving no inhabitant.

When the B. Jabsh gave up their house Abū Sufyān went and sold it to
'Amr b. Alqama brother of B. 'Amr b. Lu'ayy. When the owners heard
of this 'Abdullāh b. Jabsh told the apostle of it, and he replied: 'Are you
not pleased that God will give you a better house in Paradise?' And when
he answered Yes, he said, 'Then you have it.' When the apostle got
possession of Mecca Abū Ahmad spoke to him about their house; and the
apostle delayed his reply. People said to him, 'The apostle dislikes your
reopening the question of your property which you lost in God's service,
so don't speak to him about it again.' Abū Ahmad said in reference to
Abū Sufyān:

Tell Abū Sufyān of a matter he will live to regret.
You sold your cousin's house to pay a debt you owed.
Your ally by God the Lord of men swears an oath:
Take it, Take it, may [your treachery] cling to you like the ring of the
dove.

The apostle stayed in Medina from the month of Rabī‘ul-awwal to
Safar of the following year until his mosque and his quarters were built.
This tribe of the Ansār all accepted Islam and every house of the Ansār
accepted Islam except Khaṭṭāma, Wāqif, Wā'il, and Umayya who were the
Aus Allah, a clan of Aus who cling to their heathenism.

The first address which the apostle gave according to what I heard on the
authority of Abū Salama b. 'Abdullāh-Rahmān—God save me from attrib-
uting to the apostle words which he did not say—was as follows: he
praised and glorified God as was His due and then said: O men, send
forward (good works) for yourselves. You know, by God, that one of
you may be smitten and will leave his flock without a shepherd. Then his
Lord will say to him—there will be no interpreter or chamberlain to
..
followed them and joined them and laboured with them. They are one community (summa) to the exclusion of all men. The Quraysh emigrants according to their present custom shall pay the bloodwit within their number and shall redeem their prisoners with the kindness and justice common among believers.

The B. 'Auf according to their present custom shall pay the bloodwit they paid in heathenism; every section shall redeem its prisoners with the kindness and justice common among believers. The B. Sā'īda, the B. 'l-Hārith, and the B. Jnhsm, and the B. al-Najjar Likewise. The B. 'Amr, the B. al-Nabīt, and the B. al-'Aus likewise.

Believers shall not leave anyone destitute among them by not paying his redemption money or bloodwit in kindness (283).

A believer shall not take as an ally the freedman of another Muslim against him. The God-fearing believers shall be against the rebellious or him who seeks to spread injustice, or sin or enmity, or corruption between believers; the hand of every man shall be against him even if he be a son of one of them. A believer shall not slay a believer for the sake of an unbeliever, nor shall he aid an unbeliever against a believer. God's protection is one, the least of them may give protection to a stranger on their behalf. Believers are friends one to the other to the exclusion of outsiders. To the Jew who follows us belong help and equality. He shall not be wronged nor shall his enemies be sided. The peace of the believers is indivisible. No separate peace shall be made when believers are fighting in the way of God. Conditions must be fair and equitable to all. In every foray a rider must take another behind him. The believers must avenge the blood of one another shed in the way of God. The God-fearing believers enjoy the best and most upright guidance. No polytheist shall take the property or person of Quraysh under his protection nor shall he intervene against a believer. Whosoever is convicted of killing a believer without good reason shall be subject to retaliation unless the next of kin is satisfied (with blood-money), and the believers shall be against him as one man, and they are bound to take action against him.

It shall not be lawful to a believer who holds by what is in this document and believes in God and the last day to help an evil-doer or to shelter him. The curse of God and His anger on the day of resurrection will be upon him if he does, and neither repentance nor ransom will be received from him. Whenever you differ about a matter it must be referred to God and to Muhammad.

The Jews shall contribute to the cost of war so long as they are fighting alongside the believers. The Jews of the B. 'Auf are one community with the believers (the Jews have their religion and the Muslims have theirs), their freedmen and their persons except those who behave unjustly and aimlessly, for they hurt but themselves and their families. The same applies to the Jews of the B. al-Najjar, B. al-Hārith, B. Sā'īda, B. Jnhsm, B. al-'Auss, B. Th'labas, and the Jfnas, a clan of the Th'labas and the B. al-Shuraybas. Loyalty is a protection against treachery. The freedmen of Th'labas are as themselves. The close friends of the Jews are as themselves. None of them shall go out to war save with the permission of Muhammad, but he shall not be prevented from taking revenge for a wound. He who slays a man without warning slays himself and his household, unless he be another who has wronged him, for God will accept that. The Jews must bear their expenses and the Muslims their expenses. Each must help the other against anyone who attacks the people of this document. They must seek mutual advice and consultation, and loyalty is a protection against treachery. A man is not liable for his ally's misdeeds. The wronged must be helped. The Jews must pay with the believers so long as war lasts. Yathrib shall be a sanctuary for the people of this document. A stranger under protection shall be as his host doing no harm and committing no crime. A woman shall only be given protection with the consent of her family. If any dispute or controversy likely to cause trouble should arise it must be referred to God and to Muhammad the apostle of God. God accepts what is nearest to piety and goodness in this document. Quraysh and their helpers shall not be given protection. The contracting parties are bound to help one another against any attack on Yathrib. If they are called to make peace and maintain it they must do so; and if they make a similar demand on the Muslims it must be carried out except in the case of a holy war. Every one shall have his portion from the side to which he belongs; the Jews of al-'Aus, their freedmen and themselves have the same standing with the people of this document in pure loyalty from the people of this document (284).

Loyalty is a protection against treachery: He who acquires ought 343 acquires it for himself. God approves of this document. This deed will not protect the unjust and the sinner. The man who goes forth to fight and the man who stays at home in the city is safe unless he has been unjust and sinned. God is the protector of the good and God-fearing man and Muhammad is the apostle of God.
BROTHERHOOD BETWEEN EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS

The apostle instituted brotherhood between his fellow emigrants and the helpers, and he said according to what I have heard—and I appeal to God lest I should attribute to him words that he did not say—'Let each of you take a brother in God.' He himself took 'Ali by the hand and said, 'This is my brother.' So God's apostle, the lord of the sent ones and leader of the God-fearing, apostle of the Lord of the worlds, the peerless and unequalled, and 'Ali b. Abū Ṭālib became brothers. Ḥazmā, the lion of God and the lion of his apostle and his uncle, became the brother of Zayd b. Ḥāritha the apostle's freedman. To him Ḥārūn gave his last testament on the day of Uḥud when battle was imminent in case he should meet his death. Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib—the 'one of the wings' who was to fly in Paradise—and Mu'ād b. Jabal brother of B. Salama became brothers (285). The pairs were arranged thus:

Abū Bakr and Khārij b. Zuhayr brother of B. Ḥārith b. al-Khazzraj
Umar and Ṭhāban b. Mālik brother of B. Sālim... b. al-Khazzraj,
Abū 'Ubayda, Ṭālib b. 'Abdulrahmān b. 'Umar, Sa'd b. Mu'ād b. al-Nū'mān.
Abū'l-Rahmān b. Ṭa'lab b. al-Rabi' brother of B. al-Hārith,
Abū-Zuhayr b. al-'Awām and B. al-Salama, B. Sa'īd b. Waqqāsh b. al-Najjar,
Abū'l-Ashkal though others say that he linked up with 'Abdullah b. Mālik from the area of the B. Zuhra,
Uthmān b. 'Abdullāh b. Thabit b. al-Mundhir brother of B. al-Najjar,
Ṭalhā b. 'Ubaydullah and Ka'b b. Mālik brother of B. al-Salama.
Sa'd b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl and Ubayy b. Ka'b brother of B. al-Najjar,


Haḍīb b. Abū Balta'a ally of B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-ʿĀzāzī and 'Umayr b. Sa'īda brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Aub.

Salmān the Persian and Abū-'Umar Dardā 'Uwaymir b. Thal'āba brother of B. al-Hārith (287). Some say 'Umayr was the son of 'Amr or of Zayd.

Bilāl freedman of Abū Bakr and the apostle's muezzin and Abū Ruwayha.

'Abdullah b. 'Abdu'l-Rahmān al-Khath'ami, more precisely one of the Fāsā'īs.

These are the men who were named to us as those to whom the apostle made his companions brothers.

When 'Umar compiled the registers in Syria Bilāl had gone there and remained as a combatant. He asked him with whom he wished to be grouped and he said with Abū Ruwayha. 'I will never leave him, for the apostle established brotherhood between us.' So he was linked with him and the register of the Abyssinians was linked with Khath'ami because of Bilāl's position with them, and this arrangement continues to this day in Syria.

Abū Umāma

During the months in which the mosque was being built Abū Umāma Abūl-Abd-al-Karim al-Husayn b. Zurār died; he was seized by diphtheria and a rattling in the throat.

'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥaam told me on the authority of Yāhya b. 'Abdullah b. 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. Abūl-Abd-al-Karim b. Zurrā the apostle said: 'How unfortunate is the death of Abū Umāma! The Jews and the Arab hypocrites are sure to say, 'If he were a prophet his companion would not die', and (truly) I have no power from God for myself or for my companion (to avert death).

ʿAṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda al-Anṣārī told me that when Abū Umāma died the B. al-Najjar came to the apostle, for Abū Umāma was their leader, saying that he held the high rank the apostle knew of and would appoint someone from among them to act in his place; to which the apostle replied, 'You are my maternal uncles, and we belong together so I will be your leader.' The apostle did not want to prefer any one of them to the others. Henceforth the B. al-Najjar regarded themselves as highly honoured in having the apostle as their leader.

THE CALL TO PRAYER

When the apostle was firmly settled in Medina and his brethren the emigrants were gathered to him and the affairs of the helpers were arranged Islam became firmly established. Prayer was instituted, the alms tax and fasting were prescribed, legal punishments fixed, the forbidden and the permitted prescribed, and Islam took up its abode with them. It was this clan of the helpers who 'have taken up their abode in the city of the prophet' and in the faith. When the apostle first came, the people gathered to him for prayer at the appointed times without being summoned. At first the apostle thought of using a trumpet like that of the Jews who used it to summon to prayer. Afterwards he disliked the idea and ordered a clapper
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to be made, so it was duly fashioned to be beaten when the Muslims should pray.

Meanwhile 'Abdullah b. Zayd b. Tha'labá b. 'Abd- Rabbih brother of B. al-Háthíth heard a voice in a dream, and came to the apostle saying: 'A phantom visited me in the night. There passed by me a man wearing two green garments carrying a clapper in his hand, and I asked him to sell it to me. When he asked me what I wanted it for I told him that it was to summon people to prayer, whereupon he offered to show me a better way: it was to say thrice "Allah Akbar. I bear witness that there is no God but Allah I bear witness that Muhammad is the apostle of God. Come to prayer. Come to prayer. Come to divine service." Come to divine service. Allah Akbar. Allah Akbar. There is no God but Allah."' When the apostle was told of this he said that it was a true vision if God so willed it, and that he should go with Bilád and communicate it to him so that he might call to prayer thus, for he had a more penetrating voice. When Bilád acted as muezzin 'Umar heard him in his house and came to the apostle dragging his cloak on the ground and saying that he had seen precisely the same vision. The apostle said, 'God be praised for that!' I was told of this tradition by Muhammad b. Ibráhim b. al-Háthíth on the authority of Muhammad b. 'Abdullah b. Zayd b. Tha'labá himself (288).

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me on the authority of 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from a woman of B. al-Najjár who said: My house was the highest of those round the mosque and Bilád used to give the call from the top of it at dawn every day. He used to come before daybreak and would sit on the house-top waiting for the dawn. When he saw it he would stretch his arms and say, 'O God, I praise thee and ask thy help for Quraysh that they may accept thy religion.' I never knew him to omit these words for a single night.

ABU QAYS B. ABU ANAS

When the apostle was established in his house and God had manifested His religion therein and made him glad with the company of the emigrants and helpers Abu Qays spoke the following verses (289).

He was a man who had lived as a monk in heathen days and worn a black mantle of camel-hair, given up idols, washed himself after uncleanliness, kept himself clean from women in their courses. He had thought of adopting Christianity but gave it up and went into a house of his and made

1 Fidáh. This word is generally rendered 'salvation' or 'prosperity'; cf. Lane, 2430a. But it has always seemed to me that it must be an arabicized form of the Aramaic palúhâhá, divine worship. Its original meaning is clearly cutting, especially ploughing. Among Aramaic-speaking Jews and Christians it was connected with the service of God. Between the words 'Come to the fidáh and Allah Akbar' the 8th's cry 'Come to the best work (êtamá)' which must surely be a memory of the original meaning of fidáh. I Sayyidil-Nás 'Uyínátul-
Athár, Cairo, 1356, l. 204, quotes this story in what appears to be a more primitive form.

2 A. Dh. explains that 'sulád, a wearisome invisible illness, is a metaphor.

3 Commentators differ on the meaning of this phrase. Another possibility is: 'Though their pedigree is short their hearts are generous'. All through these verses one feels that the wretched rhymster is imprisoned within his rhymes.

He also said:

Praise God at every dawn
When His sun rises and at the new moon.
He knows what is clear and not clear to us.
What our Lord says is without error.
His are the birds which fly to and fro and shelter
In nests in their mountain retreats.
His are the wild creatures of the desert
Which you see on the dunes and in the shade of sandhills.
Him the Jews worship and follow
Every dreary custom you can think of;
Him the Christians worship and keep
Every feast and festival to their Lord.
Him is the self-denying monk you see,
A prisoner of misery though once right happy.
My sons, sever not the bonds of kinship.
Be generous though they are mean.²
Fear God in dealing with defenceless orphans
Often the forbidden is regarded as lawful.
Know that the orphan has an All-knowing protector
Who guides aright without being asked.
Devour not the wealth of orphans,
A mighty protector watches over the same.

5 a. Dh. explains that 'sulád, a wearisome invisible illness, is a metaphor.

6 Commentators differ on the meaning of this phrase. Another possibility is: 'Though their pedigree is short their hearts are generous'. All through these verses one feels that the wretched rhymster is imprisoned within his rhymes.
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My sons, transgress not the proper limits
Transgressing the bounds brings one to a halt.
O my sons, trust not the days.
Beware their treachery and the passage of time.
Know that it consumes all creation,
both the new and the old.
Live your lives in piety and godliness.
Abandon obscenity and hold fast to what is right.

1 the following poem he mentioned how God had honoured them with n and His special favour in sending His apostle to them:

He abide among Quraysh some ten years
Hoping for a friend to help him.
He displayed himself to those who came to the fairs
But found none to offer him hospitality.
But when he came to us God displayed his religion
And he became happy and contented in Medina.
He found friends and ceased to long for home
And was plainly helped by God.
He told us what Noah said to his people
And what Moses answered when he was called.
None near at hand need he fear
And those afar he recked not of.

We spent on him the best of our possessions,
Sparing not our lives in war at his side.
We know that there is nought beside God
And we know that God is the best guide.
We shall fight any man that fights Him,
Be he our dearest friend.

In every mosque when I pray to Thee
I say Blessed art Thou (Oft have I mentioned Thy name).
I say when I traverse a land I fear
Mercy! Let not my enemies triumph over me.
Go where you will death comes in many guises
And you cannot live for ever.

A man does not know how to protect himself
Unless he makes God his protector.
The palm that needs water cares naught for its owner
If it has moisture, though he be dead (297).

The influence of Syriac as in the words shammauwa and tühdāw is clear, and some of the verses are reminiscences of the Psalms.

2 Tiba, 'the Fragrant', is the ancient honorific of Medina. Cf. Hassán's opening line on p. 1022. In Tiba are the monuments of his luminous sojourn.
3 W. & T. He was a plain help to us from God seems inferior to the C. text.
4 The verse is just as basal in the original.
5 I follow C. in reading ma'īna for W. 's ma'īnata, and tā'īna for tā'īnaya 'standing'.

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(T.) 'Ab b. Mujāhid said on the authority of Muhammad b. Ishāq from al-Zuhri and from Muhammad b. Shāh b. al-Sha'bi that they both said:
The B. Isma'il dated from the fire of Abraham to the building of the temple when Abraham and Isma'il built it; then they dated from the building of the temple until they dispersed, and it happened that whenever people left Thāmā they dated from their leaving it, and those who remained in Thāmā of B. Isma'il used to date from the going out of Sa'd and Nahd and Juwayna of B. Zayd from Thāmā until Ka'b b. Lu'ayy died. Then they dated from the death of Ka'b to the elephant. The dating from the time of the elephant continued until 'Umar b. al-Khattāb dated from the Hijra which was the year 17 or 18.

The Names of the Jewish Adversaries

About this time the Jewish rabbis showed hostility to the apostle in envy, hatred, and malice, because God had chosen His apostle from the Arabs. They were joined by men from al-Aus and al-Khazraj who had obstinately clung to their heathen religion. They were hypocrites, clanging to the polytheism of their fathers denying the resurrection; yet when Islam appeared and their people flocked to it they were compelled to pretend to accept it to save their lives. But in secret they were hypocrites whose inclination was towards the Jews because they considered the apostle a liar and strove against Islam.

It was the Jewish rabbis who used to annoy the apostle with questions and introduce confusion, so as to confound the truth with falsity. The Quran used to come down in reference to these questions of theirs, though some of the questions about what was allowed and forbidden came from the Muslims themselves. These are the names of those Jews:

From B. al-Nadir: Huwayy b. Akhtāb and his brothers Abū Yāsir and Judayy; Sallām b. Mishkām; Kināna b. al-Rabi' Abū Ḥuqayq; Sallām b. Abū-l-Huqayq Abū Rāf' al-War whom the apostle's companions killed in Khaybar; al-Rabi' b. al-Rabi' Abū-l-Huqayq; 'Amr b. Jaḥhāb; Ka'b b. al-Ashraf whom belonged to Tayy, of the clan of B. Nābān, his mother being from B. al-Nadir; al-Hajjāj b. 'Amr, an ally of Ka'b; and Kardān b. Qays, an ally of Ka'b.

From B. Thālab b. al-Fīyau: 'Abdullāh b. Sīrīyā the one-eyed who was the most learned man of his time in the Hijaz in Torah studies; Thālab; and Mukhāvīq their rabbis who became a Muslim.

From B. Qaynuqāt: Sād b. al-Lāsif (291); Sa'd b. Ḥunayf; Mahmūd b. Sayyān; 'Uzayr b. Abū 'Uzayr; and Abdullah b. Sayf (292). Suwayy b. al-Hafrīth; Rifa'a b. Qays; Fināsah; Ashyā; Nu'mān b. Aṣb; Bahfrī b.

1 This paragraph is part of a long chapter which T. devotes to the question of chronology in reference to the principal events in the prophet's life. It is put here because the last passage he quotes from 1.1. in the poem of Abū Qays mentioning the length of the prophet's sojourn in Mecca after the beginning of his mission; the connexion with chronology is obvious.
"Abdullah b. Salām accepts Islam

I was told the story of 'Abdullah b. Salām, a learned rabbi, by one of his family. He said: 'When I heard about the apostle I knew by his description, name, and the time at which he appeared that he was the one we were waiting for, and I rejoiced greatly, though I kept silent about it until the apostle came to Medina. When he stayed in Qubā' among the B. 'Amr b. 'Auf and some of his companions, the news came to Qubā' while I was working at the top of a palm-tree and my aunt Khālidah d. al-Hārith sat beside me. I heard the news I cried Allah Akbar and my aunt said: 'Good gracious, if you had heard that Moses b. Imrān had come you could not have made more fuss!' 'Indeed, aunt,' I said, 'he is the brother of Moses and follows his religion, being sent with the same mission.' She asked, 'Is he really the prophet who we have been told will be sent at this very time?' and she accepted my assurance that he was. Straightway I went to the apostle and became a Muslim, and when I returned to my house I ordered my family to do the same.

'I concealed the matter from the Jews, and then went to the apostle and said, "The Jews are a nation of liars and I wish you will take me into one of your houses and hide me from them. Then ask them about me so that they may tell you the position I hold among them before they know that I have become a Muslim. For if they know it beforehand they will utter slanderous lies against me." The apostle housed me; the Jews came; and the apostle asked them about my standing among them. They said: "He is our chief, and the son of our chief; our rabbi, and our learned man." When they said this I emerged and said: "O Jews, fear God and accept what He has sent you. For by God you know that he is the apostle of God. You will find him described in your Torah and we named. I testify that he is the apostle of God, I believe in him, I hold him to be true, and I acknowledge him." They accused me of lying and reviled me. Then I reminded the apostle that I had said that they would do this, for they were a treacherous, lying, and evil people. I publicly proclaimed my conversion and my household and my aunt Khālidah followed suit.'

The Story of Mukhayriq

He was a learned rabbi owning much property in date palms. He recognized the apostle by his description and his own learning, and he felt a predilection for his religion until the day of Uhud, which fell on the sabbath, he reminded the Jews that they were bound to help Muhammad. They objected that it was the sabbath. 'May you have no sabbath,' he answered, and took his weapons and joined the apostle in Uhud. His parting testimony to his people was: 'If I am killed today my property is to go to Muhammad to use as God shows him.' He was killed in the battle that followed. I am told that the apostle used to say 'Mukhayriq is the best of the Jews.' The apostle took over his property and all the armies he distributed in Medina came from it.'
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God sent down concerning him according to what I have heard on the authority of Ibn 'Abbas: 'How can God guide a people who have disbelieved after having believed and witnessed that the apostle is true and sure proofs have come to them from God. God does not guide a sinful people.'

From B. Dubay'a b. Zayd b. Malik b. Af'f b. Amr b. Abi Bakr b. 'Ummān b. 'Āmir. From B. Lathāb b. 'Amr b. Abī Bāṣir. I have heard that it was of him that the apostle said, 'Whoever wants to see Satan let him take a look at Nabi-ul-Harīth.' He was a sturdily black man with long flowing hair, inflamed eyes, and dark ruddy cheeks. He used to come and talk to the apostle and listen to him and then carry what he had said to the hypocrites. It was he who said: 'Muhammad is all ears; if anyone tells him anything he believes it.' God sent down concerning him: 'And of them are those who annoy the prophet and say he is all ears. Say: Good ears for you. He believes in God and trusts the believers and is a mercy for those of you who believe; and those who annoy the apostle of God for them there is a painful punish'ment.'

A man of B. al-'Aţfālī told me that he was told that Gabriel came to the apostle and said, 'There comes to sit with you a black man with long flowing hair, ruddy cheeks, and inflamed eyes like two copper pots. His heart is more gross than a donkey's; he carries your words to the hypocrites, so beware of him.' This, so they say, was the description of Nabi-ul-Harīth.

Also from B. Dubay'a was Abū ʻAbdullāh b. al-ʻAzīz, one of those who had built the mosque of al-Dirār; Thālāb b. Ḥājjīb; and Mu'āšīr b. Qushayr. It was those two who made a covenant with God saying, 'If he gives us of his bounty we will give alms and be of the righteous to the end of the story. And it was Mu'āshīr who said at Uhud: 'If we had any part in the ordering of things we should not be killed here.' So God sent down concerning what he said: 'A party who were anxious about their lives thought wrongly about God as the pagans thought. They said: 'If we had any part in the ordering of things we should not be killed here' to the end of the context. It was he who said on the day of the Partica, 'Muhammad promises us that we shall enjoy the treasures of Chosroes and Caesar whereas it is not safe for one of us to go to the privy.' So God revealed concerning him: 'And when the hypocrites and those in whose hearts is a disease say God and his apostle have promised us nothing but a delusion.'

Also al-ʻAţfālī b. Ḥājjīb (297).

Also Abū ʻAbdullāh b. Hunayf father of Sahl, and Bahray who were among the builders of the mosque of al-Dirār. And 'Amr b. Khidrām and 'Abdullāh b. Nabi-ul-Harīth.

Of the B. Thālābī were Jāriya b. 'Amir b. al-ʻAţfālī and his two sons 358

Note: The text contains a mix of historical and religious information, likely from an Islamic text describing Muhammad's life and the actions of his companions.
Zayd and Mujammil. They were also concerned with the mosque of al-Dirār. Mujammil' was a youth who had collected most of the Qur'an and he used to lead them in prayer. When the mosque had been destroyed and certain men of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf who used to lead their people in prayer in their mosque, died, in the time of 'Umar, Mujammil' was mentioned to act as leader, but 'Umar would not have it, saying: 'Wasn't he the imam of the hypocrites in the mosque of al-Dirār?' He replied: 'By God, I knew nothing of their affairs. But I was a youngster who could recite the Qur'an, whereas they could not, so they put me forward to lead the prayers. Their affair seemed to me to accord with the best account they gave.' They allege that 'Umar let him go and lead the prayers of his people.

Of B. Umayya b. Zayd b. Mālik: Wadi‘a b. Thābit, one of the builders of the Dirār mosque who said, 'We were only talking and jesting.' So God sent down: 'If you ask them they will say we were only talking and jesting. Say: Is it about God and His signs and His apostle you were jesting?' to the end of the passage.

Of B. Ubayd b. Zayd b. Mālik: Khidhām b. Khālid, from whose house the mosque of al-Dirār was carved out; and Bishr and Rāfī' the two sons of Zayd.

Of B. al-Nabīt (298) of the clan of B. Hārīthah b. al-Hārīth b. al-Khaṣṣār b. Amr b. Mālik b. al-Aus: Mirba’ b. Qayyāl who said to the apostle when he passed through his garden on his way to Uḥḍ: 'I do not allow you Muhammad to pass through my garden even if you are a prophet.' He took a handful of dirt and said: 'By God, if I did not know that I might throw it on others I would throw this dirt at you.' The people pressed on him to kill him and the apostle said: 'Let him alone. For this blind man is blind of heart and blind of perception'. Sa’d b. Zayd brother of B. 'Abdūl-‘Aṣhab hū hit him with his bow and wounded him; also his brother Aus b. Qayyāl, who said to the apostle on the day of the Trench: 'Our houses lie open to the enemy, so give us leave to go back to them.' So God revealed concerning him: 'They say Our houses lie open to the enemy. They are not open; all they want is to run away' (299).1

Of B. Zafar (Zafar’s name was Ka’b b. al-Hārīth b. al-Khaṣṣār): Ḥāṭib b. Umayya b. Rāfī’. He was a sturdy old man steeped long in paganism. A son of his was one of the best of the Muslims, Yazīd by name. He was disabled by wounds received at Uḥḍ and was carried to the house of the B. Zafar.

‘Aṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda told me that the Muslims there both men and women gathered to him when he was at the point of death and were saying: 'Rejoice, O son of Ḥāṭib, in the thought of paradise!' Then his hypocrisy showed itself, for his father said, 'Humph! By God it is a garden of rue. You have sent this poor fellow to death by your deception.'

Also Burhān b. Ubayyiq Abū Ṭū’ma, the 'Stealer of the Two Breastplates' concerning whom God sent down: 'And argue not on behalf of those who deceive themselves. God does not love a sinful deceiver.' Also Qusayn, an ally of theirs.

The same 'Aṣim told me that the apostle used to say: 'He belongs to the people of hell.' At Uḥḍ he fought so valiantly that he killed several polytheists. But they severely wounded him and he was carried to the quarters of the B. Zafar. The Muslims said, 'Cheer up, O Qusayn; you have done gallantly today and your sufferings have been for God's sake.' He said: 'Why should I cheer up? I fought only to protect my people.'

And when the pain of his wounds became unbearable he took an arrow from his quiver and cut a vein in his hand and thus committed suicide.

Among B. 'Abdul-‘Aṣhab no hypocrite male or female was known except ad-Dahhāk b. Thābit, one of the B. Ka’b of the family of Sa’d b. Zayd. He was suspected of hypocrisy and love of the Jews.

Hassān b. Thābit said of him 2

Who will tell al-Dahhāk that his veins were unable to be glorified in Islam?
Do you love the Jews of al-Mijāz and their religion, You liver-hearted ass, and not love Muhammad? Their religion will never march with ours
As long as men roam the open desert.

I have heard that before his repentance Jūsūb together with Mu‘attib, Rāfī’, and Bishr used to make false profession of Islam.3 Some Muslims asked them to go to the apostle to settle a matter in dispute between them, while they wanted to refer it to the khās who acted as arbitrators in the pagan era. So God sent down concerning them: 'Hast thou considered those who allege that they believe in what has been sent down to thee and what was sent down before thee who wish to go to idolatry for arbitration when they have been commanded to give up belief in it? Satan wishes to lead them far astray.'4


Of B. Jusham of the clan of B. Salima: al-Judd b. Qays who said, 'O Muhammad, give me leave (to stay at home) and tempt me not.' So God sent down concerning him: 'Of them is he who says, Give me leave (to stay at home) and tempt me not. Surely they are in temptation and he who has fallen and enforced the unbelievers;

Of B. 'Aṣim b. al-Khaṣṣār: 'Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Sahil. He was the head of the hypocrites. They used to gather to him and it was he who said, 'If we go back to Medina the stronger will drive out the weaker.' This was during the raid on the B. al-Muṣṭal‘īq and the whole sūra of the

1 Sūra 4. 107. L.L. has omitted much of what Yūnus reported from L.L. See Suhaylī, ii. 38 f.
2 Dīnār, p. 34.
3 Read yadda’sma (against both C. and W.) in accord with Sūra 67, 27; and for the meaning see Laca, Bk 40, and b.
4 Sūra 4. 63.
5 Sūra 9. 49.
Hypocrites came down about him and Wādī‘a, a man of B. ‘Auf and Mālik b. Ābu Qa‘qal and Suyūyū and Dā‘is of the clan of ‘Abdullah b. Ubayy. These were his men who sent secret messages to B. al-Na‘īrī’ when the apostle besieged them: ‘Stand fast, by God if you are driven out we will go forth with you and we will never obey anyone against you and if you are attacked we will help you.’ So God sent down concerning them: ‘Hast thou not considered the hypocrites who say to their brethren of the scripture folk, If you are driven out we will go forth with you and we will never obey anyone against you and if you are attacked we will help you. God bears witness that they are liars, as far as His words ‘Like Satan when he says to men, “Disbelieve,” and when they disbelieve he says, “I am not responsible for you; for my part I fear God the Lord of the worlds.”’

The Rabbis Who Accepted Islam Hypocritically

The following are the Jewish rabbis who took refuge in Islam along with the Muslims and hypocritically professed it: Of B. Qa‘nūqāţī: Sa‘īd b. Hunaif; Zayd b. al-Lusayy; Nu‘mān b. Auffa; ‘Amr; ‘Uthmān b. Auffa; Zayd b. al-Lusayy who fought with Umar in the market of the B. Qa‘nūqāţī. He was the man who said when the apostle’s camel wandered off: ‘Muḥammad alleges that revelations come to him from heaven and he doesn’t know where his camel is.’ When the apostle heard of what this enemy of God had said and God had told him where his camel was he said, ‘I only know what God lets me know. And God has shown me. It is in such-and-such a glen caught by its rope to a tree.’ The Muslims went and found it in that very spot caught up as the apostle had said.

Also Rāfī‘ b. Huraymīla of whom I have heard that the prophet said, 361 ‘One of the greatest hypocrites has died today.’ And Rāfī‘a b. Zayd b. al-Tābial of whom the prophet said when there was a high wind as he was returning from the expedition against the B. al-Mustaliqa and the Muslims were in great anxiety: ‘Don’t be afraid; the wind is blowing because a great unbeliever is dead.’ When he got back to Medina he found that Rāfī‘a had died the day the wind blew. Also Sifīla b. Barhām and Kīnāna b. Șīrīya.

These hypocrites used to assemble in the mosque and listen to the stories of the Muslims and laugh and scoff at their religion. When some of them4 were there one day the apostle saw them talking with lowered voice among themselves huddled together. He ordered that they should be ejected and they were put out with some violence. Ābu Ayyūb Khalīf b. Zayd b. Kulayb got up and went to ‘Amr b. Qays, one of B. Qa‘nūqāţī.

Sūra 63. Cf. W. 727 infra
2 Sūra 59. 11-16
4 It is by no means certain that these men were Jews. The previous section almost certainly proves that they were not; however, they may well have been half converted to Judaism like so many of the inhabitants of Medina.

b. Mālik b. al-Najjar who was the custodian of their gods during the pagan era, took hold of his foot and dragged him outside the mosque, he saying meanwhile ‘Would you drag me out of the datebarn of the B. Thālab? Then he went for Rāfī‘ b. Wādī‘a, one of the B. al-Najjar, gripped him by his robe, slapped his face, and dragged him forcibly out of the mosque, saying, ‘Faugh! you dirty hypocrite! Keep out of the apostle’s mosque, you hypocrite!’ (300).

Umār b. Hazm went for Zayd b. ‘Amr who had a long beard and seized him by it and dragged him violently out of the mosque. Then clenching his fists he punched him in the chest and knocked him down, Zayd crying the meanwhile, ‘You have torn my skin off!’ ‘God get rid of you, you hypocrite,’ he answered, ‘God has a worse punishment than that in store for you, so don’t come near the apostle’s mosque again!’ (301).

Ābu Muḥammad Mas‘īd b. Aus b. Zayd b. Aṣaram b. Zayd b. Thālab. 363 b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjar (who was at Badr) went for Qays b. ‘Amr b. Shāl who was a youth (the only young man known to have been among the hypocrites) and pushed him in the back of the neck until he ejected him from the mosque.

A man of B. al-Khadr al-Khāzraj of the family of Ābu Sa‘īd called ‘Abdullah b. al-Hārīth, hearing the order to clear the mosque, went for al-Hārīth b. ‘Amr, a man with long hair, and taking a good grip of it he dragged him violently the whole way along the floor until he put him out, the hypocrite meanwhile saying ‘You are very rough, Allah-T-Hārīth.’ ‘Serve you right, you enemy of God, for what God has sent down about you,’ he answered, ‘Don’t come near the apostle’s mosque again, for you are unclean.’

A man of B. ‘Amr b. ‘Auff went for his brother Zuwayy b. al-Hārīth and put him out violently, saying, ‘Faugh! You are doing Satan’s work for him!’

These were the hypocrites whom the apostle ordered to be expelled from the mosque that day.

References to the Hypocrites and the Jews in the Sūra Entitled ‘The Cow’

The first hundred verses of the sūra of the Cow came down in reference to these Jewish rabbis and the hypocrites of Aus and Khāzraj, according to what I have been told, and God knows best. He said: ‘Abī Lām Mīm. That is the book wherein there is no doubt.’ The word sīrat means doubt (302).

A guidance to the god-fearing, i.e. those who fear God’s punishment for abandoning the guidance they recognize, and hope for His mercy through believing in what has come to them from Him. ‘Who believe in the unseen and establish prayer and give out what We have provided them with;’ i.e. they establish prayer in its prescribed form and pay the
poor-tax expecting a (future) reward for it. 'And those who believe in what has been sent down to thee and to those who were before thee,' i.e. they believe thee to be true in what thou hast brought from God and what the sent ones brought before thee, making no difference between them nor opposing what they brought from their Lord. 'And are certain of the latter end,' i.e. the waking from death, the resurrection, paradise and hell, the reckoning and the scales, i.e. these are those who allege that they believe in what was before thee and in what has come to thee from thy Lord. 'These live in guidance from their Lord,' i.e. according to light from their Lord and uprightly according to what has come to them. 'These are they who prosper,' i.e. who attain what they seek and escape the evil they flee from. 'As for those who disbelieve,' i.e. in what has been sent down to thee, though they say we have long believed in what came to us before thee, 'it is all one to them whether thou warn them or do not warn them they will not believe,' i.e. they disbelieve that thou art mentioned (in the books) they have and they reject the covenant which was made with them with reference to thee. They disbelieve in what has come to thee and in what they have already which others brought to them so how will they listen to warning and exhortation from thee when they have denied that they have any knowledge of thee? 'God hath sealed their hearts and their hearing and over their sight there is a covering,' i.e. so that they will never find guidance, meaning: because they have declared you a liar so that they will not believe in the truth which has come to thee from thy Lord though they believe in all that came before thee. For opposing thee they will have an awful punishment. Thus far concerning the Jewish rabbis for calling the truth a lie after they knew it.

And there are some men who say, We believe in God and the last day when they do not believe.' He means the hypocrisies of Aus and Khazzraj and their followers. 'They would deceive God and those who believe, but they deceive only themselves, and perceive it not. In their hearts is a sickness,' i.e. doubt. 'And God increases their sickness,' i.e. doubt.

A painful punishment is theirs because they lie. And when it is said to them, 'Do not make mischief in the land they say we are only putting things to right,' i.e. we only wish to make peace between the two parties of the believers and the scripture folk. God said: 'Are not they indeed the mischief makers but they perceive it not? And when it is said to them, Believe as the people believe they say: Are we to believe as the foolish believe? Surely they are the foolish but they know it not. And when they meet those who believe they say, We believe; and when they go apart to their leaders,' i.e. the Jews who order them to deny the truth and contradict what the apostle brought, 'They say Certainly we are with you.' i.e. we agree entirely with you. 'We were only mocking,' i.e. mocking the people and jesting with them. God said: 'God will mock at them and let them continue to wander blindly in their error' (305).

Lit. 'their sects'.

'These are they who buy error at the price of guidance,' i.e. disbelief for faith. 'So their traffic is not profitable and they are not rightly guided.'

Then God employed a simile and said: 'They are like a man who lights a fire and when it lightens his environment God takes away their light and leaves them in darkness unable to see,' i.e. they cannot see the truth and profess it so that when they go out with it from the darkness of unbelief they extinguish it with their unbelief and hypocrisy, and God leaves them in the darkness of unbelief and they do not see guidance and are not upright in truth. 'Deaf, dumb, blind, and they return not,' i.e. they return not to guidance, deaf, dumb, blind to what is good, they return not to good and find no escape from their condition. 'Or like a rainstorm from heaven wherein is darkness and thunder and lightning.' They put their fingers in their ears because of the thunderings, in fear of death. God encompasses the unbelievers' (304), i.e. because of the darkness of unbelief and the fear of death in which they are, arising from their opposition and fear of you, they are like the man in the rainstorm who puts his fingers in his ears at the thunderclaps in fear of death. He says: And God brings that vengeance upon them, i.e. He encompasses the unbelievers. 'The lightning almost takes away their sight,' i.e. because of the exceeding brightness of the truth. 'Whenever it gives light to them they walk in it and when it is dark for them they stand still,' i.e. they know the truth and talk about it and so far as their talk goes they are on the straight path; but when they relapse from it into infidelity they come to a halt in bewilderment. 'And if God willed He could take away their hearing and their sight,' i.e. because they have forsaken the truth after they knew it. 'God is able to do all things.'

Then He says: 'O men, worship your Lord,' addressing both unbelievers and hypocrites, i.e. acknowledge His unity. 'Who created you and those before you, perchance you may ward off evil. Who has made the earth a bed for you and the heaven a building, and sent down water from heaven and has brought forth fruits thereby as food for you. So make not rivals of God when you know (better) (305), i.e. do not associate with God rivals which can neither profit nor harm when you know that you have no Lord that can feed you other than He, and you know that the monothelisim to which the apostle calls you is the truth about which there is no doubt. 'And if you are in doubt about that which We have sent down to our servant,' i.e. in doubt about what he has brought you, 'then produce a sign like it and summon your witnesses other than God,' i.e. whatever helpers you can get 'if you are truthful; and if you do not and you cannot' for the truth has become clear to you, 'then fear hell whose fuel is men and stones' prepared for the unbelievers,' i.e. for those who are in a state of infidelity like you.

Then he appeals to their interest and warns them against breaking the covenant which He made with them in reference to His prophet when

1 It is said that the stones were those worshipped by the pagan Arabs.
He came to them, and He reminds them of the beginning of their creation when He created them, and what happened to their forefather Adam and how he was dealt with for his disobedience; then He says: 1 'O children of Israel, addressing the Jewish rabbis, 'Remember the favour I showed you;' i.e. My care for you and your fathers, wherewith He delivered them from Pharaoh and his army. 'And fulfil My covenant' which I placed on your necks with regard to My prophet Ahmad when he should come to you. 'I shall fulfil My part of the covenant;' I shall carry out what I promised you for believing in and following him by removing the bonds and chains which were upon your necks because of the sins which you had committed. 'And stand in awe of Me,' i.e. lest I bring down on you what I brought down on your fathers before you—the vengeance that you know of, bestial transformation and the like. 'And believe in what I have sent down confirming what you already have, and be not the first to desire it' seeing that you have knowledge which others have not about it. 'And fear Me and do not mingle truth with falsehood nor hide the truth which you know;' i.e. do not conceal the knowledge which you have about My apostle and what he has brought when you will find it with you in what you know of the books which are in your hands. 'Would you tell men to be good and forget to be so yourselves, you being readers of scripture? Do you not understand?' i.e. would you forbid men to disbelieve in the prophecy you have and the covenant of the Torah and abandon it yourselves? i.e. when you deny that it contains My covenant with you that you must pronounce My apostle to be true, and you break My agreement and you contradict what you know to be in My book.

Then He recounts their sins, mentioning the calf and what they did with it; how He forgave them and pardoned them; then their words 'Show us God plainly' (369); and how the storm came upon them because of their presumptuousness; then He quickened them after they had died; overshadowed them with the cloud, sent down to them manna and quails and said to them, 'Enter the gate with prostrations and say Hīṭa,' i.e. say what I command you, and I will remove your sins from you; and their changing that word making a mockery of His command: and His forgiving them after their mockery (367).

With regard to their changing that word, the apostle said according to what Sālih b. Kaisān from Sālih, freedman of al-Ta‘ū‘al d. Um‘ayya h. Khalaf from Abū Hurayra and someone above suspicion from Ibn ‘Abbās: They entered the gate they were ordered to enter with prostrations in a crowd saying, 'Wheat is in the barley' (368). (He also reminded them of) Moses praying for water for his people and His commanding him to strike the rock with his staff so that the water gushed forth in twelve streams, one for each tribe to drink from, each tribe knowing the one from which it was to drink. And their saying to Moses, 'We cannot bear one kind of food. Pray to your Lord for us that He may bring forth to us vegetables which the earth produces such as cucumbers and corn (399) and beans and onions. He said: Will you exchange that which is better for that which is baser? Go down to Egypt; thus you will get what you ask for.' They did not do so. Further how He raised the mountain above them that they might receive what was brought to them; and the bestial transformation when He made them into apes for their sins; and the cow which God showed them in which there was a lesson concerning the slain man about whom they differed until God made clear to them his affair after their repeated requests to Moses for a description of the cow; further the hardness of their hearts afterwards so that they were harder than stone. Then He said: 'There are rocks from which rivers gush forth and there are rocks which split saunter and water comes out of them, and there are rocks which fall down for fear of God,' i.e. some rocks are softer than your hearts in regard to the truth to which you were called. 'And God is not unaware of what you do.'

Then He said to Muhammad and the believers with him, causing them to despair of them: 'Do you hope that they will believe you when there is a party of them who listen to the word of God then change it after they understand it, doing so knowledgeably?' His saying 'They listen to the Torah' does not mean that they all heard it, but only a party of them, i.e. a selected number according to what I was told by a scholar. They said to Moses: Something has come between us and the vision of God so let us hear His word when He speaks to thee. Moses conveyed the request to God who said: Yes, command them to purify themselves or to purify their clothing and to fast; and they did so. Then he brought them forth to the mountain, and when the cloud covered them Moses commanded them to prostrate themselves and his Lord spoke to him and they heard His voice giving them commands and prohibitions so that they understood what they heard. Then he went back with them to the Children of Israel and when he came to them a party of them changed the commandments they had been given; and when Moses said to the Children of Israel, 'God has ordered you to do so-and-so,' they contradicted him and said that God had ordered something else. It is they to whom God refers.

Then God said: 'And when they meet those who believe they say: We believe, i.e. in your leader the apostle of God; but he (has been sent) to you alone. And when they go apart with one another they say, Don't talk to the Arabs about this for you used to ask for victual over them through him and he is of them. So God sent down concerning them: 'And when they meet those who believe they say, We believe. But when

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1 verse 49.

2 The meaning of this word (lit. unloading, or relief), and indeed the significance of the whole passage, is obscure. Presumably a Jewish mishap lies behind it. Cf. Geiger, op. cit. 171. 1


4 These words are 1.1's explanation. 'The word of God' just mentioned could only have been the Torah.
they go apart with one another they say, Will you talk about what God has revealed to you that they may contend with you about it before your Lord? Have you no understanding? i.e. maintain that he is a prophet since you know that God has made a covenant with you that you should follow him, while he tells you that he is the prophet whom we are expecting and found in our book. Oppose him and do not recognize him. God said: Do they not know that God knows what they conceal and what they proclaim, and some of them are gentiles who do not know the book but merely recite passages (310). They only think they know, i.e. they don’t know the book and they do not know what is in it, yet they oppose thy prophethood on mere opinion. And they say the fire will not touch us except for a limited time. Say, Have ye received a covenant from God? God will not break His covenant—or do you say what you do not know about God? A freedman of Zayd b. Thabit told me as from ‘Ikrima or from Sa’id b. Juhayr from Ibn ‘Abbás; The apostle came to Madīna when the Jews were saying that the world would last for seven thousand years and that God would only punish men in hell one day in the next world for every thousand in this world. There would be only seven days and then punishment would cease. So God sent down claiming this saying: And they say, The fire will not touch us except for a limited time. Say, Have ye received a covenant from God? God will not break His covenant—or do you say what you do not know about God? Nay whose does evil and his sin encompasses him, i.e. he who does as you do and disbelieves as you disbelieve, his unbelief encompasses the good he has acquired with God. They are the people of hell; they will be there eternally, i.e. for ever. And those who do good, they are the people of paradise; they will be there eternally, i.e. those who believe in what you deny and do what you have left undone of His religion. They shall have paradise for ever. He tells them that the recompense for good and evil is eternal: it will never cease.

Then He said in blaming them, And when We made a covenant with the children of Israel, i.e. your covenant. Worship none but God, show kindness to parents and to near relatives, and to orphans and the poor, and speak kindly to men, and establish prayer and pay the poor-tax, then you turned your backs except a few of you, being averse, i.e. you abandoned all that—nothing less. And when we made a covenant with

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1. This word Somk is generally translated 'illiterate'. In Rûmûs 7, 159 and 338 Muhammad calls himself 'the gentle prophet', but practically all Arab writers claim that he meant that he could not read or write (see, e.g., Pickthall's translation). Geiger, op. cit. 16 f., says, I think, the last to point out the only possible derivation of the word, and he has been followed by every subsequent European Arabist. But this passage seems to limit the fact that he was preceded by these two early traditionists who identified the amīrān who as Arab penologists who did not themselves know the scriptures.

2. That is to say these Arabs cannot read the sacred books, but they can join in the Jewish liturgy reciting the prayers and responses.

3. V. 177.
they stored in their houses; and His confusing them from the Torah and the Gospel which God had created for Him. Then he mentions their disbelief in that and says: 'Is it that whenever there comes to you an apostle with what you do not like you act arrogantly; some you declare liars and some you put to death?' Then he says: 'And they said, Our hearts are uncircumcised,' i.e. in coverings. 'Nay, but God has cursed them for their unbelief. Little do they believe. And when a scripture comes to them from God confirming what they already have, though before that they were asking for a victory over the unbelievers, when there comes to them what they know they deny it. God's curse is on the unbelievers.'

'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda told me that shaykhs of his people said: This passage came down about us and them. We had got the better of them in the pagan era, we being polytheists and they scripture folk. They used to say to us, 'Soon a prophet will be sent whom we shall follow; his time is at hand. With his help we shall kill you like 'Ad and Iram.' And when God sent His apostle from Quraysh and we followed him they denied him. God said: 'And when there comes to them what they know they deny it. God's curse is on the unbelievers. Wretched is that for which they sell themselves in disbelief in what God has sent down, grudging that God should send down of His bounty upon whom He will of His servants,' i.e. that He should have given it to one who was not of them. 'They have incurred anger upon anger and for the unbelievers there is a shameful punishment' (112).

The double anger is His anger at what they have disregarded of the Torah which they had and His anger at their disbelief in this prophet whom God had sent to them. Then He told them of the raising of the mountain above them and their taking the calf as a god instead of their Lord. God then said: 'Say, If the last dwelling with God is for you alone excluding others, then long for death if you are truthful,' i.e. pray for death to which of the two parties is most false with God. And they refused the apostle's suggestion. God said to His prophet: 'They will never long for it because of what their hands have sent before them,' i.e. because they know about thee by the knowledge which they have and deny it, It is said that if they had longed for it the day he said that to them, not a single Jew would have remained on the earth but would have died. Then He mentions their love of this life and of a long life and God said: 'Thou wilt find them the most eager of men for life,' the Jews, even more than the polytheists; each one would like to live a thousand years and to be allowed to live long would not remove him from the punishment, i.e. it would not deliver him from it. The reason is that the polytheist

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1. Abūthāna ibn Abī Yāser. Apparently this is a pregnant construction meaning 'created and sent to him.'
2. Abūthāna ibn Abī Yāser.
3. Abūthāna ibn Abī Yāser.
4. i.e. their past deeds.

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This does not hope for raising after death so he wants to live long, and the Jew knows what awaits him of shame in the next life because he has wasted the knowledge that he has. Then God said: 'Say, Who is an enemy to Gabriel? For it is he who brought it down to thy heart by God's permission.'

'Abdullāh b. 'Abdul-rahman b. Ṭūbāṣi, the father of the Prophet, told me from Shaḥr b. Haṣābāb al-Aṣḥāb that a number of Jewish rabbis came to the apostle and asked him to answer four questions, saying that if he did so they would follow him and testify to his truth, and believe in him. He got them to swear a solemn oath that if he gave them the right answers they would acknowledge his truth and they began: 'Why does a boy resemble his mother when the semen comes from the man?' 'I adjure you by God and His favours towards the children of Israel,' do not you know that a man's semen is white and thick while a woman's is yellow and thin, and the likeness goes with what comes to the top?' 'Agreed,' they said. 'Tell us about your sleep.' 'Do you not know that a sleep which you allege I do not have is when the eye sleeps but the heart is awake?' 'Agreed.' 'This is my sleep. My eye sleeps but my heart is awake.' 'Tell us about what Israel voluntarily forbade himself.' 'Do you not know that the food he loved best was the flesh and milk of camels and that once when he was ill God restored him to health so he deprived himself of his favourite food and drink in gratitude to God?' 'Agreed. Tell us about the spirit.' 'Do you not know that it is Gabriel, he who comes to me?' 'Agreed, but O Muhammad he is an enemy to us, an angel who comes only with violence and the shedding of blood, and were it not for that we would follow you.' So God sent down concerning them: 'Who is an enemy to Gabriel? For it is he who brought it down to thy heart by God's permission confirming what was before it and a guidance and a good tidings to the believers' as far as the words 'Is it not that when they make a covenant some of them set it aside, nay most of them do not believe. And when an apostle comes to them from God confirming that which they have, some of them who have received the scripture, the book of God, put it behind them as if they did not know it and they follow that which the satans read concerning the kingdom of Solomon,' i.e. sorcery. 'Solomon did not disbelieve, but the satans disbelieved, teaching men sorcery.'

This, so I have heard, happened when the apostle mentioned Solomon b. David among the sent ones. One of the rabbis said, 'Don't you wonder at Muhammad? He alleges that Solomon was a prophet, and by God he was nothing but a sorcerer.' So God sent down concerning that: 'Solomon did not disbelieve but the satans disbelieved,' i.e. in following sorcery and practising it. And that which was revealed to the two angels Hārūn and Mārūd in Babylon and they taught nobody.'

Someone above suspicion told me from Ḥikam from Ibn 'Abdūs that he used to say: 'What Israel forbade himself was the two lobes of the liver,
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the kidneys and the fat (except what was upon the back), for that used to be offered in sacrifice and the fire consumed it.\(^1\)

The apostle wrote to the Jews of Khaybar according to what a freedman of the family of Zayd b. Thabit told me from 'Ikrima or from Sa'id b. Jubayr from Ibn 'Abbās: ‘In the name of God the compassionate the merciful from Muhammad the apostle of God friend and brother of Moses who confirms what Moses brought. God says to you, O scripture folk, and you will find it in your scripture ‘Muhammad is the apostle of God; and those with him are severe against the unbelievers, merciful among themselves. Thou seest them bowing, falling prostrate seeking bounty and acceptance from God. The mark of their prostrations is on their foreheads. That is their likeness in the Torah and in the Gospel like a seed which sends forth its shoot and strengthens it and it becomes thick and rises straight upon its stalk delighting the sowers that He may anger the unbelievers with them. God has promised those who believe and do well forgiveness and a great reward.’\(^2\)

I adjure you by God, and by what He has sent down to you, by the manna and quails He gave as food to your tribes before you, and by His drying up the sea for your fathers when He delivered them from Pharaoh and his works, that you tell me, Do you find in what He has sent down to you that you should believe in Muhammad? If you do not find that in your scripture then there is no compulsion upon you. ‘The right path has become plainly distinguished from error’\(^3\) so I call you to God and His prophet (313).

Among those people concerning whom the Quran came down, especially the rabbis and unbelieving Jews who used to ask him questions and annoy him in confusing truth with falsehood—as I was told on the authority of 'Abdullah b. 'Abbās and Jābir b. 'AbdAllah b. Ri'ab—was Abū Yāsīr b. Akhtāb who passed by the apostle as he was reciting the opening words of The Cow: ‘Alif, Lām, Mīm, That is the book about which there is no doubt.’ He came to his brother Huwāyy who was with some other Jews and said: ‘Do you know that I have heard Muhammad reciting in what has been sent down to him Alif Lām Mīm, &c?’ After expressing surprise Huwāyy and these men went to the apostle and told him what had been reported to them and asked if Gabriel had brought the message from God. When he said that he had they said: God sent prophets before you but we do not know of anyone of them being told how long his kingdom would last and how long his community would last. Huwāyy went up to his men and said to them: ‘Alif is 1; Lām is 30; and Mīm is 40, i.e. 71 years. Are you going to adopt a religion whose kingdom and community will last for only 71 years?’ Then he went to the apostle and said, ‘Have you anything else, Muhammad?’ ‘Yes, Alif Lām Mīm Sād.’ ‘This by God is more weighty and longer: Alif 1; Lām 30; Mīm 40, Sād 90, i.e. 161 years.’\(^4\)

Similar questions were asked and answered in respect of Alif Lām Mīm Rā 231; Alif Lām Mīm Rā 271; then he said, ‘Your situation seems obscure to us, Muhammad, so that we do not know whether you will have a short or long duration.’ Then they left him. Abū Yāsīr said to his brother Huwāyy and the others, ‘How do you know that all these totals should not be added together to make a grand total of 734 years?’ They answered, ‘His affair is obscure to us.’ They allege that these verses came down in reference to them: ‘The plain verses are the mother of the Book; the rest are obscure.’\(^5\)

I heard a scholar above suspicion mentioning that these verses were sent down about the people of Najrān when they came to the apostle to ask him about Jesus, Son of Mary.

Muhammad b. Abū Umāma b. Sa'īd b. Hunayf told me that he had heard that they were sent down about a number of Jews, but he did not explain that to me. God knows best.

According to what I heard from 'Ikrima, freedman of Ibn 'Abbās or from Sa'id b. Jubayr from Ibn 'Abbās, Jews used to hope that the apostle would be a help to them against Aṣūr and Khaṭṭār before his mission began; and when God sent him from among the Arabs they disbelieved in him and contradicted what they had formerly said about him. Mu'āsh b. Jābal and Bihār b. al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr brother of the B. Salama said to them: ‘O Jews, fear God and become Muslims, for you used to hope that Muhammad’s help against us when we were polytheists and to tell us that he would be sent and describe him to us.’ Salām b. Mishkham, one of B. al-Nadr, said, ‘He has not brought us anything we recognize and he is not the one we spoke of to you.’ So God sent down about that saying of theirs: ‘And when a book comes to them from God confirming what they have, though beforehand they were asking for help against those who disbelieve, when there came to them what they knew, they disbelieved in it, so God’s curse rests on the unbelievers.’\(^6\)

Malik b. al-Ṣayf\(^7\) said when the apostle had been sent and they were reminded of the condition that had been imposed on them and what God had covenanted with them concerning him, ‘No covenant was ever made with us about Muhammad.’ So God sent down concerning him: ‘Is it not that whenever they make a covenant a party of them set it aside? Nay most of them do not believe.’\(^8\)

Abū Salābī al-Fitrūn said to the apostle: ‘O Muhammad, you have not brought us anything we recognize, and God has not sent down to you any sign that we should follow you.’ So God sent down concerning his words, ‘We have sent down to thee plain signs and only evildoers disbelieve in them.’

\(^1\) Sūra 3, 4.
\(^2\) This and similar passages seem to indicate that the messianic hope was strong among the Jews.
\(^3\) Or al-Ḍayf, v.s.
\(^4\) Sūra 2, 83.
\(^5\) Sūra s. 94.
\(^6\) B 4090
book; bring it down to us from heaven that we may read it; bring out rivers for us from the earth, then we will follow you and believe in you. So God sent down concerning that: 'Or do you wish to question your apostle as Moses was questioned aforetime; he who exchanges faith for unbelief has wandered from the straight road' (3:14).  

Huyayy and Abū Yāṣir were the most implacable enemies of the Arabs when God chose to send them an apostle from among themselves and they used to do all they could to turn men away from Islam. So God sent down concerning them: 'Many of the scripture folk wish to make you unbelievers again after you have believed being envious on their own account after the truth has become plain to them. But forgive and be indulgent until God shall give you His orders. God can do anything.'  

When the Christians of Najrān came to the apostle the Jewish rabbis came also and they disputed one with the other before the apostle. Rāfī said, 'You have no standing,' and he denied Jesus and the Gospel; and a Christian said to the Jews, 'You have no standing' and he denied that Moses was a prophet and denied the Torah. So God sent down concerning them: 'The Jews say the Christians have no standing; and the Christians say that Jews have no standing, yet they read the scriptures. They do not know what they are talking about. God will judge between them on the day of resurrection concerning their controversy, i.e. each one reads in his book the confirmation of what he denies, so that the Jews deny Jesus though they have the Torah in which God required them by the word of Moses to hold Jesus true; while in the Gospel is what Jesus brought in confirmation of Moses and the Torah he brought from God: so each one denies what is in the hand of the other.  

Rāfī said: 'If you are an apostle from God as you say, then ask God to speak to us so that we may hear His voice.' So God revealed concerning that: 'And those who do not know why, Why does not God speak to us or a sign come to us? Those who were before them said the same. Their minds are just the same. We have made the signs clear to a people who are sure.'  

Abdullah b. Sūriyā, the one-eyed man, said to the apostle, 'The only guidance is to be found with us, so follow us, Muhammad, and you will be rightly guided.' The Christians said the same. So God sent down concerning them both: 'And they say, Be Jews or Christians then you will be rightly guided. Say, Nay, the religion of Abraham a āḥāf who was not a polytheist,' as far as the words 'Those are a people who have passed away; they have what they earned and you have what you have earned and you will not be asked about what they used to do.'  

And when the qibla was changed from Syria to the Ka'ba—it was changed in Rajab at the beginning of the seventh month after the apostle's arrival in Medina—Rāfī b. Qays; Qatādah b. 'Amr; Ka'b b. al-Aswaf; Rāfī b. Abū Rāfī; al-Hajjāj b. 'Amr, an ally of Ka'b, and al-Rabi

1 Sūra 2. 104.
2 Sūra 2. 107.
3 Sūra 129–16, i.e. 'You are not responsible.'
When God smote Quraysh at Badr, the apostle assembled the Jews in the market of the B. Qaynūqūt, when he came to Madina and called on them to accept Islam before God should treat them as he had treated Quraysh. They answered, 'Don’t deceive yourself, Muhammad. You have killed a number of inexperienced Quraysh who did not know how to fight. But if you fight us, you will learn that we are men and that you have met your equal.' So God sent down concerning their words: 'Say to those who disbelieve, You will be defeated and gathered into hell, a wretched resting-place. You had a sign in the two parties which met: one party fought in the way of God and the other was unbelieving seeing twice their number with their very eyes. God will strengthen with His help whom He will. In that there is a warning for the observant.'

The apostle entered a Jewish school where there was a number of Jews and called them to God. Al-Nu'mān b. 'Amr and al-Ḫārīth b. Zayd said to him:

'What is your religion, Muhammad?'

'The religion of Abraham.'

'But Abraham was a Jew.'

'Then let the Torah judge between us.'

They refused, and so God sent down concerning them: 'Hast thou not seen how those who have received a portion of scripture when invited to God’s book that it may judge between them, a party of them turn their backs in opposition. That is because they say, The fire will not touch us except for a limited time. What they were inventing has deceived them in their religion.'

The Jewish rabbis and the Christians of Najrān, when they were together before the apostle, broke into disputing. The rabbis said that Abraham was nothing but a Jew. The Christians said he was nothing but a Christian; so God revealed concerning them: 'O Scripture folk, why do you argue about Abraham when the Torah and the Gospel were not sent down until after his time? Can it be that you do not understand? Behold, you are they who argue of what you know something, but why do you argue about what you know nothing? God knows what you do not know. Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian but he was a Muslim hānif and he was not a polytheist. Those who are nearest to Abraham are those who follow him and this prophet and those who believe, God being the friend of believers.'

'Aḥmad b. Ṣayf and 'Adī b. Zayd and al-Ḫārīth b. 'Abū agreed among themselves that they should affect to believe in what had been sent down to Muhammad and his companions at one time and deny it at another so as to confuse them, with the object of getting them to follow their example and give up their religion. So God sent down concerning them: 'O Scripture folk, why confuse ye the true with the false and conceal the truth which you know? Some of the Scripture folk said, Believe in that

Sūra 3. 10. [Sūra 3. 38.]

which has been sent down to those that believe at the beginning of the day and deny it at the end of the day; perhaps they will go back (on it). Believe only in one who follows your religion. Say, The guidance is God’s guidance, that anyone should be given the like of what you have been given or that they may argue with you before their Lord. Say: the bounty is in the hand of God. He giveth it to whom He pleaseth and God is all-embracing and all-knowing.'

Abū Rāfī‘ al-Qurayjī said when the robbers and the Christians from Najrān had assembled before the apostle and he invited them to Islam, 'Do you want us, Muhammad, to worship you as the Christians worship Jesus, Son of Mary?' One of the Christians called al-Ribāš (or Al-Řaš or Al-Raš) said: 'Is that what you want of us and invite us to, Muhammad?' or words to that effect. The apostle replied, 'God forbid that I should worship anyone but God or order that any but He should be worshipped. God did not send me and order me to do that' or words to that effect. So God sent down concerning their words: 'No mortal to whom God has sent a book and authority and prophecy could say to me, Worship me instead of God; but he learned in that you teach the book and in that you study it as far as the words “after Ye had become Muslims” (316).'

'And he did not command you to take the angels and prophets as lords. Would He command you to disbelieve after you had become Muslims?'

Then he mentions how God had imposed on them and on their prophets the obligation to bear witness to his truth when he came to them and their taking that upon themselves and he says: 'When God made His covenant with the prophets (He said) Behold that which I have given you—a book and wisdom. Then when an apostle shall come to you confirming what you have, you shall believe in him and help him. He said, Do you agree and take upon yourselves my burden? They answered, We agree. He said, Then bear witness, I being with you as a witness to the end of the passage.

Sībāh b. Qays, who was an old man hardened in unbelief and most bitter against the Muslims and exceeding envious of them, passed by a number of the apostle’s companions from Aus and Khazraj in a meeting while they were talking together. When he saw their unity and unity and their happy relations in Islam after their enmity in pagan times he was filled with rage and said: 'The chiefs of B. Qayla in this country having united there will be no firm place for us with them.' So he gave orders to a Jewish youth who was with them to go to them and sit with them and mention the battle of Bu‘āth and the preceding events, and recite to them some of the poetry composed by each side.

Now at the battle of Bu‘āth Aus and Khazraj fought and the victory went to Aus who were commanded at the time by Īhudayr b. Simā‘ al-Aṣ‘āḥbāl the father of Usayd b. Īhudayr, Khazraj being led by 'Abī Ṣufayr b. al-Nu’mān al-Bayyidī, and both were killed (317).
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The youth did so. Thereupon the people began to talk and to quarrel and to boast until two men of the two clans leaped up, Aus b. Qays and Hārith b. Hārith of Aus and Jabal b. Sa'kr of B. Salama of Khazraj. They began to bold forth against each other until one of them said, 'If you wish we will do the same again.' Thereupon both sides became enraged and said, 'We will. Your meeting-place is outside—that being the volcanic tract—to arms! To arms!' So out they went and when the news reached the apostle he went out with such of the emigrants as were with him and said to them: 'O Muslims, remember God. Remember God. Will you act as pagans while I am with you after God has guided you to Islam and honoured you thereby and made a clean break with paganism; delivered you thereby from unbelief; made you friends thereby?' Then the people realized that the dissension was due to Satan and the guile of their enemy. They wept and the men of Aus and Khazraj embraced one another. Then they went off with the apostle, attentive and obedient, God having quenched the guile of the enemy of God Shâb b. Qays. So God sent down concerning him, and what he did: 'Say: O Scripture folk, why do you deny God's signs while God is witness of what you do? Say, O Scripture folk, why do you keep those who believe from God's way wishing to make it crooked when you are witnesses and God is not unmindful of what you are doing?'

God sent down concerning Aus and Jabal b. Sa'kr and the people who were with them when Shâb brought back for a moment the atmosphere of pagan days, 'O you who believe, if you obey some of those to whom a book has been given they will make you unbelievers again after your faith. How can you disbelieve when God's verses are read to you and His apostle is with you? He who holds fast to God is guided to a straight path. O ye who believe, fear God as He ought to be feared and die not except as Muslims' as far as the words 'Those shall have a painful punishment'.

When Abdullah b. Sâlim, Tha'laba b. Sa'ya, and Usayd b. Sa'ya, and Asad b. 'Usayd and other Jews became Muslims and believed and were earnest and firm in Islam, the rabbis who disbelieved said that it was only the bad Jews who believed in Muhammad and followed him. Had they been good men they would not have forsaken the religion of their fathers and adopted another. So God sent down concerning what they had said: 'They are not (all) alike: of the scripture folk there is an upright community who read God's verses in the night season prostrating themselves (318). They believe in God and the last day and enjoy good conduct and forbid evil and vie with one another in good works. Those are the righteous.'

Some Muslims remained friends with the Jews because of the tie of mutual protection and alliance which had subsisted between them, so God sent down concerning them and forbidding them to take them as intimate friends: 'O you who believe, do not choose those outside your community as intimate friends. They will spare no pains to corrupt you longing for your sin. From their mouths hatred has already shown itself and what their breasts conceal is greater. We have made the signs plain to you if you will understand. Behold you love them but they love not you and you believe in the book—all of it;' i.e., believe in their book and in the books that were before that while they deny your book, so that you have more right to hate them than they to hate you. 'And when they meet you they say, We believe and when they go apart they bite their fingers against you in rage. Say, Die in your rage,' etc.

Abū Bakr went into a Jewish school and found a good many men gathered round a certain Finâhâ, one of their learned rabbis, and another rabbi called Ashya'. Abū Bakr called on the former to fear God and become a Muslim because he knew that Muhammad was the apostle of God who had brought the truth from Him and that they would find it written in the Torah and the Gospel. Finâhâ replied: 'We are not poor compared to Allah but He is poor compared to us. We do not humble ourselves to Him as He humbles Himself to us; we are independent of Him while He needs us. Were He independent of us He would not ask us to lend Him our money as your master pretends, prohibiting you to take interest and allowing us to. Had He been independent of us He would not have given us interest.'

Abū Bakr was enraged and hit Finâhâ hard in the face, saying, 'Were it not for the treaty between us I would cut off your head, you enemy of Allah!' Finâhâ immediately went to the apostle and said, 'Look, Muhammad, at what your companion has done.' The apostle asked Abū Bakr what had impelled him to do such a thing and he answered: 'The enemy of Allah spoke blasphemy. He alleged that Allah was poor and that they were rich and I was so angry that I hit his face.' Finâhâ contradicted this and denied that he had said it, so Allah sent down refuting him and confirming what Abū Bakr had said: 'Allah has heard the speech of those who say: "Allah is poor and we are rich." We shall write what they say and their killing the prophets wrongfully and we shall say, 'Taste the punishment of burning.'

And there came down concerning Abū Bakr and the anger that he felt: 'And you will certainly hear from those who received the book before you and from the polytheists much wrong but if you persevere and fear God that is of the steadfastness of things.'

Then He said concerning what Finâhâ and the other rabbis with him said: 'And when God laid a charge upon those who had received the book: You are to make it clear to men and not to conceal it, they cast it behind

1 Sura 5:114
2 This key to this seemingly blasphemous utterance is in the words 'as your master pretends'. Later Muslim scholars would have called it an isolated, a form of the argumentum ad ignorantiam in which an opponent's proposition is adopted and followed to its (false) conclusion. The Jews had objected to contributing to the cost of the war against the Meccans, saying that if God needed their money as the apostle said they must be better off than He.
their backs and sold it for a small price. Wretched is the exchange! Think not that those who rejoice in what they have done and want to be praised for what they have not done—think not that they will escape the punishment: theirs will be a painful punishment. He means Fāthimah and Asyṣa‘ and the rabbis like them who rejoice in what they enjoy of worldly things by making error attractive to men and wish to be praised for what they have not done so that men will say they are learned when they are nothing of the kind. Not bringing them to truth and guidance and wanting men to say that they have so done.

Kardam, Usāma, Na‘īf, Ḥuṣayn, and Rifa‘‘a used to go to some of the helpers advising them not to contribute to the public expenses, ‘for we fear that you will come to poverty. Do not be in a hurry to contribute, for you do not know the outcome.’ So God sent down concerning them: ‘Who are avaricious and enjoin avarice on others concealing the bounty they have received from God’, i.e. the Torah which confirms what Muhammad brought. We have prepared for the unbelievers a shameful punishment, and those who spend their money to be seen of men and believe not in God and the last day as far as the words ‘God knows about them’.

Rifa‘‘a was a notable Jew. When he spoke to the apostle he twisted his tongue and said: ‘Give us your attention, Muhammad, so that we can make you understand.’ Then he attacked Islam and reviled it. So God sent down concerning him: ‘Hast thou considered those to whom a part of the book has been given how they buy error and wish that you should err as to the way. But God knows best about your enemies. God is sufficient as a friend and helper. Some of the Jews change words from their contexts and say: We hear and obey; hear thou as one that heareth not and listen to us, twisting their tongues and attacking religion. Had they said, We hear and we obey; hear thou and look at us, it would have been better for them and more upright. But God has cursed them for their unbelief and only a few will believe.’

The apostle spoke to two of the chiefs of the Jewish rabbis ‘Abdullah b. Sūraya al-A‘war and Ka‘b b. Asad calling on them to accept Islam, for they knew that he had brought them the truth; but they denied that they knew it and were obstinate in their unbelief. So God sent down concerning them: ‘O you to whom the book was sent, Believe in what we have sent down in confirmation of what you have before us or else face (your) features and turn them back to front or curse you as We cursed the sabbath-breakers when God’s command was carried out’ (319).

And those who formed parties of Quraysh and Ghatafan and B. Qurayza were Ḥuwayyayn and Sallam and Abū Rāfi‘ and al-Rābi‘ and Abū ‘Amrār and Waywah b. ’Amir, and Haudha b. Qays, the latter three being of B. Wā’il while the rest were of B. al-Nadrī. When they came to Quraysh they told them that these were Jewish rabbis, the folk who possessed the first (sacred) book, and they could ask them whether their religion or that of Muhammad was the better. When they did ask them they answered: ‘Your religion is better than his and you are on a better path than he and those who follow him.’ So God sent down concerning them: ‘Hast thou considered those to whom a part of the book has been sent how they believe in al-Îbâr and al-Tâhât? (320). And they say of those who disbelieve: These are better guided to the right path than those who believe’ as far as the words ‘are they envious of men because God has given them of His bounty. We gave the family of Abraham the book and wisdom and We gave them a great kingdom.’

Sukayn and ‘Aidy b. Zayd said: ‘O Muhammad, we do not know of God’s having sent down to mortals anything after Moses.’ So God sent down concerning their words: ‘We have revealed unto thee as we revealed unto Noah and the prophets after him, and we revealed unto Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes and Jesus and Job and Joseph and Aaron and Solomon and we brought to David the Psalms; and apostles We have told thee of before and apostles We have not told thee of; and God spoke directly to Moses; apostles bringing good news and warning that men might have no argument against God after the apostles (had come). God is Mighty, Wise.’

A number of them came in to the apostle and he said to them, ‘Surely you know that I am an apostle from God to you.’ They replied that they did not know it and would not bear witness to him. So God sent down concerning their words: ‘But God testifies concerning what He has sent down to thee. With His knowledge did He send it down and the angels bear witness. And God is sufficient as a witness.’

The apostle went out to the B. al-Nadrī to ask their help in the matter of the blood-money of the two apostles who were Amr b. Umeyya al-Damri had slain. And when they were alone together they said, ‘You will not find Muhammad nearer than he is now; what man will get on top of the house and throw a stone on him so that we may be rid of him?’ Amr b. Jibhāsh b. Ka‘b volunteered to do so. The apostle got to know of their scheme and he left them and God sent down concerning him and his people’s intention: ‘O you who believe, remember God’s favour to you when a people purposed to stretch out their hands against you and God withheld their hands from you. Fear God and on God let the believers rely.’

1 v. 184.
2 Their names have already been given in full.
3 One would naturally suppose that their wealth is referred to here.
4 Sūra 4: 47. This text shows that Muhammad knew (a) that when they said ‘We hear’ and ‘we carry out’, and (b) that ṭīlā‘a to them meant ‘our evil one’. It seems, therefore, probable that ḥuṣayn musâ‘īd is not to be understood in the sense given above, but as a vocative, ‘O thou that hast not been made to hear’, i.e. thou who hast not received a divine revelation. The ‘tongue-twisting’ is revealed as the sacrilegious use of Arabic in a Hebrew sense by a bilingual scholar.
with him he put him on his oath as to whether the Torah did not prescribe stoning for adulterers. 'Yea,' he said, 'they know right well, Abú'l-Qasim, that you are a prophet sent (by God) but they envy you.' The apostle went out to them and commanded that the two should be stoned and they were stoned at the door of his mosque among B. Ghamm b. Mālik b. al-Najjar. Afterwards Ibn Sūriyya disbelieved and denied that the apostle was a prophet. So God sent down concerning them: 'O apostle, let not those who vie with one another in unbelieving say: thee, those who say with their mouths, We believe, but their hearts do not believe, those Jews who listen to lies, listening for other people who do not come to thee,' i.e. those who sent others and stayed behind themselves and gave them orders to change the judgement from its context. Then He said: 'They change words from their places, saying, If this be given to you, receive it, and if it is not given to you, i.e. the stoning, beware of it,' k.c.

Muhammad b. Ṭalḥa b. Yazīd b. Rukāna from Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm from Ibn 'Abbās told me that the apostle ordered them to be stoned, and they were stoned at the door of his mosque. And when the Jews felt the first stone he crouched over the woman to protect her from the stones until both of them were killed. This is what God did for the apostle in exacting the penalty for adultery from the pair.

Sāliḥ b. Kaisān from Nāṣ', freedman of 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar from 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar, told me: When the apostle gave judgement about them he asked for a Torah. A rabbi sat there reading it having put his hand over the verse of stoning. 'Abdullāh b. Sālām struck the rabbi's hand, saying, 'This, O prophet of God, is the verse of stoning which he refuses to read to you.' The apostle said, 'Woe to you Jews! What has induced you to abandon the judgement of God which you hold in your hands?' They answered: 'The sentence used to be carried out until a man of royal birth and noble origin committed adultery and the king refused to allow him to be stoned. Later another man committed adultery and the king wanted him to be stoned but they said No, not until you stone so-and-so. And when they said that to him they agreed to arrange the matter by tajhib and they did away with all mention of stoning.' The apostle said: 'I am the first to revive the order of God and His book and to practise it.' They were duly stoned and 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar said, 'I was among those that stoned them.'

Da'ūd b. al-Husayn from 'Ikrima from Ibn 'Abbās said that the verses of The Table in which God said: 'Then judge between them or withdraw from them and if you withdraw from them they will do thee no harm. And if thou judgest, judge with fairness, for God loveth those who deal fairly' were sent down concerning the blood-money between B. al-Nādīr and B. Qurayya. Those slain from B. al-Nādīr were leaders and they wanted the whole blood-wit while B. Qurayya wanted half of it. They referred the matter for arbitration to the apostle, and God sent down that passage concerning them. The apostle ordered that the matter should be settled
know that there is another god with God? The apostle answered: ‘God, there is no God but He. With that (message) I was sent and that I preach.’ God sent down concerning their words: ‘Say, What is the greatest testimony? Say God is witness between me and you, and this Qur'an has been revealed to me that I might warn you by it and whosoever it reaches. Do you actually testify that with God there are other gods? Say, I do not testify to that. Say He is only One God, and I disassociate myself from what you associate (with Him). Those to whom We sent the book know it as they know their own sons. Those who destroy themselves will not believe.’

Rifā'ī and Suwayd had hypocritically affected to embrace Islam and some of the Muslims were friendly with them. So God sent down concerning these two men: ‘O Believers, choose not as friends those who have chosen your religion to make a jest and game of it from among those who received the scripture before you, nor the unbelievers, and fear God if you are believers’, as far as the words ‘And when they come to you they say, We believe, but they came in in unbelief and they went out with it’ and God knows best about what they are concealing.

Jabal and Shamwil came to the apostle and said: ‘Tell us when the hour will be if you are a prophet as you say.’ So God sent down concerning them: ‘They will ask you about the hour when it will come to pass. Say, only my Lord knows of it. None but He will reveal it at its proper time. It is heavy in the heavens and the earth. Suddenly will it come upon you. They will ask you as though you knew about it. Say Only God knows about it, but most men do not know’ (322).

Sallām and 'Alī and Mahmūd and Dhiya and Sha's and Malik came and said to him: ‘How can we follow you when you have abandoned our Qibla and you do not allege that 'Uzayr is the son of God?’ So God sent down concerning these words: ‘The Jews say that 'Uzayr is the son of God and the Christians say the Messiah is the son of God. That is what they say with their mouths copying the speech of those who disbelieved aforetime. God fight them! How perverse they are’ to the end of the passage (323).

Mahmūd b. Sayhān and Nu'mān b. Adā' and Bahri and 'Uzayr and Sallām came to him and said: ‘Is it true, Muhammad, that what you have brought is the truth from God? For our part we cannot see that it is arranged as the Torah is.’ He answered, ‘You know quite well that it is from God; you will find it written in the Torah which you have. If men and jinn came together to produce its like they could not.’ Finīhā and 'Abdullah b. Sūriyāh and Ibn Salīhāb and Khalīfa b. al-Rabī' and 'Asyha and Ka'b b. al-Asad and Shamwil and Jabal were there and they said: ‘Did neither men nor jinn tell you this, Muhammad?’ He said: ‘You know

1 The change of polytheism made against the Jews is very puzzling and hard to explain. Certainly this passage (Sūra 6. 9) and the context in which it occurs refers not to the Jews but to the polytheists.
2 Sūra 5. 62.
3 Sūra 7. 186. To make sense we must supply the words ‘that they do not know’ at the end.
4 Sūra 9. 30.
well that it is from God and that I am the apostle of God. You will find it written in the Torah you have.' They said: 'When God sends an apostle He does for him what he wishes, so bring down a book to us from heaven, that we may read it and know what it is, otherwise we will produce one like the one you bring.' So God sent down concerning their words: 'Say, Though men and jinn should meet to produce the like of this Quran they would not produce its like unless one helped the other' (324).

Huwayy, Ka'b, Abū Ṭalhah, Ashya', and Shamwāl said to 'Abdullāh b. Salām when he became a Muslim, 'There is no prophecy among the Arabs, but your master is a king.' Then they went to the apostle and asked him about Dhūl-Qarnayn and he told them what God had sent him about him from what he had already narrated to Quraysh. They were of those who ordered Quraysh to ask the apostle about him when they sent al-Nadr and 'Uthān to them.2

I was told that Sa'd b. Jibisayr said: A number of Jews came to the apostle and said: 'Now, Muhammad, Allah created creation, but who created Allah?' The apostle was so angry that his colour changed and he rushed at them being indignant for his Lord. Gabriel came and quietened him saying, 'Calm yourself, O Muhammad.' And an answer to what they asked came to him from God: 'Say, He God is One, God the Eternal. He begateth not, nor is He begotten and there is none equal to Him.' When he recited that to them they said, 'Describe His shape to us, Muhammad: his forarm and his upper arm, what are they like?' The apostle was more angry than before and rushed at them. Gabriel came to him and spoke as before. And an answer to what they asked came to him from God: They think not of God as He ought to be thought of; the whole earth will be in His grasp at the day of resurrection and the heavens folded up in His right hand. Glorified and Exalted is He above what they associate with Him.'

'Uthāb b. Muslim freedman of the B. Taym from Abū Salumah b. 'Abdul-Rahmān from Abū Hurayra told me: I heard the apostle say, 'Men question their prophet' to such an extent that one would almost say, Now God created creation, but who created God? And if they say that, say ye: He God is One;' &c. Then let a man spit three times to the left and say 'I take refuge in God from Satan the damned' (325).

A Deputation from the Christians of Najrān
A deputation from the Christians of Najrān came to the apostle. There were sixty riders, fourteen of them from their nobles of whom three were in control of affairs, namely (a) the 'Aqib the leader of the people, a man of affairs, and their chief adviser whose opinion governed their policy,

1 17. 90.  2 122.  3 39. 69. In W.'s text this paragraph is attributed to Ibn 'Abī Ḥayyān I prefer W.'s reading to that of C.

‘Abdu’l-Masīh by name; (b) the Sayyid, their administrator who saw to transport and general arrangements, whose name was al-ʿAyham; and (c) their Bishop, scholar, and religious leader who controlled their schools, Abū Hāritha b. ‘Alqama, one of B. Bakr b. ‘Amr.’

Abū Hāritha occupied a position of honour among them, and was a great student, so that he had an excellent knowledge of their religion, and the Christian kings of Byzantium had honoured him and paid him a subsidy and gave him servants, built churches for him and lavish ed honours on him, because of his knowledge and zeal for their religion.

When they set out1 from Najrān to see the apostle Abū Hāritha was riding on a mule of his with a brother at his side whose name was Kūz b. ‘Alqama (326). Abū Hāritha’s mule stumbled and Kūz said, ‘May So-and-so stumble,’ [i.e. Curse him!], meaning the apostle. Abū Hāritha said, ‘Nay but may you stumble.’ ‘But why, brother?’ he asked. ‘Because by God he is the prophet we have been waiting for.’ Kūz said, ‘Then if you know that, what stops you from accepting him?’ He replied, ‘I the way these people have treated us. They have given us titles, paid us subsidies, and honoured us. But they are absolutely opposed to him, and if I were to accept him they would take us all that you see.’ Kūz pondered over the matter until later he adopted Islam, and used to tell this story, so I have heard (327).

Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr told me that when they came to Medina they came into the apostle’s mosque as he prayed the afternoon prayer clad in Yamani garments, cloaks, and mantles, with the elegance of men of B. al-Hārith b. Ka’b. The prophet’s companions who saw them that day said that they never saw their like in any deputation that came afterwards. The time of their prayers having come they stood and prayed in the apostle’s mosque, and he said that they were to be left to do so. They prayed towards the east.

The names of the fourteen principal men among the sixty riders were: ‘Abdu’l-Masīh the ‘Aqib, al-ʿAyham the Sayyid; Abū Hāritha b. ‘Alqama brother of B. Bakr b. ‘Amr; Aus; al-Hārith; Zayd; Qays; Yazīd; Nubayh; Khwawiyd; ‘Amr; Khālid; ‘Abdullah; Johannes; of these the first three named above spoke to the apostle. They were Christians according to the Byzantine rite, though they differed among themselves in some points, saying He is God; and He is the son of God; and He is the third person of the Trinity, which is the doctrine of Christianity. They argue that he is God because he used to raise the dead, and heal the sick, and declare the unseen; and make clay birds and then breathe into them so that they fly away;2 all this was by the command of God Almighty, ‘We will make him a sign to men.’ They argue that he is the son of God in that they say he had no known father; and he spoke in the cradle and this is something that no child of Adam has ever done. They argue that he is the third in three that God says: We have done, We have commanded,
We have created and We have decreed, and they say, If He were one he would have said I have done, I have created, and soon, but He is He and Jesus and Mary. Concerning all these assertions the Quran came down. When the two divines spoke to him the apostle said to them, 'Submit yourselves.' They said, 'We have submitted.' He said: 'You have not submitted, so submit.' They said, 'Nay, but we submitted before you,' He said, 'You lie. Your assertion that God has a son, your worship of the cross, and your eating pork hold you back from submission.' They said, 'But who is his father, Muhammad?' The apostle was silent and did not answer them. So God sent down concerning their words and their incoherence the beginning of the sura of the Family of 'Imrân up to more than eighty verses, and He said: 'Alif Lâm Mîm. God there is no god but He the Living the Ever-existent.' Thus the sura begins with the statement that He transcends what they say, and His oneness in creation and authority, without associate therein, in refutation of the infidelity they have invented, and their making rivals to Him; and using their own arguments against them in reference to their master to show them their error thereby. 'God there is no God but He,' no associate is with Him in His authority. 'The Living the Ever-existent,' the living Who cannot die, whereas Jesus died and was crucified according to their doctrine; 'The Ever-existent' one who remains unceasingly in the place of His sovereignty in His creation, whereas Jesus, according to their doctrine, removed from the place where he was and went from it elsewhere. 'He has brought down to thee the book in truth,' i.e. with the truth about which they differ. 'And He sent down the Torah and the Gospel,' the Torah to Moses and the Gospel to Jesus, as He sent down books to those who were before him. 'And He sent down the Criterion,' i.e. the distinction between truth and falsehood about which the sects differ in regard to the nature3 of Jesus and other matters. 'Those who disbelieve in God's signs will have a severe punishment. God is Mighty, Vengeful,' i.e. God will take vengeance on all who deny His signs, after knowing about them and about what comes from Him in them. 'Nothing in heaven or earth is hidden from God,' i.e. He knows what they intend and scheme and what comparison they seek to establish in their doctrine of Jesus when they make Him God and Lord, when they possess the knowledge that he is nothing of the kind, thus behaving with insolence and falsehood. 'He it is who forms you in the womb as He pleases,' i.e. Jesus was one who was formed in the womb—they do not attempt to deny that—like every other child of Adam, so how can he be God when he had occupied such a place? Then He says, to lift His transcendence and His essential Unity above what they put with Him, 'There is no God but He the Mighty the Wise.' The Mighty in His victory over those who deny Him when He wills, and the Wise in His argument and His case against His creatures. 'He it is who has sent down to thee the book which has plain verses: they are the core1 of the book,' in them is the divine argument, the protection of (His) creatures, and the thrusting aside of controversy and falsehood. These are not subject to modification or alteration2 in the meaning which has been given. 'And others are obscure,' they are subject to modification and interpretation. By them God tests His creatures as He tests them with things permitted and forbidden that they should not be changed into what is false and altered by declining from the truth. 'But as to those in whose hearts is a deviation,' i.e. turning away from true guidance, 'they follow what is ambiguous,' i.e. what can be otherwise interpreted to substantiate thereby what they have invented and introduced anew that they may have an argument and a plausible reason for their doctrine, 'desiring fitne,' i.e. confusion, and 'desiring an arbitrary interpretation,' e.g. the error they adopted in explaining 'We created' and 'We decreed.' 'And none knows its interpretation,' i.e. what they mean by it, 'except God;' and those grounded in knowledge. They say, We believe in it. Everything comes from our Lord.' So how can there be any controversy when it is one speech from one Lord? Then they carry over the interpretation of the obscure to the plain which can have only one meaning and thus the book becomes consistent, one part confirming another, the argument effective and the case clear; falsehood is excluded and unbelief is overcome. 'None but the intelligent take heed' in this way. 'O Lord, Suffer not our hearts to go astray after Thou hast guided us,' i.e. Do not let our hearts swerve, though we swerve aside through our sins. 'Grant us mercy from Thine presence. Thou art the Generous Giver.' Then He says, 'God witnesses that there is no God but He, and the angels and the men of knowledge too contrary to what they say 'substituting ever in justice,' i.e. in equity. 'There is no God but He the Mighty the Wise. The religion with God is Islam,' i.e. the religion you practise, O Muhammad, acknowledging the oneness of God and confirming the apostles. 'Those to whom the book was brought differed only after knowledge had come to them,' i.e. that which came to thee, namely that God is One without associate, 'through transgression among themselves. And whosoever disbelieves in God's revelations—God is swift to take into account. And if they argue with thee,' i.e. with the false doctrine they produce about 'We created,' |

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1 Lit. 'the mother'.
2 The two words used, tarif and tabrif, are not always clearly defined by the Arab commentators. Lane says that the tarif of the verses means 'the varying or diversifying of the verses of the Quran by repeating them in different forms, or the making of them distinct in their meanings by repeating and varying them.' As to tabrif, Buhî's article in E.I. should be consulted: 'It may happen in various ways, by direct alteration of the written text, by arbitrary alterations in reading aloud the text which is itself correct, by omitting parts of it or by interpolations or by a wrong exposition of the true sense ...' Ibn Jubayr says that neither the plain nor the obscure verses may be treated with tabrif; but in the latter category tarif and interpretation may be resorted to—i.e. a meaning may be given to them which the words taken as they stand do not justify.
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him entirely devoted to God's service subservient to no worldly interest. 'Accept (him) from me. Thou art the Seer the Knower. And when she was delivered of him she said: O my Lord, I have given birth to a female—and God knew best of what she was delivered—and she took his name as the female,' i.e. the two were not the same when I vowed her to thee as a consecrated offering. 'I have called her Mary and I put her in Thy keeping and her offspring from Satan the damned.' God said: 'And her Lord accepted her with kindly acceptance and made her grow up to a goodly growth and made Zachariah her guardian' after her father and mother were dead (328).

He mentions that she was an orphan and tells of her and Zachariah and what he prayed for and what God gave him when he bestowed upon him Yahyá. Then He mentions Mary and how the angels said to her, 'O Mary, God hath chosen thee and purified thee and chosen thee above the women of the worlds. O Mary, be obedient to Thy Lord and prostrate thyself and bow with those that bow,' saying, 'That is some of the tidings of things hidden. We reveal it to thee. Thou wast not present with them.' i.e. thou wast not with them 'when they threw their arrows to know which of them should be the guardian of Mary' (329).

Later her guardian was Jurayj, the ascetic, a carpenter of B. Israili. The arrow came out for him so he took her, Zachariah having been her guardian heretofore. A grievous famine befell B. Israili and Zachariah was unable to support her so they cast lots to see who should be her guardian and the lot fell on Jurayj the ascetic and he became her guardian. 'And thou wast not with them when they disputed,' i.e. about her. He tells him about what they concealed from him though they knew it to prove his prophethood and as an argument against them by telling them what they had concealed from him.

Then He said: 'Then the angels said: O Mary, God giveth thee good tidings of a word from Him whose name is the Messiah Jesus, Son of Mary,' i.e. thus was his affair not as you say concerning him, 'illustrious in this world and the next,' i.e. with God 'and of those who are brought near.' He will speak to men in his cradle and as a grown man, and he is of the righteous ones, telling them of the phases of life through which he would pass like the other sons of Adam in their lives young and old, although God marked him out by speech in his cradle as a sign of his prophethood and to show mankind where his power lay. She said, 'O my Lord, how can I have a child when no man hath touched me?' He said: 'Thus (it will be) God creates what He will,' i.e. He does what He wishes, and creates what He wills of mortal or non-mortal. 'When He decrees a thing He merely says to it Be' of what He wills and how He wills 'And it is' as He wishes.

Then He tells her of His intention in regard to him: 'And He will teach him the book and the wisdom and the Torah which had been with them from the time of Moses before him and the Gospel,' another book which
God initiated and gave to him; 'they had only the mention of him that he would be one of the prophets after him.' *And an apostle to B. Israil* (saying) I have come to you with a sign from your Lord,' i.e. confirming thereby my prophethood that I am an apostle from Him to you. 'I will create for you from clay the likeness of the form of birds and I will breathe into them and they will become birds by God's permission,' Who has sent me unto you, He being my Lord and yours 'and I will heal him who was born blind and the leper' (330). 'And I will quicken the dead by God's permission and I will tell you of what you eat and store up in your houses. Therein is a sign for you' that I am an apostle from God to you, 'if you become believers. And confirming that which was before me of the Torah,' i.e. what of it preceded me, 'and to make lawful to you some of that which was forbidden you,' i.e. I tell you about it that it was forbidden you and you abandoned it; then I make it lawful to you to relieve you of it and you can enjoy it and be exempt from its penalties, 'And I bring you signs from your Lord, so fear God and obey me. God is my Lord and your Lord, i.e. disowning what they say about him and proving that his Lord (is God). 'So worship Him. This is a straight path,' i.e. that to which I urge you and bring you. 'But when Jesus perceived their disbelief' and enmity against him 'He said, Who are my helpers towards God? The disciples said: We are God's helpers. We believe in God.' This is their saying by which they gained favour from their Lord. 'And bear witness that we are Muslims,' not what those who argue with thee say about him. 'O our Lord, we believe in what Thou hast sent down and we follow the apostle, so write us down among the witnesses,' i.e. thus was their saying and their faith.

Then He mentions His taking-up of Jesus to Himself when they decided to kill him and says: 'And they plotted and God plotted and God is the best of plotters.' Then He tells them—refuting what they assert of the Jews in regard to his crucifixion—how He took him up and purified him from them and says: 'When God said, O Jesus I am about to cause thee to die and to excel thee to Myself and to purify thee from those who disbelieve when they purposed as they did, and am setting those who follow thee above those who disbelieve until the day of resurrection.' The narration continues until the words 'This which We recite unto thee.' O Muhammad, 'of the signs and the wise warning, the final, the decisive, the true, in which no falsehood is mingled, of the story of Jesus and on of what they differed in regard to him, so accept no other report. 'The likeness of Jesus with God,' And listen: 'is as the likeness of Adam whom God created of earth; then said to him: Be: and he was. The truth is from thy Lord,' i.e. the report which comes to thee about Jesus, 'so be not of the doubters,' i.e. the truth has come to thee from thy Lord so do not be doubtful about it: and if they say, Jesus was created without a male (intervening), I created Adam from earth by that same power without a male or a female. And he was as Jesus was: flesh and blood and hair and skin. The creation of Jesus without

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*SOME ACCOUNT OF THE HYPOCRITES*

'Abū 'Ubayda, as-Ṣaffi said: 'When the apostle came to Medina the leader there was 'Abdullāh b. Ubayy. The assumption for the clan of B. al-Hubayri; none of his own people contested his authority and his holdings.[1] As the sequel shows, the meaning is 'let us invoke God's curse on which of us is lying'
Khazraj never rallied to one man before or after him until Islam came, as they did to him. With him was a man of Aus whom Aus obeyed, Abū 'Amir Abū ‘Amr b. Su‘yf b. al-Nu‘mān, one of B. Dubay‘a b. Zayd, the father of Hanzala, the washed on the day of Uhud. He had been an ascetic in pagan days and had worn a coarse hair garment and was called 'the monk'. These two men were damned through their high status and it did them harm.

'Abdullāh b. Ubayy's people had made a sort of jewelled diadem to crown him and make him their king when God sent his apostle to them; so when his people forsook him in favour of Islam he was filled with enmity realizing that the apostle had deprived him of his kingship. However, when he saw that his people were determined to go over to Islam he went too, but unwillingly, retaining his enmity and dissimulating.

Abū 'Amir stubbornly refused to believe and abandoned his people when they went over to Islam and went off to Mecca with about ten followers to get away from Islam and the apostle. Muhammad b. Abū Umāma from one of the family of Hanzala b. Abū 'Amir told me that the apostle said, 'Don't call him the monk but the evil-doer.'

Jafar b. 'Abdullāh b. Abī‘l-Hakam whose memory went back to apostolic days and who was a narrator of tradition told me that before he left for Mecca Abū 'Amir came to the apostle in Medina to ask him about the religion he had brought.

'The Hanīfiya, the religion of Abraham.'

'That is what I follow.'

'You do not.'

'But I do! You, Muhammad, have introduced into the Hanīfiya things which do not befit to it.'

'I have not. I have brought it pure and white.'

'May God let the liar die a lonely, homeless, fugitive!' (meaning the apostle as if he had falsified his religion).

'Well and good. May God so reward him!'

'That actually happened to the enemy of God. He went to Mecca and when the apostle conquered it he went to Ta‘if; when Ta‘if became Muslim he went to Syria and died there a lonely, homeless, fugitive.


Kāb b. Mālik said of Abū 'Amir and what he had done:

God save me from an evil deed
Like yours against your clan, O 'Abdū 'Amr.

1 e.i
2 i.e. Nova Roma

You said, 'I have honour and wealth',
But of old you sold your faith for infidelity (332).

'Abdullāh b. Ubayy while maintaining his position among his people kept wavering until finally he adopted Islam unwillingly.

Muhammad b. Muslim al-Zuhri from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Usāma b. Zayd b. Ḥāritha, the beloved friend of the apostle, told me that the apostle rode to Sa‘d b. 'Ubādah to visit him during his illness, mounted on an ass with a saddle surmounted by a cloth of Padak with a bridle of palm fibre. Said Zayd: 'The apostle gave me a seat behind him. He passed 'Abdullāh b. Ubayy as he was sitting in the shade of his fort Mustaham (333). Round him were sitting some of his men, and when the apostle saw him his sense of politeness would not allow him to pass without alighting. So he got off the animal and sat for a little while reciting the Quran and inviting him to God. He admonished and warned him and preached the good news to him while he, with his nose in the air, uttered not a word. Finally, when the apostle had finished speaking he said, 'There would be nothing finer than what you say if it were true. But sit in your own house and if anyone comes, talk to him about it; but don't importune those who do not come to you, and don't come into a man's gathering with talk which he does not like.' 'Abdullāh b. Rawḥa, who was one of the Muslims who were sitting with him, said, 'Nay, do come to us with it and come into our gatherings and quarters and houses. For by God it is what we love and what God has honoured us with, and guided us to.' When 'Abdullāh b. Ubayy saw that his people were opposed to him he said:

When your friend is your opponent you will always be humiliating And your adversaries will overthrow you.
Can the falcon mount without his wings?
If his feathers are clipped he falls to the ground (334).

'Al-Zuhri from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Usāma told me that the apostle got up and went into the house of Sa‘d b. 'Ubādah, his face showing the emotions raised by Ibn Ubayy, the enemy of God. Sa‘d asked the apostle why he looked so angry as though he had heard something that displeased him, and then he told him what Ibn Ubayy had said. Sa‘d said: 'Don't be hard on him; for God sent you to us as we were making a diadem to crown him, and by God he thinks that you have robbed him of a kingdom.'

Fever Attacks the Apostle's Companions

Hisām b. 'Urwa and 'Umar b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Urwa from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me that 'Ā‘isha said: When his apostle came to Medina it

Ibn Qutaybah, Muqadimah, tr. Caudet-Raymondy, Paris, 1947, p. 22, has ya‘laha for yāḥa. G. F. D. translates manūša by 'ten patron'. The word is a homonym and in its context seems to require the meaning I have given.
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God initiated and gave to him; they had only the mention of him that he would be one of the prophets after him. 'And an apostle to B. Isra’il (saying) I have come to you with a sign from your Lord,' i.e. confirming thereby my prophethood that I am an apostle from Him to you. 'I will create for you from clay the likeness of the form of birds and I will breathe into them and they will become birds by God's permission,' Who has sent me unto you, He being my Lord and yours and I will heal him who was born blind and the leper (330). 'And I will quicken the dead by God's permission and I will tell you of what you eat and store up in your houses. Therein is a sign for you' that I am an apostle from God to you, 'if you become believers, And confirming that which was before me of the Torah,' i.e. what of it preceded me, 'and to make lawful to you some of that which was forbidden you,' i.e. I tell you about it that it was forbidden you and you abandoned it; then I make it lawful to you to receive of it and you can enjoy it and be exempt from its penalties. 'And I bring you signs from your Lord, so fear God and obey me. God is my Lord and your Lord,' i.e. disowning what they say about him and proving that his Lord (is God). 'So worship Him. This is a straight path,' i.e. that to which I urge you and bring you. 'But when Jesus perceived their disbelief and enmity against him 'He said, Who are my helpers towards God? The disciples said: We are God's helpers. We believe in God.' This is their saying by which they gained favour from their Lord. 'And bear witness that we are Muslims,' not what those who argue with thee say about Him. 'O our Lord, we believe in what Thou hast sent down and we follow the apostle, so write us down among the witnesses,' i.e. thus was their saying and their faith.

Then He mentions His taking up of Jesus to Himself when they decided to kill him and says: 'And they plotted and God plotted and God is the best of plotters.' Then He tells them—refuting what they assert of the Jews in regard to his crucifixion—how He took him up and purified him from them and says: 'When God said, O Jesus I am about to cause thee to die and to exalt thee to Myself and to purify thee from those who disbelieve' when they purposed as they did, 'And am setting those who follow thee above those who disbelieve until the day of resurrection.' The narration continues until the words 'This which We recite unto thee,' O Muhammad, 'of the signs and the wise warning,' the final, the decisive, the true, in which no falsehood is mingled, of the story of Jesus and of what they differed in regard to him, so accept no other report. 'The likeness of Jesus with God,' And listen! 'is as the likeness of Adam whom God created of earth; then said to him: Be; and he was. The truth is from thy Lord,' i.e. the report which comes to thee about Jesus, 'so be not of the doubters,' i.e. the truth has come to thee from thy Lord so do not be doubtful about it: and if they say, Jesus was created without a male (intervening), I created Adam from earth by that same power without a male or a female. And he was as Jesus was: flesh and blood and hair and skin. The creation of Jesus without

a male is no more wonderful than this. 'Whoever argues with thee about him after knowledge has come to thee,' i.e. after I have told thee his story and how his affair was, 'Then say: Come, let us summon our sons and your sons, our wives and your wives, ourselves and yourselves, then let us pray earnestly and invoke God's curse upon the liars' (331). 'Verify this' which I have brought you of the story of Jesus 'is the true story' of his affair. 'There is no God but God, and God is Mighty Wise. If they turn back God knows about the corrupt doers. Say, O Scripture folk, Come to a just word between us that we will worship only God and associate nothing with Him and some of us will not take others as lords beside God. And if they turn back say: Bear witness that we are Muslims.' Thus he invited them to justice and deprived them of their argument.

When there came to the apostle news of Jesus from God and a decisive judgement between him and them, and he was commanded to resort to mutual invocation of a curse if they opposed him, he summoned them to begin. But they said: 'O Abu 'l-Qasim, let us consider our affairs; then we will come to you later with our decision.' So they left him and consulted with the 'Agib who was their chief adviser and asked him what his opinion was. He said: 'O Christians, you know right well that Muhammad is a prophet sent (by God) and he has brought a decisive declaration about the nature of your master. You know too that a people has never invoked a curse on a prophet and seen its elders live and its youth grow up. If you do this you will be exterminated. But if you decide to adhere to your religion and to maintain your doctrine about your master, then take your leave of the man and go home.' So they came to the apostle and told him that they had decided not to resort to cursing and to leave him in his religion and return home. But they would like him to send a man he could trust to decide between them in certain financial matters in dispute among them.

Muhammad b. Ja’far said: The apostle said, 'If you come to me this evening I will send a firm and trusted man.' Umar used to say, 'I never wanted an office more than I wanted that one and hoped that I should get it. I went to the noon prayer in the heat and when the apostle had concluded it he looked to right and left and I began to stretch myself to my full height so that he could see me; but he kept on searching with his eyes until he saw Abü 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāb and calling him he said, "Go with them and judge between them faithfully in matters they dispute about."' So, said 'Umar, Abü 'Ubayda went with them.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE HYPOCRITES

Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda told me that when the apostle came to Medina the leader there was 'Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Sa‘ūd al-Ash‘ū of the clan of B. al-Hublā; none of his own people contested his authority and As and

1 See p. 354, n. 1.

As the sequel shows, the meaning is 'let us invoke God's curse on which of us is lying'.

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Khizrja never rallied to one man before or after him until Islam came, as they did to him. With him was a man of Aus whom Aus obeyed, Abū 'Amir 'Abdu 'Amr b. Ṭayyib b. al-Numan, one of B. Ḍubayy's b. Zayd, the father of Ḍanjala, the 'washed' on the day of Uhud. He had been an ascetic in pagan days and had worn a coarse hair garment and was called the 'monk.' These two men were damned through their high status and it did them harm.

Abū 'Amir Ubayy's people had made a sort of jewelled diadem to crown him and make him their king when God sent His apostle to them; so when his people forsaw him in favour of Islam he was filled with enmity realizing that the apostle had deprived him of his kingship. However, when he saw that his people were determined to go over to Islam he went too, but unwillingly, retaining his enmity and dissimulating.

Abū 'Amir stubbornly refused to believe and abandoned his people when they went over to Islam and went off to Mecca with about ten followers to get away from Islam and the apostle. Muhammad b. Abū Umamah from one of the family of Ḍanjala b. Abū 'Amir told me that the apostle said, 'Don't call him the monk but the evil-doer.'

Ja'far b. 'Abdullah b. Abī’l-Hakam whose memory went back to apostolic days and who was a narrator of tradition told me that before he left for Mecca Abū 'Amir came to the apostle in Medina to ask him about the religion he had brought.

'The Hanifiyya, the religion of Abraham.'

'That is what I follow.'

'You do not.'

'But I do! You, Muhammad, have introduced into the Hanifiyya things which do not belong to it.'

'I have not. I have brought it pure and white.'

'May God let the liar die a lonely, homeless, fugitive!' (meaning the apostle as if he had falsified his religion).

'Well and good. May God so reward him.'

'That actually happened to the enemy of God. He went to Mecca and when the apostle conquered it he went to Tā'if; when Tā'if became Muslim he went to Syria and died there a lonely, homeless, fugitive.'

Now there went with him 'Alqama b. 'Uṣīma b. Abī 'Uṣayr b. Abī ‘Alī b. Khālid, and Khānāna b. 'Abd Yālī b. 'Amr b. 'Umar al-Taqashi. When they died they brought their rival claims to his property before Caesar, lord of Rome. Caesar said, 'Let townsmen inherit townsmen and let nomads inherit nomads.' So Khānāna b. 'Abd Yālī inherited his property and not 'Alqama.

Ka'b b. Malik said of Abū 'Amir and what he had done:

God save me from an evil deed
Like yours against your clan, O 'Abdu 'Amr.

1 o.i.

2 i.e. Nova Roma

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You said, 'I have honour and wealth,'
But of old you sold your faith for infidelity (332).

'Abdullah b. Ubayy while maintaining his position among his people kept wavering until finally he adopted Islam unwillingly.

Muhammad b. Muslim al-Zuhri from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Usāma b. Zayd b. Hāritha, the beloved friend of the apostle, told me that the ... rode to Sa'd b. 'Ubādā to visit him during his illness, mounted on ass with a saddle surmounted by a cloth of Fadak with a bridle of palm-fibre. Said Zayd: 'The apostle gave me a seat behind him. He passed 'Abdullah b. Ubayy as he was sitting in the shade of his fort Muzāhām (333). Round him were sitting some of his men, and when the apostle saw him his sense of politeness would not allow him to pass without alighting. So he got off the animal and sat for a little while reciting the Quran and inviting him to God. He admonished and warned him and preached the good news to him while he, with his nose in the air, uttered not a word. Finally, when the apostle had finished speaking he said, 'There would be nothing finer than what you say if it were true. But sit in your own house and if anyone comes, talk to him about it; but don't importune those who do not come to you, and don't come into a man's gathering with talk which he does not like.' 'Abdullah b. Rawāhī, who was one of the Muslims who were sitting with him, said, 'Nay, do come to us with it and come into our gatherings and quarters and houses. For God it is what we love and what God has honoured us with, and guided us to.' When 'Abdullah b. Ubayy saw that his people were opposed to him he said:

When your friend is your opponent you will always be humiliated
And your adversaries will overthrow you.¹
Can the falcon mount without his wings?
If his feathers are clipped he falls to the ground (334).

'Al-Zuhri from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Usāma told me that the apostle got up and went into the house of Sa'd b. 'Ubādā, his face showing the emotions raised by Ibn Ubayy, the enemy of God. Sa'd asked the apostle why he looked so angry as though he had heard something that displeased him, and then he told him what Ibn Ubayy had said. Sa'd said: 'Don't be hard on him; for God sent you to us as we were making a diadem to crown him, and by God he thinks that you have robbed him of a kingdom.'

Fever Attacks the Apostle's Companions

Hishām b. 'Urwa and 'Umar b. 'Abdullah b. 'Urwa from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me that 'A'isha said: When his apostle came to Medina it

¹ Ibn Quṣayy, Muqaddima, tr. Gaudet/Froy/Derouilhes, Paris, 1947, p. 22, has yuğna for yuğna. G. E. X. translates musulka by 'ton patron'. The word is a homonym and in its context seems to require the meaning I have given.
was the most fever-infested land on earth, and his companions suffered severely from it, though God kept it from His apostle. 'Amir b. Fuhayra and Bilāl, freedmen of Abū Bakr, were with him in one house when the fever attacked them, and I came in to visit them, for the veil had not then been ordered for us. Only God knows how much they suffered from the fever. I came to my father and asked him how he fared and he said:

Any man might be greeted by his family in the morning While death was nearer than the thong of his sandal.

I thought that my father did not know what he was saying. Then I went to 'Amir and asked him how he was and he said:

I have experienced death before actually tasting it: The coward's death comes upon him as he sits. Every man resists it with all his might Like the ox who protects his body with his horns (335)

I thought that 'Amir did not know what he was saying. Bilāl when the fever left him lay prostrate in a corner of the house. Then he lifted up his voice and said:

Shall I ever spend a night again in Fakikh! With sweet herbs and thyme around me? Will the day dawn when I come down to the waters of Maijama Shall I ever see Shāma and Ta'fil again? (336)

I told the apostle what they had said and he remarked that they were delirious and out of their minds with a high temperature. He said, "O God, make Medina as dear to us as Mecca and even dearer! And bless to us its food, and carry its fever to Maḥyā'a." Maḥyā'a is al-Jubā'.

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri mentioned that, when the apostle came to Medina with his companions, the fever of Medina smote them until they were extremely ill (though God turned it away from his prophet) to such a degree that they could only pray sitting. The apostle came out to them when they were praying thus and said "Know that the prayer of the sitter is only half as valuable as the prayer of the stander." Thereupon the Muslims painfully struggled to their feet despite their weakness and sickness, seeking a blessing.

Then the apostle prepared for war in pursuance of God's command to fight his enemies and to fight those polytheists who were near at hand whom God commanded him to fight. This was thirteen years after his call.

1 Cf. Yāq. iii, 584, 11, and Bukhārī, l, 477, 1. Fakikh is a place outside Mecca. Maijama in the lower part of Mecca was a market of the Arabs in pagan days.

2 Cf. Yāq. l, 35, 16, who says it was once a large village with a pulpit on the road from Medina to Mecca about four stages distant from the latter. It was the rendezvous of the Egyptians and Syrians if they wished to avoid Medina.
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With how many of them have we ties of kinship,
Yet to abandon piety did not weigh upon them;
If they turn back from their unbelief and disobedience
(For the good and lawful is not like the abominable);
If they follow their idolatry and error
God's punishment on them will not tarry;
We are men of Ghālib's highest stock
From which nobility comes through many branches,
I swear by the lord of camels urged on at even by singing,
Their feet protected by old leather thongs,
Like the red-backed deer that haunt Mecca.
Going down to the well's slimy cistern;
I swear, and I am no perjurer,
If they do not quickly repent of their error,
A valiant band will descend upon them,
Which will leave women husbandless.
It will leave dead men, with vultures wheeling round,
It will not spare the infidels as Ibn Hārith did.1
Give the Banū Saḥm with you a message
And every infidel who is trying to do evil;
If you assail my honour in your evil opinion
I will not assail yours.

‘Abdullah b. al-Ziba‘rā al-Saḥmī replied thus:

Does your eye weep unceasingly
Over the ruins of a dwelling that the shifting sand obscures?
And one of the wonders of the days
(For time is full of wonders, old and new)
Is a strong army which came to us
Led by ‘Ubayyīd, called Ibn Hārith in war,
That we should abandon images venerated in Mecca,
Passed on to his heirs by a noble ancestor.
When we met them with the spears of Rudayna,
And noble steeds panting for the fray,
And swords so white they might be salt-strewn
In the hands of warriors, dangerous as lions,
Wherewith we dealt with the conciliated
And quenched our thirst for vengeance without delay,
They withdrew in great fear and awe,
Pleased with the order of him who kept them back.
Had they not done so the women would have waited,

1 i.e. ‘Ubayyīd
Abū Dharr refers the meaning of this word in the divine omniscience. In this line possibly 'ancestry' rather than 'honour' is the meaning of 'āli.
2 Lit., the turning away of him who turns to one side. Possibly the writer has in mind Sūra 31. 17, 'Turn not thy cheek in scorn towards people’

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Bereft of their husbands all of them.
The stain would have been left for those concerned
And those utterly heedless to talk about.
Give Abū Bakr with you a message:
You have no further part in the honour of Fāhr,
No binding oath that cannot be broken
That war will be renewed is needed from me (34).
So b. Abū Waqqāṣ, according to reports, said about his having shot an arrow

Has the news reached the apostle of God
‘That I protected my companions with my arrows?'
By him I defended their vanguard
In rough ground and plain.
No archer who shoots an arrow at the enemy
Will be counted before me, O apostle of God.
'Twas because thy religion is true
Thou hast brought what is just and truthful.
By it the believers are saved
And unbelievers recompensed at the last.
Stop, thou hast gone astray, so do not slander me.
Woe to thee Abū Jahl, lost one of the tribe! (542).

The flag of 'Ubayyīd b. al-Hārith according to my information was the first flag which the apostle entrusted to a believer in Islam. Some scholars allege that the apostle sent him when he came back from the raid of al-Abwā' before he got to Medina.

HAMZA’S EXPEDITION TO THE SEA-SHORE

While he was staying there he sent Hamza b. 'Abdullāh-Muṭṭaliḥ to the sea-shore in the neighbourhood of Al-‘Isī (‘Its, in the territory of Juhayna) with thirty riders from the emigrants; none of the helpers took part. He met Abū Jahl with three hundred riders from Mecca on the shore, and Majdī b. 'Amr al-Juhānī intervened between them, for he was at peace with both parties. So the people separated one from another without fighting.

Some people say that Hamza’s flag was the first which the apostle gave to any Muslim because he sent him and ‘Ubayyīd at the same time, and thus people became confused on the point. They alleged that Hamza had composed poetry in which he says that his flag was the first which the apostle entrusted to anyone. Now if Hamza actually said that, it is true if God wills. He would not have said it if it were not true, but God knows what happened. We have heard from learned people that ‘Ubayyīd was the first man to receive a flag. Hamza said concerning that, so they allege (343):

Wonder, O my people, at good sense and at folly,
At lack of sound counsel and at sensible advice,

See n. 2 on the previous page
At those who have wronged us, while we have left
Their people and their property inviolate,
As though we had attacked them;
But all we did was to enjoin chastity and justice
And call them to Islam, but they received it not,
And they treated it as a joke.
They ceased not so until I volunteered to attack them
Where they dwelt, desiring the satisfaction of a task well done
At the apostle’s command—the first to march beneath his flag,
Seen with none before me,
A victorious flag from a generous, mighty God,
Whose acts are the most gracious.
At even they sallied forth together,
Each man’s pot burning with his companion’s rage;
When we saw each other, they halted and hobbled the camels,
And we did the same an arrow-shot distant.
We said to them, ‘God’s ruse is our victorious defence.
You have no rope but error.’
Abū Jahl warred there unjustly,
And was disappointed, for God frustrated his schemes.
We were but thirty riders, while they were two hundred and one.
Therefore, O Lu’ayy, obey not your deceivers,
Return to Islam and the easy path,
For I fear that punishment will be poured upon you
And you will cry out in remorse and sorrow.

Abū Jahl answered him, saying:
I am amazed at the causes of anger and folly
And at those who stir up strife by lying controversy,
Who abandon our fathers’ ways.
Those noble, powerful men,
They come to us with lies to confuse our minds,
But their lies cannot confuse the intelligent.
We said to them, ‘O our people, strive not with your folk—
Controversy is the utmost folly.
For if you do, your weeping women will cry out
Waiting in calamity and bereavement
If you give up what you are doing,
We are your cousins, trustworthy and virtuous.
They said to us, ‘We find Muhammad
One whom our cultured and intelligent accept.’
When they were obstinately contentious
And all their deeds were evil
I attacked them by the sea-shore, to leave them
Like a withered leaf on a rootless stalk.

Majdi held me and my companions back from them
And they helped me with swords and arrows
Because of an oath binding on us, which we cannot discard,
A firm tie which cannot be severed.
But for Ibn ‘Amr I should have left some of them
Food for the ever-present vultures, unavenged:
But he had sworn an oath, which made
Our hands recoil from our swords.
If time spares me I will come at them again,
With keen, new polished swords,
In the hands of warriors from Lu’ayy, son of Ghālib,
Generous in times of death and want (344).

THE RAID ON BUWĀṬ
Then the apostle went raiding in the month of Rabī’u’l-Awwal making for Quraysh (345), until he reached Buwāṭ in the neighbourhood of Radwā. Then he returned to Medina without fighting, and remained there for the rest of Rabī’u’l-Akhir and part of Jumāda’I-Ūlā.

THE RAID ON AL-‘USHAYRA
Then he raided the Quraysh (346). He went by the way of B. Dinār, then by Fayāṭu’l-Khabār, and halted under a tree in the valley of Ibn Azhar called Dābūt-Saq. There he prayed and there is his mosque. Food was prepared and they all ate there. The place occupied by the stones which supported his cooking-pot is still known. He drank from a watering place called al-Muštārib. Then he went on leaving al-Khalā’iqī on the left and went through a glen called ‘Abdullāh to this day; then he bore to the left until he came down to Yalayl and halted where it joins al-Dabī’a. Here he drank of the well of al-Dabū’a and then traversed the plain of Malāl until he met the track in Şukhayrāt al-Yamān which carried him straight to al-‘Ushayra in the valley of Yanbu’ where he stopped during Jumāda’I-Ūlā and some days of the following month. He made a treaty of friendship there with B. Mudlij and their allies B. Damra, and then returned to Medina without a fight. It was on this raid that he spoke the well-known words to ‘Ali.

Yazīd b. Muhammad b. Khaytham al-Muḥāribī from Muhammad b. Ka’b, al-Qurāfī from Muhammad b. Khaytham the father of Yazīd from ‘Ammār b. Yāṣir told me that the latter said: ‘Ali and I were close companions in the raid of al-‘Ushayra and when the apostle halted there we saw
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some men of B. Mudlij working at a well and on the date palms. 'Ali suggested that we should go and see what the men were doing, so we went and watched them for a time until we were overcome by drowsiness and we went and lay down under some young palms and fell fast asleep in the soft fine dust. And then who should wake us but the apostle himself as he stirred us with his foot! It was as we were drowsing ourselves that the apostle said to 'Ali when he saw him covered with dust, 'What have you been up to, Abū Turāb (father of dust)?' Then he went on, 'Shall I tell you of the two most wretched creatures? Ujaymir of Thāmūd who slaughtered the camel, and he who shall strike you here, 'Ali'—and he put his hand to the side of his head—'until this is soaked from it'—and he took hold of his beard.

A learned traditionist told me that the real reason why the apostle called 'Ali Abū Turāb was that when 'Ali was angry with Fāṭima he would not speak to her. He did not say anything to annoy her, but he used to sprinkle dust on his head. Whenever the apostle saw dust on 'Ali's head he knew that he was angry with Fāṭima and he would say, 'What is your trouble, O Abū Turāb?' But God knows the truth of the matter.

THE RAID OF SA'D B. ABŪ WAQQĀS

Meanwhile the apostle had sent Sa'd b. Abū Waqqās with eight men from the emigrants. He went as far as al-Kharrār in the Hijāz. Then he returned without fighting (347).

THE RAID ON SAFAWĀN, WHICH IS THE FIRST RAID OF BADR

The apostle stayed only a few nights, less than ten, in Medina when he came back from raiding Al-Ushāyra, and then Kurz b. Jābir al-Fihr raided the pasturing camels of Medina. The apostle went out in search of him (348), until he reached a valley called Safawān, in the neighbourhood of Badr. Kurz escaped him and he could not overtake him. This was the first raid of Badr. Then the apostle returned to Medina and stayed there for the rest of Jumāda'1 Alhira, Rajab, and Sha'bān.

EXPEDITION OF 'ABDULLAH B. JAHSH AND THE COMING DOWN OF 'THE WILL THEY ASK YOU ABOUT THE SACRED MONTH'

The apostle sent 'Abdullāh b. Jahsh b. R'āb al-Asadi in Rajab on his return from the first Badr. He sent with him eight emigrants, without any of the Ansār. He wrote for him a letter, and ordered him not to look at it until he had journeyed for two days, and to do what he was ordered to do, but not to put pressure on any of his companions. The names of the eight emigrants were, Abū Hudhayfā, 'Abdullāh b. Jahsh, Ukkūsā b. Miḥṣan, Uthb b. Ghazwān, Sa'd b. Abū Waqqās, 'Amir b. Rabī', Waqīd b. 'Abdullāh, and Khalīd b. al-Bukayr.1

When 'Abdullāh had travelled for two days he opened the letter and looked into it, and this is what it said: 'When you have read this letter of mine proceed until you reach Nakhl between Mecca and Al-Tā'īf. Lie in wait there for Quraysh and find out for us what they are doing.' Having read the letter he said, 'To hear is to obey.' Then he said to his companions, 'The apostle has commanded me to go to Nakhl to lie in wait there for Quraysh so as to bring him news of them. He has forbidden me to put pressure on any of you, so if anyone wishes for martyrdom let him go forward, and he who does not, let him go back; as for me I am going on as the prophet has ordered.' So he went on, as did all his companions, not one of them falling back. He journeyed along the Hijāz until at a mine called Bahārān above al-Furū', Sa'd and 'Utbah lost the camel which they were riding by turns, so they stayed behind to look for it, while 'Abdullāh and the rest of them went on to Nakhl. A caravan of Quraysh carrying dry raisins and leather and other merchandise of Quraysh passed by them, 'Amr b. al-Hadrām (349), Uthmān b. Abdullah b. al-Mughīrs and his brother Naufal the Makhzūmites, and al-Hakam b. Kayṣān, freedman of Ḥishām b. al-Mughīrs being among them. When the caravan saw them they were afraid of them because they had camped near them. 'Ukkūsā, who had shaved his head, looked down on them, and when they saw him they felt safe and said, 'They are pilgrims, you have nothing to fear from them.' The raiders took council among themselves, for this was the last day of Rajab, and they said, 'If you leave them alone tonight they will get into the sacred area and will be safe from you; and if you kill them, you will kill them in the sacred month,' so they were hesitant and feared to attack them. Then they encouraged each other, and decided to kill as many as they could of them and take what they had. Waqīd shot 'Amr b. al-Hadrām with an arrow and killed him, and 'Uthmān and al-Hakam surrendered. Naufal escaped and eluded them. 'Abdullāh and his companions took the caravan and the two prisoners and came to Medina with them. One of 'Abdullāh's family mentioned that he said to his companions, 'A fifth of what we have taken belongs to the apostle.' (This was before God had appointed a fifth of the bounty to him.) So he sat apart for the apostle a fifth of the caravan, and divided the rest among his companions. When they came to the apostle, he said, 'I did not order you to fight in the sacred month,' and he held the caravan and the two prisoners in suspense and refused to take anything from them. When the apostle said that, the men were in despair and thought that they were doomed. Their Mus-

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1 As these men have already been named with full particulars of their genealogy and tribes, only their first names are repeated here.
lim brethren reproached them for what they had done, and the Quraysh said 'Muhammad and his companions have violated the sacred month, shed blood therein, taken booty, and captured men.' The Muslims in Mecca who opposed them said that they had done it in Shabban. The Jews turned this said into an omen against the apostle. 'Amr b. al-Hadrami whom Wāqīq had killed they said meant 'amāratīl-l-barb (war has come to life), al-Hadrami meant hadaratīl-l-barb (war is present), and Wāqīq meant waqadatīl-l-barb (war is kindled); but God turned this against them, not for them, and when there was much talk about it, God sent down to his apostle: 'They will ask you about the sacred month, and war in it. Say, war therein is a serious matter, but keeping people from the way of God and disbelieving in Him and in the sacred mosque and driving out His people therefrom is more serious with God.' i.e. If you have killed in the sacred month, they have kept you back from the way of God with their unbelief in Him, and from the sacred mosque, and have driven you from it when you were its people. This is a more serious matter with God than the killing of those of them whom you have slain. 'And seduction is worse than killing,' i.e. They used to seduce the Muslim in his religion until they made him return to unbelief after believing, and that is worse with God than killing. 'And they will not cease to fight you until they turn you back from your religion if they can.' i.e. They are doing more heinous acts than that contumaciously.

And when the Quran came down about that and God relieved the Muslims of their anxiety in the matter, the apostle took the caravan and the prisoners. Quraysh sent to him to redeem 'Uthmān and al-Hakam, and the apostle said, 'We will not let you redeem them until our two companions come,' meaning Sa'd and 'Utbah 'for we fear for them on your account. If you kill them, we will kill your two friends.' So when Sa'd and 'Utbah turned up the apostle let them redeem them. As for al-Hakam he became a good Muslim and stayed with the apostle until he was killed as a martyr at Bi'r Ma'ūna. 'Uthmān went back to Mecca and died there as an unbeliever. When Abdullah and his companions were relieved of their anxiety when the Quran came down, they were anxious for reward, and said, 'Can we hope that it will count as a reward for which we shall be given the reward of combatants?' So God sent down concerning them: 'Those who believe and have emigrated and fought in the way of God, these may hope for God's mercy, for God is forgiving, merciful.' That is, God gave them the greatest hopes therein. The tradition about this comes from 'Ali b. Zuhra and Yazid b. Rūmān from 'Urwā b. al-Zubayr.

One of Abdullah's family mentioned that God divided the booty when He made it permissible and gave four-fifths to whom God had allowed to take it and one-fifth to God and His apostle. So it remained on the basis of what Abdullah had done with the booty of that caravan (359).

Abū Bakr said concerning Abdullah's raid (though others say that 'Ab-

The change of the qibla to the ka'ba

It is said that the qibla was changed in Shabban at the beginning of the eighteenth month after the apostle's arrival in Medina.

The great expedition of Badr

Then the apostle heard that Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb was coming from Syria with a large caravan of Quraysh, containing their money and merchandise, accompanied by some thirty or forty men, of whom were Makhrama b. Ṭantāl b. 'Uhayb b. 'Abd- al-Manaf b. Zuhra, and 'Amr b. al-':Aṣ b. Wa'il b. Hishām (352).

Muhammad b. Muslih al-Zuhri and 'Aṣim b. Qātitā and Abū Bakr and Yazid b. Rūmān from 'Urwā b. al-Zubayr, and other scholars of ours from Ibn 'Abbās, each one of them told me some of this story and their account is collected in what I have drawn up of the story of Badr. They said that when the apostle heard about Abū Sufyān coming from Syria, he summoned the Muslims and said, 'This is the Quraysh caravan containing their property. Go out to attack it, perhaps God will give it as a prey.' The people answered his summons, some eagerly, others reluctantly because they had not thought that the apostle would go to war. When he got near to the Hijāz, Abū Sufyān was seeking news, and questioning every rider in his anxiety, until he got news from some riders that Muhammad had called out his companions against him and his caravan. He took alarm at that and hired Damām b. 'Amr al-Ghifiṣrī and sent him to Mecca, ordering him to call out Quraysh in defence of their property, and to tell them that Muhammad was living in wait for it with his companions, so Damām left for Mecca at full speed.

Cf. Sūra 2. 241, which these lines endeavour to put into verse.

B 6090
THE DREAM OF 'ĀTIKA D. OF 'ABDU'L-MUṬṬALIB

A person above suspicion told me on the authority of 'Ikrima from b. 'Abbâs and Yazîd b. Rûmân from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, saying: 'three days before Dâdâm arrived 'Āti'a saw a vision which frightened her. She sent to her brother al-'Abbâs saying, 'Brother, last night I saw a vision which frightened me and I am afraid that evil and misfortune will come upon your people, so treat what I tell you as a confidence.' He asked what she had seen, and she said, 'I saw a rider coming upon a camel who halted in the valley. Then he cried at the top of his voice, 'Come forth, 0 people, do not leave your men to face a disaster that will come in three days time.' I saw the people flock to him, and then he went into the mosque with the people following him. While they were round him his camel mounted to the top of the Ka'ba. Then he called out again, using the same words. Then his camel mounted to the top of Abû Qubays, and he cried out again. Then he seized a rock and loosened it, and it began to fall, until at the bottom of the mountain it split into pieces. There was not a house or a dwelling in Mecca but received a bit of it.' al-'Abbâs said, 'By God, this is indeed a vision, and you had better keep quiet about it and not tell anyone.' Then 'Abbâs went out and met al-Walid b. 'Urba, who was a friend of his, and told him and asked him to keep it to himself. al-Walid told his father and the story spread in Mecca until Quraysh were talking about it in their public meetings.

'Al-'Abbâs said, 'I got up early to go round the temple, while Abû Jahl was sitting with a number of Quraysh talking about 'Āti'a's vision. When he saw me he said, 'Come to us when you have finished going round the temple.' When I had finished I went and sat with them, and he said, 'O Banû 'Abd'il-Muṭṭalib, since when have you had a prophetess among you?' And what do you mean by that?' I said. 'That vision which 'Āti'a saw,' he answered. I said, 'And what did she see?' He said, 'Are you not satisfied that your men should play the prophet that your women should do so also?' 'Āti'a has alleged that in her vision someone said, 'Come forth to war in three days.' We shall keep an eye on you these three days, and if what she says is true, then it will be so; but if the three days pass and nothing happens, we will write you down as the greatest liars of the temple people among the Arabs.' Nothing much had passed between us except that I contradicted that and denied that she had seen anything. Then we separated. When night came every single woman of B. 'Abd'il-Muṭṭalib came to me and said, 'Have you allowed this evil rascal to attack your men, and then go on to insult your women while you listened? Have you no shame that you should listen to such things?' I said, 'By God, I have done something; nothing much passed between us but I swear by God that I will confront him, and if he repeats what he has said, I will rid you of him.'

1 Lit., 'Come forth ye perilous to your disaster.' &c. See Suhayl's 'note in loc.'
2 A mountain hard by.
outstanding with Quraysh, and when they said there was, he said, 'Any man who kills this youngster in revenge for one of his tribe will have exacted the blood due to him.' So one of them followed him and killed him in revenge for the blood Quraysh had shed. When Quraysh discussed the matter, 'Amir b. Yazid said, 'You owed us blood so what do you want? If you wish pay us what you owe us, and we will pay you what we owe. If you want only blood, man for man, then ignore your claims and we will ignore ours'; and since this youth was of no great importance to this clan of Quraysh, they said, 'All right, man for man', and ignored his death and sought no compensation for it.

Now while his brother Mikraz was travelling in Marr al-Zahrān he saw 'Amir on a camel, and as soon as he saw him 'Amir went up to him and made his camel kneel beside him. 'Amir was wearing a sword, and Mikraz brought his sword down on him and killed him. Then he twisted his sword about in his belly, and brought it back to Mecca and hung it overnight among the curtains of the Ka'ba. When morning came Quraysh saw 'Amir's sword hanging among the curtains of the Ka'ba and recognized it. They said, 'This is 'Amir's sword; Mikraz has attacked and killed him.' This is what happened, and while this vendetta was going on, Islam intervened between men, and they occupied themselves with that, until when Quraysh decided to go to Badr they remembered the vendetta with B. Bakr and were afraid of them.

Mikraz b. Hafs said about his killing 'Amir:

When I saw that it was 'Amir I remembered the fleshless corpse of my dear brother.
I said to myself, it is 'Amir, fear not my soul and look to what you do.
I was certain that as soon as I got in a shrewd blow with the sword, it would be the end of him.
I swooped down on him, on a brave, experienced man, with a sharp sword.
When we came to grips I did not show myself a son of ignoble parents.
I slaked my vengeance, forgetting not revenge which only weaklings fonce (253).

Yazid b. Rūmān from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me that when Quraysh were ready to set off they remembered their quarrel with B. Bakr and it almost deterred them from starting. However, B. b. al-Mālik b. Ju' tham al-Mudīli who was one of the chiefs of B. Kāinānay said, 'I will guarantee that Kāinānay will not attack you in the rear,' so they went off speedily.

The apostle set out in the month of Ramadān (354). He gave the flag to Moṣ'ah b. 'Umār b. Ḥāshim b. 'Abdū Manṣūf b. 'Abdū l-Dār (355). The apostle was preceded by two black flags, one with 'All al-Taqīb and the other with one of the Anṣār. His companions had seventy camels on which men rode in turn; the apostle with 'Ali and Manṣūf b. 'Abdū Manṣūf al-Ghanawī one camel; Ḥamza and Zayd b. Ḥāritha and Abū Bakṣa and Anas b. Ḥāritha and the apostle one camel; and Abū Bakr and 'Umar, and 'Abdū l-Raqīm b. 'Aʿf at one camel. The apostle put over the rear guard Qays b. Abū Saʿīd b. B. Māzīn b. al-Najjār (356).

He took the road to Mecca by the upper route from Medīna, then by al-ʿAnīq, Dhūl-al-Hudayfa, and Cāfīn-al-Jayh (357). Then he passed Ṭulīs, Mālī, Ghanīṣīl-Hașmīn, Suhkāyriṣīl-Yarmūk, and Sayāla; then by the ayn of al-Raḥūb to Shaniqa, which is the direct route, until at Ṭiffīl-Zubayr (358) he met a nomad. He asked him about the Quraysh party, but found that he had no news. The people said, 'Salute God's apostle.' He said, 'Have you got God's apostle with you?' and when they said that they had, he said, 'If you are God's apostle, then tell me what is in the belly of any she-camel here.' Salama b. Salīm said to him, 'Don't question God's apostle; but come to me and I will tell you about it. You leap upon her and she has in her belly a little goat from you!' The apostle said, 'Enough! You have spoken obscenely to the man.' Then he turned away from Salama.

The apostle stopped at Saiṣaj which is the well of al-Raḥūb (359); then went on to al-Munsarāf, leaving the Meccan road on the left, and went to the right to al-Nāziya making for Badr. Arrived in its neighbourhood he crossed a wadi called Rūḥqīn between al-Nāziya and the pass of al-Safār; then along the pass; then he debouched from it until when near al-Safār he sent B. B. al-Juthānī, an ally of B. Sīʿa, and 'Adīy b. Abū Zāqībī al-Juthānī, ally of B. al-Najjār, to Badr to scout for news about Abū Suffān and his caravan.1 Having sent them on ahead he moved off and when he got to al-Safār, which is a village between two mountains, he asked what their names were. He was told that they were Mūshī and Mūkhrī.2 He asked about their inhabitants and was told that they were B. al-Nār and B. Hurān,3 two clans of B. Ghūfār. The apostle drew an ill omens from their names and so disliked them that he refused to pass between them, so he left them and al-Safār on his left and went to the right to a wadi called Dhabīrān which he crossed and then halted.

News came to him that Quraysh had set out to protect their caravan, and he told the people of this and asked their advice. Abū Bakr and then 'Umar got up and spoke well. Then al-Miqdād got up and said, 'O apostle of God, go where God tells you for we are with you. We will not say as the children of Israel said to Moses, "You and your Lord go and fight and we will stay at home," but you and your Lord go and fight, and we will fight

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1 Though there is no authority in the printed editions, or in the variants cited therein, I cannot help thinking that the reading should be 'irīḥi and not ḡayūrī, anyone else'. In the earlier raids the prophet had not made inquiries about all and sundry and all he was concerned with was the Meccan caravan and the Meccans army. If the latter were meant in the assumed reading ḡayūrī, one feels they would have been explicitly mentioned. Ndū reads 'irīḥi T. 12095.
2 Both names mean 'defeater'.
3 'Fire' and 'Burning' respectively.
4 Sūrā 5:27.
with you. By God, if you were to take us to Bark-al-Ghimād,3 we would fight resolutely with you against its defenders until you gained it.' The apostle thanked him and blessed him. Then he said, 'Give me advice, O Men,' by which he meant the Anṣār. This is because they formed the majority, and because when they had paid homage to him in al-‘Āqaba they stipulated that they were not responsible for his safety until he entered their territory, and that when he was there they would protect him as they did their wives and children. So the apostle was afraid that the Anṣār would not feel obliged to help him unless he was attacked by an enemy in Medina, and that they would not feel it incumbent upon them to go with him against an enemy outside their territory. When he spoke these words Sa’d b. Mu‘ādh said, 'It seems as if you mean us,' and when he said that he did, Sa’d said, 'We believe in you, we declare your truth, and we witness that what you have brought is the truth, and we have given you our word and agreement to hear and obey; so go where you wish, we are with you; and by God, if you were to ask us to cross this sea and you plunged into it, we would plunge into it with you: not a man would stay behind. We do not dislike the idea of meeting your enemy tomorrow. We are experienced in war, trustworthy in combat. It may well be that God will let us show you something which will bring you joy, so take us along with God's blessing.' The apostle was delighted at Sa’d's words which greatly encouraged him. Then he said, 'Forward in good heart, for God has promised me one of the two parties,4 and by God, it is as though I now saw the enemy lying prostrate.' Then the apostle journeyed from Dhafrān and went over passes called Asṭār. Then he dropped down from them to a town called al-Dabbā and left al-Hammān on the right. This was a huge sandhill like a large mountain. Then he stopped near Badr and he and one of his companions (559) rode on, as Muhammad b. Yāhyā b. Ḥababbā told me, until he stopped by an old man of the Beduin and inquired about Quraysh and about Muhammad and his companions, and what he had heard about them. The old man said, 'I won't tell you until you tell me which party you belong to.' The apostle said, 'If you tell us we will tell you.' He said, 'Tit for tat?' 'Yes,' he replied. The old man said, 'I have heard that Muhammad and his companions went out on such-and-such a day. If that is true, today they are in such-and-such a place,' referring to the place in which the apostle actually was, 'and I heard that Quraysh went out on such-and-such a day, and if this is true, today they are in such-and-such a place,' meaning the one in which they actually were. When he had finished he said, 'Of whom are you?' The apostle said, 'We are from Māz,'5 Then he left him, while the old man was saying, 'What does "from Māz" mean? Is it from the water of Iraq?' (365).

1 A place in the Yemen, others say the farthest point of Hajar. T. 1300 adds 'a town of the Abyssinians'.
2 i.e. the caravan or the army. Cf. Sūra 8. 7
3 i.e. Water.

Then the apostle returned to his companions; and when night fell he sent 'Ali and al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awādīn and Sa’d b. Abū Waqāf with a number of his companions to the well at Badr in quest of news of both parties, according to what Ya‘ṣīr b. Rūmān from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me, and they fell in with some water-camels of Quraysh, among whom were Aslam, a slave of B. al-Ḥajjāj, and ‘Arid Abū Yasr, a young man of B. Al-‘Āṣ b. Sa‘id, and they brought them along and questioned them while the apostle was standing praying. They said, 'We are the watermen of Quraysh; they sent us to get them water.' The people were displeased at their report, for they had hoped that they would belong to Abū Sufyān, so they beat them, and when they had beaten them soundly, the two men said, 'We belong to Abū Sufyān,' so they let them go. The apostle bowed and prostrated himself twice, and said, 'When they told you the truth you beat them; and when they lied you let them alone. They told the truth; they do belong to Quraysh. Tell me you two about the Quraysh.' They replied, 'They are behind this hill which you see on the farthest side.' (The hill was al-‘Aqanqil.) The apostle asked them how many they were, and when they said, 'Many,' he asked for the number, but they did not know; so he asked them how many beasts they slaughtered every day, and when they said nine or ten, he said, 'The people are between nine hundred and a thousand.' Then he asked how many nobles of Quraysh were among them. They said: 'Uthā, Shuyb, Abūl-Bakhtārī, Ḥakīm, Naufāl, al-Ḥārīth b. ‘Āmir, Ṭu‘ayma, al-Nadr, Zama’a, Abū Jahl, Umaya, Nabiḥ, Munabbibī, Suhayl, ‘Amīr b. Abdu Wudd.' The apostle went to the people and said, 'This Mecca has thrown to you the pieces of its liver!'6

Babas and ‘Adyā had gone on until they reached Badr, and halted on a hill near the water. Then they took an old skin to fetch water while Majdī b. ‘Amr al-Juhānī was by the water. ‘Adyā and Babas heard two girls from the village discussing a debt, and one said to the other, 'The caravan will come tomorrow or the day after and I will work for them and then pay you what I owe you.' Majdī said, 'You are right,' and he made arrangements with them. ‘Adyā and Babas overheard this, and rode off to the apostle and told him what they had overheard.

Abū Sufyān went forward to get in front of the caravan as a precautionary measure until he came down to the water, and asked Majdī if he had noticed anything. He replied that he had seen nothing untoward: merely two riders had stopped on the hill and taken water away in a skin. Abū Sufyān came to the spot where they had halted, picked up some camel dung and broke it in pieces and found that it contained date-stones. 'By God,' he said, 'this is the fodder of Yathrib.' He returned at once to his companions and changed the caravan's direction from the road to the seashore leaving Badr on the left, travelling as quickly as possible.

Quraysh advanced and when they reached al-Juhfā Juhaym b. al-Salī b. Makhrama b. al-Muttalib saw a vision. He said, 'Between waking and
slepping I saw a man advancing on a horse with a camel, and then he halted and said: 'Slain are 'Uthba and Shayba and Abu'l-Hamam and Umayya' (and he went on to enumerate the men who were killed at Badr, all nobles of Quraysh). Then I saw him stab his camel in the chest and send it loose into the camp, and every single tent was bespattered with its blood.' When the story reached Abu Jahl he said, 'Here's another prophet from B. al-Matajib. He'll know tomorrow if we meet them who is going to be killed.'

When Abu Suwayl saw that he had saved his caravan he sent word to Quraysh, 'Since you came out to save your caravan, your men, and your property, and God has delivered them, go back.' Abu Jahl said, 'By God, we will not go back until we have been to Badr'—Badr was the site of one of the Arab fairs where they used to hold a market every year. 'We will spend three days there, slaughter camels and feast and drink wine, and the girls shall play for us. The Arabs will hear that we have come and gathered together, and will respect us in future. So come on!'

Al-Akhass b. Sharig b. 'Amr b. Waab b. Al-Thaqafi, an ally of B. Zuhra who were in al-Jufa, addressed the latter, saying, 'God has saved you and your property and delivered your companion Makhrama b. Nausuf; and as you only came out to protect him and his property, lay any charge of cowardice on me and go back. There is no point in going to war without profit as this man would have us,' meaning Abu Jahl. So they returned and not a single Zuhri was present at Badr. They obeyed him as he was a man of authority. Every clan of Quraysh was represented except B. 'Ady b. Ka'b: not one of them took part, so with the return of B. Zuhra with Al-Akhass these two tribes were not represented at all.

There was some discussion between Talib b. Abu Talib, who was with the army, and some of Quraysh. The latter said, 'We know, O B. Hashim, that if you have come out with us your heart is with Muhammad.' So Talib and some others returned to Mecca. Talib said:

O God, if Talib goes forth to war unwillingly
With one of these squadrions,
Let him be the plundered not the plunderer,
The vanquished not the victor (361).

Quraysh went on until they halted on the farther side of the wadi behind al-'Aqpan. The bed of the wadi—Yalayal—was between Badr and al-'Aqpan, the hill behind which lay Quraysh, while the wells at Badr were on the side of the wadi bed nearest to Medina. God sent a rain which turned the soft sand of the wadi into a compact surface which did not hinder the apostle's movements, but gravely restricted the movements of Quraysh. The apostle went forth to hasten his men to the water and when he got to the nearest water of Badr he halted.

I was told that men of B. Salama said that al-Hubbah b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jamalah said to the apostle: 'Is this a place which God has ordered you to occupy, so that we can neither advance nor withdraw from it, or is it a matter of opinion and military tactics? When he replied that it was the latter he pointed out that it was not the place to stop but that they should go on to the water nearest to the enemy and built there the wells beyond it, and construct a cistern so that they would have plenty of water; then they could fight their enemy who would have nothing to drink. The apostle agreed that this was an excellent plan and it was immediately carried out; the wells were stopped; a cistern was built and filled with water from which his men replenished their drinking-vessels.

Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that he was informed that Sa'd b. Mu'adh said: 'O prophet of God, let us make a booth (T. of palm-branches) for you to occupy and have your riding camels standing by; then we shall meet the enemy and if God gives us the victory that is what we desire; if the worst occurs you can mount your camels and join our people who are left behind, for they are just as deeply attached to you as we are. Had they thought that you would be fighting they would not have stayed behind. God will protect you by them; they will give you good counsel and fight with you.' The apostle thanked him and blessed him. Then a booth was constructed for the apostle and he remained there.

Quraysh, having marched forth at daybreak, now came on. When the apostle saw them descending from the hill 'Aqpan into the valley, he cried, 'O God, here come the Quraysh in their vanity and pride, contending with Thee and calling Thy apostle a liar. O God, grant the help which Thou didst promise me. Destroy them this morning!' Before uttering these words he had seen among the enemy 'Uthba b. Rabti, mounted on a red camel of his, and said, 'If there is any good in any one of them, it will be with the man on the red camel: if they obey him, they will take the right way.' Khurfit b. Aima b. Rabada, or his father Aima b. Rabada al-Ghifari, had sent to Quraysh, as they passed by, a son of his with some camels for slaughter, which he gave them as a gift, saying, 'If you want us to support you with arms and men, we will do so; but they sent to him the following message by the mouth of his son—'You have done all that a kinsman ought. If we are fighting only men, we are surely equal to them; and if we are fighting God, as Muhammad alleges, none is able to withstand Him.' And when Quraysh encamped, some of them, among whom was Hakim b. Hizam, went to the cistern of the apostle to drink. 'Let them be!' he said; and every man that drank of it that day was killed, except Hakim, who afterwards became a good Muslim and used to say, when he was earnest in his oath, 'Nay, by Him who saved me on the day of Badr.'

My father, Isbaq b. Yassir, and other learned men told me on the authority of some elders of the Ansaar that when the enemy had settled in their camp they sent 'Umayr b. Wabab al-Jumahi to estimate the number of Muhammad's followers. He rode on horseback round the camp and on his return said, 'Three hundred men, a little more or less; but wait till I see

1 T. adds: 'He escaped on a horse of his called al-Wajib.' So also al-Agh.
whether they have any in ambush or support.' He made his way far into the valley but saw nothing. On his return he said, 'I found nothing, but O people of Quraysh, I have seen camels carrying Death—the camels of Yathrib laden with certain death. These men have no defence or refuge but their swords. By God! I do not think that a man of them will be slain till he slay one of you, and if they kill of you a number equal to their own, what is the good of living after that? Consider, then, what you will do.'

When Hakim b. Hizâm heard those words, he went on foot amongst the folk until he came to 'Utba b. Rabî'a and said, 'O Abû-l-Walid, you are chief and lord of Quraysh and he whom they obey. Do you wish to be remembered with praise among them to the end of time?' 'Utba said, 'How may that be, O Hakim?' He answered, 'Lead them back and take up the cause of your ally, 'Amr b. al-Hadrâmi.' 'I will do it,' said 'Utba, 'and you are witness against me (if I break my word): he was under my protection, so it behoves me to pay his bloodwit and what was seized of his wealth (to his kinmen). Now go you to Ibn al-Hanzâliyya, for I do not fear that any one will make trouble except him (362).'

Then 'Utba rose to speak and said, 'O people of Quraysh! By God, you will gain naught by giving battle to Muhammad and his companions. If you fall upon him, each one of you will always be looking with loathing on the face of another who has slain the son of his paternal or maternal uncle or some man of his kin. Therefore turn back and leave Muhammad to the rest of the Arabs. If they kill him, that is what you want; and if it be otherwise, he will find that you have not tried to do him what you (in fact) would have liked to do.'

Hakim said: 'I went to Abû Jahl and found him oiling a coat of mail (363) which he had taken out of its bag. I said to him, 'O Abû-l-Hakam, 'Utba has sent me to you with such-and-such a message,' and I told him what 'Utba had said. 'By God,' he cried, 'his lungs became swollen (with fear) when he saw Muhammad and his companions. No, by God, we will not turn back until God decide between us and Muhammad. 'Utba does not believe his own words, but he saw that Muhammad and his companions are (in number as) the eaters of one slaughtered camel, and his son is among them, so he is afraid lest you slay him.'

Then he sent to 'Amir b. al-Hadrâmi, saying, 'This ally of yours is for turning back with the folk at this time when you see your blood-revenge before your eyes. Arise, therefore, and remind them of your covenant and the murder of your brother.' 'Amir arose and uncovered; then he cried, 'Alas for 'Amr! Alas for 'Amr!' and war was kindled and all was marred and the folk held stubbornly on their evil course and 'Utba's advice was wasted on them. When 'Utba heard how Abû Jahl had taunted him, he said, 'He with the befouled garment² will find out whose lungs are swollen, mine or his (364).³' Then 'Utba looked for a helmet to put on his head; but seeing that his head was so big that he could not find in the army a helmet that would contain it, he wound a piece of cloth he had round his head.

Al-Aswâd b. 'Abdu'll-'Asad al-Makhzumi, who was a quarrelsome ill-natured man, stepped forth and said, 'I swear to God that I will drink from their cistern or destroy it or die before reaching it.' Hamzâ b. Abdu'll-Mu'talib came forth against him, and when the two met, Hamzâ smote him and sent his foot and half his shank flying as he was near the cistern. He fell on his back and lay there, blood streaming from his foot towards his comrades. Then he crawled to the cistern and threw himself into it with the purpose of fulfilling his oath, but Hamzâ followed him and smote him and killed him in the cistern.

Then after him 'Utba b. Rabî'a stepped forth between his brothers Shayba and his son al-Walid b. 'Utba, and when he stood clear of the ranks gave the challenge for single combat. Three men of the Ansâr came out against him: 'Auñ and Mu'awwidh the sons of Hârith (their mother was 'Afnâ) and another man, said to have been 'Abdullah b. Rawâha. The Quraysh said, 'Who are you?' They answered, 'Some of the Ansâr,' whereupon they came to Quraysh, saying, 'We have nothing to do with you.' Then was set forth against the people of our own tribe!' The apostle said, 'Arise, O 'Ubayda b. Hârith, and arise, O Hamzâ, and arise, O 'Alî. And when they arose and approached them, the Quraysh said, 'Who are you?' And having heard each declare his name, they said, 'Yes, these are noble and our peers.' Now, 'Ubayda was the eldest of them, and he faced 'Utba b. Rabî'a, while Hamzâ faced Shayba b. Rabî'a and 'Ali faced al-Walid b. 'Utba. It was not long before Hamzâ slew Shayba and 'Ali slew al-Walid. 'Ubayda and 'Utba exchanged two blows with one another and each laid his enemy low. Then Hamzâ and 'Ali turned on 'Utba with their swords and dispatched him and bore away their comrade and brought him back to his friends. (T. 1318. 2). His leg had been cut off and the marrow was oozing from it. When they brought 'Ubayda to the prophet he said, 'Am I not a martyr, O apostle of God?' 'Indeed you are,' he replied. Then 'Ubayda said, 'Were Abû Talib alive he would know that his words³

We will not give him up till we lie dead around him
And be unmindful of our women and children

are truly realized in me.') 'Ashîm b. 'Umar b. Qatâda told me that when the men of the Ansâr declared their lineage, 'Utba said, 'You are noble and our peers, but we desire men of our own tribe.'

Then they advanced and drew near to one another. The apostle had ordered his companions not to attack until he gave the word, and if the enemy should surround them² they were to keep them off with showers of arrows. He himself remained in the hut with Abî Bakr. I was informed by Abî Ja'far Muhammad b. al-Hasayn that the battle of Badr was fought

² W. 174. 9.
³ T. 1318. 11 'come near.'
on Friday morning on the 17th of Ramadan. Habbân b. Wâsi' b. Habbân told me on the authority of some elders of his tribe that on the day of Badr the Apostle dressed the ranks of his companions with an arrow which he held in his hand. As he passed by Sawâd b. Ghaziya, an ally of B. 'Adi b. al-Najâr (366), who was standing out (366) of line he pricked him in his belly with the arrow, saying, 'Stand in line, O Sawâd!' 'You have hurt me, O Apostle of God,' he cried, 'and God has sent you with right and justice to let me retaliate.' The Apostle uncovered his belly and said: 'Take your retaliation.' Sawâd embraced him and kissed his belly. He asked what had made him do this and he replied, 'O Apostle of God, you see what is before us and I may not survive the battle and this is my last time with you I want my skin to touch yours.' The Apostle blessed him.

Then the Apostle straightened the ranks and returned to the hut and entered it, and none was with him there but Abû Bakr. The Apostle was beseeching His Lord for the help which He had promised to Him, and among his words were these: 'O God, if this hand perish today Thou wilt be worshipped no more.' But Abû Bakr said, 'O Prophet of God, your constant entreaty will annoy thy Lord, for surely God will fulfil His promise to thee.' While the Apostle was in the hut he slept a light sleep; then he awoke and said, 'Be of good cheer, O Abû Bakr. God's help is come to you. Here is Gabriel holding the rein of a horse and leading it. The dust is upon his front teeth.'

The first Muslim that fell was Mihiya', a freedman of 'Umar: he was shot by an arrow. Then while Hâritha b. Surqa, one of B. 'Adi b. al-Najâr, was drinking from the cistern an arrow pierced his throat and killed him.

Then the Apostle went forth to the people and incited them saying, 'By God in whose hand is the soul of Muhammad, no man will be slain this day fighting against them with steadfast courage advancing not retracting but God will cause him to enter Paradise.' Umâr b. al-Humân brother of B. Salâma was eating some dates which he had in his hand. 'Fine, Fine!' said he, 'is there nothing between me and my entering Paradise save to be killed by these men?' He flung the dates from his hand, seized his sword, and fought against them till he was slain, [saying the while]

In God's service take no food
But piety and deeds of good.
If in God's war you've firmly stood
You need not fear as others should
While you are righteous true and good.]*

A'âmim b. 'Umar b. Qatâda told me that 'Auf b. Hârith—his mother was 'Afra'—said 'O Apostle of God, what makes the Lord laugh with joy at His servant?' He answered, 'When he plunges into the midst of the enemy without mail.' 'Auf drew off the mail-coat that was on him and threw it away: then he seized his sword and fought the enemy till he was slain.

* Mâwarrîd, 67

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Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shâhâb al-Zuhri on the authority of 'Abdullâh b. Thâ`laba b. Su`ayr al-Udhri, an ally of B. Zuhra, told me that when the warriors advanced to battle and drew near to one another Abû Jahl cried, 'O God, destroy this morning him that more than any of us hath cut the ties of kinship and wrought that which is not approved.' Thus he condemned himself to death.

Then the Apostle took a handful of small pebbles and said, turning towards Quraysh, 'Tóul be those faces!' Then he threw the pebbles at them and ordered his companions to charge. The foe was routed. God slew many of their chiefs and made captive many of their nobles. Meanwhile the Apostle was in the hut and Sàd b. Mu`âdh was standing at the door of the hut girt with his sword. With him were some of the Ansâr guarding the apostle for fear lest the enemy should come back at him. While the folk were laying hands on the prisoners the Apostle, as I have been told, saw displeasure on the face of Sàd at what they were doing. He said to him, 'You seem to dislike what the people are doing.' 'Yes, by God,' he replied, 'it is the first defeat that God has brought on the infidel and I would rather see them slaughtered than left alive.'

Al-Abâs b. 'Abdullâh b. Mu`âd from one of his family from Ibn 'Abbas told me that the latter said that the prophet said to his companions that day, 'I know that some of B. Hashim and others have been forced to against their will and have no desire to fight us; so if any of you meet one of B. Hashim or Abûl-Bakhtâr or al-Abâs the apostle's uncle do not kill him, for he has been made to come out against his will.' Abû Hudâyiya said: 'Are we to kill our fathers and our sons and our brothers and our families and leave al-Abâs? By God, if I meet him I will dash my sword in him!' (367).

This saying reached the apostle's ears and he said to 'Umar, 'O Abû Hâfiz'—and 'Umar said that this was the first time the Apostle called him by this honorific—'ought the face of the apostle's uncle to be marked with the sword?' 'Umar replied, 'Let off with his head! By God, the man is a false Muslim.' Abû Hudâyiya used to say, 'I never felt safe after my words that day. I was always afraid unless martyrdom attended for them.' He was killed as a martyr in the battle of al-Yâmâma.

* The verb from which munafiqûn, generally rendered 'hypocrites', is formed. Clearly it includes the meaning of a rebel against the prophet's authority; perhaps the underlying idea is feigned obedience.
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447 A son of the free betrays not his friend
Till he's dead, or sees him safe on his way.

The result was that al-Mujaddidh killed him and composed these lines thereon:

Do you not know or have you forgotten?
Then note well my line is from Bali.
Those who thrust with Yazan spears
Smiting down chiefs and bringing them low.
Tell Bakhtari that he's bereaved of his father
Or tell my son the like of me.
I am he of whom it is said my origin is in Bali.
When I thrust in my spear it bends almost double.
I kill my opponent with a sharp Mashrafi sword,
I yearn for death like a camel overfull with milk.
You will not see Mujaddidh telling a lie (368).

Then al-Mujaddidh went to the apostle and told him that he had done his best to take him prisoner and bring him to him but that he had insisted on fighting and the result had been fatal to him (356).

Yahyâ b. 'Abdâd b. 'Abdul b. al-Zubayr told me on the authority of his father; and 'Abdul b. Abû Bakr and others on the authority of 'Abdul-Rahmân b. 'Auf told me the same, saying: 'Umayya b. Khalaf was a friend of mine in Mecca and my name was 'Abu 'Amr, but I was called 'Abdul-Rahmân when I became a Muslim. When we used to meet in Mecca he would say, 'Do you dislike the name your parents gave you?' and I would say yes; and he would say, 'As for me, I don't know al-Rahmân, so adopt a name which I can call you between ourselves. You won't reply to your original name, and I won't use one I don't know.' When he said: 'O 'Abu 'Amr' I wouldn't answer him, and finally said, 'O Abû 'Ali, call me what you like,' and he called me 'Abdul-'Lûh' and I accepted the name from him. On the day of Badr I passed by him standing with his son 'Ali holding him by the hand. I was carrying coats of mail which I had looted; and when he saw me he said, 'O 'Abu 'Amr,' but I would not answer until he said 'O Abdul-'Lûh.' Then he said, 'Won't you take me prisoner, for I am more valuable than these coats of mail which you have?' 'By God I will,' I said. So I threw away the mail and took him and his son by the hand, he saying the while 'I never saw a day like this. Have you no use for milk?' Then I walked off with the pair of them (379).

'Abdul-Wâhid b. Abû 'Aun from Sa'd b. Ibrâhim from his father 'Abdul-Rahmân b. 'Auf told me that the latter said: Umayya said to me as I walked between them holding their hands, 'Who is that man who is wearing an ostrich feather on his breast?' When I told him it was Hamza he said that it was he who had done them so much damage. As I was leading them away Bilâl saw him with me. Now it was Umayya who used to torture Bilâl in Mecca to make him abandon Islam, bringing him out to the scorching heat of the sun, laying him on his back, and putting a great stone on his chest, telling him that he could stay there until he gave up the religion of Muhammad, and Bilâl kept saying 'One! One!' As soon as he saw him he said, 'The arch-infidel Umayya b. Khalaf! May I not live if he lives.' I said, 'Would you attack my prisoners?' But he kept crying out these words in spite of my remonstrances until finally he shouted at the top of his voice, 'O God's Helpers, the arch-infidel Umayya b. Khalaf! May I not live if he lives.' The people formed a ring round us as I was protecting him. Then a man drew his sword and cut off his son's foot so that he fell down and Umayya let out a cry such as I have never heard; and I said to him 'Make your escape' (though he had no chance of escape) 'I can do nothing for you.' They hewed them to pieces with their swords until they were dead. Abû-Rahmân used to say, 'God have mercy on Bilâl. I lost my coats of mail and he deprived me of my prisoners.'

'Abdul b. Abû Bakr told me he was said as from Ibn 'Abbâs: 'A man of B. Ghîfâr told me: I and a cousin of mine went up a hill from which we could look down on Badr, we being polytheists waiting to see the result of the battle so that we could join in the looting. And while we were on the hill a cloud came near and we heard the neighing of horses and I heard one saying 'Forward, Hayyûn!' As for my cousin, his heart burst asunder and he died on the spot; I almost perished, then I pulled myself together.'

'Abdul b. Abû Bakr from Ibn B. Sa'id from Abû Usayd Mlik b. Râhâm who was present at Badr told him after he had lost his sight: 'If I were in Badr today and had my sight I could show you the glen from which the angels emerged. I have not the slightest doubt on the point.'

My father Ishaq b. Yâsir from men of B. Mâzin b. al-Najâr from Abû Da'âd al-Mâzinî, who was at Badr, told me: 'I was pursuing a polytheist at Badr to smite him, when his head fell off before I could get him with my sword, and I knew that someone else had killed him.'

One above suspicion from Miqsam, freedman of 'Abdul b. al-Hârîth from 'Abdul b. 'Abbâs, told me, 'The sign of the angels at Badr was white turbans flowing behind them: at Hunayn they wore red turbans (371).'

One above suspicion from Miqsam from Ibn 'Abbâs told me: The angels 1 abkhûla means that he put his hand behind him to draw his sword which hung behind him.

2 The name of Gabriel's horse
did not fight in any battle but Badr. In the other battles they were there as reinforcements, but they did not fight.

As he was fighting that day Abū Jahl was saying:

What has fierce war to dislike about me,
A young he-camel with razor-like teeth?
For this very purpose did my mother bear me (372).

When the apostle had finished with the enemy he ordered that Abū Jahl should be looked for among the slain. (T. He said, 'O God, don’t let him escape Thee!) The first man to find him—so Thaur b. Yazid from 'Ikrima from Ibn 'Abbās told me; as well as 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr who told me the same—was Mu'ādh b. 'Amr b. al-Jamāh, brother of B. Salama, whom they reported as saying: I heard the people saying when Abū Jahl was in a sort of thicket, ‘Abūl-Hakam cannot be got at’ (373). When I heard that I made it my business, and made for him. When I got within striking distance I told upon him and fetched him a blow which sent his foot and half his shank flying. I can only liken it to a date-stone flying from the pestle when it is beaten. His son 'Ikrima struck me on the shoulder and severed my arm and it hung by the skin from my side, and the battle compelled me to leave him. I fought the whole of the day dragging my arm behind me and when it became painful to me I put my foot on it and standing on it tore it off.’ He lived after that into the reign of ‘Uthmān.

Mu'awwidh b. 'Affā passed Abū Jahl as he lay there helpless and smote him until he left him at his last gasp. He himself went on fighting until he was killed. Then 'Abdullāh b. Mas'ud passed by Abū Jahl when the apostle had ordered that he was to be searched for among the slain. I have heard that the apostle had told them that if he was hidden among the corpses they were to look for the trace of a scar on his knee. When they both were young they had been pressed together at the table of 'Abdullāh b. Judān. He was thinner than Abū Jahl and he gave him a push which sent him to his knees and one of them was scratched so deeply that it left a permanent scar. 'Abdullāh b. Mas'ud said that he found him at his last gasp and put his foot on his neck (for he had once clawed at him and punched him in the neck), and said to him: ‘Has God put you to shame, you enemy of God?’ He replied: ‘How has He shamed me? Am I anything more remarkable than a man you have killed?’ Tell me how the battle went. He told him that it went to the advantage of God and His apostle (374).

Men of B. Makkākrit attest that Ibn Mas'ud used to say: He said to me—You have climbed high, you little shepherd. Then I cut off his head and brought it to the apostle saying, This is the head of the enemy of God, Abū Jahl. He said, ‘By God than Whom there is no other, is it?’ (This used to be his oath.) ‘Yes,’ I said, and I threw his head before the apostle and he gave thanks to God (375).

"Ukkāsha b. Mīysan b. Hurrāth al-Asadī, ally of B. Abū Shumī, fought at Badr until his sword was broken in his hand. He came to the apostle who gave him a wooden cudgel telling him to fight with that. When he took it he brandished it and it became in his hand a long, strong, gleaming sword, and he fought with it until God gave victory to the Muslims. The sword was called al-'Aun and he had it with him in all the battles he fought with the apostle until finally he was killed in the rebellion, still holding it. Tūlayba b. Khwāyīlī al-Asadī killed him, and this is what he said about it:

What do you think about a people when you kill them?
Are they not even though they are not Muslims?
If camels and women were captured
You will not get away scathless after killing Hjiibāl.
I set Himāla's breast against them—a mare well used to
The cry of 'Warriors down to the fight!'

(One day you see her protected and covered,
Another day unencumbered dash to the fray)
The night I left Ibn Aqra'm lying
And 'Ukkāsha the Ghanīmite dead on the field (376).

When the apostle said, '70,000 of my people shall enter Paradise like the full moon' 'Ukkāsha asked if he could be one of them, and the apostle prayed that he might be one. One of the Ansār got up and asked that he too might be one of them, and he replied, 'Ukkāsha has forestalled you and the prayer is cold.'

I have heard from his family that the apostle said: 'Ours is the best horseman among the Arabs,' and when we asked who, he said that it was 'Ukkāsha. When Dirīr b. al-Awzār al-Asadī said, 'That is a man of ours,' the apostle answered, 'He is not yours but ours through alliance' (377).

Yazid b. Rāmān from 'Urwā b. al-Zubayr from 'Āilha told me that the latter said: When the apostle ordered that the dead should be thrown into a pit they were all thrown in except Umāya b. Khalaf whose body had swelled within his armour so that it filled it and when they went to move him his body disintegrated; so they left it where it was and heaped earth and stones upon it. As they threw them into the pit the apostle stood and said: 'O people of the pit, have you found that what God threatened is true? For I have found that what my Lord promised me is true.' His companions asked: 'Are you speaking to dead people?' He replied that they knew what their Lord had promised them was true.' 'Āilha said: 'People say that he said 'They hear what I say to them,' but what he said was 'They know'!'"
Humayd al-Ṭawil told me that Anas b. Malik said: “The apostle’s companions heard him saying in the middle of the night ‘O people of the pit: O ‘Utba, O Shayba, O Umamah, O Abū Jahl,’ enumerating all who had been thrown into the pit, ‘Have you found that what God promised you is true? I have found that what my Lord promised me is true.’” The Muslims said, “Are you calling to dead bodies?” He answered: “You cannot hear what I say better than they, but they cannot answer me.”

A learned person told me that the apostle said that day, ‘O people of the pit, you were an evil kinsfolk to your prophet. You called me a liar when others believed me; you cast me out when others took me in; you fought against me when others fought on my side.’ Then he added ‘Have you found that what your Lord promised you is true?’

Hassān b. Thābit said:

I recognize the dwellings of Zaynab on the sandhill
Looking like the writing of revelation on dirty old paper.1
Winds blow over them and every dark cloud
Pours down its heavy rain;
Its traces obscured and deserted
Were once the abodes of dearly loved friends.
Abandon this constant remembrance of them,
Quench the heat of the sorrowing breast.
Tell the truth about that in which there is no shame,
Not the tale of a liar,
Of what God did on the day of Badr,
Giving us victory over the polytheists.
The day when their multitude was like Hīrā
Whose foundations appear at sunset.
We met them with a company
Like lions of the jungle young and old
In defence of Muhammad in the heat of war
Helping him against the enemy.
In their hands were sharp swords
And well-tried shafts with thick knots.
The sons of Aus the leaders, helped by
The sons of al-Najjar in the strong religion.
Abū Jahl we left lying prostrate
And ‘Utba we left on the ground.
Shayba too with others
Of noble name and descent.
The apostle of God called to them
When we cast them into the pit together.
“Have you found that I spoke the truth?
And the command of God takes hold of the heart?”

1 I follow S.'s suggestion for the meaning of qāshīb.
everyone to turn in what they had taken. I came and threw it into the heap of spoils. Now the apostle never fell. I forgot anything he asked for and al-Arqam b. Abī Yūsuf knew this and asked him for it and the apostle gave it him.

Then the apostle sent 'Abdullah b. Rawātha with the good news of the victory to the people of Upper Medina, and Zayd b. Hāritha to the people of Lower Medina. Usāma b. Zayd said: 'The news came to us as we had heaped earth on Rujayya the apostle's daughter who was married to 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, (the apostle having left me behind with 'Uthmān to look after her), that Zayd b. Hāritha had come. So I went to him as he was standing in the place of prayer among the people, and he was saying: "'Utbah and Shayba and Abū Jahl and Zama'a and Abū l-Bakhtārī and Umayya and Nubahay and Munabbih have been slain." I said, "Is this true, my father?" and he said, "Yes, by God it is, my son.

Then the apostle began his return journey to Medina with the unbelieving prisoners, among whom were 'Utbah b. Abū Mu'āyya and al-Nadr b. al-Hārith. The apostle carried with him the booty that had been taken from the polytheists and put 'Abdullah b. Ka'b in charge of it. A rajaz poet of the Muslims (379) said:

Start your camels, O Rabia!
There's no halting-place in Dhu 'Talha!
Nor in the desert of Ghumayr a pen.
The people's camels cannot be locked up.
So to set them on the way is wiser
God giving had victory and Akhmas having fied.

Then the apostle went forward until when he came out of the pass of al-Safā', he halted on the sand-hill between the pass and al-Nāziya called Sayar at a tree there and divided the booty which God had granted to the Muslims equally. Then he marched until he reached Rauh when the Muslims met him congratulating him and the Muslims on the victory God had given him. Salama b. Salama—so Abū 'Aṣim b. Umar b. Qatīda and Yazid b. Rumān told me—said, 'What are you congratulating us about? By God, we only met some halid old women like the sacrificial camels who are hobbled, and we slaughtered them! The apostle smiled and said, 'But, nephew, those were the chiefs' (380). When the apostle was in al-Safā', al-Nadr was killed by 'A'īt, as a learned Meccean told me. When he was in Irqūl-Zayba 'Utbah was killed (381). He had been captured by 'Abdullah b. Salama, one of the B. al-'Aqālīn.

When the apostle ordered him to be killed 'Utbah said, 'But who will look after my children, O Muhammad?' 'Hell,' he said, and 'Aṣim b. Thābit b. Abū l-'Aqlah al-Ansārī killed him according to what Abū 'Ubayda b. Muhammad b. 'Amrār b. Yassin told me (382).

1 Or, possibly, acacia trees; no place for them to halt.
2 'T. adds: 'He drank from the water there called al-Arwaq'.
people. Abū Lahab had stayed behind from the Badr expedition sending in his stead al-ʿAğ b. Hishām; for that is what they did—any man who stayed behind sent another in his place. And when news came of the Quraysh disaster at Badr God humiliated Abū Lahab and put him to shame while we found ourselves in a position of power and respect. Now 461 I was a weak man and I used to make arrows, sharpening them in the tent of Zamzam, and lo as I was sitting there with Ummūl-ʿFaḍl sharpening arrows delighted with the news that had come, up came Abū Lahab dragging his feet in ill temper and sat down at the end of the tent with his back to mine. As he was sitting there people said, “Here is Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbdul-Quṭālib (r85) just arrived.” Abū Lahab said, “Come here, for you have news.” So he came and sat with him while the people stood round, and when he asked his nephew for the news he said, “As soon as we met the party we turned our backs and they were killing and capturing us just as they pleased; and by God I don’t blame the people for that. We met men in white on piebald horses between heaven and earth, and by God they spared nothing and none could withstand them.” So I lifted the rope of the tent and said: “Those were the angels.” Abū Lahab struck me violently in the face. I leapt at him, but he knocked me down and knelt on me beating me again and again, for I was a weak man. Ummūl-ʿFaḍl went and got one of the supports of the tent and split his head with a blow which left a nasty wound, saying, “You think you can despise him now his master is away!” He got up and turned tail humiliated. He only lived for another week, for God smote him with pestilence, from which he died.

(T. 1340. 10. His two sons left him unbaptized for two or three nights so that the house stank for the Quraysh dread pestilence and the like as men dread plague) until finally a man said to them: “It is disgraceful! Are you not ashamed that your father shrank in his house while you do not cover him from the sight of men?” They replied that they were afraid of those ulcers. He offered to go with them. They did not wash the body but threw water on it from a distance without touching it. Then they took it up and buried it on the high ground above Mecca by a wall and threw stones over it until it was covered.

Ibn Ḥamīd said that Salama b. al-ʿAḍl said that Muhammad b. ʿIshāq said that al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbdul-lah b. Maʿbād from one of his family on the authority of ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAbbās said; “On the night of Badr when the prisoners were safely guarded, the apostle could not sleep during the first part of the night. When his companions asked him the reason he said: “I heard the writhing of al-ʿAbbās in his prison.” So they got up and liberated him whereupon the apostle slept soundly.”

On the same authority I heard that Muhammad b. ʿIshāq said: “al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmāra told me from al-Hakam b. ʿUyya from Miqam from Ibn ʿAbbās: The man who captured al-ʿAbbās was Abūl-ʿYasar Kaʾb b. ʿAmr brother of the B. Salima. Abūl-ʿYasar was a compact little man while al-ʿAbbās was bulky. When the apostle asked the former how he had managed to capture him, he said that a man such as he had never seen before or afterwards had helped him and, when he described him, the apostle said, “A noble angel helped you against him.”

(Suhaayli, ii. 79: In the riwaya of Yūnus I. I. recorded that the apostle saw her (Ummūl-ʿFaḍl) when she was a baby crawling before him and said, “If she grows up and I am still alive I will marry her.” But he died before she grew up and Sufyān b. al-ʿAswād b. ʿAbdul-Quṭālib al-Makhzūm married her and she bore him Riqq and Lūbāb. . . They did not bury Abū Lahab, but he was put against a wall and stones were thrown upon him from behind the wall until he was covered. It is said that when ʿAisha passed the place she used to veil her face.)

Yahyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbdul-lah b. al-Zubair from his father ʿAbbād told me that Quraysh bewailed their dead. Then they said, “Do not do this, for the news will reach Muhammad and his companions and they will rejoice over your misfortune; and do not send messengers about your captives but hold back so that Muhammad and his companions may not demand excessive ransom.” Al-ʿAswād b. al-Quṭālib had lost three of his sons: Zamaʾa, ʿAgil, and al-Ḥārith b. Zamaʾa, and he wanted to bewail them. Meanwhile he heard a weeping woman, and as he was blind he told a servant to go and see whether lamentation had been permitted, for if Quraysh were weeping over their dead he might weep for Zamaʾ b. Abū Hakīma, for he was consumed by a burning sorrow. The servant returned to say that it was a woman weeping over a camel she had lost. Thereupon he said:

Does she weep because she has lost a camel?
And does this keep her awake all night?
Weep not over a young camel
But over Badr where hopes were dashed to the ground.
Over Badr the finest of the sons of Husays
And Makhzūm and the clan of Abūl-Valīd.
Weep if you must weep over ʿAgil,
Weep for ʿḤārith the lion of lions,
Weep unweariedly for them all,
For Abū Hakīma had no peer.
Now they are dead, men bear rule
Who but for Badr would be of little account (r86).

Among the prisoners was Abū Wadīʿa b. Dubayya al-Sahmi. The apostle remarked that in Mecca he had a son who was a shrewd and rich merchant and that he would soon come to redeem his father. When Quraysh counselled delay in redeeming the prisoners so that the ransom should not be extortionate al-Quṭālib b. Abū Wadīʿa—the man the apostle meant—said, ‘You are right. Don’t be in a hurry.’ And he slipped away at night and came to Medina and recovered his father for 4,000 dirhams and took him away.
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Then Quraysh sent to redeem the prisoners and Mikraz b. Hafs b. al-Akhaf came about Suhayl b. 'Amr who had been captured by Malik b. al-Dukhshum, brother of the B. Salim b. 'Auf, who said:

I captured Suhayl and I would not exchange him for a prisoner from any other people. Mikraz knew that his hero is Suhayl. When injustice is complained of, I struck with my keen sword until it bent. I forced myself to fight this hard-lipped man.

Suhayl was a man whose lower lip was split (387).

Muhammad b. 'Amr b. 'Ati', brother of B. 'Amr b. Lu'ayy, told me that 'Umar said to the apostle, 'Let me pull out Suhayl's two front teeth; his tongue will stick out and he will never be able to speak against you again.' He answered, 'I will not mutilate him, otherwise God would mutilate me though I am a prophet.'

I have heard that in this tradition the apostle said to 'Umar, 'Perhaps he will make a stand for which you will not blame him' (388).

When Mikraz had spoken about him and finally agreed on terms with them they demanded the money, and he asked that they would hold him as security and let Suhayl go so that he could send his ransom. They did so and imprisoned Mikraz in his stead. Mikraz said:

I redeemed with costly she-camels a captive hero. (The payment is for a true Arab not for clients.) I pledged my person, though money would be easier for me.

But I feared being put to shame.

I said, 'Suhayl is the best of us, so take him back to our sons so that we may attain our desires' (389).

(T. 1744. Ibn Hamid from Salama from Ibn Ishaq from al-Kalbi from Abu Salih from Ibn 'Abbâs told me that the apostle sent to al-'Abbâs when he was brought to Medina, 'Redeem yourself, O 'Abbâs, and your two nephews 'Abd b. Abû Ka'bah and Nafûs b. al-Hârith and your ally Utaba b. 'Amr b. Jahânarm brother of the B. al-Hârith b. Fihr, for you are a rich man.' He replied, 'I was a Muslim but the people compelled me (to fight). He answered, 'God knows best about your Islam. If what you say is true God will reward you for it. But to all outward appearance you have been against us, so pay us your ransom.' Now the apostle had taken twenty ounces of gold from him and said, 'O apostle of God, cecit me with them in my ransom.' He replied, 'That has nothing to do with it. God took that from you and gave it to us.' He said, 'I have no money.' Then where is the money which you left with Ummar b.-Fadl b. al-Hârith when you left

Mecca? You two were alone when you said to Ic, "If I am killed so much is for al-Fadl, 'Abdullah and Qutbuddin and Ubayyibullah.' By him who sent you with the truth,' he exclaimed, 'none but she and I knew of this and now I know that you are God's apostle.' So he redeemed himself and the three men named above.}

'Abdullah b. Abû Bakr told me that Abû Sufyân's son 'Amr whom he had by a daughter of 'Uqba b. Abû Mu'sit (390) was a prisoner in the apostle's hands from Basr (391); and when Abû Sufyân was asked to ransom his son 'Amr he said, 'Am I to suffer the double loss of my blood and my money? They have killed Hâritha and am I to ransom 'Amr? Leave him with them. They can keep him as long as they like.'

While he was thus held prisoner in Medina with the apostle Sa'd b. al-Na'mân b. Akkâl, brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, one of the B. Muawiyah, 464 went forth on pilgrimage accompanied by a young wife of his. He was an old man and a Muslim who had sheep in al-Naqil.2 He left that place on pilgrimage without fear of any untoward events, never thinking that he would be detained in Mecca, as he came as a pilgrim, for he knew that Quraysh did not usually interfere with pilgrims, but treated them well. But Abû Sufyân fell upon him in Mecca and imprisoned him in retaliation for his son 'Amr. Then Abû Sufyân said:

O family of Ibn Akkâl, answer his plea.
May you lose each other! Do not surrender the chief in his prime.
The Banu 'Amr will be base and contemptible.
If they do not release their captive from his fetters.

Hassân b. Thâbit answered him:

If Sa'd had been free the day he was in Mecca
He would have killed many of you ere he was captured.
With a sharp sword or a bow of nab'a wood
Whose string twangs when the arrow is shot.

The B. 'Amr b. 'Auf went to the apostle and told him the news and asked him to give them 'Amr b. Abû Sufyân so that they could let him go in exchange for their man and the apostle did so. So they sent him to Abû Sufyân and he released Sa'd.

Among the prisoners was Abû'-'Abbâs b. al-Rabî', son-in-law of the apostle, married to his daughter Zaynab (392). Abû'-'Abbâs was one of the important men of Mecca in wealth, respect, and merchandise. His mother was Hâla d. Khawilid, and Khadija was his aunt. Khadija had asked the apostle to find him a wife. Now the apostle never opposed her—this was before revelation came to him—and so he married him to his daughter. Khadija used to regard him as her son. When God honoured His apostle 465
with prophecy Khadija and her daughters believed in him and testified that he had brought the truth and followed his religion, though Abü-l-'As persisted in his polytheism. Now the apostle had married Ruyyya or Umm Kullähltum to 'Utbah b. Abū Lahab, and when he openly preached to Quraysh the command of God and showed them hostility they reminded another that they had relieved Muhammad of his care for his daughters and decided to return them so that he should have the responsibility of looking after them himself. They went to Abū-l-'As and told him to divorce his wife and they would give him any woman he liked. He refused, saying that he did not want any other woman from Quraysh; and I have heard that the apostle used to speak warmly of his action as a son-in-law. Then they went to 'Utbah b. Abū Lahab with the same request and he said that if they would give him the daughter of Abān b. Sa'īd b. al-'Ās or the daughter of Sa'īd b. al-'Ās he would divorce his wife, and when they did so he divorced her, not having consummated the marriage. Thus God took her from him to his honour and his shame, and 'Uthmān afterwards married her.

Now the apostle had no power of binding and loosing in Mecca, his circumstances being circumscribed. Islam had made a division between Zaynab and her husband Abū-l-'As, but they lived together, Muslim and unbeliever, until the apostle migrated. Abū-l-'As joined the expedition to Badr and was captured among the prisoners and remained at Medina with the apostle.

Yahyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father 'Abbād told me that 'A'isha said: 'When the Meccans sent to ransom their prisoners, Zaynab sent the money for Abūl-l-'As; with it she sent a necklace which Khadija had given her on her marriage to Abūl-l-'As. When the apostle saw it his feelings overcame him and he said: 'If you would like to let her have her captive husband back and return her money to her, do so.' The people at once agreed and they let him go and sent her money back.'

ZAYNAB SETS OUT FOR MEDINA

Now the apostle had imposed a condition on Abūl-l-'As, or the latter had undertaken it voluntarily—the facts were never clearly established—that he should let Zaynab come to him. At any rate, after Abūl-l-'As had reached Mecca the apostle sent Zayd b. Hāridah and one of the Ansār with instructions to stop in the valley of Yājji' until Zaynab passed, and then to accompany her back to him. About a month or so after Badr they went off to take up their position. Meanwhile Abūl-l-'As came to Mecca and told Zaynab to rejoin her father, and she went out to make her preparations.

'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr told me that he had been told that Zaynab said that while she was making her preparations she was met by Hind d. 'Utbah who inquired whether she was going off to rejoin Muhammad. When she said that she did not wish to go, Hind offered to give her anything she needed for the journey as well as money. She need not be shy of her, for women stood closer together than men. However, though she thought the woman was sincere she was afraid of her and denied that she had any intention of going. But she went on with her preparations.

'These completed, her brother-in-law Khānā b. al-Rabī' brought her a camel and taking his bow he led her away in a howdah in broad daylight. After discussing the matter Quraysh went off in pursuit and overtook them in Dhū Thawā. The first man to come up with them was Hābūr b. al-Aswād b. al-Muṣṭafāb. Asād b. 'Abdullāh 'Uzzād al-Fihrit. He threatened her with his lance as she sat in the howdah. It is alleged that the woman was pregnant and when she was frightened she had an abortion. Her brother-in-law Khānā knelt and emptied his quiver [in front of him] and said, 'By God, if one of you comes near me I will put an arrow through him.' So the men fell back. Then Abū Sufyān with some Quraysh leaders came up and asked him to unbend his bow so that they could discuss the matter. Then he came up to him and said, 'You have not done the right thing. You have taken the woman out publicly over the heads of the people when you know of our misfortune and disaster which Muhammad has brought on us. The people will think, if you take away his daughter publicly over the heads of everyone, that that is a sign of our humiliation after the disaster that has happened and an exhibition of utter weakness. O'd life we don't want to keep her from her father and that is not our way of seeking revenge. But take the woman back, and when the chatter has died down and people say that we have brought her back you can take her away secretly to rejoin her father.' This is exactly what happened and one night he took her off and delivered her to Zayd b. Hāridah and his companion, and they took her to the apostle.

'Abdullah b. Rāwāha or Abū Khaythama, brother of B. Sālim b. Auf, said of this affair of Zaynab's (393):

Tidings reached me of their wicked treatment of Zaynab,
So criminal that men could not imagine it.
Muhammad was not put to shame when she was sent forth
Because of the result of the bloody war between us.
From his alliance with Qādāmī and his war with us
Abū Sufyān got but disappointment and remorse.
We bound his son 'Amr and his sworn friend together
In well-wrought jangling irons.
I swear we shall never lack soldiers,
Army leaders with many a champion.
Driving before us infidel Quraysh until we subdue them
With a halter above their noses (and) with a branding iron.
We will drive them to the ends of Najd and Nakhli.

1 About 8 miles from Mecca.
1 Cf. p. 428
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If they drop to the lowland we will pursue them with horse and foot
So that our road will never deviate.
We will bring upon them the fate of ‘Ad and Jurhum.
A people that disobeyed Muhammad will regret it.
And what a time for showing repentance?
Tell Abū Sufyān if you meet him
‘If you are not sincere in worship, and embrace Islam
Then shame will come on you speedily in this life
And in hell you will wear a garment of molten pitch for ever!’ (394)

Abū Sufyān’s ‘sworn friend’ was ‘Amr b. al-Hadramī who was among the prisoners. Al-Hadramī was an ally of Harb b. Umayya (395).

When those who had gone out to Zaynab returned Hind d. ‘Uthān met them and said:

In peace are you wild asses—rough and coarse
And in war like women in their courses?

Kūna b. al-Rabī‘ when he handed Zaynab over to the two men said:

I am astonished at Ḥabhār and the paltry ones of his people
Who wish me to break my word with Muhammad his daughter.
I care not for their numbers as long as I live
And as long as my hand can grasp my trusty blade.

Yazīd b. Abū Habīb from Būkayr b. ‘Abdullāh b. al-Aswāji from Sulaymān b. Yasir from Abū Islāq al-Da‘ūsi from Abū Hurayra, told me that the latter said: ‘The apostle sent me among a number of raiders with orders that if we got hold of Ḥabhār b. al-Aswād or the other man who first got to Zaynab with him (396) we were to burn them with fire. On the following day he sent word to us “I told you to burn these two men if you got hold of them; then I reflected that none has the right to punish by fire save God, so if you capture them kill them.”

ABDUL-‘AS B. AL-RABĪ‘ BECOMES A MUSLIM

When Islam thus came between them Abūl-'As lived in Mecca while Zaynab lived in Medina with the apostle until, shortly before the conquest, Abūl-'As went to Syria trading with his own money and that of Qurayyah which they entrusted to him, for he was a trustworthy man. Having completed his business he was on his way home when one of the apostle's raiding parties fell in with him and took all he had, though he himself escaped them. When the raiders went off with their plunder Abūl-'As went into Zaynab’s house under cover of night and asked her to give him protection. She at once did so. He came to ask for his property. When the apostle went out to morning prayer—so Yazīd b. Rūmān told me

—and said ‘Allah akbar’ followed by all present, Zaynab cried from the place where the women sat ‘O you men, I have given protection to Abūl-'As b. al-Rabī‘.” His prayers over, the apostle turned round to face the men and asked them if they had heard what he had heard, and when they said that they had he swore that he knew nothing about the matter until Zaynab made her declaration, adding, ‘the meanest Muslim can give protection on their behalf’. He went off to see his daughter and told her to honour her guest but not to allow him to approach her for she was not lawful to him.

‘Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr told me that the apostle sent to the raiding party which had taken Abūl-'As’s goods saying: ‘This man is related to us as you know and you have taken property of his. If you think well to restore it to him we should like that; but if you will not it is bootless which God has given you and you have the better right to it.’ They replied that they would willingly give it back and they were so scrupulous that men brought back old skins and little leather bottles and even a little piece of wood until everything was returned and nothing withheld. Then Abūl-'As went to Mecca and paid everyone what was due, including those who had given him money to lay out on their behalf, and asked them if anyone of them had any further claim on him. ‘No,’ they said, ‘God reward you; we have found you both trustworthy and generous.’ ‘Then’, said he, ‘I bear witness that there is no God but the God and that Muhammad is his servant and his apostle. I would have become a Muslim when I was with him but that I feared that you would think that I only wanted to rob you of your property; and now that God has restored it to you and I am clear of it I submit myself to God.’ Thus saying he went off to rejoin the apostle.

Dāwūd b. Ḥaṣāyyn from ‘Ikrima from b. ‘Abdus told me that the apostle restored Zaynab to him according to the first marriage [after six years had passed] without any new procedure (397).

Among the prisoners who, I was told, were given their freedom without having to pay ransom were: Abūl-'As whom the prophet freed after Zaynab his daughter had sent his ransom; al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥantāb b. al-Kāshī b. ‘Ubayyda b. ‘Umar b. Makkāzīm who belonged [by capture] to some of B. al-Ḥarīth b. al-Ḵhaṣṣāz (He was left in their hands until they let him go, and he went to his people) (398); Šayfī b. Abū Rīfā‘ b. Ḥabīb b. ‘Abdul-‘Abdulrahman b. Umar. (He was left in the hands of his captors and when no one came to ransom him they let him go on condition that he should send his ransom, but he broke his word to them. Ḥassān b. Thābit said in reference to that:

Šayfī is not the man to fulfil his pledge
The back of a fox tired at some waterhole or other;?


1 Zaynab called out in a moment of complete silence at the beginning of prayer.
2 Dīwān, L. The line is not clear to me.
3 These words are not in W.
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Jumāh. He was a poor man whose family consisted of daughters, and he said to the apostle: "You know that I have no money, and am in real need with a large family, so let me go without ransom." The apostle did so on condition that he should not fight against him again. Praising him and mentioning his kindness among his people Abī Āzīz said:

Who will tell the apostle Muhammad from me
You are true and the divine King is to be praised?
You call men to truth and right guidance,
God himself witnesses to you.
You are a man given a place among us
To which there are steps hard and easy.
Those who fight you die miserably,
Those who make peace live happily.
When I am reminded of Badr and its people
Sorrow and a sense of loss come over me (399)." 1

'UMAYR B. WAHB BECOMES A MUSLIM

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr from Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me that
'Umār was sitting with Saḥwān b. Umayya in the hījār shortly after Badr.
Now 'Umār was one of the leaders of Quraysh who used to molest the apostle and his companions and cause them distress while he was in Mecca, and his son Waḥīb was among the prisoners taken at Badr (400).
He mentioned those who were thrown into the well and Saḥwān said, 'By God, there is no good in life now they are dead.' "You are right," said 'Umār, 'were it not for a debt outstanding against me which I cannot pay and a family I cannot afford to leave unprovided for, I would ride to Muhammad and kill him, for I have good cause against the lot of them, my son being a prisoner in their hands." Saḥwān took him up and said: 'I will discharge your debt and take care of your family with my own so long as they live. All that I have shall be theirs." 'Umār and he agreed to keep the matter secret.

Then 'Umār called for his sword and sharpened it and smeared it with poison and went off to Medina. While 'Umar was talking with some of the Muslims about Badr and mentioning how God had honoured them in giving them victory over their enemies he suddenly saw 'Umār stopping at the door of the mosque grit with his sword, and said, "This dog the enemy of God is 'Umār b. Waḥīb. By God he's come for some evil purpose. It was he who made mischief among us and calculated our numbers for the enemy at Badr." Then 'Umar went into the apostle and said, 'O prophet of God, this enemy of God 'Umār b. Waḥīb has come grit with his sword." He told him to let him come in and 'Umar advanced

and seizing his bandoleer he gripped him round the neck with it. He told the Ansār who were with him to come in and sit with the apostle and to watch the rascal carefully, for he was not to be trusted. When the apostle saw 'Umār and 'Umar grasping the bandoleer round his neck he told 'Umar to let go and 'Umār to advance. He came up and said 'Good morning', for that was the greeting of paganism. The apostle said, 'God has honoured us with a better greeting than thine, 'Umār. It is Salām, the greeting of the inhabitants of Paradise.' 'By God, Muhammad, you have taken it only recently.' "What brought you?" 'I have come about this prisoner you have that you may treat him well." 'Then why have you a sword round your neck?" 'God damn the swords. Have they done us any good?' 'Tell me the truth. Why have you come?' 'I came only for the reason I have told you.' "Nay, but you and Saḥwān b. Umayya sat together in the hījār and talked about the Quraysh who were thrown into the well. Then you said "But for debts and family reasons I would go and kill Muhammad." And Saḥwān assumed responsibility for both if you would kill me for him, but God intervened." 'I testify that you are the apostle of God. We used to call you a liar when you brought us tidings from heaven and we denied the revelation you brought. But this is a matter to which only I and Saḥwān were privy, and none can have told you of it but God. Praise be to God who has guided me to Islam and led me thus.' Then he testified to the truth and the apostle said, 'Instruct your brother in his religion, read the Qur'an to him, and free his prisoner for him,' and they did so.

Then he said, 'I used to be active in extinguishing the light of God and in persecuting those who followed God's religion. I should like you to give me permission to go to Mecca to summon them to God and His apostle and to Islam that perhaps God may guide them; and if not I will persecute them in their religion as I used to persecute your companions.'

The apostle agreed and he went to Mecca. When 'Umār had left, Saḥwān was saying, "You will soon have some good news which will make you forget what happened at Badr." Saḥwān kept questioning riders until one came who told him of 'Umār's Islam, and he swore that he would never speak to him again nor do him a service. When 'Umār came to Mecca he stayed there summoning people to Islam and treating those who opposed him violently so that through him many became Muslims.

I was told that it was either 'Umār or al-Ḥārīrī b. Ḥishām who saw the devil when he turned on his heels on the day of Badr and said, "Where are you going, O Surāqā" And the enemy of God lay on the ground and disappeared." So God sent down concerning him, 'And when Satan made their works seem good to them and said None can conquer you today for I am your protector' 2 and he mentions how the devil deceived them and took

1 I prefer the reading fāshūdhi qutubū. This is perhaps the most blatant forgery of all the 'poems' of the Sīra. The heathen author's record was so bad that the prophet ordered his execution and yet he is made to utter fulsome praise of him and devotion to Islam.

2 Reading ʿUtba for C. and ʿUtba, but perhaps the meaning is 'It is new to me'.

3 In another tradition quoted by Subayyī ii. 85 it is the devil who knocks down al-Ḥārīrī.
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the form of Surqā b. Malik b. Ju'shum when they remembered the quarrel they had with B. Bakr. God said, 'And when the two armies saw each other' and the enemy of God saw the armies of angels by which God strengthened His apostle and the believers against their enemies' he turned on his heels and said, 'I am quit of you, for I see what you do not see.' The enemy of God spoke the truth for he did see what they could not see and said, 'I fear God for God is severe in punishment.' I was told that they used to see him in every camp whenever he appeared in the form of Surqā not suspecting him until on the day of Badr when the two armies met he turned on his heels and betrayed them after he had led them on (402).

Hassān b. Thābit said:

My people it was who sheltered their prophet
And believed in him when all the world were unbelievers,
Except a chosen few who were forerunners
To the righteous, helpers with the Helpers,
Rejoicing in God's portion
Saying when he came to them, noble of race, chosen,
Welcome in safety and comfort,
Goodly the prophet the portion and the guest.
They gave him a home in which a guest of theirs
Need have no fear—an (ideal) home.
They shared their wealth when the refugees came
While the share of the stubborn opponent is hell.
To Badr we went—they to their death.
Had they known what they should have known they would not have gone;
The devil deluded and then betrayed them.
Thus does the evil one deceive his friends.
He said I am your protector and brought them to an evil pass
Wherein is shame and disgrace.
Then when we fought them they deserted their leaders,
Some fleeing to high ground others to the plain (402).

THE QURAYSH WHO FED THE PILGRIMS

The names of the Quraysh who used to feed the pilgrims are as follows:

From B. Ḥāšim: Al-'Abbās b. 'Abdul-Muṭṭalib.
From B. 'Abdul Shams: 'Utbah b. Rabi'a.
From B. Naufal: al-Ḥārith b. 'Amir and Ṭu'ayma b. 'Adly by turna.
From B. Asad: Abū Bakr and Ḥajjām b. Ḥizām by turna.
From B. 'Abdul-l-Dār: al-Nadr b. al-Ḥārith b. Kalda b. 'Alqama (403)
From B. Muhāzin: Abū Jahl.
Then God said, 'Then thy Lord revealed to the angels, I am with you so strengthen those that believe.' I.e. help those that believe.

'I will cast terror into the hearts of those who disbelieve, so strike off their heads and cut off all their fingers, because they opposed God and His apostle and he who opposes God and His apostle (will find) God severe in punishment.'

Then He said, 'O you who believe, when you meet those who disbelieve on the march, do not turn your backs. He who turns his back except in maneuvering or intending to join another section, incurs the wrath of God, and his destination is Hell, a miserable end.' I.e. Inciting them against their enemy so that they should not withdraw from them when they met them, God having promised what He had promised.

Then God said concerning the apostle's throwing pebbles at them, 'When you threw, it was not you that threw, but God.' I.e. Your throwing would have had no effect unless God had helped you therein and cast terror into their hearts when He put them to flight.

'And to test the believers with a good test.' I.e. To let them know of His favour towards them in giving them victory over their enemies in spite of their small number that they might know thereby His truth, and be thankful for His favour.

Then He said, 'If you sought a judgement, a judgement came to you.' I.e. With reference to what Abū Jahl said, 'O God, he who is the worst in severing relations and bringing us things that are unacceptable destroy him this morning.' Istiftah means to pray for what is just.

God said, 'If you come, that is addressed to Quraysh, 'it is better for you, and if you return (to the attack) We will return.' I.e. With a similar blow to that which We gave you on the day of Badr.

'And your army will avail you nothing however numerous, and (know) that God is with the believers.' I.e. That your number and multitude will not avail you at all while I am with the believers, helping them against those that oppose them.

Then God said, 'O you that believe, obey God and His apostle, turn not away from him while you are listening.' I.e. Do not contradict his orders when you hear him speak and while you assert that you are on his side.

'And be not like those who said, 'We hear' when they did not hear,' I.e. Like the hypocrites who pretend to be obedient and are secretly disobedient to him.

'The worst of beasts with God are the deaf and the dumb who do not understand.' I.e. The hypocrites whom I have forbidden you to imitate. Dumb in reference to good, deaf to truth, not understanding and not knowing the vengeance and consequence which will come upon them.

'Had God known that there was good among them, He would have made them listen.' I.e. In performing for them the words which they spoke with their tongues, but their hearts contradicted them, and if they had come forth with you, 'they would have turned their backs, going aside.' I.e. Would not have been faithful to you in the purpose for which they had come out.

'O you who believe, respond to God and the apostle when He summons you to that which will quicken you.' I.e. to the war in which God exacted you after humiliation, and made you strong after weakness, and protected you from your enemies after you had been overcome by them.

'And remember when you were few, despised in the land, fearing that men would pluck you away, and He gave you refuge and strengthened you by His help and nourished you with good things that you might be thankful. O you who believe, betray not God and His apostle and betray not your trust knowingly.' I.e. Do not show Him what is right, which pleases Him, and then oppose Him secretly in something else, for that is destroying your trust and treachery to yourselves.

'O you who believe, fear God and He will make for you a fursūq, and wipe away your evil acts and pardon you. od is exceeding bountiful.' I.e. A distinction between true and false by which God shows your truth and extinguishes the falsehood of those who oppose you.

Then He reminds the apostle of His favour towards him when the people plotted against him 'to kill him, or to wound him, or to drive him out; and they plotted and God plotted, and God is the best of plotters.' I.e. I deceived them with My firm guile so that I delivered you from them.

Then He mentions the folly of Quraysh in asking for a judgement against themselves when they said, 'O God, if this is the truth from Thee,' i.e. what Muhammad has brought, 'then rain upon us stones from heaven,' I.e. As you rained them upon the people of Lot.

'Or bring us a painful punishment.' I.e. Some of that by which You punished the peoples before us.

They used to say, God will not punish us when we ask for His pardon, and He will not punish a people whose prophet is with them until He has sent him away from them. That is what they said when the apostle was among them, and God said to His apostle, mentioning their ignorance and folly and the judgement they asked against themselves when He reproached them with their evil deeds. 'God will not punish them while you are with them, and God will not punish them while they ask for forgiveness.' I.e. When they said, 'We ask for forgiveness and Muhammad is among us.'

Then He said, 'What (plea) have they that God should not punish them?' though you are among them and though they ask for forgiveness as they say.

1 I. 1's explanation of the meaning of fursūq is adopted by Tabari on 2. 50 and it admirably suits the sense of the word in Arabic; but Baydawī on 21. 49 and Zamakhshāri on 8. 39 (this verse) collect a number of meanings. If the word were purely Arabic, it would be difficult to see why there was any doubt about it. The facts are that in Arabic furūṣūn means 'deliverance,' and in Christian Arabic it is the common word for 'salvation.' In the Quran it often means, or seems to mean, some sort of book, 2. 50; 3. 2; and 21. 49, &c., but in 8. 42 (n.1:)'The day of the furūṣūn, the day when the two hosts met,' 'deliverance' seems to be the most probable meaning, and the same would seem to apply to this verse. For an illuminating discussion of the evidence and theories formed thereon see Jefferies Foreign Vocabulary, 235-9.
God is able to do all things; i.e. the day I divided between the true and the false by My power the day the two armies met—you and they 'when you were on the nearer side' of the wadi 'and they on the further side' of the wadi towards Mecca and the caravan was below you,' i.e. the caravan of Abū Šufyān which you had gone out to capture and they had gone out to protect without any appointment between you. 'And if you had arranged to meet you would have failed to meet,' i.e. had you arranged to meet and then you had heard of their multitude compared with your force you would not have met them; 'but that God might accomplish a thing that had to be done,' i.e. that He might accomplish what He willed in His power, namely to exalt Islam and its followers and to abase the unbelievers without your fighting hard. He did what He willed in His goodness. Then He said: 'that he who died should die with a clear proof and he who lived should live by a clear proof. God is a Healer, a Knower,' i.e. that he who disbelieved should disbelieve after the proof in the sign and example which he had seen and he who believed should believe by the same warrant.
Then He mentioned His kindness and His plotting for him: 'When God showed thee in thy sleep that they were few, and if He had shown them to thee as many you would have failed and quarrelled over the affair; but God saved you. He knows what is within the breasts.' What God showed him was one of His favours by which He encouraged them against their enemy, and kept from them what would have frightened them because of their weakness, because He knew what was in them (407). 'And when you met them He made you see them as few making you seem small in their eyes that God might accomplish a thing that had to be done,' i.e. to unite them for war to take vengeance on whom He willed and to show favour to those Whom He willed to bless, who were of the number of His friends.
Then He admonished and instructed and taught them how they ought to conduct their wars and said: 'O believers, when you meet an army whom you fight in the way of God 'Stand, firm and remember God often to Whom you devoted yourselves when you gave your allegiance to Him so that you may prosper. And obey God and His apostle and wrangle not lest you fail,' i.e. do not quarrel so that your affairs become disordered 'and your spirit depart,' i.e. your bravery go, 'and be steadfast. God is with the steadfast,' i.e. I am with you when you do that. 'And be not like those who went forth from their houses boastfully to be seen of men,' i.e. do not be like Abu Jahl and his companions who said, 'We will not go back until we have been to Badr and slaughtered camels there and drunk wine and the singing girls have made music for us and the Arabs will hear of it,' i.e. let not your affair be outward show and the subject of gossip, nor concerned with men, and purify your intention towards God and your efforts for the victory of your religion and the help of your prophet. Simply do that and do not aim at anything else. Then He said: 'And when Satan made their deeds seem good to them and said, 'No man can conquer you today for I am your protector' (408).
Then God mentions the unbelievers and what they will meet when they die, and describes them, and tells His prophet about them until He says: 'If you come upon them in war, deal with them so forcibly as to terrify those who follow them, haply they may take warning,' i.e. make a severe example of them to those that come after, that haply they may understand. 'And prepare what strength you can against them, and cavalry by which you may strike terror into the enemy of God and your enemy' as far as His words, 'And whatever you spend in the way of God will be repaid to you: you will not be wronged,' i.e. you will not lose your reward with God in the next life and a rapid recompense in this world. Then He said, 'And if they incline to peace incline thou to it,' i.e. if they ask you for peace on the basis of Islam then make peace on that basis, 'and rely on God,' verily God will suffice thee, 'He is the Hearer, the Knower' (409). 'And if they would deceive thee, God is sufficient for thee,' He being behind thee, 'He it is who strengthens thee with His help' after weakness 'and by the believers. And He made them of one mind' by the guidance with which God sent them to them. 'Hadst thou spent all the world's wealth thou hadst not made them of one mind but God made them of one mind' by His religion to which He gathered them. 'He is mighty, wise.'

Then He said: 'O prophet, God is sufficient for thee and the believers who follow thee. O prophet, exhort the believers to fight. If there are twenty steadfast ones among you they will overcome two hundred, and if there are a hundred of you they will overcome a thousand unbelievers for they are a sensless people,' i.e. they do not fight with a good intention nor for truth nor have they knowledge of what is good and what is evil.

Abūbās b. Abū Najīh from 'Atī b. Abū Rībāh from 'Abdullāh b. 'Abbās told me that when this verse came down it came as a shock to the Muslims who took it hard that twenty should have to fight two hundred, and a hundred fight a thousand. So God relieved them and cancelled the verse with another saying: 'Now has God relieved you and He knows that there is weakness amongst you, so if there are a hundred steadfast they shall overcome two hundred, and if there are a thousand of you they shall overcome two thousand by God's permission, for God is with the steadfast.' ('Abdullāh) said, 'When they numbered half of the enemy it was wrong for them to run from them; but if they were less than half they were not bound to fight and it was permissible for them to withdraw.'

Then God reproached him about the prisoners and the taking of booty, no other prophet before him having taken booty from his enemy. Muhammad Abū Ja'far b. 'Ali b. al-Ḥusayn told me that the apostle said: 'I was helped by fear; the earth was made a place to pray, and clean; I was given all-embracing words; booty was made lawful to me as to no prophet before me; and I was given the power to intercede; five privileges accorded to no prophet before me.'

God said, 'It is not for any prophet,' i.e. before thee, 'to take prisoners' from his enemies 'until he has made slaughter in the earth,' i.e. slaughtered his enemies until he drives them from the land.' You desire the lure of this world, i.e. its goods, the ransom of the captives. 'But God desires the next world,' i.e. their killing them to manifest the religion which He wishes to manifest and by which the next world may be attained. 'Had there not previously been a book from God there would have come upon you for what you took,' i.e. prisoners and booty, 'an awful punishment,' i.e. had it not previously gone forth from Me that I would punish only after a prohibition—and He had not prohibited them—I would have punished you for what you did. Then He made it lawful to him and to them as a mercy from Him and a gift from the Compassionate, the Merciful. He said, 'So enjoy what you have captured as lawful and good, and fear God. God is Forgiving, Merciful.' Then He said: 'O prophet, Say to those captives in your hands, If God knows any good in your hearts He will give you something better than that which has been taken from you and God will pardon you. God is Forgiving, Merciful.'

He incited the Muslims to unity and made the Refugees and the Helpers 485 friends in religion and the unbelievers friends one of another. Then He said: 'If you do not do so, there will be confusion in the land and a great corruption,' i.e. unless believer becomes friend of believer to the exclusion of the unbeliever even though he is of his kin. 'There will be confusion in the land,' i.e. doubt about the true and the false and the rise of corruption in the land if the believer takes the side of the unbeliever against the believer.

Then He assigned inheritances to next of kin of those who became Muslims after the friendship between Refugees and Helpers and said: 'And those who believed afterwards and migrated and strove along with you they are of you; and those who are akin are nearer to one another in God's book,' i.e. in inheritance 'God knoweth all things'.

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Muhammad, God's apostle the lord of the sent ones, b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Abdul-Muṭlaši b. Ḥāshim; Ḥāmza b. 'Abdul-Muṭlaši b. Ḥāshim, the lion of God and of His apostle, the apostle's uncle; 'Ali b. Abū Ṭālib b. 'Abdul-Muṭlaši b. Ḥāshim; Zayd b. Ḥāritha b. Shurabaḥ b. Ka'b b. 'Abdul-'Uzzā b. Imrū'-'l-Qays al-Kalbī (410); Anas the apostle's freed man; and Abū Kābsha likewise (411); Abū Marthad Kānāz b. Ḥīṣn b.
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Of B. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Manāf; 'Uthmān b. 'Affār b. Abū'l-ʾĀṣ b. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams. (He stayed behind on account of his wife Ruqayya the apostle's daughter, so the apostle assigned him his portion. He asked 'And my reward (from God) as well?' 'Yes', said the apostle.) Abū Hudhayfah b. 'Utbah b. Rabi'a b. 'Abdu Shams, and Sālim his freedman (413). They allege that Subayh freedman of Abūl-ʾĀṣ b. Umayya got ready to march with the apostle, but fell sick and mounted on his camel Abū Salama b. 'Abdu-ʾĀsād b. Ḥilāl b. 'Abdullah b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm. Afterwards Subayh was present at all the apostle's battles.


Of B. Taym b. Murra: Abū Bakr whose full name was 'Aṣūf b. Uthmān b. Abīm a r b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym (421). Bilāl his freedman, born a slave among the B. Ḥumāq. Abū Bakr bought him from Umayya b. Khuzyama. His name was Bilāl b. Rabbā. He had no offspring; 'Amīr b. Fuhayra (422) and Suwayy b. Sinān from al-Namr b. Qasīt (423) and Talḥa b. Abīyād b. 'Uthmān b. Abīm a r b. Ka'b, &c.; He was in Syria and did not turn up until the apostle had returned from Badr. Nevertheless, he allotted him a share in the booty as he had done in the case of 'Uthmān. Total 5 men.


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had gone forth to war with his father Suhayl and when the people camped at Badr he died and took part in the battle on his side); and 'Umayr b. 'Auf, freedman of Suhayl; and Sa'd b. Khaza an ally of theirs (430). Total 9 men.


The total number of the Emigrants who took part in the battle of Badr to whom the apostle allotted shares in the booty was 83 men (430).

THE HELPERS AND THEIR ADHERENTS WHO WERE AT BADR


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Total 4 men.


1 So A.Dh. W. has ‘Uba. Dr. Armit notes that the usual form of this name is ‘Abha and that in his Tophelom W. has Naxer. [This latter as in agreement with A.Dh. as well as J.H.]
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Of B. Sawād b. Mālik b. Ghanam: 'Abbū and Mu'āwīd and Mu'ād sons of al-Hāridh b. Rif'ā'ī b. Sūaym b. Qays b. 'Afrāf (488); and al-Nu'mān b. 'Amr b. Rif'ā'ī b. Sūaym (489); and Abbū Makkahād b. al-Hāridh b. Sawād; and Abbūlah b. Qays b. Khālid b. Khulāda b. al-Hāridh; and 'Usaymā an ally from Aṣḥā'; and Wadi'a b. 'Amr an ally from Juhayna; and Thābit b. 'Amr b. Zayd b. 'Adiy. 'They allege that Abbūl-'Hamra', freedman of al-Hāridh b. 'Afrāf was at Badr (490). Total 10 men.

Of B. 'Amir b. Mālik b. al-Najjār, 'Amir being Mabduhil of the clan of B. Ṣittā b. 'Amr b. Mabduhil: Th'alābā b. 'Amr b. Miṣṣan b. 'Amr b. 'Aṭik; and Sahl b. 'Aṭik b. 'Amr b. al-Nu'mān; and al-Hāridh b. al-Simmā b. 'Amr; his leg was broken at al-Rauḥāt and the apostle gave him his share in the booty. Total 3 men.


THE NAMES OF THE POLYTHEISTS WHO WERE SLAIN AT BADR

The Quraysh losses at Badr were as follows:

Of B. 'Abdu Shams: Hanzala b. Abū Sufyān (499); al-Hārith b. al-Hadrami and 'Amir b. al-Hadrami, two allies of theirs (500); and Umayr b. Abū 'Umayr and his son two freedmen of theirs (501); and 'Ubayda b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āq b. Umayya whom al-Zubayr b. al-Awsām killed; and al-'Āq b. Sa'īd whom Ali killed; and Uqba b. Abū Mu'ayyad whom ʻĀṣim b. Thābit killed (502); and Utba b. Rabī' whom 'Ubayda b. al-Hārith killed (503); and Shayba b. Rabī' whom Hanza killed; and al-Walid b. Utba whom Al killed; and 'Amir b. Abdullah, an ally from B. Asmār b. Baghid whom Al killed. Total 12.

Of B. Naufal b. Abū Manāf: al-Hārith b. 'Amir whom Khubayb b. Isāf is said to have killed; and Tu'ayma b. 'Adiy b. Naufal whom 'Al killed while others say Hanza killed him. Total 2.

Of B. Asad b. 'Abdul-'Uzāz: Zama b. al-Awad (504); and al-Hārith b. Zama (505); and Uqayl b. al-Awar (506); and Abūl-Bakhtari who was al-'Āq b. Hishām whom al-Mujaddidh b. Dhiyād b. al-Balawi killed (507); and Naufal b. Khuyaylid who was b. 'Adawiya the 'Aidy of Khuzay'a; it was he who bound Abū Bakr and Ṭalha b. 'Ubaydullah with a rope when they became Muslims and so were called "the-two-tied-together-ones." He was one of the principal men of Quraysh. 'Al killed him. Total 5 men.


struck off his leg. Eisa b. `Ihrim struck off Mu`adhdh`s hand and he threw it from him; then Mu`awwidh b. `Afra` struck him so that he disabled him leaving him at the last gasp; then `Abdullah b. Mas`ud quickly dispatched him and cut off his head when the apostle ordered that search should be made among the slain for him; and al-`As b. Hisham whom `Umar killed; and Yazid b. `Abdullah, an ally from B. Taimin (513); and Abu Musa al-Ash`ari, an ally (511); and Harraula b. `Amir, an ally (513); and Mas`ud b. Abu `Umayya (514); and Abu Qays b. al-Walid (515); and Abu Qays b. al-Fakih (516); and Ri`a b. Abu Ri`a (517); and al-Mundhir b. Abu Ri`a (518); and Abu`l-Baqi` b. al-Mundhir (519); and al-Sa`b`i` b. Abu`l-Sa`b`i` (520); and Abu`l-Asad b. Abu`l-Asad whom Harraula killed; and Hassan b. al-Sa`b`i` (521); and `Umayr b. al-Sa`b`i` (522); and `Amr b. Sufyan; and Jabir b. Sufyan, two allies from Tayy (523). Total 17.

Of B. Sahm b. `Amir: Muna`abib b. al-Hajjaj whom Abu`l-Yasar killed; and his son al-`As (524); and Nabayh b. al-Hajjaj (525); and Abu`l-`As b. Qays (526); and `A`nim b. `A`f (527). Total 5.

Of B. Junah: `Umayya b. Khalaf whom a Helper of B. Mazin killed (528); and his son `Ali b. `Umayya whom `Abb`s killed; and `Abas b. Mi`yar (529). Total 3.

Of B. `Amir b. Li`ayy: Mu`tawiya b. `Amir, an ally from Abu`l-Qays whom `Ali killed (530); and Mu`abad b. Wahib, an ally from B. Kalb b. `A`f whom Khalid and Iyads the two sons of al-Bukayr killed (531). Total 2.

Thus the total number of Quraysh slain at Badr as given to us is 50 men (532).

513 A LIST OF THE QURAYSH POLYTHEISTS WHO WERE TAKEN PRISONER AT BADR


1 Here one would expect that the number of the Hachimite prisoners would be given, but it is not. A.D.A. says: ‘He does not mention al-`Abbas along with these two prisoners because he had become a Muslim, and used to conceal his religion because he was afraid of his tribe-men.’ However, since we at the end of the list says that the total number was 43, whereas only 42 are named, it is obvious that he must have included `Abbas among the prisoners. In his note is that one prisoner, whose name is not mentioned, is missing from the list.
SOME POETRY ABOUT THE BATTLE OF BADR

Of the poetry about the battle of Badr which the two parties bandied between them in reference to what happened therein are the lines of Ḥamza b. 'Abdullāh-Muṭṭalib (537):

Surely one of time's wonders
(Though roads to death are plain to see)
Is that a people should destroy themselves and perish²
By encouraging one another to disobedience and disbelief.
The night they all set out for Badr
And became death's pawns in its well.
We had sought but their caravan, naught else,
But they came to us and we met unexpectedly.³
When we met there was no way out
Save with a thrust from dun-coloured straight-fashioned shafts
And a blow with swords which severed their heads,
Swords that glittered as they smote.
We left the erring 'Utba lying dead
And Shyba among the slain thrown in the well;
'Amr lay dead among their protectors
And the keening women rent their garments for him,
The noble women of Lu'ayy b. Ghālib
Who surpass the best of Fihr.
Those were folk who were killed in their error
And they left a banner not prepared for victory—
A banner of error whose people Iblīs led.
He betrayed them (the evil one is prone to treachery).
When he saw things clearly he said to them,
"I am quit of you. I can no longer endure,"¹
I see what you do not see, I fear God's punishment
For He is invincible.'
He led them to death so that they perished
While he knew what they could not know.
On the day of the well they mustered a thousand,
We three hundred like excited white stallions.
With us were God's armies when He reinforced us with them
In a place that will ever be renowned.

Under our banner Gabriel attacked with them
In the fray where they met their death.

¹ Lit. Did you see a thing that was one of time's wonders?
² Reading fashād with C.
³ old gādm, lit. 'by (God's) decree.'
⁴ Cf. Surā 8, 50. 'The preceding lines seem to be the work of the man who wrote the poem attributed to Ḥażāna. Cf. W. 475, line 2.'
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Its signs are plain to men of sense.
Some firmly believed in that and were convinced
And (thanks to God) became one people;
Others disbelieved, their minds went astray
And the Lord of the throne brought repeated calamities upon them;
At Badr He gave them into the power of His apostle
And an angry army who did valiantly,
They smote them with their trusty swords,
Furbished well, and polished.
How many a lusty youngster,
Many a hardy warrior did they leave prone.
Their keening women spent a sleepless night,
Their tears now strong, now weak.
They keen for erring 'Utba and his son,
And Shayba and Abu Jahl
And Dhū'l-Riḍā and Ibn Jud'ān also,
With burning threats in mourning garb displaying bereavement.
Dead in Badr's well lay many,
Brave in war, generous in time of death;
Error called them and some responded
(For error has ways easy to adopt).
Now they are in Hell,
Too occupied to rage furiously against us.

Al-Harīth b. Hishām b. al-Mughira answered him thus:
I wonder at folk whose fool sings
Of folly captious and vain,
Singing about the slain at Badr
When young and old vied in glorious endeavour,
The brave swordsmen of Lu'ayy, Ibn Ghālib,
Thrusting in battle, feasting the hungry in times of death;
They died nobly, they did not sell their family
For strangers alien in stock and homeland,
Like you who have made Ghassān your special friends
Instead of us—a sorry deed,
An impious, odious crime, and a severing of the ties of blood;
Men of judgement and understanding perceive your wrongdoing.
True, they are men who have passed away,
But the best death is on the battlefield.
Rejoice not that you have killed them,
For their death will bring you repeated disaster.
Now they are dead you will always be divided,

1 Or 'its messenger'.
3 I.e. Al-Awsad whose leg Hamza bowed off, v.s.

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Not one people as you desire,
By the loss of Ibn Jud'ān, the praiseworthy,
And 'Utba, and him who is called Abū Jahl among you.
Shayba and al-Walīd were among them,
Umayya, the refuge of the poor, and Dhū'l-Riḍā.
Weep for these and not for others,
The keening women will bewail their loss and bereavement,
Say to the people of Mecca, Assemble yourselves
And go to al-Madinah's forts. -
Defend yourselves and fight, O people of Ka'b,
With your polished and burnished swords
Or pass the night in fear and trembling
By day meaner than the sandal that is trodden underfoot.
But know, O men that by Al-Lat, I am sure
That you will not rest without taking vengeance.
All of you, don your mail, take the spear,
The helmet, sharp sword and arrows.

Dirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Mīrād son of B. Muḥārib b. Fīhr said:
I wonder at the boasting of Aus when death is coming to them to-morrow
(Since time contains its warnings)
And at the boasting of the Banū'l-Najjar because certain men died there,
For all of them were steadfast men,
If some of our men were left dead
We shall leave others dead on the field. -
Our flying steeds will carry us among you,
Till we slake our vengeance, O Banū'l-Aus,
We shall return to the charge in the midst of the Banū'l-Najjar,
Our horses snorting under the weight of the spearmen clad in n
Your dead we shall leave with vultures circling round
To look for help but a vain desire.
Yathrib's women will mourn them,
Their rights long and sleepless
Because our swords will cut them down,
Dripping with the blood of their victims.
Though you won on the day of Badr
Your good fortune was plainly due to Ahmad
And the chosen hand, his friends,
Who protected him in battle when death was at hand,
Abū Bakr and 'Amr b. Aswad could be numbered among them

1 Apparently al-Awsad the Makhnūnites whose leg was cut off as he tried to drink
from the well at Badr is meant. See W. 442.
2 I.e. of the enemy. C. and W. differ in this line.
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And 'Ali among those you could mention,
Abū Ḥafīẓ and 'Uttamān were of them,
Sa'd too, if anyone was present,
Those men—not the begettings of Aus and Najār—
Should be the object of your boasting,
But their father was from Lu'ayy Ibn Ghālib,
Ka'b and 'Āmir when noble families are reckoned.
They are the men who repelled the cavalry on every front,
The noble and glorious on the day of battle.

Ka'b b. Malik brother of the B. Salima said:

I wonder at God's deed, since He
Does what He wills, none can defeat Him.
He decreed that we should meet at Badr,
An evil band (and evil ever leads to death).
They had summoned their neighbours on all sides
Until they formed a great host.
At us alone they came with ill intent,
Ka'b and 'Āmir and all of them.
With us was God's apostle with Aus round him
Like a strong impregnable fortress
The tribes of Banū Najār beneath his banner
Advancing in light armour while the dust rose high.
When we met them and every steadfast warrior
Ventured his life with his comrades
We testified to the unity of God
And that His apostle brought the truth.
When our light swords were unsheathed
'Twas as though fires flashed at their movement.
With them we smote them and they scattered
And the impious met death,
Abū Jahl lay dead on his face
And 'Utbā our swords left in the dust.
Shayba and Al-Taymi they left on the battlefield,
Everyone of them denied Him who sitteth on the throne
They became fuel for Hell,
For every unbeliever must go there,
It will consume them, while the stoker
Increases its heat with pieces of iron and stone.
God's apostle had called them to him
But they turned away, saying, 'You are nothing but a sorcerer.'
Because God willed to destroy them,
And none can avert what He decrees.

Hassān b. Thābit al-Anṣārī answered him:

Weep, may your eyes weep blood,
Their rapid flow ever renewed.
Why weep for those who ran to evil ways?
Why have you not mentioned the virtues of our people
And our glorious, purposeful, tolerant, courageous one,
The prophet, soul of virtue and generosity,
The truest man that ever swore an oath?
One who resembles him and does his teaching
Was the most praised there not without effect.

Hassān also said:

A maiden obsesses thy mind in sleep
Giving the sleeper a drink with cool lips
Like musk mingled with pure water
Or old wine red as the blood of sacrifices
Wide in the rump, her buttocks ripple of fat,
Vivacious, not hasty in swearing an oath,
Her well-covered hips as she sits
Form a hollow in her back like a marble mortar,
So lazy she can hardly go to bed,
Of beautiful body and lovely figure.
By day I never fail to think of her,

1 In reference to the text these words have been retained; but (1) they occur after I.H.'s interpolation in which he ascribes the poem to al-'Ashā b. Zaidah, an ally of B. 'Abdu Naufal, and (a) 'Abdullāh, though he belonged to Shāhī who were in the al-Shāhī alliance with B. 'Abdu'l-Dār, could hardly be called a half-t. Therefore it looks as if the words refer to al-'Ashā. Whether I.H. inserted them because he knew that I.H. differed from him, or whether someone else did for the same reason, it is impossible to say.
2 The line is clumsy and the syntax questionable.
By night my dreams inflame my desire for her
I swear I will not forget to think of her
Until my bones lie in the grave.
O woman who foolishly blames me,
I refuse to accept blame on account of my love;
She came to me at dawn after I woke
When life's troubles were at hand.
She told me that man is sad all his life
Because he lacks plenty of camels;
If you lie in what you said
May you escape the consequences as Al-Hārith b. Hishām did.
He left his friends fearing in them defence,
And escaped by giving his horse free rein.
It left the swift steeds behind in the desert;
As the weighted rope drops down the well.
His mare galloped away at full speed while
His friends remained in their evil plight,
[His brothers and his family were in the battle
In which God gave the Muslims victory—
For God accomplishes His work—war ground them to powder,
Tug fire blazed (with them as fuel).
But for God and the animal's speed (our horses) had left him
A prey to wild beasts roving under their hoofs.]
Some of them firmly bound prisoners (though they were)
Hawks protecting their young) when they met the spears;
Some prostrate never to answer to the call
Till the highest mountains cease to be,
In shame and plain disgrace when they saw
The sword blades driving every resolute chief before them.
Swords in the hands of noble valiant chiefs,
Whose noble ancestry is vindicated without searching inquiry.
Swords that strike fire from steel
Like lightning 'neath the storm clouds.

Al-Hārith answered him and said:

The people know well, I did not leave the fight until my steed was
foaming with blood.
I knew that if I fought alone I should be killed; my death would not
injure the enemy
So I withdrew and left my friends meaning to avenge them another
day.

3 These three verses are obviously a later interpolation. The syntax requires that the
subjective pronoun should follow its antecedent 'his friends'. Moreover, the patently poetical
verse or these verses is foreign to Ḥassān.
4 C. has 'God knows best', but this is almost certainly wrong. I have followed the text of W.
The Life of Muhammad

To the death; we have help unlimited,
Faithful to his promise, intrepid, a brilliant star,
A full moon that casts light on every noble man (543)

Hassan also said:

The Banu Asad were disappointed and their raiders returned
On the day of the Well in misery and disgrace.
Abu't-As said, 'Abd Allah:
Harried from the back of his galloping steed:
He met his end with his weapons, good fighter as he was
When he lay still in death.
The man Zam'a we left with his throat severed,
His life blood flowing away,
His forehead cushioned in the dust,
His nostrils defiled with filth;
Husayn escaped with a remnant of his tribe
Covered with wounds, at the point of death.

Hassan also said:

Can anyone say if the Meccans know
How we slew the unbelievers in their evil hour?
We killed their leaders in the battle
And they returned a shattered force;
We killed Abu Jahl and Utba before him,
And Shayba fell forward with his hands outstretched;
We killed Suwayd and Utba after him.
Tu'ma also in the dust of combat.
Many noble, generous men we slew
Of lofty line, illustrious among his people.
We left them as meat for hyenas
Later to burn in Hell fire.
I'faith Malik's horsemen and their followers were no protection
When they met us at Badr (544).

Hassan also said:

Hakim's speed saved him on the day of Badr
Like the speed of a colt from al-Awa's mares.
When he saw it.
Swarming with the blackailed squadrons of Khazraj
Who do not retire when they meet the enemy,
Who march boldly in the middle of the beaten track.

1 Diodor xcvii.
2 Diodor xlv.
3 The true reading is yakkī, W.'s yakkī is an obvious mpsrnt. The widely different reading in H.'s Diodor is markedly inferior.
4 A reminiscence of Surah 88. 4.
5 Diodor lxxi.
6 A horse as famous in pagan sagas as Black Bess in English legend.

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How many a valiant chief they have,
Heroes where the coward turns at bay,
Chief giving lavishly with open hand,
Crowned ones bearing the burden of blood-wits,
Ornaments in conclave, persistent in battle,
Smiting the bold with their all-piercing swords (545).

Hassan also said:

Thanks to God we fear not an army
How many they be with their assembled troops.
Whenever they brought a multitude against us
The gracious Lord sufficed us against their swords:
At Badr we raised our spears aloft,
Death did not dismay us.
You could not see a body of men
More dangerous to those they attack when war is stirred up,
But we put our trust [in God] and said:
'Our swords are our fame and our defence.'
With them we met them and were victorious
Though but a band against their thousands.

Hassan also said, satirizing B. Jumah and those of them who were slain:
Banu Jumah rushed headlong to disaster because of their unlucky star
(The mean men inevitably meet humiliation).
They were conquered and slain at Badr,
They deserted in all directions,
They rejected the scripture and called Muhammad liar.
But God makes the religion of every apostle victorious;
God curse Abu Khuzayma and his son,
The two Khaliда and Sā'id b. 'Aql.

'Ubayda b. al-Harith said about the battle of Badr, and the cutting off of his foot when it was smitten in the fight, when he and 'Amma and 'Ali fought their enemies (549):

A battle will tell the Meccans about us:
It will make distant men give heed,
When 'Utba died and Shayba after him
And 'Utba's eldest son had no cause to be pleased with it.
You may cut off my leg, yet I am a Muslim,
I hope in exchange for a life near to Allah
With Houris fashioned like the most beautiful statues
With the highest heaven for those who mount there.

1 The metaphor is that of the unceasing address of the he-cornel to the mare.
2 Here there is a pun on the name Jumah.
3 'Utba's firstborn al-Walīd was also slain at Badr.
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I have bought it with a life of which I have tasted the best.
And which I have tried until I lost even my next-of-kin.
The Merciful honoured me with His favour
With the garment of Islam to cover my faults.
I did not shrink from fighting them
The day that men called on their peers to fight them,
When they asked the prophet he sought only us three
So that we came out to the herald;
We met them like lions, brandishing our spears,
We fought the rebellious for God's sake;
We three did not move from our position
Till their fate came upon them (547).

When 'Ubaydah died of the wound in his leg at the battle of Badr, Ka'b h.
Malik, the Ansari, wrote this elegy on him:
O eye, be generous, not niggardly,
With thy true tears; spare them not
For a man whose death appalled us,
Noble in deed and in descent,
Bold in attack with sharpened sword,
Of noble repute and goodly descent,
'Ubaydah has passed away, we cannot hope
For good or evil from him,
On the eve of battle he used to protect our rearguard with his sword.

Ka'b also said:
Have Ghassan heard in their distant haunt
(The best informant is one with knowledge thereof),
That Ma'add shot their arrows at us,
The whole tribe of them were hostile,
Because we worship God, hoping in none other,
Hoping for heaven's gardens since their prophet has come to us.
A prophet with a glorious inheritance among his people,
And truthful ancestors whose origin made them pure;
Both sides advanced, and we met them like lions
Whose victims have nothing to hope for;
We smote them in the battle
Till Lu'ayy's leader fell upon his face;
They fled, and we cut them down with our sharp swords,
Their allies and their tribesmen alike.

Ka'b also said:
By your father's life, ye sons of Lu'ayy,
Despite your deceit and pride,

Reading ta'arrufa.
Or reading ta'harra, 'of sweet accrual'.

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Your horsemen did not protect you at Badr,
They could not stand fast when they met us;
We came there with God's light
Clearing away the cover of darkness from us.
God's apostle led us, by God's order,
An order He had fixed by decree;
Your horsemen could not conquer at Badr
And returned to you in evil case;
Do not hurry, Abu Sufyan, and watch
For the fine steeds coming up from Kada',
By God's help the holy spirit is among them
And Michael, what a goodly company!

Ta'lib b. Abu Talib, praising the apostle and lamenting the man of
Quraysh who were thrown into the pit at Badr, said:
My eye went copiously
Over Ka'b, though it sees them not.
Ka'b deserted one another in the wars, and
Fate destroyed them, they having greatly sinned.
And 'Amr this morning are weeping for the misfortunes (that befell
Shall I ever see them closer (to each other)?
They are my brothers, their mother no harlot;
And never their guest suffered wrong;
O our brothers 'Abdu Shams and Naufal, may I be your ransom,
Put not war between us. After the love and friendship we had
Become not (the subject of) stories in which all of you have somethin
To complain of.
Do you not know what happened in the war of Dahis
And when Abu Yaksam's army filled the ravine?
Had not God the Sole Existent saved you
You could not have protected your people.
We among Quraysh have done no great wrong
But merely protected the best man that ever trod the earth;
A standby in misfortunes, generous,
Noble in reputation, no niggard, no wrongdoer.
His door is thronged by those seeking his bounty,
A sea of generosity, vast, unfailing.
By God, my soul will ever he said,
Restless, until you smite Khazraj well and truly.

Dinar b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Fihri lamenting Abu Jahl said:
Alas for my eye that cannot sleep
Watching the stars in the darkness of the night!
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It is as though a mote were in it,
But there is naught but flowing tears.
Tell Quraysh that the best of their company,
The noblest man that ever walked.
At Badr lies imprisoned in the well;
The noble one, not base-born and no niggard.
I swear that my eyes shall never weep for any man.
Now Abū'l-Hakam our chief is slain.
I weep for him whose death brought sorrow to Lu'ayy b. Ghālib,
To whom death came at Badr where he remains.
You could see fragments of spears in his horse's chest,
Scraps of his flesh plainly intermingled with them.
No lion lurking in the valley of Bisha,
Where through jungled vales the waters flow,
Was bolder than he when lances clashed.
When the cry went forth among the valiant 'Dismount!
Grieve not overmuch, Mughir's kin, be resolute
(Though he who so grieves is not to be blamed),
Be strong, for death is your glory,
And thereafter at life's end there is no regret.
I said that victory will be yours
And high renown—no man of sense will doubt it (548).

Al-Hārith b. Hishām, bewailing his brother Abū Jahl, said:

Alas my soul for 'Amr!
But can grief avail one whit?
Someone told me that 'Amr
Was the first of his people to go into the old abandoned pit,
I have always thought it right (that you should be the first),
Since your judgement in the past was sound.
I was happy while you were alive;
Now I am left in a miserable state.
At night when I cannot see him I feel
A prey to indecision and full of care.
When daylight comes once more
My eye is weary of remembering 'Amr (549).

Abū Bakr b. al-Awsat b. Sulṭān b. Layth, whose name was Shaddād, said:

Ummu Bakr gave me the greeting of peace;
But what peace can I have now my people are no more?
In the pit, the pit of Badr,
What singing girls and noble boon companions!

\[1\] Or, possibly, 'great intentions'.
\[2\] Su'dā: The old Arabs believed that when a man had been killed and his slayer was still at large a bird like an owl came forth from his head crying, 'Give me to drink' so the slayer's blood. The word \textit{pad} afterwards came to be applied to the head or brain, and to the corpse itself, which seems to be the meaning here. Ḥāna also means the head of a man or the bird emerging therefrom which could be conceived as a wrath. For the \textit{pad} of our text Bākh. ii. 45. 13 has \textit{hadd}, \textit{puss}, while Shahristānī, \textit{Milāl}, 433, has the reading quoted by H. A poem, that is recognizably another version, will be found in the \textit{Rudārīt-i Qāfishevar} (J.R.A.S. 90A, p. 8; B). For the last verse Abū'l-'All heard: 'Does Ibn Kābba promise us that we shall live?' This must be early because such a designation of the prophet would hardly have been coined in later times. Commentators explain that the prophet was called Ibn Kābba (or Ibn Abū Kābba) after a man of that name who during the pagan era abandoned the religion of his fathers.

B 4080
The Life of Muhammad

That the vale of Mecca has altered,
Become a valley deserted
By every chief, son of a chief, 1
Fair-skinned, illustrious,
Constantly at the gate of kings,
Crossing the desert, victorious,
Strong-necked, stout of body,
Men of eminence, successful in enterprise,
Who say and do and order what is right,
Who feed their guests on fat meat
Served on bread white as a lamb's stomach;
Who offer dishes and yet more dishes
As large as water pools.
The hungry finds them not empty
Nor wide without depth,
To guest after guest they send them
With broad open hand,
Givers of hundreds from hundreds of milk camels
To hundreds of their guests,
Driving the camel herds to the herds,
Returning from Baladih.
Their nobles have a distinction
Outweighing the nobility of others
As the weights send down the scale
As the balancer holds it.
A party deserted them, while they protected
Their women from disgrace,
Men who smote the front ranks of the enemy
With broad-bladed Indian swords;
Their voices pained me as they
Called for water crying aloud;
How fine were the sons of 'Ali all of them! 2
If they do not rain such a rain
As would send back every barking dog to its lair,
With horses trained to long rides,
With proudly raised heads, kept near the tents,
As young men on fine horses
Against fierce menacing lions;
Each man advances to his enemy
Walking as though to shake hands,

532

About a thousand or two thousand
Mailed men and spearmen (551). 1

Umayya also said, lamenting Zama'a b. al-Aswad and the B. Aswad who were slain:

O eye, weep with overflowing tears for Abū-l-Hārid
And hold not thy tears for Zama'a.
Weep for 'Aqil b. Aswad, the bold lion,
On the day of battle and the dust of war.
Those Banū Aswad were brothers like the Gemini,
No treachery and no deceit was in them,
They are the noblest family of Ka'b,
The very summit of excellence.
They produced sons as many as the hairs of the head
And established them in impregnable positions. 2
When misfortune visited their kinsmen
Their hearts ached for them.
They gave their food when rain failed,
When all was dry and no cloud could be seen (552).

Abū Usāma Mu'āwiya b. Zuhayr b. Qays b. al-Hārid b. Dubay'ab. Māzin b. 'Ady b. Jusham b. Mu'āwiya, an ally of B. Makhzūm (553), passed Hubayra b. Abū Wāhlab. They were running away at night with 534 Badr. Hubayra was exhausted and threw away his coat of mail and (Mu'āwiya) picked it up and went off with it. He composed the following lines (554):

When I saw the army panic,
Running away at top speed
And that their leaders lay dead,
Methought the best of them
Were like sacrifices to idols.
Many of them lay there dead,
And we were made to meet our fate at Badr.

1 Abū Dharr has an interesting note here of a tradition going back to Abū Hurayra which reads thus: 'The Apostle gave us permission to recite the poetry of the pagan era except the ode of Umayya b. Abū al-Sāqī about Badr (i.e. this ode) and the ode of al-Kāshā which begins 'ahdī bihā' (lines 10-18 in No. 18 of the Dīnār ed. Geyer which has many variants). The Apostle forbade the recitation of this ode because it lamented the death of the unbelievers and attacked the reputation of the prophet's companions. It was only for that reason that Ibn Hisālam omitted two verses from Umayya's ode. Similarly al-Kāshā's verse praised 'Amr b. Tufayl and satirised 'Alqama b. 'Ubdāh. 'Abd al-Malik also thought that the ode was 'disloyal'.
2 The reference to the death of Husayn at Karbala and the call to the Ahlal to rise and revenge themselves is unmistakable.
The Life of Muhammad

We left the way and they overtook us
In waves, like an overwhelming flood;
Some said, 'Who is Ibn Qayyam?'
I said, 'Abū Usāma, without boasting,
I am the Juhashite, that you may know me,
I will announce my lineage,
Answering challenge by challenge.
If you are of the best born of Quraysh,
I am from Mu'āwiyah ibn Bakhārīya,
Tell Mālik, when we were attacked,
For you, O Mālik, know of me;
Tell Hubayrā of us if you meet him,
For he is wise and influential,
That when I was called to Uṣayfī,
I returned to the battle with undaunted heart,
The night the hapless were left unheed
Old friends and mother's kindred.
So that is your brother, O B. Lu'ayy,
And that is Mālik, O Umām Amrī,
For Had I not been there striped hyenas,
Mothers of cubs would have had him,
Digging at the graves with their claws,
Their faces as black as a cooking-pot;
I swear by Him Who is my Lord
And by the blood-stained pillars of the stoning places
You will see what my true worth is
When men become as fierce as leopards.1
No lion from his lair in 'Aṣīr—
Bold, menacing, fathering cubs in the jungle,
Who has made his den taboo against intruders
So that none can approach him even with a force.4
In the sand, bands of men are helpless.
He leaps upon all who try to drive him away—
Is swifter than I
When I advance roaring and growling at the enemy
With arrows like sharp lances
Their points like burning coals.
And a round shield of bull's hide
And a strongly fashioned bow, and
A glittering sword which 'Umayr, the polisher,
Whetted for a fortnight.

1 Commentators differ as to whether this is the name of a place, or a man, or a body of men, the leaders of an attack.
2 Lit. 'when skins are changed to leopards' skins'. See note on 741. 3
3 Reading binafrī.
4QR, reading aklaf, 'black'.

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I let its lanyard trail, and strode proudly forward
With body at full stretch, as a lion walks.
Sa'd the warrior said to me, Here is a gift,1
I answered, Perhaps he is bringing treachery,
And I said. O Abū 'Adīy, do not go near them
If you will obey my orders today
As they did with Farwa when he came to them
And he was led away bound with cords (555).

Abū Usāma also said:
Who will send a messenger from me
With news that a shrewd man will confirm?
Do not you know how I kept returning to the fight at Badr
When the swords flashed around you,
When the army's leaders were left prostrate,
Their heads like slices of melon?
A gloomy fate, to the people's hurt,
Came upon you in the valley of Badr;
My resolution saved them from disaster
And God's help and a well-conceived plan.
I returned alone from al-Abwa'2
When you were surrounded by the enemy,
Helpless, if anyone attacked you,
Wounded and bleeding by the side of Kurah.3
Whenever a comrade in distress called
For my aid in an evil day,
A brother or ally in such case,
Much as I love my life I answered his call.
I returned to the fray, dispelling gloom,
And shot when faces showed hostility.
Many an adversary have I left on the ground
To rise painfully like a broken twig,3
When battle was joined I dealt him a blow
That drew blood—his arteries murmured aloud:
That is what I did on the day of Badr.
Before that I was resourceful and steadfast,
Your brother as you know in war and famine
Whose evils are ever with us,
Your champion undaunted by darkest night or superior numbers.
Out into the bitter black night I plunged4
When the freezing wind forces dogs to shelter (556).

1 A. Dā'fān says 'a prisoner' is meant here.
2 A mountain in the territory of Hudayyā', Yaq. iv. 247; Bakhārī, 473.
3W. reads garrf 'from which the fruit has been plucked'.
4 Sarra means (a) multitude, (b) intense cold. As Sub. says, the letter must be the
meaning because of the mention of the cold wind in the second hemistich.
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Hind d. 'Uthb b. Rabî's bewailing her father on the day of Badr said:

O eyes, be generous with thy tears
For the best of Khindit's sons
Who never returned (home).
His clan fell upon him one morning.
The sons of Ḥāshim and the sons of al-Muṭṭalib
They made him taste the edge of their swords,
They attacked him again when he was helpless,
They dragged him stripped and spoiled
With the dust upon his face;
To us he was a strong mountain,
Grass-clad, pleasing to the eye;
As for al-Barâ' I do not mention him,
May he get the good he counted on.

She also said:

Fate is against us and has wronged us,
But we can do naught to resist it.
After the slain of Lu'ayy b. Ǧâlib,
Can a man care about his death or the death of his friend?
Many a day did he rob himself of wealth
By lavishing gifts morning and evening.
Give Abū Sufyān a message from me:
If I meet him one day I will reprove him.
'Twas a war that will kindle another war,
For every man has a friend to avenge (557).

She also said:

What an eye which saw a death like the death of my men!
How many a man and woman tomorrow
Will join with the keening women:
How many did they leave behind on the day of the pit,
The morning of that tumultuous cry!
All generous men in years of drought
When the stars withheld their rain,
I was afraid of what I saw
And now my fear is realized.
I was afraid of what I saw
And today I am beside myself.
How many a woman will say tomorrow
Alas Umun Mu'āwiya! (558)

Hind also said:

O eye, weep for 'Uthb, the strong-necked chief,
Who gave his food in famine.
Our defence on the day of victory.
I am grieved for him, broken-hearted, demented."
Let us fall on Yathrib with an overwhelming attack
With horses kept hard by,
Every long-bodied charger.

Manâf, bewailing the slain in the pit of Badr, said:

Alas for my eye pained and blearéd
The night far spent, the rising sun still hid!
I was told that the noble chieftains
Fate had seized for ever,
That the riders fled with the army and
Mothers neglected their children that morning.
Arise, Ṣafiya, forget not their relationship,
And if you weep, it is not for those who are distant.
They were the supports of the tent.
When they broke, the roof of the tent was left unsupported (559).

Ṣafiya also said:

Alas my eye, weeping has exhausted its tears
Like the two buckets of the waterman
Walking among the trees of the orchard.
No lion of the jungle with claws and teeth,
Father of cubes, leaping on his prey,
Exceeding fierce and angry,
Is equal to my love when he died
Facing people whose faces were changed in anger,
In his hand a sharp sword of the finest steel.
When you thrust with a spear you made great wounds
From which came her foaming blood (560).

Hind d. ʿUthâb b. ʿAbbâd b. al-Muṭṭalib lamenting 'Ubâyda b. al-Hârîth b. al-Muṭṭalib said:

Al-Šafra holds glory and authority,
Deep-rooted culture, ample intelligence.
Weep for 'Ubâyda, a mountain of strength to the strange guests,
And the widow who suckles a dishevelled baby;

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1. The ancient Arabs thought that the stars brought rain.
2. I follow C. in reading sayîb.
3. A place between Mecca and Medina.
The Life of Muhammad

To the people in every winter
When the skies are red from famine;
To the orphans when the wind was violent.
He heated the pot which formed with milk as it seethed;
When the fire burned low and its flame died
He would revive it with thick brushwood.
Mourn him for the night traveller or the one wanting food.
The wanderer lost whom he put at his ease (561).

Quatayla b. al-Harith, sister of al-Nadhir b. al-Harith, weeping him said:
O Rider, I think you will reach Uthayl!
At dawn of the fifth night if you are lucky.
Greet a dead man there for me.
Swift camels always carry news from me to thee.
(Tell of) flowing tears running profusely or ending in a sob.
Can al-Nadhir hear me when I call him?
How can a dead man hear who cannot speak?
O Muhammad, finest child of noble mother,
Whose sire a noble sire was,
'Twould not have harmed you had you spared him.
A warrior oft spares though full of rage and anger.
Or you could have taken a ransom,
The dearest price that could be paid.
Al-Nadhir was the nearest relative you captured
With the best claim to be released.
The swords of his father's sons came down on him.
Good God, what bonds of kinship there were shattered!
Exhausted he was led to a cold-blooded death,
A prisoner in bonds, walking like a hobbled beast (562).

The apostle left Badr at the end of the month of Ramadan or in Shawwal.

THE RAID ON B. SULAYM IN AL-KUDR

The apostle stayed only seven nights in Medina before he himself made a raid against B. Sulaym (563). He got as far as their watering place called al-Kudr and stayed there three nights, returning to Medina without any fighting. He stayed there for the rest of Shawwal and Dhul-Qa'da, and during that time he accepted the ransom of most of the Qurayash prisoners.

A place near Medina between Badr and Wadi Safra.

1 Nöldeke's Report, p. 67, has a different text here.
2 Some MSS., followed by Sub. and W., make I.H. responsible for its inclusion in the Sura.

THE RAID OF AL-SAWIQ

Abū Muhammad 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Hishām from Ziyād b. 'Abdullāh al-Balṣā'īn from Muḥammad b. Ḥaḍq al-Muṭṭalibī said: Then Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb made the raid of Sawiq in Dhūl-Hijja. The polytheists were in charge of the pilgrimage that year. Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Ẓubayr and Yazīd b. Rūmānī and one whose veracity I do not suspect from 'Abdullāh b. Ka'b b. Mālikī who was one of the most learned Helpers told me that when Abū Sufyān returned to Mecca and the Quraysh fugitives returned from Badr, he swore that he would not practise abstinence until he had raised Muḥammad. Accordingly he sallied forth with two hundred riders from Quraysh to fulfill his vow. He took the Nejd road and stopped by the upper part of a watercourse which led to a mountain called Thayy about one post distance from Medina. Then he sallied forth by night and came to the B. al-Nadhir under cover of darkness. He came to Ḥuyfī b. Akhwāb and knocked upon his door, but as he was afraid of him he refused to open the door, so he went to Sallām b. Mishkām, who was their chief at that time, and keeper of the public purse. He asked permission to come in and Sallām entertained him with food and drink, and gave him secret information about the Muslims. He rejoined his companions at the end of the night and sent some of them to Medina. They came to an outlying district called Al-Urayd and there they burnt some young palms and finding one of the Helpers and an ally of his working the fields there, they killed them and returned. People got warning of them and so the apostle went out in pursuit (564). He got as far as Qurqarātul-Kudra and then returned because Abū Sufyān and his companions had eluded him. They saw some of the provisions which the raiders had thrown away in the fields to lighten their baggage so as to get away quickly. When the apostle brought the Muslims back they asked, 'Do you hope that this will count (with God) in our favour as a raid?' and he replied, 'Yes' (565).

When he went away Abū Sufyān said of Sallām's treatment of him:

I chose one man out of Medina as an ally,
I had no cause to regret it, though I did not stay long.
Sallām ibn Mishkām gave me good wine,
He refreshed me in full measure despite my haste.
When the raiders turned back I said
(Unwilling to burden him).
'Look forward to raiding and booty.
Consider, for the people are the pure stock of Lu'ayy,
Not a mixed rabble of Jurfumm.R.
It was no more than (spending) part of the night by a traveller
Who came hungry though not needy and destitute.

1 A euphemism for abstaining from sexual intercourse.
2 About eight posts distance from Medina.
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T. 135 [Abu Sufyan had composed some verses to incite Quraysh when he got ready to march from Moc to Medina:

Return to the attack on Yathrib and the lot of them,
For what they have collected is booty for you,
Though the battle of the cistern went in their favour.
The future will restore your fortunes.
I swear that I will not come near women,
Nor shall I use the water of purification
Until you destroy the tribes of Aus and Khazraj.
My heart is burning for revenge.*

Ka'b b. Malik answered him:

The Muslims are sorry for Ibn Harb's army,
So futile is the barra.
When those who were sick of their provision cast away the burden;1
Climbing up to the top of the mountain,
The place where their camels knelt can be compared
Only with the hole of foxes,2
Rare of gold and wealth and of
The warriors of the vale and their spears.]

THE RAID OF DHI' AMARR

When the apostle returned from the raid of al-Sawiq he stayed in Medina for the rest of Dhul-Hijja, or nearly all of it. Then he raided Najd, making for Ghatafan. This is the raid of Dhi' Amarr (360). He stayed in Najd during the month of Safar, or nearly all of it, and then returned to Medina without any fighting. There he remained for the month of Rab'i' Al-Awwal, or a day or two less.

THE RAID OF AL-FURU' OF BAHRAIN

Then he made a raid on Quraysh as far as Bahrain, a mine in the Hijaz in the neighbourhood of Al-Furur.3 He stayed there for the next two months and then returned to Medina without fighting (367).

                                                 * T, unlike the text in the Sira and in its place has the lines above.
1 The true text is in the Corrigenda. I take al-barra to be the pl. of barra, see Law, 3964-3965.
2 The verse is not very clear. The glossary to Tab. 235 tentatively suggests that the enemy dare not pitch camp there.
3 I follow de Jong's conjecture and read al-masir for al-nasir.
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'O you who believe, take not Jews and Christians as friends. They are friends one of another. Who of you takes them as friends is one of them. God will not guide the unjust people. You can see those in whose heart there is sickness', i.e. 'Abdullah b. Ubayy when he said, 'I fear a change of circumstances.' Acting hastily in regard to them they say fear that change of circumstances may overtake us. Peradventure God will bring victory or an act from Him so that they will be sorry for their secret thoughts, and those who believe will say, Are those those who swore by God their most binding oath?' that they were with you', as far as God's words, 'Verily God and His apostle are your friends, and those who believe, who perform prayer, give alms and bow in homage,' mentioning 'Uubah taking God and His apostle and the believers as friends, and renouncing his agreement and friendship with the b. Qaynuqa', 'Those who take God and His apostle and the believers as friends, they are God's party, they are the victorious.'

THE RAID OF ZAYD B. HÂRITHA TO AL-QARADA

The story of the foray of Zayd who captured the caravan of Quraysh, in which was 'Abû Sufyân b. Hârb, when the apostle sent him to al-Qarada, a watering-place in Najd, is as follows:

Quraysh were afraid to follow their usual route to Syria after what had happened at Badr, so they went by the Iraq route. Some of their merchants went out, among whom was 'Abû Sufyân, carrying a great deal of silver which formed the larger part of their merchandise. They hired a man from the B. Bakr b. Wâ'il, called Furat b. Hayyân to conduct them by that route (571). The apostle duly sent Zayd, and he met them at that watering-place and captured the caravan and its contents, but the men got away. He brought the spoil to the apostle.

Hassân b. Thâbit after Uhad concerning the last raid of Badr taunted Quraysh for taking the Iraq road thus:

You can say good-bye to the streams of Damascus, for in between Are swords like the mouths of pregnant camels who feed on arak trees In the hands of men who migrated to their Lord And His true helpers and the angels.

If they go to the lowland of the sandy valley
Say to them, There is no road here (572).

THE KILLING OF KA'B B. AL-ASHRAF

After the Quraysh defeat at Badr the apostle had sent Zayd b. Hâritha to the lower quarter and 'Abdullah b. Rawâh to the upper quarter to tell the Muslims of Medina of God's victory and of the polytheists who had been killed. 'Abdullah b. al-Mughîth b. Abû Burda al-Zaydî and 'Abdullah b. Abû Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Hazm and 'Axím b. 'Umar b. Qatîdâ

and Sâlih b. Abû Umâma b. Sahh each gave me a part of the following story: Ka'b b. al-Ashtar who was one of the 'Tâbi'î of the subsection B. Nabhân whose mother was from the B. al-Nadîr, when he heard the news said, 'Is this true? Did Muhammad actually kill these whom these two men mention? (i.e. Zayd and 'Abdullah b. Rawâh). These are the nobles of the Arabs and kingly men; by God, if Muhammad has slain these people 'twere better to be dead than alive.'

When the enemy of God became certain that the news was true he left the town and went to Mecca to stay with al-Mughît b. Abû Wâdî's b. Dârâyra al-Sâhî who was married to 'Âtika d. Abî'l-'Îs b. Umâyya b. Abû Shamsî b. Abû Manâf. She took him in and entertained him hospitably. He began to inveigh against the apostle and to recite verses in which he bewailed the Quraysh who were thrown into the pit after having been slain at Badr. He said:

Badr's mill carves the blood of its people.
At events like Badr you should weep and cry.
'The best of the people were slain round their cisterns,
Don't think it strange that the princes were left lying.

How many noble handsome men,
The refuge of the homeless were slain,
Liberal when the stars gave no rain,
Who bore others' burdens, ruling and taking their due fourth.
Some people whose anger pleases me say
'Ka'b b. al-Ashtar is utterly deserted'.
They are right. O that the earth when they were killed
Had split asunder and engulfed its people,
That he who spread the report had been thrust through
Or lived cowering blind and deaf.

I was told that all the Banû'l-Mughîth were humiliated
And brought low by the death of Abû'l-Hakîm
And the two sons of Rabi'a with him,
And Munabbîh and the others did not attain (such honour) as those who were slain.1

I was told that al-Hârith ibn Hishâm
Is doing well and gathering troops
To visit Yathrib with armies,
For only the noble, handsome man protects the loftiest reputation (573).

Hassân b. Thâbit answered him thus:

Does Ka'b weep for him again and again
And live in humiliation bearing nothing?2

1 Lit. the inside of the earth is better than the outside.
2 Or 'Tubba' did not' (so A. Dâh.). Wâjîh has ba'd for me and al-tubba'u for wa-tubba'u.
3 The reading must be 'kab', because yâhûdî governs an accusative.
4 The question is ironic: let him weep if he wants to. The text of this poem is dubious.
In the vale of Badr I saw some of them, the slain,
Eyes pouring with tears for them.
WEEP ['Ai'la], for you have made me a mean slave weep
Like a pup following a little bitch.
God has given satisfaction to our leader
And put to shame and prostrated those who fought him.
Those whose hearts were torn with fear
Escaped and fled away (574).

A Muslim woman of B. Murayd, a clan of Bani who were allied attachments of B. Umayya b. Zayd, called al-Ja'farina answered Ka'b (575):

This slave shows great concern
Weeping over the slain untiringly.
May the eye that weeps over the slain at Badr weep on
And may Lu'ayy b. Ghālīb weep double as much!
Would that those wailing in their blood
Could be seen by those who live between Mecca's mountains!
They would know for certain and would see
How they were dragged along by hair and beard.'

Ka'b b. al-Ashraf answered her:

Drive off that fool of yours that you may be safe
From talk that has no sense!
Do you taunt me because I shed tears
For people who loved me sincerely?
As long as I live I shall weep and remember
The merits of people whose glory is in Mecca's houses.
By my life Murayd used to be far from hostile
But now they are become as jackals.
They ought to have their noses cut off
For insulting the two clans of Lu'ayy b. Ghālīb.
I give my share in Murayd to Ja'dar
In truth, by God's house, between Mecca's mountains.

(Then KA'b returned to Medina and composed amatory verses about Ummul-Fadl d. al-Hārith, saying:

Are you off without stopping in the valley
And leaving Ummul-Fadl in Mecca?
Out would come what she bought from the pedlar of bottles,
Henna and hair dye.
What lies 'twixt ankle and elbow is in motion.'
When she tries to stand and does not.

Or, reading mubazzalamu, 'the sword cuts above their beards and eyebrows'.
Presumably her buttocks are meant; they would be between her ankles and her elbow as she reclined! Large and heavy buttocks were marks of female beauty among the old Arabs.

Like Umm Hakim when she was with us
The link between us firm and not to be cut.
She is one of B. 'Amir who bewitches the heart,
And if she wished she could cure my sickness.
The glory of women and of a people is their father,
A people held in honour true to their oath.
Never did I see the sun rise at night till I saw her
Display herself to us in the darkness of the night.)
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Thaur b. Zayd from 'Ikrima from Ibn 'Abbas told me the apostle walked with them as far as Baq'ul-Gharqad. Then he sent them off, saying, 'Go in God’s name; O God help them.' So saying, he returned to his house. Now it was a moonlight night and they journeyed on until they came to his castle, and Abū Nā’alla called out to him. He had only recently married, and he jumped up in the bedsheet, and his wife took hold of the end of it and said, 'You are at war, and those who are at war do not go out at this hour.' He replied, 'It is Abū Nā’alla. Had he found me sleeping he would not have woken me.' She answered, 'By God, I can feel evil in his voice.' Ka'b answered, 'Even if the call were for a stab a brave man must answer it.' So he went down and talked to them for some time, while they conversed with him. Then Abū Nā’alla said, 'Would you like to walk with us to Shīb’al-‘Ajīz, so that we can talk for the rest of the night?' If you like,' he answered, so they went off walking together; and after a time Abū Nā’alla ran his hand through his hair. Then he smelt his hand, and said, 'I have never smelt a scent finer than this.' They walked on farther and he did the same so that Ka'b suspected no evil. Then after a space he did it for the third time, and cried, 'Smite the enemy of God!' So they smote him, and their swords clashed over him with no effect. Muhammad b. Maslamah said, 'I remembered my dagger when I saw that our swords were useless, and I seized it. Meanwhile the enemy of God had made such a noise that every fort around us was showing a light. I thrust it into the lower part of his body, then I bore upon it until I reached his genitals, and the enemy of God fell to the ground. Al-‘Harīth had been hurt, being wounded either in his head or in his feet, one of our swords having struck him. We went away, passing by the B. Umayya b. Zayd and then the B. Qurayya and then Bu’th until we went up the Hara of al-Urayd. Our friend al-‘Harīth had lagged behind, weakened by loss of blood, so we waited for him for some time until he came up, following our tracks. We carried him and brought him to the apostle at the end of the night. We saluted him as he stood praying, and he came out to us, and we told him that we had killed God’s enemy. He spurned our comrades’ wounds, and both he and we returned to our families. Our attack upon God’s enemy cast terror among the Jews, and there was no Jew in Medina who did not fear for his life.1

Ka'b b. Malik said:

Of them Ka'b was left prostrate there
(At his fall al-Nadīr were brought low).

1 Hayra is a district of black volcanic stone and 'Urayd is one of the valleys of Medina. A photograph of the ruins of Ka'b's castle is given in The Islamic Review, Sept. 1935. p. 12. There Dr. M. Hamidullah writes; 'Towards the south [of Medina] in the eastern lava plain near Wadi Mudhainib, there is a small hillock. On this the walls of the palace of Ka'b Ibn al-Ashraf still stand, about a yard or a yard and a quarter in height, built of stone. In front of the palace, on the base of the hillock, there are rings of a big cistern of water, built of lime and divided into several sections, each connected with the other by means of clay pipes.

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Sword in hand we cut him down
By Muhammad’s order when he sent secretly by night
Ka'b's brother to go to Ka'b.
He beguiled him and brought him down with guile
Munmūd was trustworthy, bold (577).

Hassan b. Thābit, mentioning the killing of Ka'b and of Sallām b. Abū-‘Uqayq, said:

What a fine band you met, O Ibn‘ul-Huqayq,
And you too, Ibn‘ul-Ashraf,
Travelling by night with their light swords
Bold as lions in their jungle lair
Until they came to you in your quarter
And made you taste death with their deadly swords,
Seeking victory for the religion of their prophet
Counting their lives and wealth as nothing (578).

The Affair of Muḥayyisa and Ḥuwayyiṣa

The apostle said, 'Kill any Jew that falls into your power.' Thereupon Muḥayyisa b. Mas'ud kept upon Ibn Suyuña (579), a Jewish merchant with whom they had social and business relations, and killed him. Huwayyiṣa was not a Muslim at the time though he was the elder brother. When Muḥayyisa killed him Huwayyiṣa began to beat him, saying, 'You enemy of God, did you kill him when much of the fat on your belly comes from his wealth?' Muḥayyisa answered, 'Had the one who ordered me to kill him ordered me to kill you I would have cut out your head off.' He said that this was the beginning of Huwayyiṣa's acceptance of Islam. The other replied, 'By God, if Muhammad had ordered you to kill me would you have killed me?' He said, 'Yes, by God, had he ordered me to cut off your head I would have done so.' He exclaimed, 'By God, a religion which can bring you to this is marvellous!' and he became a Muslim.

I was told this story by a client of B. Haritha from the daughter of Muḥayyisa from Muḥayyisa himself:

Muḥayyisa composed the following lines on the subject:

My mother's son blames me because if I were ordered to kill him I would smite his neck with a sharp sword,
A blade white as salt from polishing,
My downward stroke never misses its mark.
It would not please me to kill you voluntarily
Though we owned all Arabia from north to south (580).

After his arrival from Baḥrān the apostle stopped for the month of the latter Jumādā, Rajāb, Shabān, and Ramadān (in Medina). Quraysh made the raid of Uḥud in Shawwāl, A.H. 3.
THE BATTLE OF UHUD

I have pieced together the following story about the battle of Uhud, from what I was told by Muhammad b. Muslim al-Zuhri and Muhammad b. Yahyā b. Hibbān and ‘Asim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda and Al-Husayn b. ‘Abdul’-Rahmān b. ‘Amr b. Sa‘d b. Mu‘ādh and other learned traditionists. One or the other, or all of them, is responsible for the following narrative. When the unbelieving Quraysh met disaster at Badr and the survivors returned to Mecca and Abu Sufyān b. Ḥarb had returned with his caravan, ‘Abdullah b. Abū Rabī‘a’ and ‘Ikrima b. Abū Jahl and Sa‘fān b. Umayya walked with the men whose fathers, sons, and brothers had been killed at Badr, and they spoke to Abu Sufyān and those who had merchandise in that caravan, saying, ‘Men of Quraysh, Muhammad has wronged you and killed your best men, so help us with this money to fight him, so that we may hope to get our revenge for those we have lost,’ and they did so.

A learned person told me that it was concerning them that God sent down:1 ‘Those who disdain to spend their money to keep others from the way of God, and they will spend it, then they will suffer the loss of it, then they will be overcome, and those who disdain will be gathered to Hell.’

So Quraysh gathered together to fight the apostle when Abū Sufyān did this, and the owners of the caravan, with their black troops, and such of the tribes of Kinān as would obey them, and the people of the low country. Now Abū ‘Azza al-Jumāḥ had been spared by the apostle at Badr because he was a poor man with a large family.2 He had been taken prisoner, and said, ‘I am a poor man with a large family and great need, as you know, so spare me,’ and the apostle let him go. Sa‘fān said to him, ‘Now, Abū ‘Azza, you are a poet so help us with your tongue and go forth with us.’ He replied, ‘Muhammad spared me and I do not want to go against him.’ He said, ‘No, but help us with your presence, and God is my witness that if I return I will make you rich; and if you are killed I will treat your daughters as my own. What befalls mine, whether good or ill, shall befall yours.’ So Abū ‘Azza went through the low country calling the B. Kinān and saying:

Listen, sons of ‘Abdū Manāt, the steadfast,
You are stout warriors like your father,
Do not promise me your help a year hence,
Do not betray me, for betrayal is not right.3

Mustā‘ b. ‘Abdū Manāt b. Wahb b. Hudhāfa b. Jumāḥ went out to the B. Mālik b. Kinān stirring them up and calling them to fight the apostle, saying:

O Mālik, Mālik, foremost in honour,
I ask in the name of kindred and confederate,

1 Sūra 8. 37.
2 n.r. W. p. 471.
3 The string in the tail where ilabā is used in the sense of ‘betrayal.’
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stay in Medina, do not go out to them. We have never gone out to fight an enemy but we have met disaster, and none has come in against us without being defeated, so leave them where they are. If they stay, they stay in an evil predicament, and if they come in, the men will fight them and the women and children will throw stones on them from the walls, and if they retreat they will retreat low-spirited as they came.' Those who wanted to fight Quraysh kept urging the apostle until he went into his house and put on his armour. That was on the Friday when he had finished prayers. On that day one of the Anṣār, Mālik b. Ṭamūr b. Ṭamīr b. Ṭalābānī b. al-Naqīf died, and the apostle prayed over him, and then went out to fight. Meanwhile the people had repented of their design, saying they thought they had persuaded the apostle against his will, which they had no right to do, so that when he went out to them they admitted that and said that if he wished to remain inside the city they would not oppose him. The apostle said, 'It is not fitting that a prophet who has put on his armour should lay it aside until he has fought,' so he marched out with a thousand of his companions (583), until when they reached al-Shu‘a‘ between Medina and Uhud, 'AbdAllah b. Ubayy withdrew with a third of the men, saying, 'He has obeyed them and disobeyed me. We do not know why we should lose our lives here, O men.' So he returned with the wavering and doubters who followed him, and 'AbdAllah b. 'Amr b. Ḥārîm, brother of the B. Ṣalamah, followed them, saying, 'O people, I adjure you by God not to abandon your prophet when the enemy is at hand.' They replied, 'If we knew that you would fight we would not abandon you, but we do not think that there will be a battle.' So when they withstood him and persisted in withdrawing, he said, 'May God curse you, you enemies of God, for God will make His prophet independent of you.' Someone, not Ziyād, 1 from Muhammad b. Ḥāshim b. al-Zuhri, said that on that day the Anṣār said, 'O apostle, should we not ask help from our allies, the Jews?' He said, 'We have no need of them.' Ziyād said Muhammad b. Ḥāshim told me that the apostle went his way until he passed through the ḥarrah of the Ḥāritha and a horse swished its tail and it caught the pommeled of a sword so that it came out of its sheath (584). The apostle, who liked auguries, though he did not observe the flight of birds, said to the owner of the sword, 'Sheath your sword, for I can see that swords will be drawn today.'

Then the apostle asked his companions whether anyone could take them near the Quraysh by a road which would not pass by them. Abu Khaythama, brother of B. Ḥārīthah b. al-Ḥārīthah, undertook to do so, and he took him through the ḥarrah of B. Ḥārīthah and their property until he came out in the territory of Mīrba‘ b. Qayzī who was a blind man, a disaffected person. When he perceived the approach of the apostle and his men he got up and threw dust in their faces saying, 'You may be the apostle of God, but I won’t let you through my garden!' I was told that he took a handful of dust and said, 'By God, Muhammad, if I could be sure that I

should not hit someone else I would throw it in your face.' The people rushed on him to kill him, and the apostle said, 'Do not kill him, for this blind man is blind of heart, blind of sight.' Said b. Ziyād, brother of B. 'Abdul-'Aswāl, rushed at him before the apostle had forbidden this and hit him on the head with his bow so that he split it open.

The apostle went on until he came down the gorge of Uhdud on the high ground of the wadi towards the mountain. He put his camels and army towards Uhdud and said, 'Let none of you fight until we give the word.' Now Quraysh had left their camels and horses loose to pasture in some crops which were in al-Sarza, a part of Quraysh belonging to the Muslims. When the apostle had forbidden them to fight one of the Anṣār said, 'Are the crops of the B. Qayla to be grazed on without our striking a blow?' The apostle drew up his troops for battle, about 700 men. He put over the archers 'Abdullah b. Zubayr, brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auš, who was distinguished that day by his white garments. There were 50 archers, and he said, 'Keep the cavalry away from you with your arrows and let them not come on us from the rear whether the battle goes in our favour or against us; and keep your place so that we cannot be got at from your direction.'

The apostle then put on two coats of mail and delivered the standard to Musā b. 'Umayr, brother of B. 'Abdul-Dār (585).

The Quraysh mustered their ten or 12,000 men with 200 horses which they had kept with them. Their cavalry on the left flank was commanded by Ka'b b. al-Walid, and on the right by Idrīs b. Abū Jahl.

[M. The apostle wore two coats of mail on the day of Uhud, and he took M. 65 a sword and brandished it saying] 'Who will take this sword with its right?' Some men got up to take it but he withheld it from them until Abū Dujāna Simak b. Kharaisha, brother of B. Sī‘dā, got up to take it. M. 'Umar got up to take it, saying, 'I will take it with its right,' but the prophet turned away from him and brandished it a second time using the same words. Then al-Zubayr b. al-Awām got up and he too was rejected, and the two of them were much mortified. Then Abū Dujāna, &c. He asked, 'What is its right, O Apostle of God?' He answered, 'That you should smite the enemy with it until it bends.' When he said that he would take it with its right he gave it him. Now Abū Dujāna was a brave but conceited man in battle and whenever he put on this red turban of his, people knew that he was about to fight. When he took the sword from the apostle's hand [he began to walk to the fight saying:

I'm the man who took the sword
When 'Use it right' was the prophet's word.
For the sake of God, of all the Lord
Who doth to all their food afford.

1. I.e. use it as it ought and deserves to be used.

And he began to strut up and down between the lines.
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Jafar b. 'Abdullah b. Aslam, client of 'Umar b. al-Khattab, told me on the authority of one of the Ansar of B. Salama that the apostle said when he saw Abu Dujana strutting, 'This is a gait which Allah hates except on an occasion like this.'

T. 1598  [T. Now Abu Sufyan had sent a messenger saying, 'You men of Aus and Khazraj, leave me to deal with my cousin and we will depart from you, for we have no need to fight you'; but they gave him a rude answer.]

Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada told me that Abu 'Amir b. Abu 'Amir b. Sayfi b. Malik b. al-Nu'man, one of the B. Dubay'a who had separated from the apostle and gone off to Mecca along with fifty young men of al-Aus [T. among whom was 'Uthman b. Khuwayf] though some people say there were only fifteen of them, was promising Quraish that if he met his people no two men of them would exchange blows with him; and when the battle was joined the first one to meet them was Abu 'Amir with the black troops and the slaves of the Meccans, and he cried out, 'O men of Aus, I am Abu 'Amir.' They replied, 'Then God destroy your sight, you impious rascal.' (In the pagan period he was called 'the monk'; the apostle called him 'the impious'.) When he heard their reply he said, 'Evil has befallen my people since I left them.' Then he fought with all his might, pelting them with stones.

Abu Sufyan had said to the standard-bearers of the B. Abu'l-Dahr, inciting them to battle, 'O Banu Abu'l-Dahr, you have charge of our flag on the day of Badr—you saw what happened. Men are dependent on the fortunes of their flags, so either you must guard our standard efficiently or you must leave it to us and we will save you the trouble.' They pondered over the matter and threatened him, saying, 'Are we to surrender our flag to you? You will see tomorrow how we shall act when battle is joined' and that was just what Abu Sufyan wanted. When each side drew near to the other Hind b. Uthba rose up with the women that were with her and took tambourines which they beat behind the men to incite them while Hind was saying:

On ye sons of 'Abdul-Dahr,
On protectors of our rear,
Smite with every sharpened spear!

She also said:

If you advance we hug you,
Spread soft rags beneath you;
If you retreat we leave you,
Leave and no more love you (586).

The people went on fighting until the battle grew hot, and Abu Dujana fought until he had advanced far into the enemy's ranks (587).

In M. 166; the verse given by J.L. 583 follows here.

2 Almost the same words were used by a woman of B. IJ at the battle of Dhul Qar. Cf. Naula'id, 641.

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Whenever he met one of the enemy he killed him. Now among the 563 pagans there was a man who dispatched every man of ours who wounded. These two men began to draw near one to the other, and I prayed God that He would make them meet. They did meet and exchanged blows, and the polytheist struck at Abu Dujana, who warded off the blow with his shield; his sword sank into the shield so that he could not withdraw it, and Abu Dujana struck him and killed him. Then I saw him as his sword hovered over the head of Hush d. Uthba. Then he turned it aside from her. Al-Zubayr said, 'And I said, "God and His apostle know best."'

Abu Dujana said, 'I saw a person inciting the enemy, shouting violently, and I made for him, and when I lifted my sword against him, he shrieked, and lo, it was a woman; I respected the apostle's sword too much to use it on a woman.'

Hamza fought until he killed Ans b. 'Abd Godhar b. Hashim b. 'Abd Manaf b. Kublai Dar who was one of those who were carrying the standard. Then Siba b. Kublai Dar-Uzuz al-Ghubshani, who was known as Abu Niyar, passed by him, and Hamza said, 'Come here, you son of a female circumciser.' Now his mother was Umm Anmar, freedwoman of Shartu b. Amr b. Wuhb al-Tahasilli (588), a female circumciser in Mecca. When they closed Hamza smote him and killed him.

Wazbi, the slave of Jubbayr b. Mu'tim, said, 'By God, I was looking at Hamza while he was killing men with his sword, sparing no one, like a huge camel,' when Siba came up to him before me, and Hamza said, 'Come here, you son of a female circumciser,' and he struck him a blow so swiftly that it seemed to miss his head. I poised my javelin until I was sure that it would hit the mark, and launched it at him. It pierced the lower part of his body and came out between his legs. He came on towards me, but collapsed and fell. I left him there until he died, when I came and recovered my javelin. Then I went off to the camp, for I had no business with anyone but him.

'Abdullah b. al-Falal b. 'Abbas b. Rabia b. al-Harith of Sulayman b. Yasar from Jafar b. 'Amr b. 'Umayya al-Damiri told me: 'I went out with Ubaydullah b. Adiy b. al-Khiyar brother of the B. Naufal b. Abu Manaf in the time of Mufawwa b. Abu Sufyan and we made an excursion with the army. When we came back we passed by Himis where Wazbi had taken up his abode. When we arrived there Ubaydullah said to me, 'Shall we go and see Wazbi and ask him how he killed Hamza?' I said, 'If you like,' I said. So we went to inquire about him in Himis. While we were doing so a man said to us: 'You will find him in the courtyard of his house. He is a man much addicted to wine; and if you find him sober, you will find an Arab and will get what you want from him in answer to your questions; but if you find him in his usual state, then leave him alone.' So we walked off to find him, and there he was in the courtyard of his house upon a
carpet, an old man like a bukhāth (589). He was quite sober and normal. We saluted him, and he lifted his head to look at 'Ubaydullah, and said, "Are you the son of 'Ady b. al-Khīyār?" and when he said he was, he said, "By God, I have not seen you since I handed you to your Sa'dite mother who nursed you in Dhi Ṭuwa'." I handed you to her when she was on her camel, and she clasped you round your body with her two hands. You kicked me with your feet when I lifted you up to her. By God, as soon as you stood in front of me I recognized them." We sat down and told him that we had come to hear his account of how he killed Hamza. He said, "I will tell you as I told the apostle when he asked me about it. I was a slave of Jubayr b. Mu'āsim, whose uncle Ṭu'ayma b. 'Ady had been killed at Badr, and when Quraysh set out for Uqba, Jubayr told me that if I killed Hamza, Muhammad's uncle, in revenge for his uncle, I should be free. So I went out with the army, a young Abyssinian, skillful like my countrymen in the use of the javelin—I hardly ever missed anything with it. When the fight began I went out to look carefully for Hamza, until I saw him in the midst of the army, like a great camel, slaying men with his sword, none being able to resist him, and by God, I was getting ready for him, making towards him and hiding myself behind trees or rocks so that he might come near me, when suddenly Sībī got to him first, and when Ḥamza saw him, he said, "Come here, you son of a female circumciser," and struck him a blow so swiftly that it seemed to miss his head. I poised my javelin until I was sure that it would hit the mark and launched it at him. It pierced the lower part of his body and came out between his legs, and he began to stagger towards me. Then he collapsed, and I left him with the javelin until he died; then I came back and recovered my javelin, and returned to the camp and stayed there, for I had no further business, and my only object in killing him was that I might be freed. When I returned to Mecca I was freed and lived there until the apostle conquered Mecca, when I fled to al-Ta'if, and stayed there for some time. When the envoys of Ta'if went out to the apostle to surrender, I was in an impasse and thought that I would go to Syria or the Yamam, or any other country, and while I was in this anxiety a man said to me, "Good heavens, what is the matter? He does not kill anyone who enters his religion and pronounces the shahāda." On hearing this I went out of the town to the apostle at Medina, and the first thing to surprise him was to see me standing at his head, witnessing to the truth of God and His apostle. When he saw me he said, "Is it Wahshī?" "Yes, O apostle of God," I said. He replied, "Sit down and tell me how you killed Ḥamza." So I told him as I have told you. When I had finished he said, "Woe to you, hide your face from me and never let me see you again." So I used to avoid the apostle wherever he was so that he should not see me, until God took him.

1 A place in Mecca.
2 Or, perhaps, 'Your feet looked shiny to me'. In what respect this person's feet were not normal is not indicated.

"When the Muslims went out against Musaylima, the false prophet, lord of the Yamamā, I accompanied them, and I took the javelin with which I had killed Ḥamza, and when the armies met I saw Musaylima standing with a sword in his hand, but I did not recognize him. I made ready for him and so did one of the Anṣārī from the other side, both of us intending to kill him. I poised my javelin until I was sure that it would hit the mark, and launched it at him, and it pierced him, and the Anṣārī rushed at him and smeared his sword with his blood, so your Lord knows best which of us killed him. If I killed him, then I have killed the best man after the apostle and I have also killed the worst man."

[When he came to Medina the men said 'O apostle, this is Wahshī' to the replying 'Let him alone for that one man should accept Islam is dearer to me than the killing of a thousand unbelievers.']

'Abdullāh b. al-Faḍl from Sulaymān b. Ya'ār from 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb who was present at Yamamā said, I heard someone shouting, 'The black slave has killed him' (590).

Muṣ'ab b. 'Umar fought in the defence of the apostle until he was killed. The one who killed him was Ibn Qāmil's al-Laythī, who thought he was the apostle, so he returned to the Quraysh and said, 'I have killed Muhammad.' When Muṣ'ab was killed the apostle gave the standard to 'Ali, and 'Ali and the Muslims fought on (591).

Sa'd b. Abū Waqṣqas killed Abū Sa'd b. Abū Ṭalḥa; 'Aṣim b. Thābit b. Abū-'Aqlāb fought and killed Musāfī b. Ṭalha and his brother al-Jūlās, shooting both of them with an arrow. Each came to his mother, Sulīfā, and laid his head in her lap. She said, 'Who has hurt you, my son?' and he replied, 'I heard a man saying as he shot me, 'I am Abū-'Aqlāb, take that!' She swore an oath that if God ever let her get the head of 'Aṣim she would drink wine from it. It was 'Aṣim who had taken God to witness that he would never touch a polytheist or let one touch him.

'Uthmān b. Abū Ṭalḥa said that day as he was carrying the standard of the polytheists:

'It is the duty of standard-bearers
To bleed their spears until they are broken to pieces.

Hamza killed him.

Hanzala b. Abū 'Amīr, the washed one, and Abū Sufyān met in combat, and when Hanzala got the better of him, Shaddād b. al-Aswād, who was Ibn Sha'āb, saw that he had beaten Abū Sufyān, and so he ran at him and killed him. The apostle said, 'Your companion, Hanzala, is being washed by the angels.' They asked his family about his condition, and when his wife was asked, she said that he had gone out to battle when he heard the cry while in a state of ritual impurity (592).

1 The passage in brackets is taken from Yūnus' riyāḍa. It is cited from Shubayl (ii. 133) in W. ii in loc.
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Hadj he not brought my horse back there,
Hyenas or jackals would have devoured your flesh (594).

Al-Hārith b. Hishām, answering Abū Sufyān, said:

Had you seen what they did at Bādr's pool
You would have returned with fear in your heart as long as you live;
(Or you would have been killed and I should have caused
Weeping women to weep for you,
And you would not have felt sorrow for the loss of a dear one).
I paid them back in kind for Bādr
On a spirited galloping prancing horse (595).

Then God sent down His help to the Muslims and fulfilled His
promise. They slew the enemy with the sword until they cut them off from
their camp and there was an obvious rout.

Yahyā b. 'Abdāb 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father from 'Abd
allah b. al-Zubayr from Zubayr said: I found myself looking at the anklets of Hind d. 'Utba and her companions, tucking up their garments as they
fled. There was nothing at all to prevent anyone seizing them when the
archers turned aside to the camp when the enemy had been cut off from it
(Τ, making for the spoil). Thus they opened our rear to the cavalry and we
were attacked from behind. Someone called out 'Ha, Muhammad has
killed.' We turned back and the enemy turned back on us after we had
cut the standards and all that none of the enemy could come near it (596).

A traditionist told me that the standard lay on the ground until 'Amr
the Ḥārūthi d. 'Aqaba took it up and raised it aloft for Quraysh so that they
gathered round it. It had been with Su'ab, a slave of B. Abī Taḥla, an
Abyscanian. He was the last of them to take it. He fought until his
hands were cut off; then he knelt upon it and held the flag between his
breast and throat until he was killed over it, saying the while 'O God, have
I done my duty?' He could not pronounce the dīnāl.

Hassān b. Thābit said about that:

You boasted of your flag, the worst (ground for) boasting
Is a flag handed over to Su'ab.
You have made a slave your boast,
The most miserable creature that walks the earth.
You supposed (and only a fool so thinks,
For it is anything but the truth)
That fighting us the day we met
Was like your selling red leather sacks in Mecca.
It gladdened the eye to see his hands reddened,
Though they were not reddened by dye (597).

1. Yalabīb is said to mean 'leather slippers or coverings', as though it were the plural of jilabub. Though Meccans exported leather, that can hardly have been matter for reproach
because leather was sent to the Negus as a gift known to be highly prized in Abyssinia.
Moreover, why should Abū Sufyān reproach his fellow townsmen for wearing garments
which presumably differed in no way from those worn by other Meccans? It is clear that
the word is an insult, and the question is why? Hassān's poem (W. 726, Bāzīd's cal.) attacking the mubāhīb begins:

The mubāhīb have become powerful and numerous

and I. Salāl (W. 726) uses the same words to express his anger and dislike of the emigrants.
Therefore it seems that the origin of the insult is to be sought in jilabu 'a thing driven
brought from one town to another' and/or jilabu 'a imported slave'; and so some such word
as 'vagabonds' is as clear as one can get to the meaning. See W. Arafah, The Poems ascribed to Hassān the Thābit, 146, where he adopts the rendering 'tramp'.

2. Reading kalbba.

3. The meaning would appear to be that the mubāhīb were killed by negroes and brigand mercenaries, though there may be a reference to the killing of Ḥamza by Waṣbīb.

Lit. 'Am I excused?'
Hassan also said about ‘Amra and her raising the standard:

When ‘Adil were driven to us
They were like fawns of Shirk
With strongly marked eyebrows.
We attacked them thrusting, slaying, chastising,
Driving them before us with blows on every side.
Had not the Hārithite woman seized their standard
They would have been sold in the markets like chattels.

The Muslims were put to flight and the enemy slew many of them. It was a day of trial and testing in which God honoured several with martyrdom, until the enemy got at the apostle who was hit with a stone so that he fell on his side and one of his teeth was smashed, his face scored, and his lip injured. The man who wounded him was ‘Utbah b. Abū Waqqās.

Humayd al-Tawil told me from Anas b. Mālik: The prophet’s incisor was broken on the day of ‘Uḥud and his face was scored. The blood began to run down his face and he began to wipe it away, saying the while, ‘How can a people prosper who have stained their prophet’s face with blood while he summoned them to their Lord?’ So God revealed concerning that: ‘It is not your affair whether He relents towards them or punishes them, for they are wrongdoers’ (598).

Hassan b. Thabit said of ‘Ubtah:

When God recompenses a people for their deeds
And the Raḥmān punishes them,
May my Lord disgrace you, ‘Utayba b. Mālik,
And bring you a deadly punishment before you die.
You stretched out your hand with evil intent against the prophet,
You blooded his mouth. May your hand be cut off!
Did you forget God and the place you will go to
When the final misfortune overtakes you! (599).

According to what al-Ḥuṣayn b. ‘Abdul-Raḥmān b. ‘Amr b. Sa‘d b. Mu‘ādh told me on the authority of Maimūd b. ‘Amr, when the enemy hemmed him in, the apostle said: ‘Who will sell his life for us? And Ziyād b. al-Sakān with five of the Anšār arose. (Others say it was ‘Umāra b. Yazīd b. al-Sakān.) They fought in defence of the apostle man after man, all being killed until Ziyād (or ‘Umāra) was left fighting until he was disabled. At that point a number of the Muslims returned and drove the enemy away from him. The apostle ordered them to bring him to him and made his foot a support for his head and he died with his face on the apostle’s foot (600).

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1. A.Dh. gives the forms Shurk and Shirk. Yaqtī gives Shurk as the name of a place in the Hijāz and Shirk as the name of a waterhole on the other side of the mountain of al-Qunfī in Azd territory. ‘Adil is a tribe of Khuzayma
2. Sūrā 3. 122
3. Reading waṣṣāfāratum with C.
answered, 'He said to me in Mecca that he would kill me, and, by God, if he had spent on me he would have killed me.' The enemy of God died in Sarif as they were taking him back to Mecca.

In reference to that Hassan b. Thabit said:

Ubayy showed the disbelief inherited from his father
The day the apostle met him in battle.
You came to him carrying a mouldering bone
And threatened him, ignorant of his office.
Banu l-Najjar killed Umeya from among you
When he called on 'Aqil for help.
Rab'da's two sons perished when they obeyed Abū Jahl
Their mother became childless.
Jārîth escaped when we were busy taking prisoners.
To capture him was not worth while (604)."  

Hassan b. Thabit also said:

Who will give a message from me to Ubayy?
You have been cast into the nethermost hell;
Long have you pursued error,
Sworn vows that you would win,
Long have you indulged in such hopes,
But unbelief leads to disappointment.
A thrust from an angry warrior found you
One of a noble house, no miscreant.
Who surpasses all other creatures
When misfortunes befall.

When the apostle reached the mouth of the glen 'All came out and filled his shield with water from al-Mihrâb and brought it to the apostle, who refused to drink it because its evil smell repelled him. However, he used the water to wash the blood from his face and as he poured it over his head he said: 'The wrath of God is fierce against him who shedded the face of His prophet.'  

Sa'd b. Râyân told me from an informant who got it from Sa'd b. Abū Waqqās that the latter used to say: 'I was never more eager to kill anyone than I was to kill 'Uthâ b. Abū Waqqâs; he was, as I know, of evil character and hated among his people. It was enough for me to hate him that the apostle should say, "The wrath of God is fierce against him who shedded the face of His prophet."'  

While the apostle was in the glen with a number of his companions suddenly a troop of Quraysh came up the mountain (605). The apostle said, 'O God, it is not fitting that they should be above us,' so 'Umar

and a number of emigrants fought until they drove them down the mountain.

The apostle made for a rock on the mountain to climb it. He had become heavy by reason of his age, and moreover he had put on two coats of mail, so when he tried to get up he could not do so. 'Allân b. 'Ubaydullâh 577 squatted beneath him and lifted him up until he settled comfortably upon it. Yahya b. 'Abbâd b. 'Abdullâh b. al-Zubayr from his father from 'Abdul-Jabir b. al-Zubayr from al-Zubayr said: 'That day I heard the apostle saying "Tâlâ earned paradise when he did what he did for the apostle (606)."

The army had fled away from the apostle until some of them went as far as al-Munaqqa near al-'A'was.  'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatâda from Namâned b. Labid told me that when the apostle went out to Uhud Husayl b. Jâbir, who was al-Yâmân Abû Hudhayfa b. al-Yâmân, and Thabit b. Waqqâs were sent up into the forts with the women and children. They were both old men and one said to the other, 'What are you waiting for, confound you? Neither of us will live much longer.' We are certain to die today or tomorrow, so let us take our swords and join the apostle. Perhaps God will grant us martyrdom with him.' So they took their swords and sallied out until they mingled with the army. No one knew anything about them. Thabit was killed by the polytheists and Husayl by the swords of the Muslims, who killed him without recognizing him. Hudhayfa said, 'It is my father.' They said, 'By God, we did not know him,' and they spoke the truth. Hudhayfa said, 'May God forgive you, for He is most compassionate.' The apostle wanted to pay his blood-money, but Hudhayfa gave it as alms to the Muslims and that increased his favour with the apostle.

'Asim also told me that a man called Jiżb b. Umeya b. Râfî', who had a son called Yazid, was grievously wounded at Uhud and was brought to his people's settlement at the point of death. His kinsmen gathered round and the men and women began to say to him, 'Good news of the garden (of paradise), O son of Jižb.' Now Jižb was an old man who had lived long in the heathen period and his hypocrisy appeared then, for he said, 'What good news do you give him? Of a garden of rue?' By God, you have robbed this man of his life by your deception (and brought great sorrow on me.' "Thâb.

'Asim told me: 'There was a man among us, a stranger of unknown origin called Quzân. The apostle used to say when he was mentioned, 'He belongs to the people of hell.' On the day of Uhud he fought fiercely and killed seven or eight polytheists single-handed, he being a stout warrior. He was disabled by wounds and carried to the quarter of B. Zafar. The Muslims began to say to him, "You have done gallantly, Quzân, be of good cheer!" 'Why should I,' he said, 'only fought for the honour of my people; but for that I should not have fought.' And when

1 Reading arotahusha for usrotahusha (so Dr. Arfâk)
2 According to some commentators this is the name of a well at Uhud. The word itself can mean a stone trough beside a well
3 A place near Medina.
4 Only as long as a donkey's drink
5 The dead were buried with rue at their feet at this time. See Wsfd, K.M. MS. A. 20737, fol. 634.
the pain of his wounds became unbearable, he took an arrow from his quiver. (T. cut the veins of his wrist, and bled to death. When the apostle was told of this he said “I testify that I am truly God's apostle”.) 1

Among those killed at Uhud was (T. the Jew) Mukhayr al-Murayr who was one of the B. Tha‘labah b. al-Fityün. On that day he addressed the Jews saying: You know that it is your duty to help Muhammad, and when they replied that it was the Sabbath day, he said, ‘You will have no Sabbath,’ and taking his sword and accoutrements, he said that if he was slain his property was to go to Muhammad, who could deal with it as he liked. Then he joined the apostle and fought with him until he was killed. I have heard that the apostle said, ‘Mukhayr al-Murayr is the best of the Jews.’

Al-Hārith b. Suwayd b. Sāmit was a hypocrite. He went out with the Muslims to Uhud, and when the armies met he attacked al-Mujahidhār b. Dhiyād b. Baladhīr and Qays b. Zayd, one of the B. Ḍubay'ā, and killed them. Then he joined the Quraysh in Mecca. Now the apostle, as they say, had ordered Ḍumār to kill him if he got the better of him, but he escaped him and was in Mecca. Then he sent to his brother al-Jūlās begging forgiveness so that he might return to his people, and God sent down concerning him, as I have heard on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās: ‘How can God guide a people who have disbelieved after their belief, and after that they have testified that the apostle is true and proofs have been given to them. God will not guide an evil people’ 2 to the end of the passage (607).

Mu‘ādh b. ‘Āfrī had killed Suwayd b. al-Sāmit treacherously in some other battle. He shot him with an arrow and killed him before the day of Bu‘āth. 3

Al-Husayn b. ‘Abdull-‘Rhāmān b. ‘Amr b. Sa’d b. Mu‘ādh from Abū Sufyān client of Ibn Abī Ahmad from Abū Hurayra said that he used to say: ‘Tell me about a man who entered paradise never having prayed in his life,’ and when the people did not know, they asked him who it was and he said, ‘Usayrīm of the B. ’Abdull-Ashkhah, ‘Amr b. Thābit b. Waqī‘ah.’ Al-Husayn asked Mahmūd b. Asad what were the facts of Usayrīm, and he replied that in spite of his people he had refused to accept Islam, but on the day that the apostle marched out to Uhud he accepted it. He took his sword, plunged into the heart of the battle, and fought until he was overcome by wounds. While the B. ’Abdull-Ashkhah were looking for their dead in the battle suddenly they came upon him and marvelled that he should be there when they had left him showing his dislike for Islam. They asked him what had brought him, whether it was concern for his people or goodwill towards Islam. He replied that it was the latter. ‘I believed in God and his apostle and became a Muslim. Then I took my sword and fought with the apostle until I met the fate you see.’ Soon afterwards he died in their hands. When they mentioned him to the apostle he said, ‘Verily, he belongs to the people of paradise.’

My father Ḥṣāq from shaykhs of the B. Sahmāt told me that ‘Amr b. al-Jāʿish was a man who was very lame. He had four lion-like sons who were present at the apostle’s battles. On the day of Uhud they wanted to detain him, saying that God had excused him. He came to the apostle and told him that his sons wanted to keep him back and prevent his joining the army, ‘Yet by God, I hope to tread the heavenly garden despite my lame-ness.’ The apostle said, ‘God has excused you, and jihād is not incumbent on you,’ and to his sons he said, ‘You need not prevent him; perhaps God will favour him with martyrdom,’ so he went along with him and was killed at Uhud.

According to what Kaysān b. Hind d. Uthābah and the women with her stopped to mutillate the apostle’s dead companions. They cut off their ears and noses and Uthābah made them into anklets and collars and gave her anklets and collars and pendants to Wāsiḥ, the slave of Jumayr b. Mu‘ātīm. She cut out Hamza’s liver and chewed it, but she was not able to swallow it and threw it away. Then she mounted a high rock and shrieked at the top of her voice:

We have paid you back for Badr
And a war that follows a war is always violent.
I could not bear the loss of 'Utbah
Nor my brother and his uncle and my first-born
I have slaked my vengeance and fulfilled my vow.
You, O Wāsiḥ, have assurred my burning in my breast.
I shall thank Wāsiḥ as long as I live
Until my bones rot in the grave.

Hind d. Uthābah b. 'Abbād b. al-Mujalāb answered her:

You were disgraced at Badr and after Badr
O slaughter of a despicable man, great only in disbelieve.
God brought on you in the early dawn
Tall and white-skinned men from Hāshim,
Everyone slashing with his sharp sword:
Hamza my lion and 'Ali my falcon.
When Shayba and your father planned to attack me
They reckoned their breasts with blood.
Your evil vow was the worst of vows (608). 4
Hind d. 'Uthā also said:

I shall do my vengeance on Hāmza at Uhud.
I split his belly to get at his liver.
This took from me what I had felt
Of burning sorrow and exceeding pain.
War will hit you exceeding hard
Coming upon you as lions advance.

Sālih b. Kašān told me that he was told that 'Umar said to Ḥassān, 'O Ibn al-Furay'a (609), I wish you had heard what Hind said and seen her arrogance as she stood upon a rock uttering her taunts against us, reminding us of what she had done to Hāmza.' Ḥassān replied, 'I was looking at the lance as it fell, while I was on the top of Fārīn'—meaning his fort—and I realized that it was not one of the weapons of the Arabs. It seemed to me as though it was directed at Hāmza, but I was not sure. But recite me some of her verse: I will rid you of her.' So 'Umar quoted some of what she said and Ḥassān said:

The vile woman was insolent: her habits were vile;
Seeing that disbelieve accompanied her insolence (610).

Al-Hulaysh b. Zabbān, brother of the B. al-Hārīth b. 'Abdu Manāt, who was then chief of the black troops, passed by Abū Sufyān as he was striking the side of Hāmza's mouth with the point of his spear saying, 'Taste that, you rebel.' Hulaysh exclaimed, 'O B. Kinān, is this the chief of Quraysh acting thus with his dead cousin as you see?' He said, 'Confound you. Keep the matter quiet, for it is a slip.'

When Abū Sufyān wanted to leave he went to the top of the mountain and shouted loudly saying, 'You have done a fine work; victory in war goes by turns. Today in exchange for the day (T. of Badr). Show your superiority, Hubal,' i.e. vindicate your religion. The apostle told 'Umar to get up and answer him and say, 'God is most high and most glorious. We are not equal. Our dead are in paradise; your dead in hell.' At this answer Abū Sufyān said to 'Umar, 'Come here to me.' The apostle told him to go and see what he was up to. When he came Abū Sufyān said, 'I adjure thee by God, 'Umar, have we killed Muhammad?' 'By God, you have not, he is listening to what you are saying now,' he replied. He said, 'I regard you as more truthful and reliable than Ibn Qamā'īn,' referring to the latter's claim that he had killed Muhammad (611).

Then Abū Sufyān called out, 'There are some mutilated bodies among your dead. By God, it gives me no satisfaction, and no anger. I neither prohibited nor ordered mutilation.' When Abū Sufyān and his companions went away he called out, 'Your meeting-place is Badr next year.' The apostle told one of his companions to say, 'Yes, it is an appointment between us.'

Then the apostle sent 'Alī to follow the army and see what they were doing and what their intentions were. If they were leading their horses and riding their camels they would be making for Mecca; but if they were riding the horses and driving the camels they would be making for Medina. 'By God,' said he, 'if they make for Medina I will go to them there. Then I will fight them.' 'Ali said that he followed their tracks and saw what they were doing. They were leading their horses, riding their camels and going towards Mecca. (T. The apostle had said, 'Whatever they do, keep silent about it until you come to me.' When they saw that they had set out for Mecca, I came back shouting. I could not hide the fact as the apostle had ordered me because of my joy at seeing them going to Mecca and thus avoiding Medina.)

The people searched for their dead, and the apostle said, according to what Muhammad b. 'Abdu-'Rahmān b. Abū Sa'da b. al-Māzīnī, brother of the B. al-Najjār told me, 'Who will find out for me what has happened to Sa'd b. al-Rabī? Is he alive or among the dead?' One of the Ansār volunteered and found him lying wounded among the slain, at the point of death. He told him that the apostle had ordered him to see if he was alive or among the dead. He said, 'I am among the dead. Convey my greetings to the apostle and say, 'Sa'd says to you, 'May God reward you by us better than he has rewarded any prophet by his people,' ' and give your people a greeting from me and say, 'You have no excuse with God if anything has happened to your prophet while you can flutter an eyelid,' and straightway he died. He said: 'I came to the apostle and delivered his message' (612).

I have been told that the apostle went out seeking Ḥamza and found him at the bottom of the valley with his belly ripped up and his liver missing, and his nose and ears cut off. Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me that when he saw this the apostle said: 'Were it not that Ṣafīya would be miserable and it might become a custom after me! I would leave him as he is, so that his body might find its way into the bellies of beasts and the creps of birds. If God gives me victory over Quraysh in the future I will mutilate 30 of their men.' When the Muslims saw the apostle's grief and anger against those who had thus treated his uncle, they said, 'By God, if God gives us victory over them in the future we will mutilate them as no Arab has ever mutilated anyone' (613).

Barayda b. Sufyān b. Farwa al-Aslāmi from Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurayshī, and a man I have no reason to suspect from Ibn 'Abbas told me that God sent down concerning the words of the apostle and his companions, 'If you punish, then punish as you have been punished. If you endure patiently that is better for the patient. Endure thou patiently. Thy endurance is only in God. Grieve not for them, and be not in distress at what they plot.' So the apostle pardoned them and was patient and
enjoining on us almsgiving and forbidding mutilation.

One whom I do not suspect from Miqam, a client of ‘Abdullah b. al-
Hāri̇th from Ibn ‘Abbas, told me that the apostle ordered that Hamza
should be wrapped in a mantle; then he prayed over him and said ‘Allah
Akḳar’ seven times. Then the dead were brought and placed beside
Hamza and he prayed over them all until he had prayed seventy-two
prayers.

According to what I have told Sufiya d. Abdur-Rahman bin Mu‘āth
and I came forward to look at him. He was her full-brother and the apostle said to her
son, al-Zubayr b. al-Awwām, ‘Go to meet her and take her back so that
she does not see what has happened to her brother.’ He said to her,
‘Mother, the apostle orders you to go back.’ She said, ‘Why? I have heard
that my brother has been mutilated and that for God’s sake [], is a small
thing! He has fully reconciled us to what has happened. I will be calm
and patient if God will.’ When Zubayr returned to the prophet and
reported this to him he told him to leave her alone; so she came and looked
at Hamza and prayed over him and said, ‘We belong to God and to God do
we return,’ and she asked God’s forgiveness for him. Then the apostle
ordered that he should be buried. The family of ‘Abdullah b. Jahḷiṣ, who
was the son of Umaima d. Abdur-Rahman bin Mu‘āth, Hamza being his maternal
uncle, and he being having been mutilated in the same way as Hamza except
that his liver had not been taken out, asserted that the apostle buried him in
the same grave with Hamza; but I heard that story only from his family.

Now some Muslims had carried their dead to Medina and buried them
there. The apostle forbade this and told them to bury them where they
al-Uthmān, an ally of the B. Zubara, told me that the apostle said when he
looked down on the slain at Uhud: ‘I testify concerning these that there is
none wounded for God’s sake but God will raise him on the resurrection
day with his wounds bleeding, the colour that of blood, the smell like
musk; look for the one who has collected most of the Quran and put him in
front of his companions in the grave.’ They were burying two and three
in one grave.

My uncle Mus‘ū b. Yasir told me that he heard Abū Hurayra say: Abūl-
Qasim[] said, ‘There is none wound for God’s sake but God will raise
him on the resurrection day with his wounds bleeding, the colour that of
blood, the smell like musk.’

My father Ishāq b. Yasir told me on the authority of shaykhs of the B.
Salama that when the apostle ordered the dead to be buried he said, ‘Look
out for ‘Amr b. al-Jarrah and ‘Abdullah b. ‘Amr b. Ḥarīm; they were
close friends in this world, so put them in one grave.’ (T. When Mu‘āwiyah
dug the canal and they were exhumed they were as free from rigor mortis

as though buried but yesterday.) Then the apostle went back on his way
to Medina and there met him Hamza with asir, and I have been told, as she
met the army she was told of the death of her brother ‘Abdullah and she
exclaimed, ‘We belong to God and to God we return,’ and asked forgiveness
for him. Then she was told of the death of her maternal uncle Hamza,
and uttered the same words. Then she was told of the death of her husband
Mut‘am b. Umayr and she shrieked and wept. The apostle said:
‘The woman’s husband holds a special place with her, as you can see from
her self-control at the death of her brother and uncle and her shrieking
over her husband.’

The apostle passed by one of the settlements of the Ansār of the B.
‘Abdul-Ashhal and ‘Azib and he heard the sound of weeping and wailing
over the dead. The apostle’s eyes filled with tears and he wept and said,
‘But there are no weeping women for Hamza.’ When Sa‘d b. Mu‘āth and
Usayd b. Hudayr came back to the quarter, they ordered their women to
mourn themselves and go and weep for the apostle’s uncle.

Hakim b. Šāhīm b. ‘Abdallāh b. Hunayf from a man of the B. ‘Abdul-
Ashhal told me: ‘When the apostle heard their weeping over Hamza at the
door of his mosque he said ‘Go home; may God have mercy on you; you
have been a real help by your presence’ (614).

Abū Waqqas told me that the apostle passed by a woman of the B. Dinār
whose husband, brother, and father had been killed at Uhud, and when
she was told of their death she asked what had happened to the apostle.
and when they replied that thanks to God he was safe, she asked that she
might see him for herself. When he was pointed out to her she said, ‘Every
misfortune now that you are safe is negligible’ (using the word jālāl in the
sense of ‘mamal’ (615).

When the apostle rejoined his family he banded his sword to his daughter
Fatima, saying, ‘Wash the blood from this, daughter, for by God it has
erserved me well today.’ All also handed her his sword and said, ‘This one
too, wash the blood from it, for by God it has served me well today.’
The apostle said, ‘If you have fought well, ⁸⁸b. Ḥunayf and Abu Ḍu‘am
fought well with you’ (616).

The battle was fought on the sabbath in mid-Shawwâl, and on the
morning of Sunday the 16th of the month the apostle’s priest called to the
men to go in pursuit of the enemy and announced that none should go out
with us unless he had been present at the battle on the preceding
day. Jâbir b. ‘Abdullâh b. Amr b. Ḥarīm said, ‘A apostle of God, my father left
me behind to look after my seven sisters, saying that it was not right for us
both to leave the women without a man and that he was not one to give me
the precedence in fighting with the apostle. So I stayed behind to look
after them.’ The apostle gave him permission to go and he went out with
him. The apostle merely marched out as a demonstration against the

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1. I.e. learned.
2. I.e. Muhammad.

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In W. this sentence is ascribed to I. H. Tab. supports C. Cf. p. 1457.
enemy to let them know that he was pursuing them so that they might think he was in strength, and that their losses had not weakened them.

‘Abdullah b. Khāṭība b. Zayd b. Thābit from Abū-l-Sa‘īb, a freed slave of ‘A’isha d. ‘Uthmān, told me that one of the apostle’s companions from the B. ‘Abdu-l-Asbḥāl who had been present at Uhud said, ‘I and one of my brothers were present at Uhud and we came back wounded. When the apostle’s crier announced that we must pursue the enemy, I said to my brother or he said to me, ‘Are we going to stay away from an expedition with the apostle? We have no beast to ride and are severely wounded.’ However, we marched out with the apostle and since my wound was less severe, when he was enfeebled I put him on the beast for a time and we walked and rode turn and turn about until we came up to where the Muslims had halted.’

The apostle went as far as Ḥamrā‘u-l-Asad, about eight miles from Medina (617). He stayed the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, and then returned to Medina.

‘Abdullah b. Abū Bakr told me that Ma‘bad b. Abī Ma‘bad al-Khuza‘ī passed by him. The Khuza‘īs, both their Muslims and polytheists, were confidants of the apostle in Thīmān, they having agreed that they would not conceal from him anything that happened there. Now at this time Ma‘bad was a polytheist and he said, ‘Muhammad, we are distressed at what has happened to you [T. with your companions] and we wish that God would preserve you among them.’ Then he went out while the apostle was in Ḥamrā‘u-l-Asad until he met Abū Sufyān and his men in al-Rauḥā when they had determined to come back to the apostle and his companions. They said, ‘We have killed the best of his companions, their leaders and their nobles. Shall we then go back before we have exterminated them? Let us return to the survivors and make an end of them.’ When Abū Sufyān saw Ma‘bad he said, ‘What is the news?’ He replied, ‘Muhammad has come out with his companions to pursue you with an army whose like I have never seen, burning with anger against you. Those who stayed behind when you fought them have joined him; they are sorry for what they did and are violently enraged against you. Never have I seen anything like it.’ He said, ‘Confound you, what are you saying?’ He answered, ‘By God, I do not think that you will move off before you see the forelocks of the cavalry.’ He replied, ‘But we have determined to attack them to exterminate their survivors.’ He answered, ‘But I would advise against that. What I saw induced me to utter some verses about them.’ When he asked what they were, he recited:

My mount almost fell with fright at the clamour
When the ground flowed with troops of horse
Hastening with noble lion-like warriors
Eager for the fray; firm in the saddle; fully armed

T. 1420

7 Mī is the pl. of amīn, ‘not fully armed’. It also means ‘unsteady in the saddle’, a meaning supported by T’s ʿabārî. However, the first is a cliché among the poets and is a synonym of ma ʿāsh, the word that follows it.

I continued to run, thinking the very earth was moving. When they came up with the prince who never lacks support I said, ‘Alas for Ibn Ḥarb when he meets you When the plain is surging with men.’

I warn the people of the sanctuary plainly
Every prudent and sensible man among them
Of Ahmad’s army—no potholes his riders
And the warning I give is true.

These words turned back Abū Sufyān and his followers.

Some riders from ‘Abdu’l-Qays passed him and he learned that they were going to Medina for provisions. He said, ‘Will you take a message to Muhammad for me? And I will load these camels of yours tomorrow with raisins in Ukkā, when you arrive there.’ They agreed, and he said, ‘Then when you come to him tell him that we have resolved to come to him and his companions to exterminate them.’ The riders passed by the apostle when he was in Ḥamrā‘u-l-Asad and told him of what Abū Sufyān had said and he exclaimed, ‘God is our sufficiency, the best in whom to trust (618),’

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri told me that when the apostle came to Medina ‘Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salid who had a place which he used to occupy every Friday without opposition out of respect for him personally and his people, he being a chief, got up when the apostle sat on the Friday addressing the people and would say, ‘O people, this is God’s apostle among you. God has honoured and exalted you by him, so help him and strengthen him; listen to his commands and obey them.’ Then he used to sit down until when he acted as he did on the day of Uhud and came back with his men, he got up to do as he was wont and the Muslims took hold of his garments and said, ‘Sit down, you enemy of God. You are not worthy of that, having behaved as you did.’ So he went out stepping over the necks of the men and saying, ‘One would think I had said something dreadful in getting up to strengthen his case.’ One of the Ansār met him at the door of the mosque and asked him what was the matter. He said, ‘I got up to strengthen his case when some of his companions leapt upon me and dragged me along with violence. One would think that I had said something dreadful.’ He answered, ‘Go back and let the apostle ask forgiveness for you.’ He said, ‘By God, I do not want him to.’

The day of Uhud was a day of trial, calamity, and heart-searching on which God tested the believers and put the hypocrites on trial, those who professed faith with their tongue and hid unbelief in their hearts; and a day in which God honoured with martyrdom those whom he willed.

Passages in the Quran which deal with Uhud
Abū Muhammad ‘Abdu’l-Malik b. Hishām told us from Ziyād b. ‘Abdul-lah al-Bakkā‘ī that from Muhammad b. ʿIṣhāq al-Muṭṭalib: There are sixty
verses in "The Family of Imran" which God sent down concerning the day of Uhud in which there is a description of what happened on that day and the blame of those who resisted His rebuke.

God said to His prophet: 'And when you went forth early from your family you assigned to the believers positions for the fighting, God hearing (and) knowing' (619). 'Hearing' what you said; 'knowing' about what you were concealing.

'When two parties of you thought they would fail,' i.e. of deserting; and the two parties were the B. Salima b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj and the B. Haritha b. al-Nabit of al-Aus, they being the two wings.

God said: 'And God was their friend,' i.e. God protected them from the cowardice they meditated because it was only the result of weakness and feebleness which overcame them, not doubt in their religion, so He thrust that from them in His mercy and pardon so that they were saved from their weakness and feebleness and stuck to their prophet (620).

God said: 'Upon God let the believers rely,' i.e. the believer who is weak let him rely on Me and ask My help. I will help him in his affair and protect him until I bring him to his appointed time of life and ward off evil from him and strengthen him in his purpose.

'God helped you at Badr when you were contumacious, so fear God that you may be thankful,' i.e. fear Me, for that is gratitude for My kindness.

'God helped you at Badr' when your numbers and strength were inferior 'when thou didst say to the believers: 'Is it not enough for you that your Lord reinforced you with three thousand angels sent down? Nay, if you are steadfast and fear God and they come on you suddenly your Lord will reinforce you with five thousand angels clearly marked,'" i.e. if you are steadfast against My enemy and obey My command and they come on you recklessly I will reinforce you with five thousand angels clearly marked (621).

'God did this only as good news for you that your hearts might be at rest therein. Victory comes only from God, the Mighty the Wise,' i.e. I mentioned the armies of My angels only as good news for you and that your hearts might be at rest therein, because I know your weakness and victory comes only from Me because of My sovereignty and power for the reason that power and authority belong to Me, not to any one of My creatures.

Then He said: 'that He may cut off a part of those who disbelieve or overturn them so that they retire disappointed,' i.e. to cut off a part of the polytheists in a fight in which He will take vengeance on them or drive them back in chagrin, i.e. that those who survive may react as frustrated fugitives having achieved nothing that they hoped to attain (622).

Then He said to Muhammad the apostle of God: 'It is not your affair whether He changes His attitude to them or punishes them, for they are evil doers,' i.e. you have no concern with My judgement of My slaves except in so far as I give you orders concerning them or I change towards them in my mercy, for if I wish I shall do so; or I shall punish them for their sins for that is my prerogative; 'for they are evil doers,' i.e. they have deserved that for their disobedience to Me. 'And God is forgiving, merciful,' i.e. He forgives sins and has mercy on His slaves according to what is in them.

Then He said: 'O ye who believe, Take not usury, doubling and quadrupling,' i.e. Do not devour in Islam, to which God has now guided you, what you used to devour when you followed another religion; such is not permitted to you in your religion. 'And fear God, haply you may be prosperous', i.e. So obey God, perhaps you may escape from His punishment of which He has warned you, and attain His reward which He has made you desire. 'And fear the fire which is prepared for the disbelievers,' i.e. which has been made a dwelling for those who disbelieve in Me.

Then He said: 'And obey God and the apostle, impley you will attain mercy' reproaching those who disobeyed the apostle in the orders he gave them then day and at other times. Then He said: 'And vie with one another for forgiveness from your Lord and a garden as wide as the heavens and the earth prepared for those who fear (God),' i.e. a dwelling for those who obey Me and obey My apostle. 'Those who spend (their money) in ease and adversity and who control their wrath and are forgiving to men, for God loves those who do well,' i.e. that is well doing and I love those who act thus. 'And those who when they act unseemly or wrong themselves, remember God and ask forgiveness for their sins—and who forgives sins but God?—and have not persisted in their actions knowingly,' i.e. if they have acted unseemly or wronged themselves by disobedience, they remember God's prohibition and what He has declared evil, and ask forgiveness, knowing that none can forgive sins but He. 'And have not persisted in their actions knowingly,' i.e. have not continued to disobey Me like those who associate others with Me in the extravagance of their disbelief while they know that I have prohibited the worship of any but Myself. 'The reward of such is forgiveness from their Lord and gardens beneath which run rivers, in which they will abide for ever—a fine reward for workers,' i.e. the reward of the obedient.

Then He mentioned the catastrophe which befell them and the misfortune which came upon them and the trial (of the faith) that was in them and His choice of martyrs from among them, and He said comforting them and telling them of what they had done and what He was about to do with them: 'Examples have been made before your time, so go through the land and see the nature of the punishment of those who called (apostles) liars,' i.e. vengeance came upon me those who gave the lie to My apostles and associated others with Me (such as) 'Ad and Thamud and the people of Lot and the men of Midian and they saw what I did to them and to those in like case with them, for I was forbearing to them purely for the reason that they should not think that My vengeance was cut off from your enemy

1 Sura 3. 127 f.

2 Or, 'in spite of'.

3 v. 325, lit. 'devour not'.

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and mine in the time in which I let them get the better of you to test you thereby to show you your true selves.

Then He said: 'This is a plain statement to men and guidance and admonition to those that fear God,' i.e. this is an explanation to men if they receive guidance; 'and guidance and admonition,' i.e. a fight and discipline 'to those who fear,' i.e. to those who obey Me and know My command-ment; 'and do not wax faint or be sad,' i.e. do not be weak and despair at what has befallen you 'you being the superior,' i.e. you will have the victory 'if you believe,' i.e. if you had believed in what My prophet brought from Me. 'If you have received a shock the (Meccan) army received a shock likewise,' i.e. wounds like yours. 'These are days which We alternate among men,' i.e. we change them among men for trial and search; 'and that God may know those who believe and may choose martyrs from among you, and God loves not wrongdoers,' i.e. to distinguish between believers and hypocrites and to honour some of the faithful with martyrdom. 'And God loves not wrongdoers,' i.e. the hypocrites who profess obedience with their tongues while their hearts are firm in disobedience; 'and that God may try those who believe,' i.e. put to the test those who believe, so that He may purify them by the misfortune which came upon them, and their constancy and certainty; and confound the disbelievers,' i.e. bring to naught what the hypocrites say with their tongues that is not in their hearts until He brings to light their disbelief which they are concealing.

Then He said: 'Or do you think that you will enter the garden when God does not yet know those of you who are energetic and steadfast?' i.e. Do you think that you will enter the garden and receive the honour of My reward when I have not tested you with hardship and tried you with misfortune so that I may know your loyalty by faith in Me and steadfastness in what has befallen you through Me? 'And you used to wish' for martyrdom when you were in the way of truth before you met your enemy. He means those who urged the apostle to take them out against their enemy because they had not been present at the battle of Badr before that and longing for the martyrdom which they had escaped there. He said: 'And you used to wish for death before you met it.' He says: 'Now you have seen it with your eyes!' i.e. death by swords in the hands of men with nothing between you and them while you looked on. Then He kept them back from you. 'And Muhammad is nothing but an apostle; apostles have passed away before him. Will it be that if he dies or is killed you will turn back on your heels? He who so turns back will not harm God at all, and God will reward the thankful' in reference to the men saying 'Muhammad has been killed' and their flight thereat and breaking away from their enemy. 'Will it be if he dies or is killed' you will go back from your religion disbelievers as you once were and abandon the fight with your enemy, and God's book, and what His prophet will have left behind of his religion with you and in your possession when he has explained to you what he brought from Me to you that he would die and leave you? 'And he who so turns back' i.e. turns back from his religion 'will not harm God at all,' i.e. he will not diminish His glory and kingdom and sovereignty and power. 'And God will reward the thankful,' i.e. those who obey Him and do what He has commanded.

'And no soul can die but by God's permission in a term that is written,' i.e. Muhammad has a fixed time which he will attain and when God gives permission in regard to that it will happen. 'And he who desires the reward of this world We will give him it; and he who desires the reward of the next world We will give him it and We shall reward the thankful,' i.e. he of you who desires this world having no desire for the next We will give him his allotted portion of sustenance and nothing more and he has no share in the next world; and he who desires the reward of the next world We will give him what he has been promised together with his reward of sustenance in this world. That is the reward of the thankful, i.e. the pious.

Then He said: 'And with how many a prophet have myriads been slain and they waxed not faint at what befell them in the way of God and were not weak nor humiliated for God loves the steadfast,' i.e. how many a prophet has death (in battle) befallen and many myriads with him, i.e. a multitude, and they waxed not faint at the loss of their prophet nor showed weakness towards their enemies and were not humiliated when they suffered in the fight for God and their religion. That is steadfastness and God loves the steadfast. 'All that they said was, Forgive us sins, O Lord, and our wasted effort in our affair; make our feet firm and give us the victory over a disbelieving people' (623), i.e. say what they said and know that that is for your sins, and ask His forgiveness as they did, and practise your religion as they did, and be no renegades turning back on your heels; and ask Him to make your feet firm as they did; and ask His help as they did against a disbelieving people. For all that they said actually happened and their prophet was killed, yet they did not do what you did. So God gave them the reward of this world by victory over their enemy and a fine reward in the hereafter with what He had promised therein, for God loves those who do well.

'O you who believe, if you obey those who disbelieve they will turn you back on your heels and you will return as losers,' i.e. from your enemy, and will lose this world and the next. 'But God is your protector and He is the best of helpers.' If what you say with your tongues is true in your hearts then hold fast to Him and ask victory only of Him and do not turn back, withdrawing from His religion. 'We will cast terror into the hearts of those who disbelieve,' i.e. that by which I was helping you against them because they associated with Me that for which I gave them no warrant; i.e. do not think that they will have the final victory over you, while you hold fast to Me and follow My commandment, because of the disaster which befall you through sins which you committed whereby you went against My commandment in disobedience and also disobeyed the prophet. 'God ful-
filled His promise when you routed them by His leave until you failed and disagreed about the order and were disobedient after He had shown you what you were desiring. Some of you desired this world and some desired the hereafter. Then He made you flee from them that He might try you. Yet He forgave you, for God is full of kindness to the believers, i.e. I carried out My promise to give you victory over your enemy when you routed them with the sword, i.e. killing them by My permission and My giving you power over them and keeping them from you (624). 'Until you failed,' i.e. deserted and disagreed about the order; i.e. you disputed about My order, i.e. you abandoned the order of your prophet and what he had told you to do, meaning the archers. 'After He had shown you what you were desiring,' i.e. victory about which there was no doubt and the flight of the (Meccan) army from their wives and property. 'Some of you desired this world,' i.e. those who desired the spoil in this world and abandoned their orders which carried the reward of the hereafter; 'and some of you desired the hereafter,' i.e. those who fought for God's sake and did not transgress in going after what they had been forbidden for an accident of this world out of desire for it, hoping for the fine reward that is with God hereafter; i.e. those who fought for religion and did not transgress in going after what they had been forbidden for an accident of this world. 'To try you for some of your sins. God pardoned the great sin in that He did not destroy you for having disobeyed your prophet. But I restored My kindness to you.' And thus God favours the believers.' He punished some sins at once in this world by way of discipline and admonition, but He did not exterminate all for the debt they owed Him because they suffered for disobeying Him, out of mercy to them and as a reward for such faith as they had.

Then He reproached them for running away from their prophet and paying no heed when he called to them: 'When you climbed up and paid no heed to any one while the apostle was calling behind you, He rewarded you with grief for grief, that you might not know for what you missed and for what befell you,' i.e. grief after grief by the killing of some of your brethren and your enemy getting the better of you, and what you felt when someone said your prophet had been killed. That was what brought grief for grief to you so that you might not be sad over the victory you had missed after you had seen him with your own eyes, nor over the death of your brethren until I gave you case of that sorrow. 'And God is informed of what you do.' God comforted them from the sorrow and grief which they suffered in rebuking the lie of Satan that their prophet had been killed; and when they saw the apostle alive among them what they had missed from the Meccans after the victory over them and their disaster in the loss of their brethren became easy to bear when God had turned death aside from their prophet.

'Then after grief He sent down safety for you, as a sleep. It came upon a party of you while another party were troubled in mind thinking wrongly about God's thoughts of heathen days, saying, Have we anything to do with the matter? Say, the whole matter belongs to God. They hide in themselves what they do not reveal to thee. They say, if we had had anything to do with the matter we should not have been killed here. Say: Had you been in your houses, those whose slaying has been written would have gone forth to the places where they were to lie. (This has happened) that God might test what is in your breasts and prove what is in your hearts, for God knows about what is in the breasts.' God sent down sleep in security upon the people who were confident in Him and they slept unafraid; while the hypocrites whose thoughts troubled them, thinking wrongly about God's thoughts of heathen days, were afraid of death because they had no hope in the final result. God mentioned their recompensations and sorrow at what befell them. Then He said to His prophet, 'Say: 'Had you been in your houses,' you would not have been in this place in which God has made plain your secret thoughts; 'those whose slaying has been written would have gone forth to the places where they were to lie' to some other place where they would have been slain so that He might test what was in their breasts and prove what was in their hearts, for God knows about what is in the breasts,' i.e. what is in their breasts which they try to conceal from you is not hidden from Him.

Then He said: 'O you who believe, be not like those who disbelieved and said of their brethren who journeyed through the land or were raiding: 'Had they been with us, they would not have died or been killed that God may make that sorrow in their hearts. God gives life and causes death and God is a seer of what you do,' i.e. be not like the hypocrites who forbid their brethren to war for God's sake and to travel through the land in obedience to God and His apostle and say when they die or are killed: 'Had they obeyed us, they would not have died or been killed.' 'That God may make that sorrow in their heart' because of their lack of certainty in their Lord. 'God gives life and causes death,' i.e. their earthly stay is shortened or prolonged by His power as He wishes. Then God said: 'If you are slain for God's sake or die, nardon from God and mercy are better than what you amass, i.e. there is no escape from death, so death for God's sake or death in battle is better even if they had known and been certain of what they would amass from the world for which they hold back from fighting in fear of death and battle because of what they have amassed from the splendour of this world, not desiring the hereafter. If you die or are slain, whichever it may be, 'surely to God will you be gathered,' i.e. to God you must return. Let not the world deceive you and be not deceived by it. Let fighting and the reward which God holds out to you have more weight with you than that.

Then he said: 'It was by the mercy of God that thou wast lenient to them. Hadst thou been stern and rough, they would have dispersed and been no longer round thee,' i.e. they would have left you. 'So forgive them,' i.e. 1 Or 'order'.
overlook their offence, 'and ask pardon for them and consult them about the matter. When thou art resolved put thy trust in God, for God love those who trust.' He reminded His prophet of his leniency to them, and his patience with them in their weakness and their lack of patience had he treated them harshly for all their opposition when there was laid upon them the duty of obeying their prophet. Then He said: 'So forgive them,' i.e. overlook their offence 'and ask pardon' for their sins: the people of faith who did wrong. 'And consult them about the matter' to show them that you listen to them and ask their help, even if you are independent of them, thereby making their religion agreeable to them. 'And when thou art resolved' on a matter which has come from Me and a matter of religion concerning fighting your enemy when only that will bring you and them advantage, then do as you have been ordered despite the opposition of those who oppose you and in agreement with those who agree with you. 'And trust in God,' i.e. please Him rather than men. 'God loves them that trust. If God helps you none can overcome you; if He forsakes you, who thereafter can help you?' i.e. so that you do not leave My command for men, and forsake men's orders for Mine. On God, not on men, let believers trust.

Then He said: 'It is not for any prophet to deceive. Whoso deceives will bring his deceit with him on the day of resurrection. Then every soul will be paid in full what it has earned and they will not be wronged.' It is not for a prophet to conceal from men what he has been ordered to reveal either out of fear or desire to please them. Whoso does that will bring it with him on the day of resurrection; then he will be repaid what he has earned not wronged nor defrauded. 'Is one who follows the pleasure of God' whether men like it or not 'like one who has incurred God's displeasure?' by pleasing or displeasing men. He says, Is one who obeys Me whose reward is the garden and the goodwill of God like one who has incurred God's anger and deserves His anger, whose home is hell and a miserable end? Are the two examples the same? So know 'There are degrees with God and God is a seer of what they do' of all the degrees of what they do in paradise and hell, i.e. God knows those who obey and those who disobey Him.

Then He said: 'God showed favour to the believers when He sent among them an apostle from amongst themselves who recited to them His verses and purified them and taught them the book and wisdom, though before they were in obvious error.' God favoured you, O people of the faith, when He sent among you an apostle of your own, reciting to you His verses concerning what you had done, and teaching you good and evil that you might know the good and do it; and the evil and guard yourselves against it, and telling you of His pleasure with you when you obeyed Him; that you might gain much from obeying Him and avoid the wrath proceeding from disobedience that thereby you might escape His vengeance and obtain the reward of His garden. 'Though before you were in obvious error,' i.e. in the blindness of paganism not knowing what was good nor asking pardon for evil—deaf to good, dumb to the right, blind to guidance.

Then He mentioned the catastrophe that befell them: 'And was it so when a catastrophe befell you though you had smitten (them) with a disaster twice as great you said: How is this? Say: It is from yourselves. God is able to do all things.' Though a catastrophe befell you in the death of your brethren because of your sins, before that you had smitten your enemy with double that on the day of Badr in slaying and taking prisoners; and you have forgotten your disobedience and your opposition to what your prophet commanded you. You have brought that on yourselves. 'God is able to do all things.' God is able to do what He wills with His servants in taking vengeance or pardoning. 'And what befell you on the day the two armies met was by God's permission and that He might know the believers.' What befell you when you and your enemy met was by My permission. That happened when you acted as you did after My help had come to you and I had fulfilled my promise to you to distinguish between believers and hypocrites and to know those who were hypocrites among you, i.e. to make plain what was in them. 'And it was said to them, Come, fight for God's sake or defend,' meaning 'Abdullah b. Ubayy and his companions who went back from the apostle when he went against his polytheistic enemies at Uhud and their words: 'If we knew that you were going to fight we would go with you and would defend you; but we do not think that there will be a fight.' So He showed what they were hiding within them.

God said: 'They were nearer to disbelief than to faith that day saying with their mouths what was not in their hearts, i.e. showing you faith which was not in their hearts 'but God knows best about what they conceal,' i.e. what they hide, 'who said of their brethren' who belonged to their families and people who were killed in your company, 'Had they obeyed us they would not have been killed. Say: Then avert death from yourselves if you are truthful,' i.e. there is no escape from death, but if you are able to keep death away from you then do so. This was because they were hypocritical and left fighting for God's sake, eager to survive in this world and fleing from death.

Then He said to His prophet to make the believers wish to fight and desire battle: 'And do not think that those who were killed for God's sake are dead, nay they are alive with their Lord being nourished, glad with the bounty that God has brought them and rejoicing in those who have not yet joined them that they have nothing to fear or grieve over,' i.e. Do not think that those who were killed for God's sake are dead, i.e., I have brought them to life again and they are with Me being nourished in the rest and bounty of the Garden, rejoicing in the bounty that God has brought them for their striving on His account, and happy about those who have not yet joined them, i.e. glad when those of their brethren join them on account of their effort in war that they will share with them in the reward that God has given them, God having removed from them fear and sorrow.
God says: 'Rejoicing in the favour and bounty of God and that God does not waste the wages of the believers' because they have seen the fulfilment of the promise and the great reward.

Ibn 'Abd al-Uzayr from Ibn 'Abbas: The apostle said when your brethren were slain at Uhud, 'God has put their spirits in the crops of green birds which come down to the rivers of the Garden; they eat of its fruits and come home to where there are golden candlesticks in the shadow of the throne; and when they experience the goodly drink and food and their beautiful resting-place they say: Would that our brethren knew what God has done with us that they might not dislike fighting and shrink from war!' And God says 'I will tell them of you so He sent down to His apostle these verses 'And do not think,' &c.

Al-Harith b. Al-Fudayl told me from Mahrud b. Labid al-Ansari from Ibn 'Abbas: The martyrs are at Bariq, a river at the gate of the Garden, in a green tent, their provision from the Garden coming out to them morning and evening.

One whom I do not suspect told me from Abdullah b. Mas'ud that he was asked about these verses 'Do not think,' &c., and he said, We asked about them and we were told that when your brethren were slain at Uhud God put their spirits in the crops of green birds which come down to the rivers of the Garden and eat of its fruits and come home to where there are golden candlesticks in the shade of the throne and God takes one look at them and says: 'O My servants, What do you wish that I should give you more?' And they say, 'O Our Lord, there is nothing beyond the Garden which Thou hast given us from which we eat when we please.' After the question has been put three times they say the same, adding, 'except that we should like our spirits to return to our bodies and then return to the earth and fight for Thee until we are killed again.'

One of our companions told me from Abdullah b. Muhammad b. Aqil from Jabir b. 'Abdullah: The apostle said to me, 'I will give you good news, Jabir. God has restored to life your father who was killed at Uhud.' Then he asked him what he would like Him to do for him and he said that he would like to return to the world and fight for Him and be killed a second time.

Amr b. Ubayd told me from al-Hasan that the apostle swore that there was no believer who had parted from the world and wanted to return to it for a single hour even if he could possess it with all it has except the martyr who would like to return and fight for God and be killed a second time.

Then God said, 'Those who responded to God and His apostle after harm had befallen them,' i.e. wounds. They are the believers who went with the apostle on the morrow of Uhud to 'Amr b. Al-Aswad and in spite of the pain of their wounds, 'for those of them who do well and are pious there is a great reward; those to whom men said: The men (of Mecca) have gathered against you so fear them, and that but increased their faith and

they said, Allah is sufficient for us and a fine one in whom to trust.' The men who said that were a number of 'Abdu'l-Qays to whom Abū Sufyān spoke. They said: 'Abū Sufyān and his company are certainly coming back to you.' God says, 'So they returned with God's grace and favour. Harm did not befall them and they followed God's pleasure and God is of great bounty' in that He turned away their enemy so that they did not meet him. 'It is only the devil,' i.e. those men and what Satan put into their mouths, 'who would make men fear his adherents,' i.e. frighten you by means of his adherents. 'But fear them not and fear Me if you are believers. Let not those who vie in running to disbelief grieve you,' i.e. the hypocrites, 'they can in no wise injure God. God wills not to assign them a portion in the next world where they will have a painful punishment. Those who buy infidelity with faith will in no wise injure God: they will have a painful punishment. Let not those who disbelieve think that the respite We give them is good for them. We give them a respite only that they may increase in trespass. theirs is an ignominious punishment. It is not God's purpose to leave the believers as you are till He shall separate the evil from the good,' i.e. the hypocrites. 'And it is not God's purpose to let you know the unseen,' i.e. what He wills to try you with that you may take heed of what comes to you. 'But God chooses whom He will of His messengers,' i.e. He lets him know that 'So believe in God and His messengers and if you believe and are pious, i.e. return and repent then you will have a great reward.'

The Muslim who were martyred at Uhud in the company of the apostle were as follows:


Of the Ansar: of B. 'Abdu'l-Adhal: Amr b. Mu'adhd; al-Harib b. Anas b. Rā'f, and 'Umar b. Ziyād b. al-Sakān (523); Salama b. Thābit b. Wāqsh and Amr his brother ('Aṣim b. 'Umar b. Qara'a asserted to me that their father Thābit was killed that day); and Rā'f b. Wāqsh; and Husayb b. Jābir Abū Hudhayfa who was al-Yamān (the Muslims killed him unwittingly and Hudhayfa forewrote his blood vit. incidentum on the spy); and Ṣayf and Ḥabib sons of Qaysiy; and 'Abdāb b. Sahil; and al-Harib b. Aṣūr b. Mu'adhd. Total 12.

Of the men of Rātij: Ḥayyā b. Aṣūr b. 'Atik b. Amr b. 'Abdu'l-Ālam b.
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Za'urnb b. Juslam b. 'Abdull-As-Shab; and 'Ubayd b. al-Tayyiân (626); and Hâbîb b. Ya'lam b. Taym. 3.


Of B. Thâlabah b. 'Amr b. 'Auf: Abû Hayya, brother to Sa'd b. Khaythama by his mother (628); and 'Abdullâh b. Jusyâr b. al-Nûmân who commanded the archers. 2.


Of B. Dhâr b. al-Najâr: Sulaym b. al-Hârîth; and Nûmân b. 'Abdu 'Amr. 2.


Of B. 'Atîf, the family of Sa'd b. Umayyâ: 'Abdullâh b. 'Amr b. Wâhid b. Thâlabah b. Waqiah b. Thâlabah b. 'Atîf; and Dammâr, an ally from B. Juslayma. 2.


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Thâlabah b. Fihûr b. Ghanm b. Sâlim; al-Mu'âdhabah b. Dhiyâd, an ally from Bally; and 'Ubayda b. al-Safi, the last three being buried in one grave. 4.


Of B. Sa'id b. Ghamn: Sulaym b. 'Amr b. Hâdida and his client 'Antara; and Sahîl b. Qays b. Abû Ka'b b. al-Qays. 3.

Of B. Zaraq b. 'Amir: Dhu'l-khânâb b. 'Abdullâh Qays; and 'Ubayd b. al-Mu'âdhabah. 2.

The total number of Muslims killed including both Emigrants and Ansâr was 65 men (635).

THE NAMES OF THE POLYTHEISTS WHO WERE KILLED AT UHUD

The Quraysh from B. 'Abdull-Dâr b. Qaysay who carried the standard: Talha b. 'Abdullâh b. 'Abdull-Uzza b. 'Uthmân b. 'Abdull-Dâr whom 'Ali killed; and Abû Sa'd b. Abû Talha whom Sa'd b. Abû Waqqas killed (635); and 'Uthmân b. Abû Talha whom Hamzâ killed; and Musîf b. al-Jûlûs sons of Talha whom Âsim b. Thâbit b. Abû Zariqâl-khâlîd killed; and Khalîf and al-Hârîth sons of Talha killed by Qûzman an ally of B. Zafar (637); and Arîj b. 'Abdull Shu'râhîf b. Hâshim b. Abû Manîf b. Abû Dâr whom Hamzâ killed; and Abû Zayd b. 'Umayr b. Hâshim, &c., whom Qûzman killed; and Sa'n b' an Abyssinian slave of his also killed by Qûzman (638); and Qâsî b. Shu'râh b. Hâshim b. Abû Manîf whom Qûzman killed. 17.


Of B. Jumâh b. 'Amr: 'Amr b. Abûlshâb b. 'Umayr b. Hûshâb b. Jumâh who was Abû 'Azza whom the apostle killed when a prisoner; and 'Umayr b. Khalâf b. Wâhid b. Hûshâb b. Jumâh whom the apostle killed with his own hand. 2.

Of B. 'Amir b. Lu'say: 'Ubayda b. Jâbir; and Shayba b. Mâlik b. al-Mu'âdhabah both of whom were killed by Qûzman (636). 2.

Thus God killed on the day of Uyûd 22 polytheists.
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POETRY ON THE BATTLE OF UHUD

The following verses on the subject:

Hubayra b. Abū Wahb b. 'Amr b. 'A'dh b. 'Abd b. 'Imrān b. Makhzūm

(640):

Why does this painful anxiety affect me at night?
My love for Hind beset by cares.
Hind keeps blaming and reproaching me
While war has distracted me from her.
Gently now, blame me not; 'tis my habit
As you know I have never concealed it.
I help the B. Ka'b as they demand
Struggling with the burdens they impose.
I bore my arms bestride a noble horse
Long of pace, smooth in gait, keeping up with the cavalry's gallop,
Running like a wild ass in the desert which
Pursued by hunters keeps close to the females.
Sired by A'waj, which rejoices men's hearts
Like a branch on a thick lofty palm.
I got him ready and a sharp choice sword
And a lance with which I meet life's crises.
This and a well-knit coat of mail like a wavy pool
Fastened on me clear of blenishes.
We brought Kināna from the confines of yonder Yemen
Across the land driving them hard.
When Kināna asked where we were taking them
We told them Medina; so they made for it and its people.
We were the true knights that day on Uhud's slope.
Ma'add were in terror so we said we would come to their aid
They feared our strokes and thrusts well aimed and cutting
Which they beheld when their outposts had drawn together.
Then we came like a cloud of hail,
The B. al-Najjār's bird of death bemouled them.
Their skulls in the battle were like ostrich eggs
Split open (by the chicks) and cast aside;
Or a colocyth on a withered shoot
Loosened by the sweeping winds.
We spend our wealth lavishly without reckoning
And we stab the horsemen in their eyes right and left.

Hassān b. Thābit answered him:

You brought Kināna in your folly (to fight) the apostle,
For God's army was (bound to) disgrace them,
You brought them to death's cisterns in broad daylight.
Hell was their meeting-place, killing what they met with.
You collected them, black slaves, men of no descent,
O leaders of infidels whom their insolent ones deceived.
Why did you not learn from those thrown into Badr's pit
Slain by God's horsemen?
Many a prisoner did we free without ransom,
Many a captive's forelock did we, his masters, cut! (641)

Ka'b b. Malik also answered Hubayra:

Have Ghassān heard about us though
Wide desert land where travel is uncertain separates them?
Deserts and mountains looking black in the distance
Like pillars of dust dotted here and there.
Strong camels there become feeble,
The yearly rains pass over it to make other lands fertile.
There the skeletons of exhausted men
Look like merchants' linen dotted with figures.
The wild ozen and gazelles walk in file
And broken ostrich eggs he strewed abroad.
Our warriors who fight for their religion are all troops
Skilled in war with helmets' shining.

The mean man does not throw the meal open to all and sundry, but invites only those
who can return his hospitality.

1 So A. Dh., but 'adidiya in 742. 17 means 'troops' and it may well be that love and war are mingled in his thoughts.
2 Cf. Alhwardt, Chafeel el-'Ahmar's Guide, Greifswald, 1859; but a comparison with 'Amr b. Qarnī's (ed. Lyall, Camb. 1910, p. 535) suggests that we should read mukuddum (active) 'biting' to quicken their pace as he protects their rear.
3 Al-Nakhlī. A watering-place near Medina.
4 jumnts. S. points out that the old names of the months indicated their position in the solar year and that these names persisted when the months fell in different seasons after the lunar calendar was adopted; thus Ramādān, 'the scorching', could begin in January and Rabih a, 'the Spring', begin in November.
5 Or 'The yearly rain clouds are empty and pass swiftly on'.
6 Properly the tops of the Pickelhaube.
Every coat of mail preserved in store is
When donned as a well-filled pool.
But ask any man you meet about Badr;
News you are ignorant of will be profitable.
Had other men been in that land of fear
They would have decamped at night and fled away.
When a rider of ours came he said,
"Prepare to meet the force Ibn Harb has collected."
In misfortunes that would distress others
We showed greater calmness than all.
Had others been beset by a multitude
They would have given up and lost heart.¹
We fought them; no tribe could stand against us
But feared and fled in dread.
When they made their home in 'Trd² our leader said,
"Why do we plant grain if we do not protect it?"
Among us was God's apostle whose command we obey.
When he gives an order we do not examine it.
The spirit³ descends on him from his Lord
Brought down from the midst of heaven and taken up again.
We consult him on our wishes, and our desire
Is to obey him in all that he wants.
The apostle said when they appeared,
"Cast off the fear of death and desire it,
Be like one who sells his life
To draw near to a King by Whom he will be restored to life
"Take your swords and trust in God
'To Whom belongs the disposal of all things.'
We made for them openly as they rode their camels
Bearing swords and unafraid
In a compact force with lances and spears;
When our steeds planted their feet they kept them firm,
Into a sea of foemen we plunged,
Their backs in the centre some in armour some unprotected.
They were three thousand while we were three hundred elite
Or four hundred at the most.
The battle went to and fro while death ran between us.
We tried to get to the cistern of death before them and did so.
Bows of lotic wood exchanged 'presents' between us
All of them cut from Yathribi wood⁴
And Meccan arrows made by Sā'īd.

Or, reading tanwā'ud, 'dispersed'.
¹ A place outside Medina.
² J.H., Gabriel.
³ A.Dh. explains Yathribi as 'bow strings' cut in Medina, but the context implies that arrows were exchanged.
⁴ The text of this verse is difficult and is probably corrupt.
But they were treacherous, surrendered, and deserted.
Only God’s will can prevail and He is the greatest doer (642).

*A’lbab r. al-Ziba’rā:

O raven, you have made men hear, then speak.
You can say only what has happened.
(To good and evil there is an end and both befell men,
Gifts are mean among them
And the graves of the rich and the poor are equal.
Every comfortable and pleasant life comes to an end
And the blows of fate play with us all.)
Give Hassan a message from me,
For composing poetry cures inward pain.
How many skulls on the mountain slope did you see,
How many hands and feet cut off,
Fine armour stripped from the brave
Who had perished in the battle?
How many noble chiefs did we slay,
Their descent doubly glorious, intrepid warriors;
Truly courageous, noble, conspicuous,
No weaknesses when the spears fell?
Ask al-Mihra who inhabits it,
Between skulls and brains, like partridges?
Would that my elders in Badr had seen
The fear of Kharraj when the spears fell;
When (war) rubbed its breast in Qubā’
And the slaughter waxed hot among the ‘Abdu’il-Ashshāl.
Then they were nimble in flight
Like young ostriches running up a hill.
We killed a double number of their nobles
And adjusted the inequality of Badr,
I do not blame myself, but
Had we returned we should have made a clean sweep of them
With Indian swords above their heads
Delivering blow after blow.

Hassān b. Thabit answered him:
The battle is over, O Ibn Ziba’rā
(Had he been fair he would have admitted our superiority).
You inflicted loss on us and we on you.
The fortunes of war often change.
We thrust our swords between your shoulders
Where they drank blood again and again.

*We made liquid to run from your arses
Like the ordure of camels that have eaten ‘ṣal.
When you took to your heels in the pass
And fled like sheep one behind the other;
When we attacked you boldly
And drove you to the bottom of the mountain
With companies like vast objects (?) in the plain
Whoever meets them is terrified.
The pass was too narrow for us when we traversed it
And we filled its heights and depths
With men you cannot equal
Strengthened by Gabriel’s help who came down.
We conquered at Badr by piety,
Obeying God and believing the apostles.
We killed all their chiefs
And we killed every long-robed noble.
We left in Quraysh a lasting shame that day of Badr
An example to be talked of.
While the apostle of God witnessed truly,
While the short fat people among Quraysh
Got together by them were as
Camels collected in herbage and left shepherdless.
We and not men like you, children of your mother’s arse,
Meet the fighters when adversity comes (643).

Kalb mourning Hamza and the Muslim dead:
You weep, but do you want one to stir you to tears?
You who are lost in grief when you remember them,
Remembering a people of whom
Stories have reached me in this crooked age.
Your heart palpitates at the memory of them
In longing and tearful sadness.
Yet their dead are in lovely gardens
Honoured in their exits and entrances.
Because they were steadfast beneath the flag,
The flag of the apostle in Dhīl-Adwai?
The morning when the B. Ans and Kharraj
All responded with their swords
And Ahmad’s supporters followed the truth,

The language is Quranic.

1 The reading is uncertain. A.Dh. cites ‘lāmm’ as an alternative reading.
2 These two lines are difficult. A.Dh. makes several suggestions as to the meaning.
3 It would be tempting to read ha’; for nas here.
4 The poet is apostrophizing himself.
5 A clear indication of the comparatively late date of this poem. Cf. also W. 638, line 5
6 A place near Ubud. Yaq. 1395.
The light-giving straight way,
They continually smote the warriors
As they passed through the clouds of dust
Till at last the King summoned them
To a garden with thick trees at its entrance,
All of them proved pure in the trial,
Died unflinchingly in God’s religion
Like Hamza when he proved his loyalty
With a sharp well-whetted sword,
The slave of the B. Naufal met him
Muttering like a huge black camel
And pierced him with a lance like a flame
That burns in a blazing fire.
And Nu’mân fulfilled his promise
And the good Hamzâ turned not from the truth
Until his spirit passed
To a mansion resplendent in gold.
Such are (true men) not those of your company
Who lie in nethermost hell with no escape.

Dirâr b. al-Khaṭṭâb al-Fihr answered him:

Does Ka'b grieve over his followers
And weep over a crooked age
Crying like an old camel who sees his companions
Returning at evening while he is kept back?
The water camels pass on and leave him
Grumbling of ill-treatment while he is not even saddled for women.
Say to Ka'b, ‘Let him double his weeping
And let him suffer pain therefrom;
For the death of his brothers when the cavalry charged
In clouds of rising dust.’
Would that ‘Amr and his followers
And ‘Utba had been in our flaming meeting-place
That they might have slaked their vengeance
On those of Khazraj who were slain
And on those of Aus who died on the battlefield,
All of them slain in Dhûl-Adwârij.
And the killing of Hamza under the flag
With a pliant death-dealing lance.
And where Mus‘ab fell and lay
Smitten by a sword’s quick stroke
In Uhud when our swords flashed among them
Flaming like a roaring fire
On the morrow we met you with swords

Like lions of the plains who cannot be turned back;
All our steeds like hawks,
Blood horses fiery, well-saddled,
We trod them down there until they fled
Except the dying or those hemmed in (644).

‘Abdullâh b. al-Ziba’rî:

Surely tears flowed from your eyes
When youth had fled and the loved one was far away.
Far off and gone is she whom you love and
The camp, now removed, has robbed me of a dear one.
The ardent lover cannot recover what is gone
However long he weeps.
But let be: Has Umm Mâlik news of my people
Since news spreads far and wide
Of our bringing horses to the men of Medina,
Fine handsome horses, some reared with us, some outborn,
The night we went forth in great force
Led by one, the dread of his enemies, the hope of his friend;
All were clad in coats of mail
Which looked like a well-filled pool where two valleys meet.
When they saw us they were filled with awe,
A dreadful plight confronted them;
They wished that the earth would swallow them,
Their stoutest hearted warriors were in despair
When our swords were drawn they were like
A flame that leaps through brushwood.
On their heads we brought them down
Bringing swift death to the enemy.
They left the slain of Aus with hyenas hard at them and
Hungry vultures lighting on them.
The Banû Najâr on every height
Were bleeding from the wounds on their bodies.
But for the height of the mountain pass they would have left Ahmâd dead,
But he climbed too high though the spears were directed at him,
As they left Hamza dead in the attack.
With a lance thrust through his breast.
Nu‘mân too lay dead beneath his banner,
The falling vultures busy at his bowels.

1 Or the poet may be urging himself to weep.
2 This unpleasant version is probably the original. For yâjûfâ C. follows the MSS. which has yâjûfâ, said to mean ‘fall upon’, which seems unnatural here. Another variant quoted by C. is yâjumma ‘boiler’, while Nöl, Delectus, 68, read yâjûnna ‘hunger for’, which again is unnatural. All these variants can be accounted for by the assumption that editors wanted to tone down the ghastly description of this early Muslim’s death.
The Life of Muhammad

The spear of our warriors came on them in Uhud (as-swiftly)
As a well devours the ropes of the bucket. 1

Hassān b. Thābit:

Do the spring camps make you long for Ummu'l-Walī, 2
The waste lands deserted by their people?
The winds of summer and the rain of Aquarius,
The torrential cloudbringer, has effaced them;
Naught remains but the place where the fire was,
Round it on the ground are the firestones like doves.
Mention no more the camp whose people distance separates
Severing the strongest ties, and say
If there was a battle in Uhud which a fool counts a victory
The real truth will some day be known. 3
All the Banū Aus stood firm that day,
High renown was theirs.
The Banū Najār were steadfast in defence,
None was faithheaded in the fight
In front of the apostle of God, they did not desert him.
They had a helper from their Lord and an intercessor.
They were faithful when you, Quraysh, 4 denied your Lord.
(The loyal and the disloyal slave arc never equal)
With swords in their hands when the battle was hot
He whom they smote could not but die.
They left 'Uthān and Sa'd lying in the dust
As the spears found their mark.
They left Ubayy laid beneath the dust by the apostle's own hand,
His shirt wet with blood
When the dust they stirred up covered the people.
These were chiefs from your leading families,
For every army has chiefs.
By them we help God when 5 He helps us
Even if things are terrible, O Quraysh.
Mention not the slain since Hamza is among them,
Dead for God's sake in true obedience.
Paradise eternal he lives in now.
(The command of Him who decrees is swift.)

1 Or, 'a water-drawer grasps'. Nöldeke, Deccetia, 70, renders nasūl 'by profusio patient. 2, but this is wrong because, according to the Tāj, Lisān, and Qānin, it means a shallow well. See further E. Brümmler in Islāmiyya, 1. 1925, 338. Alternatively naṣūl could mean an habitual water-drawer. If, with some authorities, naṣūl be read, then the act of draining water is intended. The verb ghalā means taking away quickly, destroying, devouring, grasping, &c. Thus the point of the simile would seem to be that the spears went in and out of the bodies as lust as a skilled water-drawer could send buckets up and down a well, or that they went in as quickly as a well (or the act of draining water) takes away the ropes.

2 Eaters of subhān. 3 I.e. the swords.
4 C. has bātūl. 5 Or 'by thy forgiveness'. See Lane, 386a. 6 Of Sūra 88, 6. 8 A feble plant ending in small envelopes like chickpeas; a simile of weakness and uselessness. 2 Of 'by thy forgiveness'. 3 The point of this simile would seem to be that the man's skill, split and marked with blood, reminded the poet of a shepherd's cloak which had been made of odd pieces of fur.
The Life of Muhammad

I said, This will be a battle worth many a battle,
It will be talked of as long as leaves fall.
Every day they have been accustomed to gain the victory in battle
And the spoils of those they encountered.

I forced myself to be steadfast when I felt afraid
And I was certain that glory could only be got in the forefront.
I forced my steed to plunge into their ranks
And drenched him with their blood.
My horse and my armour were coloured
With blood that spurted from their veins and coagulated.
I felt sure I should stay in their dwellings
For ever and a day.
Do not despair, O Banu Makhzum, for you have men
Like Al-Mughira, men without blame.
Be steadfast, may my mother and brothers be your ransom,
Exchanging blows until time be no more.

"Amr b. al-'As:

When I saw war's flames leaping over the fire stones
Reaching the squadrons playing men with their feet
I was sure that death was truth and life a delusion.
I set my arms on a strong horse which could outrun others easily,
Dolche when others go astray in the desert outrunning the best horse.
When the sweat flowed down his flanks he showed more spirit;
Swift as a young hart of the desert when archers scare him to run full stretch,
Firm of fetlock he leads the cavalry in cantor and gallop.
My mother be your ransom that fearful morning
When they walked like sandgrouse
Making for the leader of the squadron when the sun revealed him
plainly (647).

Ka'b b. Malik answered the two of them:

"Tell Quraysh (the best word is the truest and truth is always acceptable to the wise)

"That we killed your best men, the standard-bearers,
In revenge for our slain, so what is all the talk about?
And on the day that we met you
Michael and Gabriel reinforced and helped us.
If you kill us the true religion is ours
And to be killed for the truth is to find God's favour.
If you think that we are fools

The opinion of those who oppose Islam is misleading.
Do not wish for more war but stay at home.
The habitual man of war is blood-stained, never free of care.
You will get such blows at our hands
That the hyacinths will rejoice at the lumps of meat.
We are men of war who get the utmost from it
And inflict painful punishment on the aggressors.
If Ibn Harb escaped with the skin of his teeth
(And God's will must be done) it gave him discernment
And admonition if he has the sense to appreciate it.
Had you come to the bottom of the torrent bed
A swift stroke would have met you on the valley side,
Bands of men round the Prophet would have confronted you
With breastplates prepared for war.
Men of Ghassān stock with drawn swords,
No unarmed cowards they;
They walk towards the dark clouds of battle
As the camels' white foals walk in train,
Or as lions walk in a covert wetted by rain
Brought by the north wind from the Gemini
In long close-knit mail like a rippling pool,
Its wearer broad-shouldered," a chief like a sword,
Which makes the strongest arrowhead useless
And the sword recoil with blunted edge.
Though you threw off Mount Sal' from your backs
(And sometimes life can be prolonged and death avoided)
You would never be able to take revenge;
Time will pass the slain not paid for,
Slave and free, noble, tied up like game (led)
Towards Medina bound and slain.
We were hoping to get you all, but our knights with their weapons
Chased you from us too quickly.
When one of them commits a crime they know for certain
That the consequence will be borne (by the tribe).
His crime is not an unmistakable crime,
None blames him and none evades his share of the penalty.

Hassan b. Thabit:

At even when the stars were setting
I could not sleep for care.
And the vision of the beloved that haunted me.
A sickness pervaded my heart and an inner hidden passion.

1 Reading sabba'ta.
2 Reading saba'ta.

3 Reading sulaym.
4 Lit. 'stones will disappear' or 'wear away'.
The Life of Muhammad

O my people, can one without strength and courage
Slay a man like me?
If the tiniest ants were to crawl upon her
They would make wounds in her skin.
She smells of sweet scent and lingers in her bed
Adorned with silver and strung with pearls.
The daily sun surpasses her in naught
Except that youth does not endure.
My uncle was orator at Jābiyyatu'l-Jaulān
With al-Nu'mān when he stood up (to speak).
I was the hawk at the door of Ibn Salma
On the day that Nu'mān was sick in fetters.
Ubayy and Wāqīj were set free for me.
The day they went forth with their fetters broken
I went surely for them with all my wealth,
Every scrap of it was allotted.
My family stood high in their regard,
Every dwelling had a great ancestor of mine.
My father gave decisive judgement at Sumayya
When disputes were referred to him.
Such were our deeds, but al-Zibārā
Is a man of no account, blamed even by his friends.
How much culture is destroyed by poverty
While prosperity hides barbarism.
Do not insult me for you cannot do so,
Only a gentleman can insult his peer.
I care not if a he goat cries in the wasteland
Or a churl speaks evil behind my back.
The finest stock of Banū Qayyam took over the courage
(You ought to have had) when you withdrew.
Nine carried the standard while
Makhzūm ran away from the spears with the riff-raff.
They stood firm together in their place till all were slain,
All of them bleeding from open wounds.
It was only honourable that they should stand firm.
The noble man is truly noble.
They stood fast until death came upon them
With the lances broken in their throats.
Quraish fled from us seeking refuge

So that they stood not fast but lost their wits.
Their collagenes could not sustain its weight;
Only the best men can carry the standard (648).

Hassān b. Thābit mourning Hamza:

O Mayya, arise and weep sadly at dawn as the keening women do;
As those who carry heavy burdens cannot move for their weight
Who cry aloud scratching the faces of free women.
When their tears run they are like the pillars reddened by the blood of victims.
They let their hair loose and their locks appear
Like the tails of restive plunging horses in the morning,
Some plaited, some cut, dishevelled by the wind.
They weep sadly like mourners whom fate has wounded,
Their hearts scarred by painful wounds.
Fate has smitten those who were our hope when we were afraid,
The men of Uḥud whom fate's calamities destroyed.
Our knight and protector when armed men appeared,
O Hamza, I will not forget you while time lasts,
The refuge of orphans and guests and the widow who looks shyly away,
And from the fate that brings war after war with growing evil.
O knight, O protector, O Hamza, you were our great defender
From blows of fate when they were crushing.
You reminded me of the lion of the apostle, that protector of ours
Who will always be mentioned when noble chiefs are counted
High above the leaders, generous, white, shining;
Not frivolous, poor spirited, nor grumbling at life's burdens.
A sea of generosity, he never withheld gifts from a guest.
Young men of honour, zealous and serious minded, have died
Who in the winter when none gets his fill of milk
Offered the flesh of camels topped by slices carved from its fat,
Protecting their guests as long as the enemy attacks.
Alas for the young men we have lost, they were as lamps,
Proud, patricians, princes, lavishly generous,
Who bought reputation with their wealth, (for reputation is a gain),
Who leapt to their bridles if a cry for help was raised.
One who suffered misfortunes in an unrighteous age.
His camels kept going over the dusty plain,
They went vying with each other while he was among those
Whose breasts ran with sweat so that good fortune might return to him,
Not the lot of him who gets the unlucky arrow.
O Hamza, you have left me lonely like a branch cut off from a tree.

1 Lit. 'Her interest is'.
2 Sumayya was a well in Medina. Aun and Khaṭṭār used to submit their disputes to the arbitration of his grandfather al-Mundhir b. Ḥarrān.
3 A variant in the Ṣafiyyah of Yūnus is 'mountains above'.
4 The Līthān and Jambūra attribute this line (which is not in the Dīnār) to ʿAṣā Green.
5 Muhummēd b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān.
6 Reading madānīm, cf. A. Dh.
The Life of Muhammad

I complain to you when layers of dust and stone cover you, of
The stone we put above you when the gravedigger finished his work
In a wide space, covering it with earth carefully smoothed.
Our comfort is that we say (and what we say is grievous hard)
He who is free from life's misfortunes let him come to us
And weep for our noble generous dead,
Who said and did what they said, the truly laudable,
Who always gave freely even when they had little to spare (649).

He also said:

Do you know the camp whose traces since you saw it
Are swept away by a mighty torrent of rain
Between Al-Sarádāth and Udmāna and the channel of Al-Jaḥār in Ťa'il?
I asked it of that and it would not answer;
It did not know the answer.
Give no thought to a camp whose traces have disappeared,
And weep over Hanza the generous who filled the platter
When the storm blew in bitter cold and famine,
Who left his adversaries in the dust
Stumbling on his slender lance,
Who threw himself among the horses when they held back:
Like a lion bold in its thicket.
Shining at the summit of the Hashim clan
He did not oppose the truth with lies.
He died a martyr under your swords,
May the hands of Waḥṣā, the murderer, wither!
What a man did he leave on his lance, its point deadly sharp!
The earth has become dark at his loss
And the moon shining forth from the clouds is blackened.
God bless him in the heavenly paradise.
May his entry be honoured.
We looked on Hanza as a protector in all the blows of misfortune.
In Islam he was a great defence
Who made up for the loss of miserable stay-at-homes.
Rejoice not, O Hind, but produce thy tears,
Let flow the tears of the bereaved.
Weep for 'Uthā whom he cut down with the sword
Who lay in the whirling dust,
When he fell among your shaykhs
Insolent, ignorant fellows,
Hanza killed them with a family who walk in long armour
The day that Gabriel helped him,
That fine helper of an intrepid horseman.
Or 'mingled with', al-šāht.

† Kab b. Malik:

Visited by care you could not sleep
And feared because joyous youth had been taken from you.
A Dānrī girl claimed your love,
But your love is Ghaurī and your company is Najīd.
Do not go too far rashly in the folly of love,
You have always been thought foolish for following its allure.
It is time for you to stop in obedience
Or to awake when an adviser warns you,
I was crushed by the loss of Hamza,
My inward parts trembled.
If Mount Hira' had been so distressed
You would have seen its firm rocks shattered.
A noble prince, strong in the lofty stock of Ḥashim,
Wherein come prophecy, generosity, and lordship,
Who slew fat-humped camels when the wind is so cold
That it almost freezes the water,
Who left a brave opponent prostrate on the ground
On the day of battle, with his lance broken.
You could see him sweeping along in steel.
Like a tawny strong-pawed lion,
The prophet's uncle and chosen one.
Came to his death—a goodly end.
He met his fate marked out among a people
Who helped the prophet and sought martyrdom.
I imagine that Hind has been told of that
'To still the burning choking within her breast
How we met her people on the sandhill
The day in which happiness left her.
And of the well of Bādir when Gabriel and Muhammad
Beneath our banner turned them back
So that I saw their best men with the prophet in two parties,
One killing and one pursuing whom he pleased.
There remained where the camels knelt
Seventy men, 'Uthā and al-Aswād among them.
And Ibn-Ṭūḥ Mughīrah whom we smote above the neck vein
From which foaming blood gushed forth.
A sharp sword in the hands of the believers
Reduced the pride of Umayya al-Jumāhī.²

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¹ The poet is addressing himself. There is a play on the underlying meaning of ghaur, low ground, and najīd, high ground. The reading suwākah would give a sense that could be expressed by 'Your heart is in the lowlands and your head in the highlands', though more exactly the word means 'Your return to solvency'.
² qat'atūna mayālahu, lit. 'straightened his turning aside', i.e. struck him in the face which in his arrogance he was wont to turn away.
The Life of Muhammad

The fugitive polytheists came to you like runaway ostriches
With the cavalry in full pursuit.

Different are those whose home is hell everlasting
And those who are eternally in paradise.

He also said:
Rise, O Saifya, be not weak,
Make the women weep over Hāmza,
Be not weary in prolonging weeping
Over God’s lion in the mêlée.
For he was a strength to our orphans
And a lion of battle amid the weapons,
Wishing thereby to please Ahmad
And the glorious Lord of the throne.

He also said:

By thy noble father’s life I adjure you.
Ask those who sought our hospitality,
For if you ask them you will not be told a lie
Those you ask will tell you the truth
That on nights when bones were gathered for food
We gave sustenance to those who visited us:
(Crowds’ took refuge in our shelters
From distress in years of famine)
With a gift of what our rich provided
With patience and generosity towards the indigent.
The shears of war left us
Those whose ways we have always tried to vie with.
One who saw the place where the camels go to water
Would think it was black rocky ground.
There the best camels are broken in,
Black, red, and white. 8

The rush of men was like Euphrates in flood,
Solid well-armed masses destroying all in their path.
You would think their glitter was the shining of stars,
They dazzle beholders in their commotion.
If you are ignorant of our importance
Then ask those near us who know,
How we behave when war is violent.
In slaughter, severity, biting, and mauling.
Do we not tighten the cord round the camel’s udder
Until she yields her milk and becomes gentle. 2

A day in which fighting is continuous,
Terrifying, burning those who kindled its blaze,
Long drawn out exceeding hot fighting.
Fear of it keeps the base-born away.
You would think the heroes engaged in it
Were happily drunk and incited,
Their right hands exchanging the cups of death
With their sharp-edged swords.
We were there and we were courageous
Wearing our badges under clouds of dust,
With silent fine blood-stained swords,
Blades of Būṣrā which loathe the scabbard;
Which grow not blunt nor buckle
And cease not smiting if they are not held back,
Like autumn lightning in the hands of heroes
Overwhelming in blood heads that remain in place.
Our fathers taught us how to strike
And we will teach our sons
The swordsmanship of heroes and the spending of patrimony
In defence of our honour as long as we live.
When a champion passes, his prosperity takes his place
And he leaves others to inherit him.
We grow up and our fathers perish,
And while we bring up our sons we cease to be.
I asked about you, Ḥanūlū-Zibārā, 7
And was told that you were baseborn,
Evil, of disgraceful life, persistently mean.
You have said much in insulting God’s apostle
God slay you, you cursed rude fellow!
You utter filth, and then throw it
At the clean robed godly faithful one (650).

He also said:

Ask Quraysh of our flight and of theirs
That morn at the base of Uhud’s hill.
We were lions, they but leopards when they came.
We cared nothing for blood relationship.
How many brave chiefs did we leave there
Protectors of protégés, noble in birth and reputation?
Among us the apostle, a star, then there followed him
A brilliant light excelling the stars.
True is his speech, just his behaviour.
He who answers his call will escape perdition,
Brave in attack, purposeful, resolute.

Another reading is tanajjastu ‘You have behaved filthyly’, which may be right.

1 W. ban majd ‘poor women’.
2 White or, less likely, blackish. This word is one of the odder.
3 In these two lines war is compared to a savage camel that is subdued by the tribe’s
firmness and resource and ends to their advantage.
When hearts are moved by fear,
Advancing and encouraging so that we should not be disobedient.
Like the full moon that cannot rise.
When he appeared we followed him and held him true,
They called him liar so we are the happiest of the Arabs.
They wheeled and we wheeled, they did not reform or return
While we followed them in unwavering pursuit.
The two armies had nothing in common,
God's party and the men of polytheism and idols (651).1

'Abdullah b. Rawāḥa said (654):
My eye wept and right well it did so
(But what avail weeping and lamentation)
For God's lion on the day that they said
'Is that slain man Hamza?'
All the Muslims were distressed thereat;
The apostle too suffered.
O Abu Ya'la,2 your pillars were shattered,
You the noble, just, bounteous one.
God's peace on you in Paradise
With everlasting felicity
O Hashim, the best men, be steadfast
Whose every deed is fine and laudable.3
God's apostle is patient, noble,
Whenever he speaks 3 it is by God's command.
Will someone tell Lu'ayy for me
(For after today war's fortune will change,
And previously they had known and tasted of
Our fighting in which vengeance was slaked),
You have forgotten our blows at Badr's pool
When swift death came to you,
The mourn that Aabi Jahl lay prostrate
The vultures wheeling and circling over him.
'Uzza and his son fell together
And Shayba whom the polished sword bit.
We left Umayya stretched on the ground,
A huge lance in his belly.
Ask the skulls of Bani Rabā',
For our swords were notched by them.
Weep, O Hind, grow not weary,
For you are the bereaved one in tears for a lost son

1 These two poems are in sharp contrast. The first is a fine example of the old Arabian spirit, the second belongs to the large category of the spurious, and clearly dates from a later age.
2 The Amarya of Hamza.
3 Cf. Sura 38. 47. 8; 12. 18. 83.

Show not joy at Hamza's death, O Hind,
For your boasting is contemptible.

Ku'b b. Malik said:
Say to Quraysh despite their distance,
Do you boast of what you have not won?
You boast of the slain on whom the favours
Of him who grants the best favours have fallen.
They dwell in gardens and have left waiting for you
Lions who protect their cubs,
To fight for their religion, in their midst
A prophet who never recedes from the truth.
Ma'īd attacked him with infamous words
And the arrows of enmity unceasingly (653).

Dirār b. al-Khatṭāb:
What ails thine eye which sleeplessness affects
As though pain were in thine eyelids?
Is it for the loss of a friend whom you hold dear
Parted by distance and foes?
Or is it because of the mischief of a useless people
When wars blaze with burning heat?
They cease not from the error they have committed.
Woe to them! No helper have they from Lu'ayy.
We adjured them all by God,
But neither kinship nor oaths deterred them;
Till finally when they determined on war against us
And injustice and bad feeling had grown strong,
We attacked them with an army
Flanked by helmeted strong mailed men
And slender horses sweeping along with warriors
Like kites, so smooth was their gait;
An army which Suhra4 led and commanded
Like an angry lion of the jungle tearing his prey.
Death brought out a people from their dwellings,
We and they met at Uhud.
Some of them were left stone dead
Like goats which the hail has frozen to the cold ground.
Noble dead, the Bani'i-Najjar in their midst
And Mus'ab with broken pieces of our shafts around him
And Hamza the chief, prostrate, his widow going round him.
His nose and liver had been cut away. It was
As if when he fell he bled beneath the dust
Transfixed by a lance on which the blood had dried.

4 i.e. Abū Sufyān.
The Life of Muhammad

He was the colt of an old she-camel whose companions had fled
As frightened ostriches run away
Rushing headlong filled with terror,
The steep precipitous rocks aiding their escape.
Handless women weep over them
In mourning garb rent in pieces.
We left them to the vultures on the battlefield
And to the hyenas who made for their bodies (634):

Abū Za‘nā b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr b. 'Utba, brother of B. Jusham b. al-Khazraj:
I'm Abū Za‘nā. Al-Huzamī takes me space,
Painful exertion alone saves disgrace.
A Khazrajite of Jusham his ward will solace.

'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib (653):
Al-Ḫarīth b. al-Ṣimma
Was faithful to his covenant with us.
He went through painful deserts,
Black as darkest night,
Among many swords and spear
Seeking God's apostle in what was happening there.

'Ikrīma b. Abū Jahl:
Each of them says to his horse, Come on here!
You can see him advancing today without fear
Bearing a leader with his mighty spear.

Al-‘Aṣhī b. Zūlīrā b. al-Nabbāshī al-Tamīmī, of B. Asad b. 'Amr b.
Tamīm, weeping the slain of B. ‘Abd al-Dīr:
Let the Banū Abū Ĥālīfa in spite of their distance
Be given a greeting that will not be rejected.
Their watercarrier passed them with it
And every watercarrier of theirs is known.
Their neighbour and guest never complained,
No door was closed in their face.

'Abdullāh b. al-Zibārī:
We killed Ibn Jāshīh and rejoiced at his death
And Ḥamza with his horsemen and Ibn Qaṣīq.
Some men escaped and got quickly away.
Would that they had stopped and we had not been hasty,
That they had stood so that our swords their best men
Might have cut down, for all of us were fully armed;

The name of his horse
The last line is omitted by W., probably rightly. He refers to it in his notes in vol. II.

The Life of Muhammad

And that there might have been a fight between us
When they would have a morning draught whose evil would not pass away (656).

Ṣafīya d. 'Abdullāh-Muṣṭalib mourning her brother Ḥamza:
Are you my sisters asking in dread
The men of Uhud, the slow of speech and the eloquent?

The latter said Ḥamza is dead,
The best helper of the apostle of God.
God the true, the Lord of the Throne, called him
To live in paradise in joy.
That is what we hoped and longed for.
Hamza on the day of gathering will enjoy the best reward.
By God I'll ne'er forget thee as long as the east wind blows
In sorrow and weeping, whether at home or in travel,
For the lion of God who was our defence,
Protecting Islam against every unbeliever.
Would that my limbs and bones were there
For hyenas and vultures to visit.
I said when my family raised their lamentation,
God reward him, fine brother and helper as he was! (657)

Nū'm wife of Shammās b. Ḥuthmūn weeping her husband:
O eye be generous, let thy tears flow spontaneously
For the noble and victorious warrior
Whose opinion was accepted, whose deeds were successful,
Who carried the standards, the rider of horses.
I said in anguish when news of his death came,
'The generous man who fed and clothed others has perished.'
I said when the places where he sat were forsaken,
'May God not take Shammās far from us!'

Her brother Abūl-Hakam b. Sa‘d b. Yarbi‘ replying to comfort her:
Preserve thy modesty in secret and in honour,
For Shammās was only a man.
Kill not thyself because he met his death
In obeying God on the day of heroic battle.
Hamza was the lion of God, so be patient;
He too on that day tasted Shammās's cup.

Hind d. 'Utba when the polytheists withdrew from Uyūd:
I came back my heart filled with sorrow,
For some from whom I sought vengeance had escaped me,

1 W. has jahāf 'morning'.
2 i.e., Whether they know or not. This poem is attributed to Ḥassān in the Dirāsa (xxxviii) where the text differs somewhat. It is obviously the product of a later age.
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Men of Quraysh who were at Badr,
Of Banū Hashim, and of Yathrib's people
I gained somewhat from the expedition
But not all that I had hoped (628).

The Day of al-Raj'ī, A.H. 3

Abū Muhammad 'Abd-Allāh-Mālik b. Ḥishām told us from Ziyād b. 'Abdullāh al-Bakrī' from I. Jāḥīq from 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda: After Uthub a number of 'Adal and al-Qura came to the apostle (629). They said that some of them had already accepted Islam and they asked him to send some of his companions to instruct in religion and to teach them to read the Quran and to teach them the laws of Islam. The apostle sent the following six of his companions—Marthad b. Abū Marthad al-Ghanawī, an ally of Ḥamza; Khālid b. al-Bukayr al-Laythī, an ally of B. Adly b. Ka'b; 'Āṣim b. Thābit b. Abū-'Alqāb, brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Āuf b. Mālik b. al-Aus; Khubayb b. 'Adly, brother of B. Ḥajjāb b. Kūfa b. 'Amr b. 'Āuf; Zayd b. al-Dāthinnā b. Mu'āwiyah, brother of B. Bayād b. 'Amr b. Zurrāq b. 'Abdullāh b. Ḥarīth b. Mālik b. Ghaḍib b. Jūsham b. al-Khazz zaj; and 'Abdullāh b. Ṭāriq, ally of B. Zāfār b. al-Khazzaj b. 'Amr b. Mālik b. al-Aus.

The apostle put Marthad in command of them and the band got as far as al-Rajī, a watering-place of Hudhayl in a district of the Hijaz at the upper part of al-Hadā.² There they betrayed them and summoned Hudhayl against them. While they were off their guard sitting with their baggage suddenly they were set upon by men with swords in their hands, so they took their swords to fight them; but the men said that it was not their intention to kill them; they wanted to get something for them from the people of Mecca. They swore by God that they would not kill them. Marthad, Khālid, and 'Āṣim said: 'By God, we will never accept an undertaking and agreement from a polyeist.' 'Āṣim said:

No weakling I, an archer bold,
My bow thick-stringed with trusty hold
Broad arrows can life's coil uncoil
Death's certain—a life mere tale told.
What God decrees men shall behold,
Life must return to Him as mould.
I fight though! I leave a mother, cold (630).

He also said:

I'm Abū Sulaymān with al-Muqadd's shafts.³

Like Gèchenna they burn my feathered shafts.

Between 'Āṣim and Mecca; according to others between Mecca and al-Tawīf.

³ A Meccan who was famed for feathering arrows skilfully.

When battle's abroad I am not afraid;¹
With shield of smooth ox-hide I'm safely arrayed
And I firmly believe in what Muhammad has said.

He also said:

I'm Abū Sulaymān, an archer fine,
And come of a people of noble line.

His ḥunay was Abū Sulaymān.

Therupon he fought with the people until he and his two companions were killed.

When 'Āṣim was så in Hudhayl wanted to take his head to sell it to Sulāfī d. Sa'd b. Shubayd. When he killed her two sons at Uhud she swore a vow that if she could get possession of his head she would drink wine in his skull; but bees protected him.⁴ When the bees came between it and them they said, 'Let him alone until nightfall when they will leave him and we can take the skull.' But God sent a flood in the wadi and it carried 'Āṣim away. Now 'Āṣim had made a covenant with God that no polyeist should touch him nor would he ever touch a polyeist for fear of contamination.⁵ 'Umar used to say when he heard of how the bees protected him, 'God protects the believer. 'Āṣim had vowed that no polyeist should touch him and that he would never touch one so long as he lived, so God protected him after his death as he had protected himself while he was alive.¹²

Zayd, Khubayb, and Abdullah b. Ṭāriq were weak and yielding in their desire to preserve their lives so they surrendered and were bound and 640 taken to Mecca to be sold there. When they were in al-Zahrān 'Abdullāh broke loose from his bonds and drew his sword. But the men drew back from him and stoned him until they killed him. His grave is in al-Zahrān. Khubayb and Zayd were brought to Mecca (661).

Iwafyj b. 'Abū Ḥabī b. al-Tamīm, an ally of B. Nafaul, bought Khubayb for 'Uqba b. al-Ḥarīth b. 'Amir b. Nafaul, Abū Ḥabī b. al-Ḥarīth b. 'Amir by the same mother, to kill him in revenge for his father (652).

Ṣawfān b. Umayya bought Zayd to kill him in revenge for his father Umayya b. Khalaf. Sawfān sent him with a freedman of his called Nisā'am to al-Tamīm and they brought him out of the ḥaram to kill him. A number of Quraysh gathered, among whom was Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarib, who said to him as he was brought out to be killed, 'I adjure you by God, Zayd, don't you wish that Muhammad was with us now in your place so that we might

¹ The readings vary: al-mawwāl 'the way' and al-mawrāh 'full of men'; al-mawwāl 'will smirk' and al-mawrāh 'collected'. The probable sense is given above.

² Or, more probably, 'burn'. But see below.

³ The passages marked are quoted by B. Yā'āb b. Yūnayy b. al-Tābi'īn known as I. al-Zayyat (d. 647/1250) in his al-Tajammūl dar al-jāiz al-khawāṣ, Bāb, MS. D. 579, f. 426, where dhārā is glossed by mabāl. I owe this reference to my colleague Mr. Hopkins.

⁴ Possibly for Anamcharus.
Cut off his head, and that you were with your family?” Zayd answered, “By God, I don’t wish that Muhammad now were in the place he occupies and that a thorn could hurt him, and that I was sitting with my family.” Abū Sufyān used to say, “I have never seen a man who was so loved as Muhammad’s companions loved him.” Then Niṣāḥ killed him, God pity him.

‘Abdullah b. Abū Najīḥ told me that he was told by Māwiyya, a freedwoman of Hujayr b. Abū Ilāh, who had become a Muslim: Khubayb was imprisoned in my house and I looked at him one day with a bunch of grapes in his hand as big as a man’s head from which he was eating. I did not know that there were grapes on God’s earth that could be eaten (at that time).

641 ‘Āṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatadā and ‘Abdullah b. Abū Najīḥ both told me that she said: When the time for his execution had come he asked me to send him a razor with which to cleanse himself before he died; so I gave a razor to a youth of the tribe and told him to take it to the man in the house. Hardly had he turned his back to take it to him when I thought, ‘What have I done? By God, the man will take his revenge by killing the younger and it will be man for man.’ But when he handed him the steel he took it from him saying, ‘Good gracious, your mother was not afraid of my treachery when she sent you to me with this razor!’ Then he let him go (663).

‘Āṣim said, Then they took out Khubayb as far as al-Tan‘im to crucify him. They asked them to give him time to make a couple of bowings, and they agreed. He performed two excellent bowings and then turned to the people saying, ‘Were it not that you would think that I only delayed out of fear of death I would have prolonged my prayer.’ Khubayb b. ‘Adī was the first to establish the custom of performing two bowings at death. Then they raised him on the wood and when they had bound him he said, ‘O God, we have delivered the message of Thy apostle, so tell him tomorrow what has been done to us.’ Then he said, ‘O God, reckon them by number and kill them one by one, let none of them escape.’ Then they killed him, God pity him.

Māwiyya b. Abū Sufyān used to say: ‘I was present that day among those who were there with Abū Sufyān and I saw him throw me to the ground out of fear of Khubayb’s curse.’ They used to say, ‘If a man is cursed and is thrown to one side the curse will pass over him.’

Yahyā b. ‘Abbād b. ‘Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father ‘Abbād concerning ‘Uqba b. al-Hārith said: ‘I heard him say, “It was not I who killed Khubayb, for I was too young to do that; but Abū Maysara brother of R. ‘Abdu‘al-Dār took a lance and put it in my hand. Then he covered my hand with his and thrust him with it until he killed him.”

One of our companions said that ‘Umar had appointed Sa‘d b. ‘Amir b. Hidhaym al-Jumāḥi over a part of Syria. Fainting fits used to seize him when he was among the people and ‘Umar was told of this. It was said that the man was subject to seizures. During one of his visits ‘Umar asked him the cause of the trouble and he said, “There is nothing the matter with me, but I was one of those who was present when Khubayb b. ‘Adī was killed and I heard his curse, and whenever I remember it when I am in a meeting I faint away.” This increased his favour in ‘Umar’s eyes (664).

A freedman of Zayd b. Thābit told me from ‘Irīmīa, freedman of Ibn ‘Abbās, or from Sa‘d b. Jubayr, that Ibn ‘Abbās said with reference to a passage of the Quran about this expedition: When the expedition in which Marthad and ‘Āsim took part came to grief in al-Ra‘j some of the disaffected said, ‘Alas for these beguiled fellows who perished thus! They did not with their families nor did they deliver the message of their master.” Then God sent down concerning their words and the good they gained by their suffering: ‘There is the kind of man whose talk about the life of this world pleases you,’ i.e. when he professes Islam with his tongue, ‘and he calls God to witness about that which is in his heart’ which is contrary to what he professes with his tongue, ‘yet he is the most quarrelsome of adversaries,’ i.e. a controversialist when he argues with you (665).

God said, ‘And when he turns away, i.e. goes out from your presence, he hastens through the land to make mischief therein and to destroy the crops and the cattle; but God loves not mischief,’ i.e. he does not love the doing of it nor does it please Him. ‘And when it is said to him, Beware of God, pride seizes him in sin. Hell will be his reckoning, an evil resting-place. And there is the kind of man who would sell himself in his desire to please God and God is kind to His servants,’ i.e. they sold themselves to God by fighting in His way and doing what He required until they gave up their lives. He means that expedition (666).

Among the poems about this is that of Khubayb b. ‘Adī when he heard that the people had gathered to crucify him (667):

The confederates gathered their tribes around me
And assembled all whom they could collect.
All of them show violent enmity against me
Because I am helpless in bonds.
They collect their women and children
And I am brought to a lofty high trunk.
To God I complain of my loneliness and pain
And of the death the confederates have prepared for me.
Lord of the throne, give me endurance against their purpose
They have pierced my flesh—all hope is gone!
This is for God’s sake, and if He wills

1 Sura 2, 200. S. records a variant reading of Ibn Mūthayyib, mawāshi‘a ilāh for mawāshi‘a ilāh, i.e. God knows what is in his heart, and this may well be the true reading. He also says that the majority of commentators hold that this verse came down with reference to al-Akhnān b. Shāri‘ al-Tha‘ālibi according to the tradition from Ibn ‘Abbās through Abū Mālik, and Mujāhid said the same. Iblu‘il-Kalbi said that when he was in Mecca he gave that opinion, but one of al-Akhnān’s offspring denied it and said that it came down with reference to the people of Mecca.
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He will bless the limbs thus torn.
They let me choose infidelity but death is preferable,
And my tears flowed though not in fear.
I fear not death who am about to die
But I fear hell and its all-embracing fire.
By God, I fear not if I die a Muslim
What death I suffer for God's sake.
I will not show subservience to the enemy
Nor despair, for 'tis to God I return.

Hassān b. Thabit said, mourning Khubayb:
What ails thine eye that its tears cease not
Flowing on to thy breast like loose pearls?
For Khubayb the hero, no coward when you meet him,
No fickle youth as men well know.
Then go, Khubayb, may God reward thee well
In the eternal gardens with hoursis among thy companions.
What will you say when the prophet says to you
When the pure angels are in the firmament,
Why did you kill God's martyr for the sake of an evil man
Who committed crimes far and wide? (668)

Hassān also said:
O eye, be generous with thy tears;
Weep for Khubayb who did not return with the warriors.
A hawk, 'midst the Anṣār was his dignity,
Generous by nature of pure unmixed descent.
My eye was inflamed because of the difficulty of weeping²
When 'twas said, He has been lifted up on a tree.
O raider going forth on your business
Convey a threat—no idle threat
To the Banū Kuhayb that war's milk
Will be bitter when its teats are pressed.
In it will be the lions of the Banū al-Najjar,
Their glittering spears in front of a great shouting army (669).

Hassān also said:
Had there been in the camp a noble chief, a warrior,
A champion of the people, a hawk whose uncle is Anas,
Then, Khubayb, you would have had a spacious place to sit in
And not have been confined by guards in prison.
Low adherents of the tribes would not have borne you to Tan'im,
Some of them men whom 'Udas had expelled.

¹ ra'is is one of the addāl
i.e. my nature is such that my eyes are unaccustomed to tears.

They deceived you with their treachery, breaking their faith,
You were wronged, a prisoner in their camp (670).

Those who formed the mob from Quraysh when Khubayb was killed were 'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl; Sa'īd b. 'Abdullāh b. Abī Qays b. 'Abd Wudd;

Hassān also said reviling Hudhayl for what they did to Khubayb:
'Tell Banū 'Amr that a man steeped in treachery
Sold their brother as a chattel.
Zubayr b. al-Agharr and Jāni' sold him,
Both of them committing foul crimes.
You promised him protection and having done so betrayed him.
In the region of al-Raj' you were as sharp swords.¹
Would that Khubayb had not been deceived by your promise;
Would that he had known what people he was dealing with! (671)

Hassān also said:
If pure unalloyed treachery pleases you
Go to al-Raj' and ask about the abode of Liyān;
A people who adjure one another to devour the guest among them.²
Dog and ape are like such men.
If a he-goat were to rise up and address them one day
He would be a man of honour and importance among them! (672)

Hassān also said:
Hudhayl asked the apostle for something disgraceful.
They erred therein and went astray;
They asked their apostle what he would not grant them
To their dying day and they were the disgrace of the Arabs
Never will you see in Hudhayl one
Calling others to a generous deed in that place of plunder.
Woe to them who desired to make immoral conditions
To be allowed what the scripture forbids!

Hassān also said:
The tale of Khubayb and 'Asim
Has ruined the name of Hudhayl ibn Mudson.
The tale of Liyān has ruined their reputation,
For Liyān has committed the worst of crimes
Men, the best stock of their tribe,
Like hairs upon a horse's fetlock,

² Or, perhaps, "thieves".
Al-Bīlāgī, Buchāli, Cairo, 1946, p. 216, understands from this and other satirical poems that these men were cannibals.
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Were treacherous on the day of al-Raji,
Bearing their word to whom kindness and generosity were due,
The apostle's messenger, Hudhayl took no pains
To ward off the evil of leathosome crimes.

One day they will see victory turn against them
For killing one whom there protected against evil deeds
Swarms of hornets standing guard over his flesh
Which protected the flesh of one who witnessed great battles.
Perhaps in return for killing him Hudhayl will see
Dead lying prostrate or women mourning
As we bring a violent attack upon them,
Which riders will relate faithfully to those at the fairs
By command of God's apostle, for he with full knowledge
Has made a forceful decision against Liyân.

A contemptible tribe caring nothing for good faith.
If they are wronged they do not resist the aggressor.
When people live in an isolated quarter
You see them in the watercourses between the well-worn channels.

Their place is the home of death.
When anything happens to them they have the minds of cattle.

Hassán also said:

God curse Liyân, for their blood does not repay its
For their having slain the two in treachery.
At al-Raji they killed the son of a free woman
Faithful and pure in his friendship.
Had they all been killed on the day of al-Raji
In revenge for 'Aṣim' that would not have sufficed.
For the dead man whom the bees protected in their tents.
Among people of obvious infidelity and corrosions.
Liyân killed one more honourable than they.
And sold Khuwaylı for a miserable price, woe to them!
Ugly for Liyân in every event.
May their memory perish and not even be mentioned!

A contemptible tribe of mean and treacherous descent,
Their meanness cannot be concealed.
If they were slain their blood would not pay for him.
But the killing of his killers would cure me (of my pain).
Unless I die I will terrify Hudhayl with a plundering raid
Swift as the early morning cloud.

By the apostle's command, and his it is,
Disaster will spend the night in Liyân's court.

Hassán also said:

God bless those who followed one another (to death) the day of al-Raji.
And were honoured and rewarded.
Marthad the head and leader of the party and
Ibn al-Rokay their ūmar and Khuwaylı.
And a son of Tāriq: Ibn Dāthiyya was there too.
There his death as it was written befall him
And al-'Aṣim slain at al-Raji.
Attained the heights (of heaven) great gather he.
He averted the disgrace of wounds in the back.
He met them sword in hand, the noble warrior (674)

The Story of Bi'r Ma'ūna in Safar, A.H. 4

The apostle stayed (in Medina) for the rest of Shawwāl, Dhul-Qa'da, Dhul-Hijja, and al-Muharram while the polytheists supervised the pilgrimage. Then he sent the men of Bi'r Ma'ūna forth in Safar, four months after Uhud.

My father Ḩaḍāth b. Yaṣṣar from al-Mughira b. Ḥabīb b. al-Hārith b. Ḥishām told me, as did 'Abdul-lah b. Ḥabīb b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥaḍāth and other traditions, as follows: Abū Bara' 'Abdul-lah b. Miḥlī b. Ja'far the 'Player with the Spears' came to the apostle in Medina (T and offered him a present). The apostle refused it, saying that he could not accept a present from a polytheist and telling him to become a Muslim if he wished him to accept his present. The apostle explained Islam to him and invited him to accept it. He would not do so yet he was not far from Islam. He said: 'O Muhammad (T), your affair to which you invite

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2 'Aṣim refers to the oath taken by 'Aṣim that he would never touch or be touched by a polytheist, and also to the vow of Sulīl that she would drink wine from 'Aṣim's skin.

3 Lit. 'he of the hazzam'.

1 I follow the reading of C.

2 T's version is more verbose than J.H.'s recension.
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me is most excellent). If you were to send some of your companions to the people of Najd and they invited them to your affair I have good hopes that they would give you a favourable answer.' The apostle said that he feared that the people of Najd would kill them; to which Abū Bara' replied that he would go surely for them, so let him send them and invite men to his religion. So the apostle sent al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, brother of B. Sā'ida, 'The Quick to seek Death', with forty of his companions from the best of the Muslims. Among them were al-Ḥārīr b. al-Ṣimma; Ḥarām b. Miḥlān, brother of B. Adīy b. al-Najār; Ḫurwāna b. Armaš b. al-Ṣālīh b. al-Sulami; Nāfi’ b. Ḫudayr b. Wāqār al-Khuḍayrī; Abū Bakr, of those who were famous of the best Muslims. (Ṭ. Humayd al-Ṭawfīl from Anas b. Mālik who said that the apostle sent al-Mundhir b. 'Amr with seventy riders.) They went on until they halted at Bār Ma‘ṣa‘n which is between the land of B. 'Amr and the ḥarran of B. Sulaym, near to both districts but nearer to the ḥarran.

When they alighted at it they sent Ubayy b. Miḥlān with the apostle's letter to the enemy of God 'Amr b. Ṭufayl. When he came to him he came up to the man and killed him before he even looked at the letter. Then he tried to call out the B. 'Amir against them, but they refused to do what he wanted, saying that they would not violate the sanctity of his family. Abū Bara' had given these men. Then he appealed to the tribes of B. Sulaym of 'Uṣayya, Ri‘y, and Ḥāuml, and they agreed and came against them and surrounded them as they were with their camels. Seeing them they drew their swords and fought to the last man. All were killed but Ka‘b b. Zayd, brother of B. Dinar b. al-Najār: him they left while breath was in him. He was picked up from among the slain and lived until the battle of the Trench when he was killed as a martyr.

'Amr b. Umayya al-Damari and an Anṣārī of B. 'Amr b. 'Aun were with the camels out at pasture (675). They did not know of the death of their companions until they saw vultures circling round the camp. They knew that this must mean that something serious had happened, so they went to investigate and there were the men lying in their blood and the horsemen who had killed them standing near. 'Amr's opinion was that they should rejoin the apostle and tell him the news, but the Anṣārī said that he could not bring himself to leave the spot where al-Mundhir had been slain, nor could he bear that people should say that he had done such a thing, so he fought the party until he was killed. They took 'Amr prisoner, and when they told him that he was of Muṣār, 'Amr b. al-Ṭufayl let him go after cutting off his forelock. He freed him, so he alleged, because of an oath taken by his mother.

'Amr got as far as al-Qarqara at the beginning of Qāmit when two men of B. 'Amr turned up and stopped with him in the shade (676). Now there was a agreement of friendship between the apostle and the two

1 This is accepted by Jābba‘r.
2 Cf. the shorter account in Mu‘āṣir b. Ḫaḍir, No. 7.
You have won, but without intelligence or dignity.
Did you not deal falsely with the prophet?
Yet of old have you behaved infamous.
You are not like the guest of Abū Duwād
Nor the guest of Abūl-'Alā;
But your shame is a disease of long standing.
Take note that the disease of treachery is the most deadly.

When the words of Hassān and Ka'b reached Rabtā b. 'Amir (Abūl-Ba'ā') he attacked 'Amir b. al-Ṭufayl and stabbed him with his spear in his thigh; he failed to kill him1 but he fell from his horse saying, 'This is the work of Abūl-Barā'; if I die my blood (I give) to my uncle2 and he is not to be sued for it: if I live I will see to what has to be done myself.

Anas b. 'Abdāb-al-Sulami, maternal uncle of Ṭu'ayma b. 'Adiy b. Naufal who killed Naft b. Budayl b. Warqā' al-Khuza'ī that day, said:

I left Ṭu'ayma b. 'Adiy dead on the ground With the dust wind blowing o'er him.
I remembered Abūl-Rayyān when I saw him And made sure that I was avenged.

Abūl-Rayyān was Ṭu'ayma b. 'Adiy:
Abdullāh b. Rawāḥa mourning Naft b. Budayl b. Warqā' said:

God have the mercy on Naft b. Budayl
That belongs to those who seek the reward of jihād!
Enduring, truthful, faithful,
When men talked too much he spoke to the point.

Hassān b. Thābit, mourning the slain at Bi'r Ma'ūna and especially al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, said.

Weep for the slain at Ma'ūna
With everflowing tears.
For the apostle's horsemen the day
They met their death by God's decree.
They met their end because a people
Were false to their covenant and treacherous.
Alas for Mundhir who died there
And hastened to his end steadfastly!
How many a noble welcoming man
Of 'Amr's best people was done to death! (678)

1 T. has 'the spear was deflected so that it did not kill him'.
2 i.e. 'I forgive him'.
3 W. has Abūl-Zabābā.
4 These lines are attributed to Hassān. Cf. Dīnaī xl.

The Deportation of the B. al-Nādir, A.H. 4

According to what Yazīd b. Rūmān told me the apostle went to B. al-Nādir to ask for their help in paying the bloodwit for the two men of B. 'Amir whom 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍāmir had killed after he had given them a promise of security. There was a mutual alliance between B. al-Nādir and B. 'Amir. When the apostle came to them about the bloodwit they said that of course they would contribute in the way he wished; but they took counsel with one another apart, saying, 'You will never get such a chance again. Who will go to the top of the house and drop a rock on him (Ṭ. so as to kill him) and rid us of him?' The apostle was sitting by the wall of one of their houses at the time. 'Amr b. Ilīshāb b. Ka'b volunteered to do this and went up to throw down a rock. As the apostle was with a number of his companions among whom were Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Abd Lahir news came to him from heaven about what these people intended, so he got up (Ṭ. and said to his companions, 'Don't go away until I come to you') and he went back to Medina. When his companions had waited long for the prophet, they got up to search for him and met: a man coming from Medina and asked him about his. He said that he had seen him entering Medina, and they went off, and when they found him he told them of the treachery which the Jews meditated against him. The apostle ordered them to prepare for war and to march against them (679). Then he went off with the men until he came upon them (688).

The Jews took refuge in their forts and the apostle ordered that the palm-trees should be cut down and burnt, and they called out to him, 'Muḥammad, you have prohibited wanton destruction and blamed those guilty of it. Why then are you cutting down and burning our palm-trees?'

Now there was a number of B.'Auf b. al-Kharraz' among whom were Abūl-Dawā'ī b. Ḫayyā b. Salūl and Wādī b. Salābī and Mālik b. Abī Qatādā and Suwayd and Dā'ūs who had sent to B. al-Nādir saying, 'Stand firm and protect yourselves, for we will not betray you. If you are attacked we will fight with you and if you are turned out, we will go with you.' Accordingly they waited for the help they had promised, but they did nothing and God cast terror into their hearts. They asked the apostle to deport them and to spare their lives on condition that they could retain all their property which they could carry on camels, except their armour, and he agreed. So they loaded their camels with what they could carry. Men were destroying their houses down to the lintel of the door which they put upon the back of their camels and went off with it. Some went to Khaybar and others went to Syria. Among their chiefs who went to Khaybar were Sallām b. Sallām b.

1 I think it is clear that neither this nor later story has been attached to this incident. Obviously if the prophet had overheard their design there was no need of a supernatural communication from heaven. Further, it should be noted that in this later story the so-called 'the prophet'. This is a term which 1.I. use most sparingly, though it is fairly frequently employed by his editor I.I.
Abū'l-Huqayq, Kinānā b. al-Rabīʾ b. Abū'l-Huqayq, and Huyayy b. Akhtab. When they got there the inhabitants became subject to them.

Abū Bakr told me that he was told that they carried off the women and children and property with tambourines and pipes and singing-girls playing behind them. Among them was Umm 'Amr, wife of 'Urwa b. al-Ward al-ʿAbbās, whom they had bought from her, she being one of the women of B. Ghīṭār. (They went) with such pomp and splendour as had never been seen in any tribe in their day.

They left their property to the apostle and it became his personal property which he could dispose of as he pleased. He divided it among the first emigrants to the exclusion of the Ansār, except that Sahl b. Huyayy and Abū Duḍāna Simāk b. Kharasa complained of poverty and so he gave them some. Only two of B. al-Nadr became Muslims: Yāmīn b. 'Umayr Abū Ka'b b. 'Amr;1 b. Jībīsh and Abū Sa'd b. Wāḥib who became Muslims in order to retain their property.

One of Yāmīn's family told me that the apostle said to Yāmīn, 'Have you seen the way your cousin has treated me and what he proposed to do?' Thereupon Yāmīn gave a man's money to kill 'Amr b. Jībīsh and he did kill him, or so they allege.

Concerning B. al-Nadr the Sūra of Exile came down in which is recorded how God wreaked His vengeance on them and gave His apostle power over them and how He dealt with them. God said: 'He it is who turned out those who disbelieved of the scripture people from their homes to the first exiles. You did not think that they would go out and that their forts would protect them from God. But God came upon them from a direction they had not reckoned and He cast terror into their hearts so that they destroyed their houses with their own hands and the hands of the believers.'2 That refers to their destroying their houses to extract the lintels of the doors when they carried them away. 'So consider this, you who have understanding. Had not God prescribed deportation against them, which was vengeance from God, He would have punished them in this world, i.e. with the sword, and in the next world there would be the punishment of Hell' as well. 'The palm-trees which you cut down or left standing upon their roots.'3 Līma means other than the best kind of dates. 'It was by God's permission,' i.e. they were cut down by God's order: it was not destruction but was vengeance from God, 'and to humble evildoers' (681). 'The spoil which God gave the apostle from them,' i.e. from B. al-Nadr. 'You did not urge on your cavalry or riding camels for the sake of it, but God gives His apostle power over whom He will and God is Almighty,' i.e. it was peculiar to him (682a). 'The spoil which God gave the apostle from the people of the towns belongs to God and His apostle.' What the Muslims gallop against with horses and camels and what is captured by force of arms belongs to God and the apostle. 'And for the next of kin and orphans and the poor and the wayfarer so that it should not circulate among your rich men; and what the apostle gives you take and abstain from what he forbids you.' He says this is another division between Muslims concerning what is taken in war according to what God prescribed to him.4

Then God said, 'Have you seen those who are disaffected,' meaning 'Abūl-Huqayq, Ubayy and his companions and those who are like-minded who say to their brothers of the scripture people who disbelieve,' i.e. the B. al-Nadr, up to the words 'like those who a short time before them tasted the misery of their acts and had a painful punishment,' i.e. the B. Qaynug.5 Then as far as the words 'Like Satan when he said to man Disbelieve, and when man disbelieved he said, I am quit of you. I fear Allah the Lord of the worlds and the punishment of both is that they will be in hell everlasting. That is the reward of the evildoers.'

Among the verses composed about B. al-Nadr are the following from I. Luqaym al-ʿAbṣī. (Others say Qays b. Bāḥr b. Ṭafīr was the author (583).)

My people be a ransom for the immortal man
Who forced the Jews to settle in a distant place;6
They pass their siesta with live coals of tamarisk.
Instead of the young shooting palms they have the bare hills of 'Ārd.7
If I am right about Muhammad
You will see his horses between al-Sālih and Yarmāram
Making for 'ʿAmr b. Bulūth; They are the enemy.
(A friendly tribe is not the same as an evil one.)
On them are heroes, firebrands in war,
Brandishing spears directed at their enemies.
Every fine sharp Indian blade
Inherited from the days of 'Ad and Jūhām.
Who will give Quraysh a message from me,
For is there one honoured in glory after them?

1 In al-Balḍūrī's Fisṭāḥāʾ al-Balḍū, ed. De Goeje, 18 f., this passage reads as follows: '... from Ibn Abī ʿZīd al-isms from Muhammad b. Isāq concerning God's word 'The spoil which God gave the apostle from them', i.e. from B. al-Nadr, 'you did not urge cavalry... whom He wills.' He taught them that it was peculiar to the apostle and to none else. So the apostle divided it among the emigrants except that Sahl b. Huyayy and Abū Duḍāna complained of poverty and so he gave them some [c.s.]. As to His words 'The spoil which God gave the apostle from the people of the towns belongs to God and His apostle' to the end of the verse He says this is another division between Muslims according to what God described.'

2 It does not necessarily follow that this is what I wrote, though the arrangement of the matter is certainly more systematic. That may be due to al-Balḍūrī. On the other hand, the mention of the first emigrants (c.s.) seems somewhat strange. The exclusion of the Anṣār may well have been ignored by the later writer as foreign to his purpose. On the other hand, the clumsy Arabic 'concerning what is taken in war' does not appear here. The change of 'prescribed' into 'described' is not an oral mistake but a misreading and incidentally is one of countless proofs that tradition in early days was written down. A confusion between waṣālān and waṣāfān in speech is utterly impossible: in writing it might well be impossible to determine which alternative to adopt.

3 The meaning is obscure. I have followed S.

4 A. Dh. says that this is the name of a place. Yāqūt does not mention it.
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'That your brother Muhammad and know it well
Is of that generous stock between al-Hajjān and Zanzam.
Obey him in truth and your fame will grow
And you will attain the greatest heights. He is
A prophet who has received God's mercy.
Ask him no hidden uncertain matter.
You had an example at Badr, O Quraysh,
And at the crowded cistern
The morning he attacked you with the Khazzrajis,
Obeying the Great and Honoured One,
Helped by the Holy Spirit,\(^1\) striking his foes,
A true apostle from the Compassionate on high;
An apostle from the Compassionate reciting His book.
When the truth shone forth he did not hesitate.
I see his power mounting on every hand
In accord with God's decree (694).

657 Mentioning the deposition of B. al-Nadîr and the killing of Ka'b b. al-Ashraf, 'Ali said (685):

I know, and he who judges fairly knows,
I'm sure and averse not
From the determined word, the signs which came
From God the Kind, the Most Kind,
Documents studied among the believers
In which he chose Ahmad the chosen one.
So Ahmad became honoured among us,
Honoured in rank and station,
O you who foolishly threaten him
Who came not in wickedness and was not overbearing,
Do you not fear the basest punishment
(He who has nothing to fear from God is not like him who lives in dread.\(^2\)
And that you may be thrown beneath his swords
As Ka'b al-Ashraf was
The day that God saw his insolence
When he turned aside like a refractory camel?
And He sent down Gabriel with a gracious revelation
To His servant about his killing.
So the apostle secretly sent a messenger to him
With a sharp cutting sword,
Eyes wept copiously for Ka'b

\(^1\) A place in Mecca.
\(^2\) I.e., Gabriel.

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When they learned that he was dead.
They said to Ahmad, 'Leave us awhile,
For we are not yet recovered from weeping,'
So he left them; then he said, 'Be gone
In submission and humiliation.'
He sent al-Nadîr to a distant exile,
They having enjoyed a prosperous home.
To Adhri'at\(^3\) riding pillar
On every alienous worn-out camel they had.

Sammâk the Jew answered him:

If you boast, for it is a boast for you
That you killed Ka'b b. al-Ashraf.
The day that you compassed his death,
A man who had shown neither treachery nor bad faith,
Haply time and the change of fortune
Will take revenge on the just and righteous.\(^4\)
For killing al-Nadîr and their confederates
And for cutting down the palm, their dates ungathered.
Unless I die we will come at you with lances
And every sharp sword that we have
In the hand of a brave man who protects himself.
When he meets his adversary he kills him.
With the army is Sahhâf\(^5\) and his fellows.
When he attacks he is no weakling
Like a lion in Tabr\(^6\) protecting his coven,
Lord of the thicket, crushing his prey, enormous.

Ka'b b. Mâlik said on the same subject:

The rabbis were disgraced through their treachery,
Thus time's wheel turns round.
They had denied the mighty Lord
Whose command is great.
They had been given knowledge and understanding
And a warner from God came to them.
A truthful warner who brought a book
With plain and luminous verses.
They said, 'You've brought no true thing
And you are more worthy of God's disapproval than we.'
He said, 'Nay, but I've brought the truth,
The wise and intelligent believe me;
He who follows it will be rightly guided

\(^1\) In Syria.
\(^2\) A sarcastic reference to the prophet. C. has yâdâr.
\(^3\) Abû Sufyân.
\(^4\) A mountain in the Hijaz.
\(^5\) Or, perhaps, 'of being disbelieved'.
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And the unbeliever therein will be recompensed.
And when they imbibed treachery and unbelief
And avarice turned them from the truth,
God showed the prophet a sound view,
For God's decision is not false.
He strengthened him and gave him power over them.
And was his Helper, an excellent Helper!

Ka'b was left prostrate there.
After his fall Nadir was brought low.

Sword in hand we cut him down.

By Muhammad's order when he sent secretly by night
Ka'b's brother, to go to Ka'b.

He beguiled him and brought him down with guile.

Mahmūd was trustworthy, bold.

Those Banū'l-Nadir were in evil case,
They were destroyed for their crimes.
The day the apostle came to them, with an army
Walking softly as he looked at them.

Ghassān the protectors were his helpers.
Against the enemies as he helped them.
He said 'I offer Peace, woe to you,' but they refused.
And lies and deceit were their allies.
They tasted the results of their deeds in misery,
Every three of them shared one camel.
They were driven out and made for Qaynuqā',
Their palms and houses were abandoned.

Sammāk the Jew answered him:

I was shepheard while deep care was my guest
On a night that made all others seem short.
I saw that all the rabbis rejected him,
All of them men of knowledge and experience
Who used to study every science
Of which the Law and Psalms do speak.
You killed Ka'b the chief of the rabbis,
He whose word was always safe.
He came down to Mahmūd his brother,
But Mahmūd was harbouring a wicked design.
He left him in his blood looking as though
Saffron was flowing o'er his clothes.
By your father and mine.

1 Ka'b was nothing of the kind. His father was of Ṭayy, though his mother belonged to B. al-Nadir. Can the former possibly have confused him with Ka'b al-Abdār?
2 The man's name was Ṣilāda (W. 557, line 6). Is the former referring to Muhammad b. Maslama, one of the assassins, whom he confused with Mahmūd b. Maslama (W. 58. 769)?

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When he fell al-Nadir fell also.
If we stay safe we shall leave in revenge for Ka'b
Men of yours with vultures circling round them.
As though they were beasts sacrificed on a feast day
With none to say them nay.
With swords that bones cannot resist,
Of finest steel and sharpened edge
Like those you met from brave Ṣakhr.
At Uḥūd when you had no helper.

ʿAbbās b. Mirdās, brother of B. Sulaym, praising the men of B
Nadir, said:

Had the people of the settlement not been dispersed
You would have seen laughter and gaiety within it.
By my life, shall I show you women in howdahs
Which have gone to Shuṭṭ and Tay'āb?
Large-eyed like the gazelles of Tabāla;
Maidens that would bewitch one calmed by much truck with wom
When one seeking hospitality came they would say at once
With faces like gold, 'Doubly welcome!'
The good that you seek will not be withheld.
You need fear no wrong while with us.
Don't think me a client of Salām b. Makhzūm
Nor of Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭāb.
And Ka'b chief of the people died a disappointed man
Away with B. Naḍir and their like
Whether the result be victory or God (686).^1

**The Raid of Dhātul-Riqa'**

After the attack on B. al-Naḍir the apostle stayed in Medina during Rab'ul-Aakhir and part of Junādā. Then he raided Najd making for B. Muḥārīb and B. Tha'labas of Ghāṭafān (687), until he stopped at Nakhl. 662
This was the raid of Dhātul-Riqa'. There a large force of Ghāṭafān was encountered. The two forces approached one another, but no fighting occurred, for each feared the other. The apostle led the prayer of fear; then he went off with the men.

(T. Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr and Muhammad b. 'Abdul-Rahmān from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr: from Abū Hurayra: We went with the apostle to Najd until at Dhātul-Riqa' he met a number of Ghāṭafān. There was no fighting because the men were afraid of them. The prayer of fear came down^2 and he divided his companions into two sections, one facing the enemy and the other behind the apostle. The apostle cried 'Allah akbar,' and so did they all. Then he bowed with those behind him, and he and they prostrated themselves. When they stood erect they walked backwards to the ranks of their companions and the others returned and prayed one bow. Then they stood erect and the apostle prayed one bow with them and they sat. Those who were facing the enemy came back and prayed the second bow and all sat and the apostle united them with the salām, and gave them the Muslim greeting.) (688)

'Amr b. 'Ubayd from al-Hasan from Jāhir b. 'Abdullah told me that a man of B. Muḥārīb called Ghaurath said to his people of Ghāṭafān and Muḥārīb, 'Shall I kill Muhammad for you?' They encouraged him to do so and asked him how he proposed to carry out his design. He said that he would take him by surprise; so he went to the apostle as he was sitting with his sword in his lap, and asked to be allowed to look at it (689). The apostle gave it to him and he drew it and began to brandish it intending to strike him, but God frustrated him. He said, 'Aren't you afraid of me, Muhammad?' 'No, why should I be? 'Aren't you afraid of me when I have a sword in my hand?' 'No, God will protect me from you.' Then he returned the apostle's sword to him. God sent down, 'O you who believe, remember God's favour to you when a people purposed to lay hands on you and he turned their hands away from you. Fear God and on God let the believers rely. ^3

Yazīd b. Rumān told me that this came down in reference to 'Amr b.

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^1: Casualties were light on both sides.

^2: Lit. 'killed hunger' for the impartiality of the biographer and his editor that they have maintained this touching tribute to the unfortunate Jew.

^3: He refers to the battle of Badr.

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^1: See further Ezr., art. 'Salāt, p. 106. T. here notes that there is an irreconcilable difference in tradition, and proposes to deal with the problem elsewhere. It has probably omitted the story because of the conflict in tradition.

^2: On, 'knocked him down.'
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Jāhsh, brother of B. al-Nadīr, and his intention. But God knows the truth of the matter.

Wāb b. Kaysan from Jābir b. 'Abdullah said: I went out with the apostle to the raid of Dhātu'l-Riḍā' of Nakhl on an old feeble camel of mine. On the way back the company kept going on while I dropped farther behind until the apostle overtook me and asked me what the trouble was. I told him that my camel was keeping me back, and he told me to make it kneel. I did so and the apostle made his camel kneel and then said, 'Give me this stick you are holding' or 'Cut me a stick from a tree.' He took it and prodded the beast with it a few times. Then he told me to mount and off we went. By Him who sent him with the truth my (old) camel kept up with the rapid pace of his she-camel.

As we were talking, the apostle asked me if I would sell him my camel. I said that I would give him it, but he insisted on buying it, so I asked him to make me an offer. He said he would give me a dinaram. I refused and said that would be cheating me. Then he offered two dinarams and I still refused and the apostle went on raising his offer until it amounted to an ounce (of gold). When I asked him if he was really satisfied, he said that he was and I said the camel was his. Then he asked me if I were married: then was she a virgin or a woman previously married? I told him she had been married before and he said, 'No girl so that you could sport together!' I told him that my father had been killed at Ujād leaving seven daughters and I had married a motherly woman who could look after them efficiently. He said, 'You have done well, if God will. Had we come to Sirār we would order camels to be slaughtered and stay there for the day and she would hear about us and shake the dust off her cushions.' I said, 'But by God we have no cushions!' He said, 'But you will have. When you return behave wisely.'

When we got to Sirār the apostle ordered the camels to be slaughtered and we stayed there for the day. At night the apostle went home and so did we. I told the woman the news and what the apostle had said to me. She said, 'Look alive and do what he tells you.' In the morning I led away the camel and made it kneel at the apostle's door. Then I sat inside the mosque hard by. He came out and saw it and asked what it was, and they told him it was the camel which I had brought. He asked where I was and I was summoned to him. He said, 'O son of my brother, take away your camel for it is yours,' and he called Rāil and told him to give me an ounce of gold. He did so and added a little more. By God it continued to thrive with me and its effect on our household could be seen until it was lost recently in the misfortune which befell us, meaning the day of al-Harrā.

[My uncle?] Sadaqa b. Yasār from 'Aqil b. Jābir from Jābir b. 'Abdullah

al-Anṣārī said: We went with the apostle on the raid of Dhātu'l-Riḍā' of Nakhl and a man killed the wife of one of the polytheists. When the apostle was on his way back her husband, who had been away, returned and heard the news of her death. He swore that he would not rest until he had taken vengeance on Muhammad's companions. He went off following the track of the apostle, who when he halted asked that someone should keep watch during the night. A Muhāji and an Anṣārī volunteered and he told them to stay in the mouth of the pass, the apostle and his companions having halted lower down the pass (650).

When the two had gone to take up their positions the Anṣārī asked the Muhāji whether he would prefer to watch for the first or the second part of the night. He said that he would like to be relieved of the first part and lay down and went to sleep, while the Anṣārī stood up to pray. The man who had been following them perceiving the figure of the man on guard and recognizing him for what he was, shot him with an arrow. The guard pulled it out and laid it down and remained standing. He shot him a second and a third time, and each time he pulled out the arrow and laid it down. Then he bowed and prostrated himself. Only then did he wake his companion, saying, 'Sit down, for I have been wounded.' But he leapt up, and when the man saw the two of them he knew that they were aware of him and fled. When the Muhāji saw the Anṣārī flowing with blood he said, 'Good gracious, why didn't you wake me the first time you were hit?' He replied, 'I was reading a tūrā and I did not want to stop until I had finished it. When the shooting continued I bowed in prayer and woke you. By God, unless I were to lose a post which the apostle had ordered me to hold he could have killed me before I would break off my reading until I had finished the tūrā (651).

When the apostle came to Medina after this raid he stayed there for the rest of Jumāda-l-āwār, Jumāda-l-akhirā, and Rajab

The Last Expedition to Badr, A.H. 4

In Sha'bān he went forth to Badr to keep his appointment with Abū Sufyān and stopped there (652).

He stayed there for eight nights waiting for Abū Sufyān. Abū Sufyān with the men of Mecca went as far as Majanna in the area of T. Murr al-Zahirān. Some people say he reached (T. passed through) Usfān; then he decided to go back. He told the Quraysh that the only suitable year was a fertile year when they could pasture the animals on the herbage and drink their milk, where this was a dry year. He was going to return and they must return with him. And so they did. The Meccans called them the 'porridge army', saying that they merely went out to drink porridge.

While the apostle was staying at Badr waiting for Abū Sufyān to keep
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his appointment Mahshiy b. 'Amr al-Damri, who had made an agreement with him concerning B. Damra in the raid of Waddan, came to him and asked him if he had come to meet Quraysh by this water. He said, 'Yes, O brother of B. Damra; nevertheless, if you wish, we will cancel the arrangement between us and then fight you until God decides between us.' He answered, 'No, by God, Muhammad, we do not want anything of the kind.' As he remained waiting for Abū Sufyān, Ma'bad b. Abū Ma'bad al-Khuza'ī passed by. He had seen where the apostle was as his she-camel passed swiftly by and he said:

She fled from the two companies of Muhammad
And a datestone from Yathrib like a raisin stone
Hastening in the ancient religion of her fathers.
She made the water of Qudayd7 my meeting-place
And the water of Dājnāt8 will be hers tomorrow.

"Abdullah b. Rawāḥa said concerning this: (603):

We arranged to meet Abū Sufyān at Ba'dr,
But we did not find him true to his promise.
I swear if you had kept your word and met us
You would have returned disgraced without your nearest kin.
We had left there the limbs of 'Uthāb and his son
And Abū 'Abd Allah Jahl we left lying there.
You disobeyed God's apostle—disgusting your religion
And your evil state that's all astray.
If you reproach me I say
My wealth and people be the apostle's ransom!
We obey him treating none among us as his equal.
He is our guying light in the darkness of the night.

Hassān b. Thābit said concerning that:

You can say good-bye to Syria's running streams,
For in between are swords like muqtaṣabs of pregnant camels that feed
on arak trees
In the hands of men who migrated to their Lord,
In the hands of His true helpers and the angels too.
If they go to the lowland of the sandy valley
Say to them: 'This is not the road.'9
We stayed by the shallow well eight nights
With a large well-equipped force with many camels,

1 Qudayd was near Mecca.
2 Dājnāt is a mountain in the Thālmā about one post from Mecca.
3 These lines have already been cited on p. 347.
4 Lit. 'wide kneeling places'.

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... slender, long, of lofty withers.
You could see the swift camel's feet
Uprooting the annual herbs.
If on our journeyings we meet Fūrāt b. Ḥayyān
He will become death's hostage.
If we meet Qays b. Imru'll-Qays hereafter
His black face will become blacker still.
Take Abū Sufyān a message from me
For you are the best of a bad lot.

Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdul-Muṭṭalib answered him:

O Ḥassān, son of a mouldy date-eating woman,
I swear that we so traversed wide deserts
That young gazelles could not escape between us
Had they fled from us swiftly one after the other.10
When we left our halting-place you would have thought it
Dunged by the crowds at a fair.
You stayed by the shallow well wanting us
And you left us in the palm-groves hard by.
Our horses and camels walked on the crops
And what they trod on they drove into the soft sand.
We stopped three days between Sal' and Fār'ī11
With splendid steeds and swift camels.
You would have thought fighting people beside their tents
Was as easy as buying lead for money.
Don't describe your fine horses, but speak of them
As one who holds them firmly back.
You rejoice in them. but that is the right of others.
The horsemen of the sons of 'Abd al-Malik.
You have no part in the migration though you mention it
And do not observe the prohibitions of its religion (694).

The Raid on Dūmatul-Jandal, A.H. 5

The apostle returned to Medina and stayed there some months until Dhu'l-Hijja had passed. This was the fourth year of his sojourn in Medina and the polytheists were in charge of the pilgrimage. Then he raided Dūmatul-Jandal (695).

Then he returned, not having reached the place, without fighting, and stayed in Medina for the rest of the year.

1 According to the commentator the meaning is that their force was so large that the gazelles could not escape them.
2 Two mountains.
The Life of Muhammad

The Battle of the Ditch, 1 A.H. 5

659 This took place in Shawwal, A.H. 5. Yazid b. Ruman, client of the family of al-Zubayr b. Urwâ b. al-Zubayr, was, and one whom I have no reason to suspect from Abdullah b. Ka'b b. Mzik, and Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurashi, and al-Zubayr, and 'Asim b. Mzik, and Qatada b. Abd al-Yahrah and Ashab b. Abd al-Yahrah and other traditionists of ours told me the following narrative, each contributing a part of it:

A number of Jews who had formed a party against the apostle, among whom were Sallam b. Abû-l-Huwayiq al-Nadri, and Huwayy b. Ahkâm al-Nadri and Kînâna b. Abû-l-Huwayiq al-Nadri, and Haudha b. Qays al-Wâli, and Abu Ammar al-Wâli, with a number of B. al-Nadri and B. Wâli went to Quraysh at Mecca and invited them to join them in an attack on the apostle, so that they might get rid of him altogether. Quraysh said, 'You, O Jews, are the first scripture people and know the nature of our dispute with Muhammad. Is our religion the best or is his?' They replied that certainly their religion was better than his and they had a better claim to be in the right. (It was about them that God sent down, 'Have you not considered those to whom a part of the scripture was given who believe in idols and false deities and say to those who disbelieve, These are more rightly guided than those who believe? These are they whom God hath cursed and he whom God has cursed you will find for him no helper' as far as His words, 'O are they jealous of men because of what God from His bounty has brought to them?' i.e. prophecy. 'We gave the family of Abraham the scripture and wisdom and we gave them a great kingdom and some of them believed in it and some of them turned from it, and hell is sufficient for (their) burning.')

These words rejoiced Quraysh and they responded gladly to their invitation to fight the apostle, and they assembled and made their preparations. Then that company of Jews went off to Ghaflân of Qays' Aylan and invited them to fight the apostle and told them that they would act with them and that Quraysh had followed their lead in the matter; so they too joined in with them (T. and agreed to what they suggested).


When the apostle heard of their intention he drew a trench about Medina and worked at it himself encouraging the Muslims with the hope of reward in heaven. The Muslims worked very hard with him, but the disaffected held back from them and began to hide their real object by working slackly and by stealing away to their families without the apostle's permission or knowledge. A Muslim who had to attend to an urgent matter would ask the apostle's permission to go and would get it, and when he had carried out his business he would return to the work he had left because of his desire to do what was right and his respect for the same. So God sent down concerning those believers: 'They only are the believers who believe in God and His apostle and when they are with him on a common work do not go away without asking his permission. Those who ask thy permission are they who believe in God and His apostle. And if they ask thy permission in some business of theirs, give leave to whom thou wilt of them and ask God's pardon for them. God is forgiving, merciful.' Then came down concerning those Muslims who desired the good and respected it, and obeyed God and His apostle.

Then God said of the disaffected who were stealing away from the work and leaving it without the prophet's permission, 'Do not treat the call of the apostle among you as if it were one of you calling upon another. God knows those of you who steal away to hide themselves. Let those who conspire to disobey his order beware lest trouble or a painful punishment befall them' (659). 'Verily to God belong heaven and earth. He knows what you are doing' the man who speaks the truth and the man who lies. 'And (He knows) the day they will be returned to Him when He will tell them what they did, for God knows all things.'

The Muslims worked at the trench until they had finished it, and they made a jingle about one of the Muslims called Ju'ayl whom the apostle had named 'Amr, saying,

He changed his name from Ju'ayl to 'Amr
And was a help to the poor man that day.

When they came to the word 'Amr the apostle said 'Amr', and when they came to 'help' he said 'help'.

I have heard some stories about the digging of the trench in which there is an example of God's justifying His apostle and confirming his prophetic office, things which the Muslims saw with their eyes. Among these stories is one that I have heard that Jabir b. 'Abdullah used to relate: When they were working on the trench a large rock caused great difficulty, and they complained to the apostle. He called for some water and spat in it; then he prayed as God willed him to pray; then he sprinkled the water on the rock. Those who were present said, 'By Him who sent him a prophet with the truth it was pulverized as though it were soft sand so that it could not resist axe or shovel.'

Sa'd b. Mina told me that he was told that a daughter of Bashir b. Sa'd, sister of al-Nu'man b. Bashir, said: 'My mother 'Amra d. Rawiya called me and gave me a handful of dates which she put in my garment and told me to take them to my father and my uncle Abdullah b. Rawiya for their

1 Sûra 24. 62.
2 The prophet came in with the rhyming words of each hemistich
food. As I went off looking for them I passed the apostle who called me and asked me what I had. When I told him that I was taking the dates to my father and my uncle he told me to give them to him. So I poured them into his hands but they did not fill them. Then he called for a garment which was laid out for him and threw the dates upon it so that they were scattered on it. Then he told the men to summon the diggers to lunch, and when they came they began to eat and the dates went on increasing until they turned away from them and they were still falling from the ends of the garment.

On the same authority I was told: We worked with the apostle at the trench. Now I had a little ewe not fully fattened and I thought it would be a good thing to dress it for the apostle, so I told my wife to grind some barley and make some bread for us, and I killed the sheep and we roasted it for the apostle. When night came and the apostle was about to leave the trench—for we used to work at it all day and go home in the evening—I told him that we had prepared bread and mutton for him and that I should like him to come with me to my house. It was only he that I wanted; but when I said this he ordered a crier to shout an invitation for all to come to my house. I said, 'To God we belong and to Him we return!' However, he and the other men came and when he had sat down we produced the food and he blessed it and invoked the name of God over it. Then he ate as did all the others. As soon as one lot had finished another lot came until the diggers turned from it.

I was told that 'Abdāl al-Šamīsī said: I was working with a pick in the trench where a rock gave me much trouble. The apostle who was near at hand saw me hacking and saw how difficult the place was. He dropped down into the trench and took the pick from my hand and gave such a blow that lightning showed beneath the pick. This happened a second and a third time. I said: '0 you, dearer than father or mother, what is the meaning of this light beneath your pick as you strike?' He said: 'Did you really see that, 'Abdāl? The first means that God has opened up to me the Yaman; the second Syria and the west; and the third the east.' One whom I do not suspect told me that 'Abdāl Hurayra used to say when these countries were conquered in the time of 'Umar and 'Uthmān and after, 'Conquer where you will, by God, you have not conquered and to the resurrection day you will not conquer a city whose keys God had not given beforehand to Muhammad.'

When the apostle had finished the trench, Quraysh came and encamped where the torrent-beds of Rūma meet between al-Jurf and Zughbāba with ten thousand of their black mercenaries and their followers from B. Kanaah and the people of Thāma. Ghāṭafān too came with their followers from Najd and halted at Dhanab Naqma towards the direction of Uḥud. The apostle and the Muslims came out with three thousand men having Salā at their backs. He pitched his camp there with the trench between him and his foes (697), and gave orders that the women and children were to be taken up into the forts.

The enemy of God Huwayyī b. Akhtāb al-Nadrī went out to Ka'b b. Asad al-Quraqī who had made a treaty with the apostle. When Ka'b heard of Huwayyī's coming he shut the door of his fort in his face, and when he asked permission to enter he refused to see him, saying that he was a man of ill omen and that he himself was in treaty with Muhammad and did not intend to go back on his word because he had always found him loyal and faithful. Then Huwayyī accused him of shutting him out because he was unwilling to let him eat his corn. This so enraged him that he opened his door. He said, 'Good heavens, Ka'b, I have brought you immortal fame and a great army. I have come with Quraysh with their leaders and chiefs which I have halted where the torrent-beds of Rūma meet; and Ghāṭafān with their leaders and chiefs which I have halted in Dhanab Naqma towards Uḥud. They have made a firm agreement and promised me that they will not depart until we have made an end of Muhammad and his men.' Ka'b said: 'By God, you have brought me immortal shame and an empty cloud which has shed its water while it thunders and lightens with nothing in it. Woe to you Huwayyī leave me (T. and Muhammad) as I am, for I have always found him loyal and faithful.' Huwayyī kept on wheeling Ka'b until at last he gave way in giving him a solemn promise that if Quraysh and Ghāṭafān returned without having killed Muhammad he would enter his fort with him and await his fate. Thus Ka'b broke his promise and cut loose from the bond that was between him and the apostle.

When the apostle and the Muslims heard of this the apostle sent Sa'd b. Mu'ādh b. al-Nu'mān who was chief of Awa at the time, and Sa'd b. 'Ubadah b. Dulaym, one of B. Sā'īda b. Ka'b b. Khazaiz, chief of al-Khazaiz at the time, together with 'Abdullāh b. Rawdhā brother of B. al-Hārīth b. al-Khazaiz, and Khawwātī b. Jibāyīr brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, and told them to go and see whether the report was true or not. 'If it is true give me an enigmatic message' which I can understand, and do not undermine the people's confidence; and if they are loyal to their agreement speak openly before the people.' They went forth and found the situation even more deplorable than they had heard; they spoke disparagingly of the apostle, saying: 'Who is the apostle of God? We have no agreement or undertaking with Muhammad.' Sa'd b. Mu'ādh reviled them and they reviled him. He was a man of hasty temper and Sa'd b. 'Ubadah said to him, 'Stop insulting them, for the dispute between us is too serious for recrimination.' Then the two Sa'ds returned to the apostle and after saluting him said: 'Aṣāl and al-Qārī' i.e. (It is) like the treachery of Aṣāl and al-Qārī towards the men of al-Rail', Khubayb and his friends. The apostle said 'Allah akbar! Be of good cheer, you Muslims.'

The situation became serious and fear was everywhere. The enemy came

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1 A pious exclamation in misfortunes.
at them from above and below until the believers imagined vain things,' and disaffection was rife among the disaffected to the point that Mu'ātib b. Qusayh brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf said, 'Muhammad used to promise us that we should eat the treasures of Chosroes and Caesar and today not one of us can feel safe in going to the privacy' (698). It reached such a point that 'Umar b. Qaysī, one of B. Hārīthah b. al-Hārīth, said to the apostle, 'Our houses are exposed to the enemy'—this he said before a large gathering of his people—so let us go out and return to our home, for it is outside Medina.' The apostle and the polytheists remained twenty days and more, nearly a month, without fighting except for some shooting with arrows, and the siege continued.

When conditions pressed hard upon the people the apostle—according to what 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādā and one whom I do not suspect told me from Muhammad b. Muslim b. 'Ubaydullāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī—sent to 'Uuyaynā b. Ḥassān b. Ḥuchayfah b. Bāḍr and to al-Hārīth b. 'Auf b. Abū Hārīthah al-Murra who were leaders of Ghaṭaṭān and offered them a third of the dates of Medina on condition that they would go back with their followers and leave him and his men, so peace was made between them so far as the writing of a document. It was not signed and was not a definite peace, merely peace negotiations (T. and they did so). When the apostle wanted to act he sent to the two Sa'ds and told them of it and asked their advice. They said: 'Is it a thing you want us to do, or something God has ordered you to do which we must carry out? or is it something you are doing for us?' He said: 'It is something I am doing for your sake. By God. I would not do it were it not that I have seen the Arabs have shot at you from one bow, and gathered against you from every side and I want to break their offensive against you! Sa'd b. Mu'āth said: 'We and these people are polytheists and idolaters, not serving God nor knowing him, and they never hoped to eat a single date (T. of ours) except as guests or by purchase. Now, after God has honoured and guided us to Islam and made us famous by you, are we to give them our property? We certainly will not. We will give them nothing but the sword until God decide between us.' The apostle said: 'You shall have it so.' Sa'd took the paper and erased what was written, saying, 'Let them do their worst against us!' The siege continued without any actual fighting, but some horsemen of Quraysh, among whom were 'Amr b. Abū Wudd b. Abū Qays (899) brother of B. Amīr b. Lu'ayy; 'Ikrimah b. Abū Jahl; Hubayrā b. Abū Wahib, both of Makhrūz; Dīrār b. al-Khaṭṭāb the poet, b. Mirdas brother of B. Muḥārīb b. Fārār donned their armour and went forth on horseback to the stations of B. Kīmān, saying, 'Prepare for fighting and then you will know who are true knights today.' They galloped forward until they stopped at the trench. When they saw it they exclaimed, 'This is a device which the Arabs have never employed!' (700).

Then they made for a narrow part of the trench and beat their horses so that they dashed through it and carried them into the swampy ground between the trench and Sal.' 'Ali with some Muslims came out to hold the gap through which they had forced a passage against (the rest of) them and the horsemen galloped to meet them. Now 'Amr b. Abū Wudd had fought at Badr until he was disabled by wounds, and so he had not been at Uhud. At the battle of the 'Trench' he came out wearing a distinguishing mark to show his rank, and when he and his contingent stopped he challenged anyone to fight him. 'Ali accepted the challenge and said to him: 'Amr, you swore by God that if any man of Quraysh offered you two alternatives you would accept one of them?' 'Yes, I did,' he said. 'Ali replied, 'Then I invite you to God and His apostle and to Islam.' He said that he had no use for them. 'Ali went on, 'Then I call on you to dismount.' He replied, 'O son of my brother, I do not want to kill you.' 'Ali said, 'But I want to kill you.' This so enraged 'Amr that he got off his 698 horse and hastened it and (T. or) beat its face; then he advanced on 'Ali, and they fought, the one circling the other. 'Ali killed him and their cavalry fled, bursting headlong in flight across the trench.'

*When 'Amr issued his challenge to single combat 'Ali got up clad in I.S.N. ii armour and asked the prophet's permission to fight him, but he told him to sit down, for it was 'Amr. Then 'Amr repeated his challenge taunting them and saying, 'Where is your garden of which you say that those you lose in battle will enter it? Can't you send a man to fight me?' Again 'Ali asked the prophet's permission to go out, and again he told him to sit down. Then 'Amr called out the third time:

'I've become house from shouting.
Isn't there one among the lot of you who'll answer my challenge?
I've stood here like a fighting champion
While the so-called brave are cowards.
I've always hastened to the front
Before the fight begins.
Bravery and generosity are in truth
The best qualities of a warrior.'

'Ali asked the prophet's permission to fight him, even if he were 'Amr, and he let him go. He marched towards him saying the while:

Don't be in a hurry. No weakening
Has come to answer your challenge.
A man of resolution and foresight.
Truth is the refuge of the successful
I hope to make the keenest women
Busy over your corpse
Through the blow of a spear
Whose memory will last while fights are talked of.'

*Amr asked him who he was, and when he told him he said: 'Let it be
one of your uncles who is older than you, my nephew, for I don't want to shed your blood.' 
'All answered, 'But I do want to shed your blood.' He became angry, drew his sword which flashed like fire, and advanced in his anger (it is said that he was mounted). 'All said to him, 'How can I fight you when you are on a horse? Dismount and be on a level with me.' So he got off his horse and came at him and 'All advanced with his shield. 'Amr aimed a blow which cut deeply into the shield so that the sword stuck in it and struck his head. But 'All gave him a blow on the vein at the base of the neck and he fell to the ground. The dust rose and the apostle heard the cry, 'Allah Akbar' and knew that 'All had killed him. [Suhaiby continues:] As he came towards the apostle smiling with joy, 'Umarm asked him if he had stripped him of his armour, for it was the best that could be found among the Arabs. He answered: 'When I had struck down he turned his private parts towards me and I felt ashamed to despise him and moreover he had said that he did not want to shed my blood because my father was a friend of his.'

[†] With 'Amr were killed two men. Munabbih bin 'Uthmân b. 'Ubayd b. al-Sabbâq b. 'Abdul-Dân who was hit by an arrow and died in Mecca; and of B. Makhzum Naufal b. 'Abdul b. al-Mughirâ who had stormed the trench and rolled down into it and they stoned him. He called out, 'O Arabs, Death is better than this,' so 'All went down to him and dispatched him. The Muslims possessed his body and asked the apostle to let them sell his effects. He told them that he had no use for his effects or the price they would fetch, and it was their affair; and he left them a free hand.

'All said concerning that:

In his folly he fought for the stone pillars?
While I fought for the Lord of Muhammad rightly.
I rejoiced when I left him prone
Like a stum between sand and rocks.
I forbore to take his garments?
Though had I been the vanquished he would have taken mine
Do not imagine, you confederates, that God
Will desert His religion and His prophet (70).

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1 This incident is reported by I.I., Suth., I. S. Nâs, and al-Mawardi, 64, all of them saying that it was not reported by I.H. in the form given above. I. S. Nâs says it was not in the maqásid al-Baghdâdi. Mawardi adds the details (a) that the three challenges of 'Amr were issued on three successive days; (b) that he called out to Muhammad. His version seems to be the original, as there is more point in the taunt: 'What's the matter when none of you will advance to get his reward from his Lord (by being killed) or send an enemy to hell?' He ends: 'They circled round each other and the dust rose so that it hid them from sight. When it cleared away there was 'All wiping his sword on 'Amr's garments and he was slain.' Mawardi took this from a written source, because he says that I.H. narrated the story in his Mughâbâisi.

2 i.e. the sides.

The point of this is made clear in the extract from I. I.'s Maqásid and T.'s quotation from I.H. As the source of I.H. seems it is left in the air.
Called all of them in his stress,
What time some of them turned away from him
And others made off in their terror."

God knows best about that' (703).

Yahyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr from his father 'Abbād told me as follows: Sa'īfī d. 'Abdu'llāh-Mutallāb was in Fārā, the fort of Hassān b. Thābit. She said: 'Hassān was with us there with the women and children, when a Jew came along and began to go round the fort. The B. Qurayya had gone to war and cut our communications with the apostle, and there was no one to protect us while the apostle and the Muslims were at the enemy's threats unable to leave them to come to us if anyone turned up. I told Hassān that he could see this Jew going round the fort and I feared that he would discover our weakness and inform the Jews who were in our rear while the apostle and his companions were too occupied to help us, so he must go down and kill him. 'God forgive you,' he said. "You know quite well that I am not the man to do that." When he said that and I saw that no help was to be expected from him I girded myself and took a club, and went down to him from the fort above and hit him with the club until I killed him. This done I went back to the fort and told Hassān to go down and strip him: I could not do it myself because he was a man. He said, 'I have no need to strip him, Bint 'Abdullāh-Mutallāb.'"

As God has described, the apostle and his companions remained in fear and difficulty when the enemy came on them from above and below. Then Nuʿaym b. Mas'ūd b. 'Amir b. Unayt b. Tha'laba b. Qunfud b. Hilāl b. Khālīfa b. Ashja' b. Rayth b. Ghafṣān came to the apostle saying that he had become a Muslim though his own people did not know of it, and let him give him what orders he would. The apostle said: 'You are only one man among us; go and awake distrust among the enemy to draw them off us if you can, for war is deceit.' Thereupon Nuʿaym went off to B. Qurayya with whom he had been a boon companion in heathen days, and reminded him of his affection for them and of the special tie between them. When they admitted that they did not suspect him he said: 'Quraysh and Ghafṣān are not like you: the land is your land, your property, your wives, and your children are in it; you cannot leave it and go somewhere else.' Now Quraysh and Ghafṣān have come to fight Muhammad and his companions and you have sided them against him, but their land, their property, and their wives are not here, so they are not like you. If they see an opportunity they will make the most of it; but if things go badly they will go back to their own land and leave you to face the man in your country and you will not be able to do so if you are left alone. So do not fight along with these people until you take hostages from their chiefs who will remain in your hands as security that they will fight Muhammad with you until you make an end of him.' The Jews said that this was excellent advice.

Then he went to Quraysh and said to Abū Sufyān b. Harb and his company: 'You know my affection for you and that I have left Muhammad. Now I have heard something which I think it my duty to tell you by way of warning, but regard it as confidential.' When they said that they would, he continued: 'Mark my words, the Jews have regretted their action in opposing Muhammad and have sent to tell him so, saying: 'Would you like us to get hold of some of the two tribes Quraysh and Ghafṣān and hand them over to you so that you can cut their heads off? Then we can join you in exterminating the rest of them.' He has sent word back to accept their offer; so if the Jews send to you to demand hostages, don't send them a single man.'

Then he went to Ghafṣān and said: 'You are my stock and my family; the dearest of men to me, and I do not think that you can suspect me. They agreed that he was above suspicion and so he told the same story as he had told Quraysh.

On the night of the sabbath of Shawwāl 4.5 it came about by God's action on behalf of His apostle that Abū Sufyān and the chiefs of Ghafṣān sent Ibrāhīm b. Abā Jahl to B. Qurayya with some of their number saying that they had no permanent camp, that the horses and camels were dying; therefore they must make ready for battle and make an end of Muhammad once and for all. They replied that it was the sabbath, a day on which they did nothing, and it was well known what had happened to those of their people who had violated the sabbath. 'Moreover we will not fight Muhammad along with you until you give us hostages whom we can hold as security until we make an end of Muhammad; for we fear that if the battle goes against you and you suffer heavily you will withdraw at once to your country and leave us while the man is in our country, and we cannot face him alone.' When the messengers returned with their reply Quraysh and Ghafṣān said (T. Now you know) that what Nuʿaym told you is the truth; so send to B. Qurayya that we will not give them a single man, and if they want to fight let them come out and fight. Having received this message B. Qurayya said: 'What Nuʿaym told you is the truth. The people are bent on fighting and if they get an opportunity they will take advantage of it; but if they do not they will withdraw to their own country and leave us to face this man here. So send word to them that we will not fight Muhammad with them until they give us hostages.' Quraysh and Ghafṣān refused to do so, and God sowed distrust between them, and sent a bitter
cold wind against them in the winter nights which upset their cooking-pots and overthrew their tents.

When the apostle learned of their dispute and how God had broken up their alliance he called Hudhayfa b. al-Yamān and sent him to them to see what the army was doing at night.

483 Yazid b. Ziyād told me from Muhammad b. Ka'b b. al-Qurayḥ: A man of Kūfah said to Hudhayfa, 'Did you really see the apostle and were you his companion?' When he replied Yes, he asked what they used to do, and he said that they used to live a hard life. He said, 'By God, if we had lived in his day we would not have allowed him to set foot on the ground, but would have carried him on our shoulders.' Hudhayfa said, 'I can see us with the apostle at the trenched as he prayed for a part of the night and then turned to us and said, 'Who will get up and see for us what the army is doing and then return—the apostle stipulating that he should return—I will ask God that he shall be my companion in paradise.' Not a single man got up because of his great fear, hunger, and the severe cold. When no one got up the apostle called me, and I had to get up when he called me. He told me to go and see what the army was doing and not to do anything else until I returned to him. So I went out and mingled with the army while the wind and God's troops were dealing with them as they did, leaving neither pot, nor fire, nor tent standing firm. Abū Sufyān got up and said, "O Quraysh, let every man see who is sitting next him." So I took hold of the man who was at my side and asked him who he was and he said Se-land-so.

'Then Abū Sufyān said: "O Quraysh, we are not in a permanent camp; the horses and camels are dying; the B. Qurayza have broken their word to us and we have heard misleading reports of them. You can see the violence of the wind which leaves us neither cooking-pots nor fire, nor tents to count on. Be off, for I am going!" Then he went to his camel which was hobbled, mounted it, and beat it so that it got up on its three legs; by God its hobble was not freed until it was standing.2 Were it not that the apostle had enjoined me not to do anything else until I returned to him, if I wished I could have killed him with an arrow.

I returned to the apostle as he was standing prayer in a wrapper belonging to one of his wives (204). When he saw me he made me come in to sit at his feet and threw the end of the wrapper over me; then he bowed and prostrated while I was in it. I. And I disturbed him. When he had finished I told him the news. When Ghaḍarān heard of what Qurayza had done they broke up and returned to their own country.'

In the morning the apostle and the Muslims left the trench and returned to Medina, laying their arms aside.

1 i.e., not to set on his own initiative.
2 The Arabs still hobble their camels when they are kneading with their legs folded beneath them. One of the forelegs is tied by the halter in the folded position. If the camel gets up before the hobble is undone one leg is performed doubled up and cannot be put to the ground.

According to what al-Zuhrī told me, at the time of the noon prayers Gabriel came to the apostle wearing an embroidered turban and riding on a mule with a saddle covered with a piece of brocade. He asked the apostle if he had abandoned fighting, and when he said that he had he said that the angels had not yet lapsed aside their arms and that he had just come from pursuing the enemy. 'God commands you, Muhammad, to go to B. Qurayza. I am about to go to them to shake their stronghold.'

The prophet ordered it to be announced that none should perform the afternoon prayer until after he reached B. Qurayza (705). The apostle sent Ali forward with his banner and the men hastened to it. Ali advanced until when he came near the forts he heard insulting language used of the apostle. He returned to meet the apostle on the road and told him that it was not necessary for him to come near those rascals. The apostle said, 'Why? I think you must have heard them speaking ill of me,' and when Ali said that that was so he added, 'If they saw me they would not talk in that fashion.' When the apostle approached their forts he said, 'You scoundrels, why does God disgrace you and brought His vengeance upon you?' They replied, 'O Abū-Ṭalā'ī-Quṣair, you are not a barbarous person.

The apostle passed by a number of his companions in al-Surān before he got to B. Qurayza and asked if anyone had passed them. They replied that Dhiyya b. Khath'am al-Qurayh, had passed upon a horse with a saddle covered with a piece of brocade. He said, 'I was the last who has been sent to B. Qurayza to shake their forts and strike terror to their hearts.'

When the apostle came to B. Qurayza he halted by one of their wells near their property called Tha' al-Maqārah (706). The men joined him. Some of them came after the last evening prayer not having prayed the afternoon prayer because the apostle had told them not to do so until he got to B. Qurayza. They had been much occupied with warlike preparations and they refused to pray until they came to B. Qurayza in accordance with his instructions and they prayed the afternoon prayer there after the last evening prayer. God did not blame them for that in His book, nor did the apostle reproach them. My father Ubayy b. Yasār told me this tradition from Mūbad b. Mālik al-Anṣārī.

The apostle besieged them for twenty-five nights until they were sore pressed and God cast terror into their hearts.

Now Huyayy b. Akhtāb had gone with B. Qurayza into their forts when Quraysh and Ghaḍarān had withdrawn and left them, to keep his word to Ka'b b. Asad; and when they felt sure that the apostle would not leave them until he had made an end of them Ka'b b. Asad said to them: 'O Jews, you can see what has happened to you; I offer you three alternatives. Take which you please.' (1) We will follow this man and accept him as true, for by God it has become plain to you that he is a prophet who has
been sent and that it is he that you find mentioned in your scripture; and then your lives, your property, your women and children will be saved. They said, 'We will never abandon the laws of the Torah and never change it for another.' He said, 'Then if you won't accept this suggestion (ii) let us kill our wives and children and send men with their swords drawn to Muhammad and his companions leaving no encumbrances behind us, until God decides between us and Muhammad. If we perish, we perish, and we shall not leave children behind us to cause us anxiety. If we conquer we can acquire other wives and children.' They said, 'Should we kill these poor creatures? What would be the good of life when they were dead?'

He said, 'Then if you will not accept this suggestion (iii) tonight is the eve of the sabbath and it may well be that Muhammad and his companions will feel secure from us then, so come down, perhaps we can take Muhammad and his companions by surprise.' They said, 'Are we to profane our sabbath and do on the sabbath what those before us of whom you well know did and were turned into apes?' He answered, 'Not a single man among you from the day of your birth has ever passed a night resolved to do what he knows ought to be done.'

Then they sent to the apostle saying, 'Send us Abū Lubāba b. 'Abdūl-Mundhir, brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf (for they were allies of al-Aus), that we may consult him.' So the apostle sent him to them, and when they saw him they got up to meet him. The women and children went up to him weeping in his face, and he felt sorry for them. They said, 'Oh Abū Lubāba, do you think that we should submit to Muhammad's judgement?' He said, 'Yes,' and pointed with his hand to his throat, signifying slaughter. Abū Lubāba said, 'My feet had not moved from the spot before I knew that I had been false to God and His apostle.' Then he left them and did not go to the apostle but bound himself to one of the pillars in the mosque saying, 'I will not leave this place until God forgives me for what I have done,' and he promised God that he would never go to B. Qurayya and would never be seen in a town in which he had betrayed God and His apostle (707).

When the apostle heard about him, for he had been waiting for him a long time, he said, 'If he had come to me I would have asked forgiveness for him, but seeing that he behaved as he did I will not let him go from his place until God forgives him.' Yazīd b. 'Abdullāh b. Qaysayt told me that the forgiveness of Abū Lubāba came to the apostle at dawn while he was in the house of Umm Salama. She said: 'At dawn I heard the apostle laugh and I said: Why do you laugh? May God make you laugh!' He replied, 'Abū Lubāba has been forgiven.' She said, 'Cannot I give him the goods news?' and when he said that she could she went and stood at the door of her room (this was before the veil had been prescribed for women) and said, 'O Abū Lubāba, rejoice, for God has forgiven you'; and men rushed out to set him free. He said, 'No, not until the apostle frees me with his own hand.' When the apostle passed him when he was going out to morning prayer he set him free (708).

Tha'laba b. Sa'yā, Usayd his brother, and Asad b. 'Ubayd of B. Hāḍil who were not related to B. Qurayya or B. al-Nadir (their pedigree is far above that), accepted Islam the night on which B. Qurayya surrendered to the apostle's judgement.

On that night 'Amr b. Su'dā al-Qurazi went out and passed the apostle's guards commanded that night by Muhammad b. Maslama who challenged him. Now 'Amr had refused to join B. Qurayya in their treachery towards the apostle, saying, 'I will never behave treacherously towards Muhammad.' When Muhammad b. Maslama recognized him he said, 'O God, do not deprive me (of the honour) of setting right the errors of the noble and let him go his way. He went as far as the door of the apostle's mosque in Medina that night; then he vanished, and it is not known to this day where he went. When the apostle was told he said, 'That is a man whom God delivered because of his faithfulness.' Some people allege that he was bound with a rotten rope along with the captives of B. Qurayya when they submitted to the apostle's judgement, and his old rope was found cast away none knowing whither he went and the apostle then said those words. God knows what really happened.

In the morning they submitted to the apostle's judgement and al-Aus leapt up and said, 'O Apostle, they are our allies, not allies of Khazraj, and you know how you recently treated the allies of our brethren.' Now the apostle had besieged B. Qaynuq' who were allies of al-Khazraj and when they submitted to his judgement 'Abdullāh b. Usayy b. Salīl had asked him for them and he gave them to him; so when al-Aus spoke thus the apostle said: 'Will you be satisfied, O Aus, if one of your own number pronounces judgement on them?' When they agreed he said that Sa'd b. Mu'ād was the man. The apostle had put Sa'd in a tent belonging to a woman of Aslam called Rufayda inside his mosque. She used to nurse the wounded and see to those Muslims who needed care. The apostle had told his people when Sa'd had been wounded by an arrow at the battle of the Trench to put him in Rufayda's tent until he could visit him later. When the apostle appointed him umpire in the matter of B. Qurayya, his people came to him and mounted him on a donkey on which they had put a leather cushion, he being a corpulent man. As they brought him to the apostle they said, 'Deal kindly with your friends, for the apostle has made you umpire for that very purpose.' When they persisted he said, 'The time has come for Sa'd in the cause of God, not to care for any man's censure.' Some of his people who were there went back to the quarter of B. 'Abdūl-Ashkal and announced to them the death of B. Qurayya before Sa'd got to them, because of what they had heard him say.

When Sa'd reached the apostle and the Muslims the apostle told them to get up to greet their leader. The muḥājirs of Quraysh thought that the 1 W. has 'until he passed the night in'.

The prophet's house was next door to the mosque where Abū Lubāba had tied himself.
apostle meant the Anṣār, while the latter thought that he meant everyone, so they got up and said 'O Abu' Amr, the apostle has entrusted to you the affair of your allies that you may give judgement concerning them.' Sa'd asked, 'Do you covenant by Allah that you accept the judgement I pronounce on them?' They said Yes, and he said, 'And if it incumbent on the one who is here?' (looking) in the direction of the apostle not mentioning him out of respect, and the apostle answered Yes. Sa'd said, 'Then I give judgement that the men should be killed, the property divided, and the women and children taken as captives.'

Asim b. Umar b. Qatada told me from 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Mu'ādh from 'Aqgama b. Wawqās al-Laythi that the apostle said to Sa'd, 'You have given the judgement of Allah above the seven heavens' (709).

Then they surrendered, and the apostle confined them in Medina in the quarter of d. al-Hairith, a woman of B. al-Najjar. Then the apostle went out to the market of Medina (which is still its market today) and dug trenches in it. Then he sent for them and struck off their heads in those trenches as they were brought out to him in batches. Among them was the enemy of Allah Huwayy b. Akhtāb and Ka'b b. Asad their chief. There were 600 or 700 in all, though some put the figure as high as 800 or 900. As they were being taken out in batches to the apostle they asked Ka'b what he thought would be done with them. He replied, 'Will you never understand? Don't you see that the summoner never stops and those who are taken away do not return? By Allah it is death.' This went on until the apostle made an end of them.

Huwayy was brought out wearing a flowered robe (710) in which he had made holes about the size of the finger-tips in every part so that it should not be taken from him as spoil, with his hands bound to his neck by a rope. When he saw the apostle he said, 'By God, I do not blame myself for opposing you, but he who forsakes God will be forsaken.' Then he went to the men and said, 'God's command is right. A book and a decree, and massacre have been written against the Sons of Israel.' Then he sat down and his head was struck off.

Jabal b. Jawwāl al-Thalabī said:

Inb Akhtāb did not blame himself
But he who forsakes God will be forsaken.
He fought until he justified himself
And struggled to the utmost in pursuit of glory.

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr that 'A'isha said: 'Only one of their women was killed. She was actually with me and was talking with me and laughing immoderately as the apostle was killing her men in the market when suddenly an unseen voice called her name. 'Good heavens,' I cried, 'what is the matter?' 'I am to be killed,' she replied. 'What for?' I asked. 'Because of something I did,' she answered. She was taken away and beheaded. 'A'isha used to say, 'I shall never forget my wonder at her good spirits and her loud laughter when all the time she knew that she would be killed' (711).

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri told me that Thābit b. Qays b. al-Shammās had gone to al-Zabīr b. Bāṭa al-Qurayḥi who was Abu 'Abdu'l-Rahmān. Al-Zabīr had spared Thābit during the pagan era. One of al-Zabīr's sons told me that he had spared him on the day of Bu'ath, having captured him and cut off his forearm and then let him go. Thābit came to him (he was then an old man) and asked him if he knew him, to which he answered, 'Would a man like me not recognize a man like you?' He said, 'I want to repay you for your service to me.' He said, 'The noble repays the noble.'

Thābit went to the apostle and told him that al-Zabīr had spared his life and he wanted to repay him for it, and the apostle said that his life would be spared. When he returned and told him that the apostle had spared his life he said, 'What does an old man without family and without children want with life?' Thābit went again to the apostle, who promised to give him his wife and children. When he told him he said, 'How can a household in the Hijaz live without property?' Thābit secured the apostle's promise that his property would be restored and came and told him so, and he said, 'O Thābit, what has become of him whose face was like a Chinese mirror in which the virgins of the tribe could see themselves, Ka'b b. Asad?' 'Killed,' he said. 'And what of the prince of the Desert and the Sown, Huwayy b. Akhtāb?' 'Killed.' 'And what of our vanguard when we attacked and our rear guard when we fled (T. returned to the charge), 'Azal b. Samaw'al?' 'Killed.' 'And what of the two assemblies?' meaning B. Ka'b b. Quraysha and B. Amr b. Qurayya. 'Killed.' He said, 'Then I ask of you, Thābit, by my claim on you that you join me with my people, for life holds no joy now that they are dead, and I cannot bear to wait another moment to meet my loved ones.' So Thābit went up to him and struck off his head.

When Abū Bakr heard of his words 'until I meet my loved ones' he said, 'Yes, by Allah he will meet them in hell for ever and ever' (712).

(Thābit b. Qays said concerning that, mentioning al-Zabīr b. Bāṭa: T. 1496)

My obligation is ended; I was noble and persistent
When others swerved from steadfastness.
Zabīr had a greater claim than any man on me
And when his wrists were bound with cords
I went to the apostle that I might free him.
The apostle was a very sea of generosity to us.)

The apostle had ordered that every adult of theirs should be killed.

\[^{1}\text{Lit., 'the time it takes a man to pour a bucket of water into the trough and return the bucket.'}\]
The Life of Muhammad

Shu'ba b. al-Hajjāj told me from 'Abdul-Malik b. 'Umār from 'Atiyya al-Qurāši: The apostle had ordered that every adult of B. Qurayya should be killed. I was a lad and they found that I was not an adult and so they let me go.

Ayyūb b. 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. 'Abdullah b. Abū Sa'āda's brother of B. 'Adiy b. al-Najjār told me that Salmā d. Qays, mother of al-Mundhir sister of Sa'īd b. Qays—she was one of the maternal aunts of the apostle who had prayed with him both towards Jerusalem and towards Mecca and had sworn the allegiance of women to him—asked him for Rīfā'ah b. Samāw'al al-Qurāshī who was a grown man who had sought refuge with her, and when used to know them. She said that he had alleged that he would pray and eat camels' flesh. So he gave him to her and she saved his life.

Then the apostle divided the property, wives, and children of B. Qurayza among the Muslims, and he made known on that day the shares of horse and men, and took out the fifth. A horseman got three shares, two for the horse and one for his rider. A man without a horse got one share. On the day of B. Qurayza there were thirty-six horses. It was the first boot on which lots were cast and the fifth was taken. According to its precedent and what the apostle did the divisions were made, and it remained the custom for raids.

Then the apostle sent Ša'd b. Zayd al-Anṣāri brother of B. 'Abdu'l-Ash-shah with some of the captive women of B. Qurayya to Najj and he sold them for horses and weapons.

The apostle had chosen one of their women for himself, Rayḥāna d. 'Amr b. Kunāfa, one of the women of B. 'Amr b. Qurayya, and she remained with him until she died, in his power. The apostle had proposed to marry her and put the veil on her, but she said: 'Nay, leave me in your power, for that will be easier for me and for you.' So he left her. She had shown repugnance towards Islam when she was captured and clung to Judaism. So the apostle put her aside and felt some displeasure. While he was with his companions he heard the sound of sandals behind him and said, 'This is Thulūba b. Sa'īya coming to give me the good news of Rayḥāna's acceptance of Islam' and he came up to announce the fact. This gave him pleasure.

God sent down concerning the trench and B. Qurayza the account which is found in the sura of the Confederates' in which He mentioned their trial and His kindness to them, and His help when He removed that from them after one of the disaffected had said what he did: 'O you who believe, remember God's favour to you when armies came against you, and We sent against them a wind and armies you could not see, and God is a seer of what you do.' The armies were Quraysh, and Ghatafān, and B. Qurayza. The armies which God sent with the wind were the angels. God said, 'When they came at you from above you and below you, and when eyes grew wild and hearts reached to the throats and you thought vain things about God.' Those who came at you from above were B. Qurayya: those from below were Quraysh and Ghatafān. 'There were the believers tested and shaken with a mighty shock. And when the disaffected and those in whose hearts was a disease were saying What God and His apostle promised us is naught but a delusion' refers to the words of Mu'āth b. Qushayr. 'And when a party of them said, O people of Yathrib, there is no standing for you, so turn back. And some of them sought the prophet's permission saying Our houses are exposed, and they were not exposed. They wished only to run away' refers to the words of Aus b. Qays and those of his people who shared his opinion. 'And if it had been entered from its sides', i.e. Medina (713).

'Then if they had been invited to rebellion', i.e. the return to polytheism, 'they would have complied and would have hesitated but a moment. Yet they had sworn to Allah beforehand that they would not turn their backs. An oath to God must be answered for.' They were the B. Haritha. They were the men who thought to desert on the day of Uhud with B. Salama when both thought to desert on the day of Uhud. Then they swore to God that they would never do the like again and he reminded them of what they had taken on themselves. 'Say, Flight will not avail you if you flee from death or killing, and then you will enjoy comfort but for a little. Say: Who can preserve you from Allah if He intends evil towards you, or intends mercy. They will not find that they have any friend or helper but Allah. Allah knows those of you who hinder,' i.e. the disaffected people. 'And those who say to their brethren. Come to us and they come not to battle save a little,' i.e. for a moment to make a pretense of sincerity, 'sparring of their help to you,' i.e. because of their grudging nature. 'But when fear comes you see them looking at you with rolling eyes like one in a deadly faint,' i.e. thinking it dreadful and terrified of it. 'Then when their fear departs they scold you with sharp tongues,' i.e. with talk about what does not please you because their hope is in this life; hope of (future) reward does not move them, for they fear death with the dread of him who has no hope in a future life (74). 'They think that the confederates have not gone away,' i.e. Quraysh and Ghatafān, 'and if the confederates should come again they would like to be in the desert with the Bedouin asking for news of you and if they were among you they would fight but little.'

Then He addressed the believers and said, 'In God's apostle you have a fine example for one who honours for Allah and the last day,' i.e. that they should not prefer themselves to him and not desire to be in a place where he is not.

Then He mentioned the believers and their truth and their belief in what God promised them of trial by which He tested them and He said, 'And when the believers saw the confederates they said: This is what God and His apostle promised us, and God and His apostle are true. It did but increase their faith and submission,' i.e. endurance of trial and submission to the decree and belief in the truth of what God and His apostle had
promised them. Then He said: 'Some of the believers are men who are true to what they covenanted with Allah and some of them have fulfilled their vow in death,' i.e. finished their work and returned to their Lord like those who sought martyrdom at Badr and Uhud (715).

'And some of them are still waiting,' i.e. for the help which Allah promised them and the martyrdom like that which befell his companions. God said: 'And they have not altered in the least,' i.e. they did not doubt nor hesitate in their religion, and did not change it for another. 'That God may reward the true men for their truth and punish the disaffected if He will, or repent towards them. God is forgiving, merciful. And Allah turned back those who disbelieved in their wrath,' i.e. Quraysh and Ghatafān. 'They gained no good. God averted battle from the believers, and Allah is strong, mighty. And He brought down those of the Scripture people who helped them,' i.e. B. Qurayza, 'from their strongholds' the forts and castles in which they were (716). 'And he cast terror into their hearts; some you slew and some you captured,' i.e. he killed the men and captured the women and children. 'And caused you to inherit their land and their dwellings, and their property, and a fluid you had not trod,' i.e. Khaybar. 'For Allah can do all things.'

When the affair of B. Qurayza was disposed of, Sa'd's wound burst open and he died a martyr therefrom.

Mu'ādh b. Ri'īs al-Zurāqī told me: Anyone you like from the men of my people told me that Gabriel came to the apostle when Sa'd was taken, in the middle of the night wearing an embroidered turban, and said, 'O Muhammad, who is this dead man for whom the doors of heaven have been opened and at whom the throne shook?' The apostle got up quickly dragging his garment as he went to Sa'd and found him already dead.

'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr told me from 'Amr b. 'Abdu'l-Rahmān: As 'A'isha was returning from Mecca with Usayd b. Ḥujayy he heard of the death of a wife of his, and showed considerable grief. 'A'isha said: 'God forgive you, O Abū Yahya, will you grieve over a woman when you have lost the son of your uncle, for whom the throne shook?'

One I do not suspect told me from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī: Sa'd was a fat man and when the men carried him they found him light. Some of the disaffected said, 'He was a fat man and we have never carried a lighter bier than his.' When the apostle heard of this he said, 'He had other carriers as well. By Him Who holds my life in His hand the angels rejoiced at (receiving) the spirit of Sa'd and the throne shook for him.'

Mu'ādh b. Ri'īs told me from Māmūd b. 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. 'Amr b. al-Jumāb from Jābir b. 'Abdullah: When Sa'd was buried as we were with the apostle he said Subhāna'llah and we said it with him. Then he said Allah akbar and the men said it with him. When they asked him why he had said Subhāna'llah he said 'The grave was constricted on this good man until God eased him from it' (717).

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The Life of Muhammad

Of Sa'd one of the Ansār said:

We have never heard of the throne of God Shaking for any dead man but Sa'd Abū 'Amr.

His mother said when his bier was being carried, as she was weeping (718):

Alas Umm Sa'd for Sa'd the brave and bold,
Leader glorious, knight ever ready,
Stepping into the breach, cutting heads to pieces.  

The apostle said, 'Every willing breach lacks except the one who went Sa'd b. Mu'ādh.


Of B. al-Najjār of the clan B. Dīnār: Ka'b b. Zayd whom a random arrow hit and slew (719).  

Three polytheists were killed:

Of B. 'Abdullāh Al-Dār: Munabbih b. 'Uthmān b. Usayd b. al-Sabbaq hit by an arrow and died in Mecca (720).

Of B. Makhzūm b. Yaqūza: Nasīf b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Mughirah. They asked the apostle to let them buy his body he having stormed the trench and become trapped in it and killed, and the Muslims got possession of his body. The apostle said that they had no means for his body and did not want to be paid for it, and he let them have it (721).


On the day of Quaraysha there were martyred of the Muslims of B. Al-Harth b. al-Khaṭāraj: Khalid b. Suyayd b. Thālaba b. 'Amr. A millstone was thrown on him and inflict a shattering wound. They allege that the apostle said, 'He will have the reward of two martyrs.'

Abū Sinān b. Miṣlah b. Hurshān brother of B. Asād b. Khazāyya died while the apostle was besieging B. Quaraysha and was buried in the cemetery of B. Quaraysha which is still used today. 'They buried those who died in Islam there.'

When the defenders of the trench left it I have heard that the apostle said: 'Quaraysh will not attack you after this year, but you will attack them.' Quraysh did not attack them after that; it was he who attacked them until God conquered Mecca by him.
POETRY ABOUT THE TRENCH AND B. QURAYZA.

Dirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Mirdās brother of B. Muḥārib b. Fihār said about the battle of the Trench:

Many a sympathetic woman had doubts about us,¹
Yet we led a great force, crushing all before us.
Its size was as Uhud.
When one could see its whole extent.
You could see the long mail upon the warriors
And their strong leather shields
And the fine steeds like arrows.
Which we discharged against the sinful wrongdoers.
When we charged the one the other,
'Twas as though at the gap in the trench men would shake hands.
You could not see a rightly guided man among them.
Though they said: 'Are we not in the right?'
We beseeched them for one whole month.
Standing over them like conquerors.

Night and morning every day
We attacked them fully armed;
Sharp swords in our hands.
Cutting through heads and skulls.
'Twas as though their gleam when they were drawn
When they flashed in the hands of those that drew them.
Was the gleam of lightning illuminating the night
So that one could see the clouds clearly.
But for the trench which protected them.
We would have destroyed them one and all.
But there it stood in front of them,
And they took refuge in it from fear of us.
Though we withdrew we left.
Sa'd hostage to death in front of their tents.
When darkness came you could hear the keening women.
Raising their lament over Sa'd.
Soon we shall visit you again.
Helping one another as we did before.
With a company of Kināa armed.
Like lions of the jungle protecting their dens.

Ka'b b. Mālik brother of B. Safīma answered him:

Many a woman will ask of our fight.
Had she been there she would have seen we were steadfast.

¹ If this poem is really Dirār's it must have been composed after Sūra 55, for it uses the language of verse 10. It is hardly likely that a Muslim would have heard of the dungs of Quraysh, or that a polytheist would have borrowed language from the Qurān. Therefore it would seem to be a sort of literary Aunt Sally, put up to be assimilated in the poems that follow.

We were steadfast trusting in Him;
We saw nothing equal to God in the hour of our danger.
We have a prophet, a true helper,
By whom we can conquer all men.
We fought an evil disobedient people
Fully prepared in their hostile attack.
When they came at us we struck them blows
Which dispatched the precipitate.
You would have seen us in wide long mail which
Glittered like pools in the plain;
Sharp swords in our hands.
By which we quench the spirit of the mischievous.
Like lions at the gap in the trench.
Whose tangled jungle protects their lairs.
Our horsemen when they charged night and morning
Looked disdainfully at the enemy as they wore their badges.
To help Ahmad and God so that we might be
Sincere slaves of truth.
And that the Meccans might know when they came.
And the people of different parties
That God has no partners,
And that He helps the believers.
Though you killed Sa'd wantonly,
God's decrees are for the best.
He will admit him to goodly gardens.
The resting-place of the righteous.
As He repulsed you, runaway fugitives.
Fruitless, disgraced, despite your rage.
Disgraced, you accomplished nothing there.
And were all but destroyed.
By a tempest which overtook you.
So that you were blinded by its force.

Abdullah b. al-Zubair b. al-Sahmī said about the trench:

Salute the dwelling whose vestiges
Long decay and time's changes have effaced.
'Tis as though their remains were the writings of Jews.
Except the zarchas and (marks of) tent-pegs.
A desert as though you did not find diversion in it.
Happily with young girls of one age.
But speak no more of a life that has passed.
And a place become ruined and deserted.
And gratefully remember the gallantry of all.

¹ The trace of an old camp (raum) is compared to Hebrew script. The word also means 'writing'.
The Life of Muhammad

Who marched from the sacred stones,¹
The stones of Mecca, making for Yathrib,
With a loud-throated mighty force;
Leaving the high ground well used paths
In every conspicuous height and pass;
The fine lean steeds led beside them
Thin in belly, lean of flank,
Foaled from long-bodied mares and stallions,
Like a wolf who attacks careless watchmen.
‘Uyayna marched with the banner of the army;
Sakhr led the confederates;
Two chiefs like the moon in its splendour,
The help of the poor, the refuge of the fugitive,
Until when they came to Medina.
And girt themselves for death their sharp swords drawn.
For forty days they had the best of Muhammad
Though his companions in war were the best.
They called for withdrawal the morrow you said
‘We are almost done for.’
But for the trench they would have left them
Corpses for hungry birds and wolves.

Hassan b. Thabit answered him and said:
Can the vanished traces of a deserted place
Answer one who addresses it?
A desert where clouds of rain have effaced its traces
And the constant blowing of every high wind?
Yet have I seen their dwellings adorned by
Shining faces, heirs of a glorious past.
But leave the dwellings, the talk of lovely maidens
With soft breasts, sweet in converse,
And complain to God of cares and what you see—
An angry people who wronged the apostle,
Who marched with their company against him
And collected townsman and desert dwellers,
The army of ‘Uyayna and Ibn Harb
Mingled with the horsemen of the confederates
Until they came to Medina and hoped to slay
The apostle’s men and plunder them,
And attacked us in their strength.
They were put to flight in their fury
By a tempest which dispersed their company.

The camel may mean either the stones set up to mark the boundary of the sacred territory, such as remain to this day, or the stones at which the sacrificial victims were slaughtered.

And the armies of thy Lord the Lord of lords.
God averted battle from the believers²
And gave them the best of rewards.
When they had abandoned hope, our bounteous King
Sent down His aid and scattered them;
Gave ease to Muhammad and his companions
And humiliated every lying doubter,
Hard-hearted, suspicious, doubtful.
Not men of pure life, unbelievers,
May misery cling to their hearts, for
In unbelief they persisted to the very end.³

Ka'b b. Malik also answered him:
War has left over to us
The best gift of our bounteous Lord;
High white forts and resting-places for camels where [from their rubbing]
Palms are black and where milk is plentiful.
They are like lava tracts and their bounty is lavished
On the visiting guest and relative;⁴
And horses⁵ swift as wolves
Fed on barley and cut lucerne
With hairless fetlocks and firm-fleshed hindquarters,
Smooth their coats from head to tail;
Long-necked, answering the View hallo.
As hounds speed to the huntsman’s call,
Now guarding the tribe-man’s cattle,
Now slaying the enemy and returning with the spoils,
Scaring wild beasts, swift in war.
Grim in combat, of noble spirit,
Well fed and sleek.
Well fleshed yet thin belyed.
They bring coats of mail doubly woven
With strong spears which hit the mark,
And swords whose rust the polishers have removed;

¹ Almost an exact quotation from Sura 32. 25.
² Or, ‘To whose hearts misery has clung
So that their hearts persist in disbelief to the end of time
⁴ A.Dh.‘s explanation implies
High white forts and resting-places for camels
Where the camels have black necks and are rich in milk
They are like lava tracts’ are horses imported from elsewhere
⁵ S. renders madda’ palm plantations’ and jadhu’ trunk’ and then has to take madd as a metaphor of fruit.

The verse is difficult, but it is possible to avoid unnatural metaphors in its translation.
The dungh of the camels makes the ground look like a lava tract
⁶ madd’ are horses imported from elsewhere
The Life of Muhammad

To say nothing of hands, as though they had not been created.
We met the enemy with a compact force
Driving away their force who went as though to the top of al-

\footnote{\textsuperscript{1}} Mashriq.
Against the enemy we prepared
Every swift, bay, white-legged, piebald horse
Carrying riders who in battle were like
Lions on dewy soil,\footnote{\textsuperscript{2}}

\footnote{\textsuperscript{3}} Trusty ones who bring death to brave men
With death-dealing spears beneath the clouds of dust.
God commanded that the horses should be kept for His enemy in the

\footnote{\textsuperscript{4}} (Truly God is the best guarantor of victory)
That they might vex the enemy and protect the dwellings
If the horses of the miscreants came near.
God the mighty helped us with His strength
And loyal steadfastness on the day of the encounter.
We obeyed our prophet's orders.
When he called for war we were the first to respond.
When he called for violent efforts we made them.
When we saw the battle we hastened thither.
He who obeys the prophet's command (let him do so), for among us
He is obeyed and truly believed.
By this He will give us victory and show our glory
And so give us a life of ease.
Those who call Muhammad a liar
Disbelieve and go astray from the way of the pious (724).

Ka'b also said:
The mixed tribes knew when they gathered together against us
And attacked our religion that we would not submit.
Confederates from Qays b. 'Aylân and Khindif with one accord
Made common cause, not knowing what would happen.
They tried to turn us from our religion while we
 Tried to turn them from disbelief, but God is a seer and a hearer
When they raped against us in battle
The all embracing help of God aided us.

\footnote{\textsuperscript{5}} 'Twas God's protection and His grace towards us
(He whom God does not guard is lost).
He guided us to the true religion and chose it for us.
God can do more than man can do.

\footnote{\textsuperscript{1}} The place where the trench was dug. Some say that it was between Sal' and the trench.
\footnote{\textsuperscript{2}} Borrowed from Sûra 7. 25, 'The clothing of piety is the best.'
\footnote{\textsuperscript{3}} A mountain between al-Sarif and al-Qasîm in Dabbas country
\footnote{\textsuperscript{4}} In such conditions lions are said to be most fierce, presumably because wet ground
would spoil the scent of their prey and so they would be ravenario
Ka'b also said:

Tell Quraysh that Salāh
And the land between al-'Urayd and al-Ṣammād
Is a land where camels who know war carry water,
Where wells dug in the days of 'Ad abound.
Still waters fed by copious fountains
That keep the wells at a steady depth.
The tangled growth and the rushes there
Seem to rustle when they yellow at the harvest.
Our trade does not consist in selling donkeys
To the land of Daus or Murād,
Ours is a land well tilled, for we fight
If you have stomach for the battle.
We ploughed and planted it as peasants do;
Never have we seen a valley bordered like it.
We have kept every fine high-standing
Powerful courser for great objects.
Respond to our invitation
For clear statement and truth,
Or take the blows you will get from us
At the side of al-Madhād.
We will meet you with all our warriors
And well made tractable horses,
And bloodmares whose sides throb
Like the beating of a locust’s wings
Swift of limb, firm fleshed,
Perfectly made from head to tail.
Horses which live through famine years
When other men’s horses die;
Which tug at the reins, turning their necks to one side,
When their master calls them to war.
When our warners say: ‘Be ready’
We put our trust in the Lord of men.
And we said: ‘Nothing will ease our troubles
But smiting the helmets and desperate fighting.’
You have seen none among those we fought,
Whether townsmen or tribesmen,
Bolder than we were in attack
Nor gentler in affliction.
When we tied with trusty knots
Fine coats of mail upon them
Into long armour we put every fierce noble warrior

Muṣāfī also said, reproaching the horsemen of 'Amr who decamped and deserted him:

'Amr b. 'Abd and the fine horses he led—
Horses led for him and horses shod—
His horsemen decamped and his clan left
A great pillar, the first among them.
Marvel as I may I saw it
When you, ‘Ali, asked 'Amr to dismount he dismounted.
Be not far, for I have suffered by his death
And till I die I have a burden heavy to bear.
Hubayra who was despoiled turned his back in flight
Fearing the fight lest they should be killed.
And Dirār who had shown courage
Fled like a miserable unarmed wretch (726).
The Life of Muhammad

Hubayra b. Abū Wahab making excuses for his flight, weeping for 'Amr, and mentioning how 'Ali killed him, said:

On my life, I did not turn my back
On Muhammad and his companions in cowardice or fear of death;
But I considered my position and could find
No advantage in sword or arrow if I used them.
I stopped, and when I could not go forward
I withdrew like a strong lion with his cubs,
Who turns his shoulder from his adversary when
He can find no way to return to the fray—such has always been my
way.
Be not far, O 'Amr, alive or dead.
Such as you deserves the highest praise from one like me
Who (now) will drive on horses checked by spears
Be not far, O 'Amr alive or dead.
You have gone (from us) full of praise, noble of ancestry.
Tell of his glory when the camel bellow loudly?
Had I not 'Abd been there he would have gone to them
And relieved them, that never ignoble man.
Away with you, 'Ali, never have I seen one who behaved like you
Against a brave man advancing like a stallion.
Never have you achieved such a proud boast.
As long as you live you can feel safe from stumbling thereby.

Hubayra also said:

The noblest man of Lu'ayy b. Ghilib knows
That when misfortune came their knight was 'Amr.
Their knight was 'Amr and 'Ali asked him to dismount.
(The lion must seek his enemy.)
He was their knight when 'Ali called to him
When the squadrons barely left him.
Alas that I left 'Amr in Yathrib.
May misfortunes never cease there!

Hassān b. Thābit boasting of the killing of 'Amr b. 'Abdu Wudd said:

'Amr, the last of you, we slew with the lance
As we defended Yathrib with our small force.
We killed you with our Indian swords,
For we are masters of war when we attack.
We killed you in Badr too
And left your tribes threading their way through the dead (727)

1 So loud was his voice that he could be heard above the grumbling of the camels, as he boasted of his tribe's prowess.

The Life of Muhammad

Hassān also said:

'The warrior 'Amr b. 'Abd is on the flanks of Yathrib
Requiring to be avenged; he was not given reprieve. 
You found our swords drawn
And you found our horses ready.
At Badr you met a band
Who smote you with no weakness's blow.
No more will you be summoned on the day of great things
Or to important distasteful tasks, O 'Amr! (727)

Hassān also said:

Give Abū Hādī a message,
One with which the camels hasted.
Am I your friend in every hardship
And another your friend in a time of ease?
You have a witness who saw me
Lifted up to him as a child is carried (728).

Hassān said concerning B. Qurayza mourning Sa'd b. Mu'ādh and 71:
mentioning his judgement concerning the former:

Tears streamed from my eyes,
'Tis right that they should weep for Sa'd
Lying on the battlefield. Eyes that flow with tears
Suffer his loss without ceasing.
Slain in God's religion, he inherits paradise with martyrs,
Their a noble company.
Though you have said farewell and left us
And lie in the dusty darkness of the grave
You, O Sa'd, have returned (to God) with a noble testimony
And garments of honour and praise.
By pronouncing on the two tribes of Qurayza the (same) judg-
ment
Which God had decreed against them you did not judge of your own
volition.
Your judgement and God's were at one
And you did not forgive when you were reminded of a covenant
Though fate has brought you to your death
Among those who seek their lives for everlasting gardens
Yet blessed is the state of the true ones
When they are summoned to God for favour and regard.

The reading in the Dhu'ayn xev is easier but not necessarily original

'Amr... he dead
Vengeance for him is not to be expected.
Hassān also said mourning Sa’d and the prophet’s companions who were martyred and mentioning their merits:

O my people, is there any defence against what is decreed?
And can the good old days return?
When I call to mind an age that is passed
My heart is troubled and my tears flow;
Yearning sorrow reminds me of friends
Now dead, among them Tūfayl and Rāfî’ and Sa’d.
They have gone to paradise
And their houses are empty and the earth is a desert without them.
They were loyal to the apostle on the day of Badr
While over them swords flashed amid the shades of death.
When he called them they answered loyally,
All of them obeyed him utterly.
They gave no ground till all were dead.
(Only battles cut short the allotted span.)
Because they hoped for his intercession
Since none but prophets can intercede.
That, O best of men, is what we did,
Our response to God while death is certain.
Ours was the first step to be, and the last of us
Will follow the first in God’s religion.
We know that the kingdom is God’s alone
And that the decree of God must come to pass.1

Hassān also said about B. Qurayya:

Qurayya met their misfortune
And in humiliation found no helper.
A calamity worse than that which fell B. al-Naḍīr befell them
The day that God’s apostle came to them like a brilliant moon,
With fresh horses bearing horsemen like hawks.
We left them with the blood upon them like a pool
They having accomplished nothing.
They lay prostrate with vultures circling round them
Thus are the obstinate and impious rewarded.
Warn Quraysh of a like punishment from God
If they will take my warning.

Hassān also said:

Qurayya met their misfortune
And shameful humiliation befell their castles.
Sa’d had warned them, saying
Your God is a majestic Lord.

1 Dīwān xx. xxx. Obviously this dates from a later age. 'The good old days' are idealized.
THE KILLING OF SALLĀM IBN ABŪ’L-HUQAYYQ

When the fight at the trench and the affair of the B. Qurayza were over, the matter of Sallām b. Abū’l-Huqayq known as Abī Rāfî’ came up in connection with those who had collected the mixed tribes together against the apostle. Now Aus had killed Ka’b b. al-Ashraf before Udhud because of his enmity towards the apostle and because he instigated men against him, so Khazraj asked and obtained the apostle’s permission to kill Sallām who was in Khaybar.

Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhārī from ‘Abdullāh b. Ka’b b. Ma‘lik told me: One of the things which God did for His apostle was that these two tribes of the Ansār, Aus and Khazraj, competed the one with the other like two stallions: if Aus did anything to the apostle’s advantage Khazraj would say, ‘They shall not have this superiority over us in the apostle’s eyes and in Islam’ and they would not rest until they could do something similar. If Khazraj did anything Aus would say the same.

When Aus had killed Ka’b for his enmity towards the apostle, Khazraj used these words and asked themselves what man was as hostile to the apostle as Ka’b? And then they remembered Sallām who was in Khaybar and asked and obtained the apostle’s permission to kill him.

Five men of B. Salīma of Khazraj went to him: ‘Abdullāh b. Attīk; Mas‘ūd b. Sīnâf; ‘Abdullāh b. Unays; Abū Qatādā al-Hārith b. Rib‘; and Khuz‘ayl b. Aswād, an ally from Aslām. As they left, the apostle appointed ‘Abdullāh b. Attīk as their leader, and he forbade them to kill women or children. When they got to Khaybar they went to Sallām’s house by night, having locked every door in the settlement on the inhabitants. Now he was in an upper chamber of his to which a (T. Roman) ladder led up. They mounted this until they came to the door and asked to be allowed to come in. His wife came out and asked who they were and they told her that they were Arabs in search of supplies. She told them that their man was here and that they could come in. When we entered we bolted the door of the room on her and ourselves fearing lest something should come between us and him. His wife shivered and warned him of us, so we ran at him with our swords as he was on his bed. The only thing that guided us in the darkness of the night was his whiteness like an Egyptian blanket. When his wife shivered one of our number would lift his sword against her; then he would remember the apostle’s ban on killing women and withdraw his hand; but for that we would have made an end of her that night. When we had smitten him with our swords ‘Abdullāh b. Unays bore down with his sword into his belly until it went right through him, as he was saying Gafrī, gafrī, i.e. ‘It’s enough.

We went out. Now ‘Abdullāh b. Attīk had poor sight, and fell from the ladder and sprained his arm (726) severely, so we carried him until we brought him to one of their water channels and went into it. The people lit lamps and went in search of us in all directions until, despairing of finding us, they returned to their master and gathered round him as he was dying. We asked each other how we could know that the enemy of God was dead, and one of us volunteered to go and see; so off he went and mingled with the people. He said, ‘I found his wife and some Jews gathered round him. She had a lamp in her hand and was peering into his face and saying to them ‘By God, I certainly heard the voice of ‘Abdullāh b. Attīk. Then I decided I must be wrong and thought ‘How can Ibn Attīk be in this country?’ Then she turned towards him, looking into his face, and said, ‘By the God of the Jews he is dead!’ Never have I heard sweeter words than those.

Then he came to us and told us the news, and we picked up our companion and took him to the apostle and told him that we had killed God’s enemy. We disputed before him as to who had killed him, each of us laying claim to the deed. The apostle demanded to see our swords and when he looked at them he said, ‘It is the sword of ‘Abdullāh b. Unays that killed him; I can see traces of blood on it.’

Ibānī b. Thābit mentioning the killing of Ka’b and Sallām said:

God, what a fine band you met,
O Ibnul-Huqayq and Ibnul-Ashraf!
They went to you with sharp swords,
Brisk as lions in a tangled thicket,
Until they came on you in your dwelling

1 The change into the first person without any mention of the speaker’s authority is significant. Doubtless there are occasions when the actual words used at a particular time and place have been carefully stored in a hearer’s memory; but it should always be borne in mind that secular allusions are abhorrent to semitic writers who escape into the oracular vents at the first opportunity.
The Life of Muhammad

Then I went off making for Muhammad to adopt Islam, and met Khālid b. al-Walid coming from Mecca. This was a little while before the occupation of Mecca. I said, 'Where are you going, Abū Sulaymān?' He said: 'The way has become clear. The man is certainly a prophet, and by Allah I'm going to be a Muslim. How much longer should I delay?' I told him that I too was travelling with the same object: in view, so we went to Medina to the apostle. Khālid got there first and accepted Islam and gave his allegiance. Then I came up and said, 'O apostle, I will give you my allegiance on condition that my past faults are forgiven and no mention is made of what has gone before.' He said, 'Give allegiance 'Amr, for Islam does away with all that preceded it, as does the ḥijra.' So I gave my allegiance and went away (730).

One whom I do not suspect told me that 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa b. Abū Ṭalḥa who was with them accepted Islam at the same time.

Ibn al-Zibaʾī al-Sāhmi said:

I adjure 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa by our oath of friendship
And by the casting of the sandals at the stone of kissing
And by every alliance our fathers made,
Khālid not being exempt from such,
Do you want the key of a house other than yours?
And what can be more desirable than the glory of an ancient house?
Trust not Khālid and 'Uthmān
After this; they have brought a great disaster.

The conquest of B. Qurayya was in Dhūl-Qa'da and the beginning of Dhūl-Hijja. The polytheists were in charge of that pilgrimage.

THE ATTACK ON B. LIYĀN

The apostle stayed in Medina during Dhūl-Hijja, Muḥarram, Safar, and the two months of Rabi', and in Jumādā-l-Ūlā, six months after the conquest of Qurayya, he went out against B. Liyānā to avenge his men killed at al-Rajī, Khubayb b. 'Adīy and his companions. He made as though he was going to Syria in order to take the people by surprise (731). He went past Ghurār, a mountain near Medina on the road to Syria, then by Māhānā, then by al-Batrīl; then he turned off to the left and came out by Bīn, then by Sūkhshurūr and Yamānā, then the track went by the Meccan highroad. He quickened the pace until he came down to Ghurān, the haunts of B. Liyānā. (Ghurān is a wadi between Amaj and 'Usfān extending as far as a village called Śāyā.) He found that the people had been warned and taken up strong positions on the tops of the mountains. When the apostle got there and saw that he had failed to take them by surprise as he

1. (Uthmān was the Keeper of the Key of the Ma'ba. See W. 82.)
2. The place is wrongly given as Makkāh in W
3. A wadi near Medina
4. Between al-Šaylā and Fāshā.
The Life of Muhammad

739 had intended, he said, 'Were we to come down to 'Usfān the Meccans would think that we intend to come to Mecca.' So he went out with two hundred riders until he came to 'Usfān, when he sent two horsemen from his companions who went as far as Kurā‘u‘il-Ghamīn. Then he turned and went back.

Jābir b. 'Abdullāh used to say, 'I heard the apostle say when he set his face towards Medina "Returning repentant if God will, giving thanks to our Lord. I take refuge in God from the difficulties of the journey and its unhappy ending, and the evil appearance of man and beast."'

The tradition about the raid on B. Liḥyān is from ʿĀṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādā and 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr from 'Abdullāh b. Ka‘b b. Mālik, Ka‘b b. Mālik said:

If B. Liḥyān had waited
They would have met bands in their settlements, fine fighters.
They would have met audacious warriors whose terror fills the way
In front of an irresistible force glittering like stars.
But they were unwilling, they would have waited on the
Clefts of the rocks, which have no means of escape.

THE ATTACK ON DHŪ' QARAD

The apostle had spent only a few nights in Medina when 'Uyayna b. Hisn b. Hudhayfah b. Bajr al-Faḍārī with the cavalry of Ghāthafān raided the apostle's milch-camels in al-Ghāba.4 A man of B. Ghīrār, who had his wife with him, was in charge of the camels. Him they killed and carried off with his wife with the camels.

'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādā and 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr and a man I do not suspect from 'Abdullāh b. Ka‘b b. Mālik contributed to the story which follows. 'The first to know of them was Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa' al-Aṣlāmī. That morning he was making for al-Ghāba armed with bow and arrows accompanied by a slave belonging to 'Abdullāh b. Waṣṣāf with a horse which he was leading. When he got to the pass of al-Wadā' he saw some of their cavalry and looked down in the direction of Sa‘l and cried aloud, 'O (what a) morning!' Then he hurried off after the raiding party like a lion. When he came up with them he began to keep them at bay with arrows, saying as he shot:

Take that, al-Akwa's son am I.
Today, mean crowd, you die!

Whenever the horsemen made for him he fled from them; then back he would come and take a shot at them when he could, saying the same words.

One of them said, 'Our little Akwa' comes early in the morning!'
The Life of Muhammad

That turns swiftly in every battle.
A day on which they are led and a day of charges
Has worn out their quarters and altered the appearance of their backs.
Our horses are fed on milk
While war is kindled by passing winds.
Our sharp swords glittering cut through
Iron shields and pugnacious heads.
Allah put obstacles in their way to protect His sacred property
And to protect His dignity. 3
They lived happily in their home, but
On the days of Dhu Qarad they were given the faces of slaves (735).

Hassän also said:

Did 'Uwaysa think when he visited it
That he would destroy its castles?
In what you said you were made a liar.
You said, 'We will take great spoil.'
You loathed Medina when you visited it
And met roaring lions there.
Back they turned running fast like ostriches
Without getting near a single camel.
God's apostle was our amir,
What a beloved amir to us!
An apostle whose message we believe
Who recites a luminous light-bringing book.

Ka'b b. Malik said concerning the day of Dhu Qarad with reference to the horsemen:

Do the bastards think that we
Are not their equals in horsemanship?
We are men who think killing no shame,
We turn not from the piercing lances.
We feed the guest with choicest camels' meat
And smile the heads of the haughty.
We turn back the conspicuous warriors in their pride
With blows that quash the zeal of the unyielding,
With heroes who protect their standard,
Noble, generous, fierce as jungle wolves.
They preserve their honour and their goods
With swords that smash the heads beneath the helms.
Ask the Banû Badr if you meet them
What the brethren did on the day of battle.

1 This line is obscure. Perhaps the 'sacred property' means the prophet's camels. Possibly the verb is an optative.
2 I.e. Medina.

...and al-Janáh was captured. When the cavalry engaged, Abū Qatāda al-Jafrīn b. Rib' killed Ḥābīb b. 'Uwaysa b. Ḥaṣn and covered him with his mantle; then he joined his force. The apostle advanced with the Muslims (734) and there was Ḥābīb covered with Abū Qatāda's mantle. The men exclaimed, 'We are God's and to Him must we return! Abū Qatāda has been killed.' The apostle said that it was not Abū Qatāda but a man he had killed and covered with his mantle so that they might know that he was his prey. 'Ukāsīn overtook Abūb and his son Amr who were riding the same camel, and ran through them with his lance, killing the two of them at one stroke. They recovered some of the milk-camels. The apostle went forward until he halted at the mountain of Dhu Qarad, and the men joined him there, and he stopped there for a day and a night. Salama b. al-Akwā' asked if he might go with a hundred men and recover the rest of the herd and cut off the heads of the band. I have heard that the apostle said, 'By this time they are being served with their evening drink among Ghafān.' The apostle divided a butchered camel among every hundred men, and after a while he returned to Medina. The wife of the Ghafārī came upon one of the apostle's she-camels and told him what had happened. Having done so she said, 'I vowed to Allah that I would slay her if Allah let me escape on her.' The apostle smiled and said: 'You would repay her badly when God mounted you on her and delivered you by her and then you would slay her!' No vow in disobedience to God nor concerning property that is not your own is valid. She is one of my camels, so go back to your family with God's blessing.' This story of the Ghafārī's wife comes from Abūl-Zubayr al-Makki from al-Hassān b. Abūl-Hassān al-Basra.

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Tell the truth to those you meet whenever you come out. 
Conceal not the news in assemblies. 
Say, We slipped away from the claws of the angry lion. 
With rage in his heart which he could not work off (736).

Shaddād b. ‘Ārid said concerning the day of Dhū Qarnād with reference to ‘Umayr who was surnamed Abū Mālik:

Why, O Abū Mālik, did you not return to the fight
When your cavalry were in flight and being slain?
You mentioned going back to Aṣār. 
Nonsense! it was too late to return,
You trusted yourself to a spirited horse
Quickly covering the ground when given free rein.
When your left hand reined him in
He reared like a flaming cauldron.
And when you saw that God's servants
Did not wait for those behind to come up
You knew that horsemen had been trained
To chase warriors when they took to the plain,
When they chase the cavalry they bring disgrace on them,
And if they are pursued they dismount
And protect themselves in evil case
With swords which the polisher has made bright.

725

THE RAID ON B. AL-MUSTALIQ

The apostle stayed in Medina during the latter part of Jumādā‘āl-‘akhirah and Rajah; then he attacked B. al-Mustaliq of Khuzā‘ah in Shāhān A.H. 6 (737).

‘Amīr b. ‘Umar b. Qatā‘a and ‘Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr and Muhammad b. Yahyā b. ‘Ubbān each told me a part of the following story: The apostle received news that B. al-Mustaliq were gathering together against him, their leader being al-Hārith b. Abī Dirār, the father of Juwairiyah d. al-Hārith (afterwards) wife of the apostle. When the apostle heard about them he went out and met them at a watering place of theirs called al-Murayyī in the direction of Qudayd towards the shore. There was a fight and God put the B. al-Mustaliqu to flight and killed some of them and gave the apostle their wives, children, and property as booty. A Muslim of B. Kalb b. ‘Uff b. ‘Amir b. Layth b. Rakr called Hishām b. Subāha was killed by a man of the Ansār of the family of ‘Ubāda b. al-Sūmith who thought he was an enemy and killed him in error.

While the apostle was by this water a party came down to it. ‘Umar had a hired servant from B. Ghifār called Jahlīḥ b. Mas‘ūd who was leading his horse. This Jahlīḥ and Sinā‘ b. Wābah al-Juhān, an ally of B. ‘Uff b.

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

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

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

Then the apostle walked with the men all that day till nightfall, and through the night until morning and during the following day until the sun distressed them. Then he halted them, and as soon as they touched the ground they fell asleep. He did this to distract their minds from what ‘Abdullāh b. Ubayy had said the day before. He continued his journey through the Hijaz as far as water a little above al-Naqī called Baq‘ā. As he travelled at night a violent wind distressed the men and they dreaded it. He told them not to be afraid because the wind announced the death of one of the greatest of the unbelievers, and when they got to Medina they found that Rifi‘a b. Zayd b. al-Tābūh b. Qaynuqa‘, one of the most important Jews and a secret shelterer of the disaffected, had died that day.

The sūra came down in which God mentioned the disaffected with Ibn Ubayy and those like-minded with him. When it came down the apostle
took hold of Zayd b. Arqam’s ear, saying, ‘This is he who devoted his ear to Allah.’ Abdullah, Abdullah b. Ubayy’s son, heard about his father’s affair.

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

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

It eased my soul that he died in the lowland,
The blood of his neck veins dyeing his garments
Before I killed him I was beset by care
Which prevented me from seeking my couch
I gave free vent to my vengeance
And was the first to return to the idols.
I avenged Fi‘ār on him and laid his bloodwit
On the chiefs of B. al-Najjār, the lords of Fārī.¹

He also said:

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

Of B. Musta‘alq who were slain that day ‘Ali killed two—Mālik and his son. ‘Abdul-‘Rahmān b. ‘Au‘f killed one of their horsemen called Aḥmar

or Ubayyīr. The apostle took many captives and they were distributed among the Muslims. One of those taken was Juwāyrya d. al-Hārith b. Abū Dirrār, the apostle’s wife.

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

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

Yazīd b. Kūmān told me that the apostle sent al-Walīd b. ‘Uqba b. Abū Mu‘āyyd to them after they had accepted Islam. When they heard of him they rode out to meet him, but when he heard of them he was afraid and went back to the apostle and told him that the people had determined to kill him and had withheld their due poor tax. The Muslims talked a lot about raiding them until the apostle himself meditated doing so. While this was going on an embassy of theirs came to the apostle, saying: ‘We heard about your messenger when you sent him to us and we went out to meet him to show him respect and to pay the poor tax that was due, and he went back as fast as he could. Now we hear that he has alleged that we went out to kill him. By Allah we did not go out with such intent.’ So God sent down concerning him and them: ‘O you who believe if an evil man comes to you with a report examine it closely lest you do ill to a people in ignorance and be sorry for what you have done. Know that the apostle of God is among you. If he were to obey you in much of the government you would be in trouble.’¹

¹ Sūra 40. 6.

THE LIE THAT WAS UTTERED ON THE RAID OF B. AL-MUSTA‘ALQ

According to what a man I do not suspect told me from al-Zuhri from ‘Urwa from ‘A‘isha the apostle had gone forward on that journey of his until he was near Medina, ‘A‘isha having been with him on the journey, when the kins spoke about her.
Al-Zuhri told us from 'Aqīma b. Waqqās, and from Sa'ūl b. Jībāyir and from 'Urwā b. al-Zubayr, and from Ubadh b. 'Abdūllāh b. 'Utbah, each contributing a part of the story, one remembering more of it than another, and I (Zuhri) have put together what the people told me.

Yalā'ā b. 'Abdāb b. 'Abdūllāh b. al-Zubayr told me from his father from 'A'īsha; and Abdullah b. Abū Bakr from 'Amr b. 'Abdūl-rahmān from 'A'īsha from her own word when the liars said what they did. The whole of her story rests on these men as a whole. One relates what another does not. All of them are trustworthy witnesses, and all of them related what they heard from her. She said: 'When the apostle intended to go on an expedition he cast lots between his wives which of them should accompany him. He did this on the occasion of the raid on B. al-Muṣṭalīq and the lot fell on me, so the apostle took me out. The wives on these occasions used to eat light rations; meat did not fill them up so that they were heavy. When the camel was being saddled for me I used to sit in my lowdāh; then the men who saddled it for me would come and pick me up and take hold of the lower part of the lowdāh and lift it up and put it on the camel's back and fasten it with a rope. Then they would take hold of the camel's head and walk with it.'

When the apostle finished his journey on this occasion he started back and halted when he was near Medina and passed a part of the night there. Then he gave permission to start and the men moved off. I went out for a certain purpose having a string of Zafār beads on my neck. When I had finished, it slipped from my neck without my knowledge, and when I returned to the camel I went feeling my neck for it but could not find it. Meanwhile the main body had already moved off. I went back to the place where I had been and looked for the necklace until I found it. The men who were saddling the camel for me came up to the place I had just left and having finished the saddling they took hold of the lowdāh thinking that I was in it as I normally was, picked it up and bound it on the camel, not doubting that I was in it. Then they took the camel by the head and went off with it. I returned to the place and there was not a soul there. The men had gone. So I wrapped myself in my shroud and lay down where I was, knowing that if I were missed they would come back for me, and by Allah I had but just lain down when Sāwān b. al-Muṭṭalīq al-Sulaimi passed me; he had fallen behind the main body for some purpose and had not spent the night with the troops. He saw my form and came and stood over me. He used to see me before the veil was prescribed for us, so when he saw me he exclaimed in astonishment: "The apostle's wife!" while I was wrapped in my garments. He asked me what had kept me behind but I did not speak to him. Then he brought up his camel and told me to ride it while he kept behind. So I rode it and he took the camel's head going forward quickly in search of the army, and by Allah we did not overtake them and I was not missed until the morning. The men had halted and when they were rested up came the man leading me and the liars spread their reports and the army was much disturbed. But by Allah I knew nothing about it.

"Then we came to Medina and immediately I became very ill and so heard nothing of the matter. The story had reached the apostle and my parents, yet they told me nothing of it though I missed the apostle's accustomed kindness to me. When I was ill he used to show compassion and kindness to me, but in this illness he did not and I missed his attentions. When he came in to see me when my mother was nursing me (739), all he said was, "How is she?" so that I was pained and asked him to let me be taken to my mother so that she could nurse me. "Do what you like," he said, and so I was taken to my mother, knowing nothing of what had happened until I recovered from my illness some twenty days later. Now we were an Arab people; we did not have those privacies which foreigners have in their houses; we bathe and bathe them. Our practice was to go out into the open spaces of Medina. The women used to go out every night, and one night I went out with Umm Miṣṭah b. Abī Ruhm b. al-Muṣṭalīq b. Abū Manāf. Her mother was Sayyida b. Kā'īb b. Sa'd b. Taymīyāt of Abī Bakr. As she was walking with me she stumbled over her gown and exclaimed, "May Miṣṭah stumble, Miṣṭah being the nickname of 'A'īf. I said, 'That is a bad thing to say about one of the emigrants who fought at Badr.'" She replied, "Have you not heard the news, O daughter of Abū Bakr?" and when I said that I had not heard she went on to tell me of what the liars had said, and when I showed my astonishment she told me that all this really had happened. By Allah, I was unable to do what I had to do and went back. I could not stop crying until I thought that the weeping would burst my liver. I said to my mother, 'God forgive you! Men have spoken ill of me (740) and have not told me a thing about it." She replied "My little daughter, don't let the matter weigh you. Seldom is there a beautiful woman married to a man who loves her but her rival wives gossip about her and men do the same.""

"The apostle had got up and addressed the men, though I knew nothing about it. After praising God he said: 'What do certain men mean by worrying me about my family and saying false things about them? By Allah, I know only good of them, and they say these things of a man of whom I know naught but good, who never enters a house of mine but in my company.'"

The greatest offenders were 'Abdūllāh b. Ubayy among the Khaza'j and Miṣṭah and Hamma b. Jahsh, for the reason that her sister Zaynāb d. Jahsh was one of the apostle's wives and only she could rival me in his favour. As for Zaynāb, Allah protected her by her religion and she spoke nothing but good. But Hamma spread the report far and wide opposing me (741) for the sake of her sister, and I suffered much from that.

1 za'īsa, a woman carried in a howdāh.

* Or 'she (Zaynāb) suffered.'
'And, by God, the apostle had not moved from where he was sitting when there came over him from God what was sent to give salvation to him and he was wrapped in his garment and a leather cushion was put under his head. As for me, when I saw this I felt no fear or alarm, for I knew that I was innocent and that God would not treat me unjustly. As for my parents, as soon as the apostle recovered I thought that they would die from fear that confirmation would come from God of what men had said. Then the apostle recovered and sat up and there fell from him as it were drops of water on a winter day, and he began to wipe the sweat from his brow, saying, "Good news, 'A'isha! God has sent down word about your innocence." I said, "Praise be to God," and he went out to the men and addressed them and recited to them what God had sent down concerning that (T. "me"). Then he gave orders about Miṣṭāb b. Uthāša and Ḥassān b. Thābit and Ḥammad b. Jahsh who were the most explicit in their slander and they were whipped with the prescribed number of stripes.  

"My father Ṣa'b b. Yasār told me from some of the men of B. al-Najjār that the wife of Abū Ayyūb Khalid b. Zayd said to him, "Have you heard what people are saying about 'A'isha?" Certainly, but it is a lie," he said. "Would you do such a thing?" She answered "No, by Allah, I would not." He said, "Well, 'A'isha is a better woman than you."  

'A'isha continued: When the Qur'an came down with the mention of those of the slanderers who repeated what the liars had said, God said: "Those who bring the lie are a band among you. Do not regard it as a bad thing for you; nay it is good for you. Every man of them will get what he has earned from the sin, and he who had the greater share therein will have a painful punishment," meaning Ḥassān b. Thābit and his companions who said what they said (741).  

Then God said, "Why did not the believing men and women when you heard it think good of themselves? i.e. say what Abū Ayyūb and his wife said. Then He said, 'When you welcomed it with your tongues and spoke with your mouths that of which you had no knowledge you thought it a light thing, yet with God it is grave.'  

When this came down about 'A'isha and about those who spoke about her, Abū Bakr who used to make an allowance to Miṣṭāb because he was of his kin and needy said, 'Never will I give anything to Miṣṭāb again, nor will I ever help him in any way after what he said about 'A'isha and brought evil on us.' She continued: 'So God sent down concerning that 'And let not those who possess dignity and ease among you swear not to give to kinsmen and the poor and those who emigrate for God's sake. Let them forgive and show forbearance. Do you not wish that God should forgive you? And God is forgiving, merciful' (742).  

Abū Bakr said, 'Yes, by Allah, I want God to forgive me,' so he continued the allowance that he was accustomed to give to Miṣṭāb, saying, 'I will never withdraw it from him.'

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2. Care is taken to avoid the use of 'A'isha's name.  
Then Safwān b. al-Muʾattal met Hassān b. Thabit with a sword when he heard what he was saying about him, for Hassān had also uttered some verse alluding to him and the Arabs of Mīdār who had accepted Islam:

The vagabond immigrants have become powerful and numerous
And Ibnul-Farrāʾ has become solitary in the land.¹
As good as bereaved is the mother of the man I fight
Or caught in the claws of a lion.
The man I kill will not be paid for
By money or by blood.
When the wind blows in the north and the sea rides high
And bespatters the shore with foam
'Tis no more violent than I when you see me in a rage
Devastating as a cloud of hail.
As for Quraysh, I will never make peace with them
Until they leave error for righteousness
And abandon al-Lāt and al-Uzza²
And all bow down to the One, The Eternal,
And testify that what the apostle said to them is true,
And faithfully fulfil the solemn oath with God.³

Safwān met him and snatched him with his sword, saying according to what Yāʾqūb b. Utba told me:

Here's the edge of my sword for you!
When you lampoon a man like me you don't get a poem in return!

Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Hārith b. al-Taymi told me that Thābit b. Qays b. al-Shāmī was leapt upon Safwān when he smote Hassān and tied his hands to his neck and took him to the quarter of B. al-Hārith b. al-Khaṣṣajjī. Abdullah b. Rawāh淮 met him and asked what had happened, and he said: 'Do I surprise you? He smote Hassān with the sword and by Allah he must have killed him.' Abdullah asked if the apostle knew about what he had done, and when he said that he did not tell him that he had been very daring and that he must free the man. He did so. Then they came to the apostle and told him of the affair and he summoned Hassān and Safwān. The latter said, 'He insulted and satirized me and rage so overcame me that I smote him.' The apostle said to Hassān, 'Do you look with an evil eye on my people because God has guided them to Islam?' He added, 'Be charitable about what has befallen you.' Hassān said, 'It is yours, O apostle.' (743).

The same informant told me that the apostle gave him in compensation Bir Ḥāl, today the castle of B. Ḥudaylā in Medina. It was a property belonging to Abū Taḥla b. Sahih which he had given as alms to the apostle

¹ Here in a bad sense. He is speaking of himself submerged in a sea of refugees
² The language is reminiscent of the Quran. The point of the reference to Safwān is not clear to me
³ Chaste, keeping to her house, above suspicion.
Never thinking of reviling innocent women;
A noble woman of the clan of Luʾayy b. Ghālib,
Seekers of honour whose glory passeth not away.
Pure, God having purified her nature
And cleansed her from all evil and falsehood
If I said what you allege that I said
Let not my hands perform their office.
How could I, with my lifelong affection and support
For the family of the apostle who lends splendour to all gatherings,
His rank so high above all others that
The highest leap would fall short of it?
What has been said will not hold
But is the word of one who would slander me (744).

A Muslim said about the flogging of Hassan and his companions for slandering 'Aisha (745)

Hassān, Hamma, and Mistah tasted what they deserved
For uttering unseemly slander;
They slandered with ill-founded accusations their prophet's wife;
They angered the Lord of the glorious throne and were chastised.
They injured God's apostle through her
And were made a public and lasting disgrace.
Lashes rained upon them like
Raindrops falling from the highest clouds.

The Affair of al-Hudaybiya, A.H. 6. The Willing Homage and the Peace Between the Apostle and
Suhayl b. Amr

Then the apostle stayed in Medina during the months of Ramaḍān and Shawwāl and went out on the little pilgrimage in Dhul-Qa'da with no intention of making war (746). He called together the Arabs and neighbouring Bedouin to march with him, fearing that Quraysh would oppose him with arms or prevent him from visiting the temple, as they actually did. Many of the Arabs held back from him, and he went out with the emigrants and Ansār and such of the Arabs as stuck to him. He took the
sacrificial victims with him and donned the pilgrim garb so that all would know that he did not intend war, and that his purpose was to visit the temple and to venerate it.

Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhri from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Habān told me: The apostle went out in the year of al-Hudaybiya with peaceful intent meaning to visit the temple, and took with him seventy camels for sacrifice. There were seven hundred men so that each camel was on behalf of ten men. Jābir b. 'Abdullāh, so I have heard, used to say, 'We, the men of al-Hudaybiya, were fourteen hundred.'

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Al-Zuhri continued: When the apostle was in 'Usfān, Bishr b. Sufyān al-Ka'bi met him (747) and said: 'There are Quraysh who have heard of your coming and have come out with their milch-camels and have put on leopards' skins, and have encamped at Dhū 'Tūwa swearing that you will never enter Mecca in defiance of them. This man Khalīd b. al-Walīd is with their cavalry which they have sent in advance to Kūr'il-Ghamīm.'

The apostle said: 'Alas, Quraysh, war has devoured them! What harm would they have suffered if they had left me and the rest of the Arabs to go our own ways? If they should kill me that is what they desire, and if God should give me the victory over them they would enter Islam in flocks. If they do not do that they will fight while they have the strength, so what are Quraysh thinking of? By Allah, I will not cease to fight for the mission with which God has entrusted me until He makes it victorious or I perish.' Then he said, 'Who will take us out by a way in which we shall not meet them?'

'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr told me that a man of Aslam volunteered to do so and he took them by a rugged, rocky track between passas which was very hard on the Muslims, and when they emerged from it on to the easy ground at the end of the wadi the apostle said to the men, 'Say, We ask God's forgiveness and we repent towards Him.' They did so and he said, 'That is the “putting away” that was enjoined on the children of Israel, but they did not say the words.'

The apostle ordered the force to turn to the right through the salty growth on the road which leads by the pass of al-Murād to the declivity of al-Hudaybiya below Mecca. They did so, and when the Quraysh cavalry saw from the dust of the army that they had turned aside from their path they returned at a gallop to Quraysh. The apostle went as far as the pass of al-Murād and when his camel knelt and the men said, 'The camel won't get up,' he said: 'It has not refused and such is not its nature, but the One

who restrained the elephant from Mecca is keeping it back. Today whatever condition Quraysh make in which they ask me to show kindness to kindred I shall agree to.' Then he told the people to dismount. They objected that there was no water there by which they could halt, so he took an arrow from his quiver and gave it to one of his companions and he took it down into one of the waterholes and prodded the middle of it and the water rose until the men's camels were satisfied with drinking and lay down there.

One of the B. Aslam told me that the man who went into the hole with the apostle's arrow was Nājiya b. Jundub b. ‘Umayr b. Yāmar b. Dārīm b. 'Amr b. Wālīa b. Suhb b. Māzīn b. Salāmān b. Aslamā b. Asā b. Abū Ḥārah who drove the apostle's camels to sacrifice (748).

A traditionist alleged to me that al-Bārā'ī b. 'Abzī used to say that it was he who went down with the apostle's arrow, and God knows which it was.

The Aslam quoted verses from the lines which Nājiya made. We think that it was he who went down with the arrow. Aslam allege that a slave-girl of the Āṣār came up with her bucket while Nājiya was in the well supplying the people with water and said:

ō you down below, my bucket is here.
I can hear all our men who wish you good cheer.
Praising the one who draws water here (749)

Nājiya said as he was in the hole getting the water:

The Yamani slave-girl knows
That I'm Nājiya down below getting water.
Many a wide bloody wound I've made
In the breasts of advancing foes.

In his tradition al-Zuhri said: When the apostle had rested Budayl b. 'Warqā' al-Khuṣā’ī came to him with some men of Khūṣa’ī and asked him what he had come for. He told them that he had not come for war but to go on pilgrimage and venerate the sacred precincts. Then he said to them what he had said to Bishr b. Sufyān. Then they returned to Quraysh and 743 told them what they had heard; but they suspected them and spoke roughly to them. 'He may have come not wanting war but by Allah he shall never come in here against our will, nor shall the Arabs ever say that we have allowed it.'

Khūṣa’ī were the apostle's confidants, both their Muslims and their polytheists. They kept him informed of everything that happened in Mecca.

Then Quraysh sent Mākra b. Ḥāfṣ b. al-'Akhyaf brother of B. 'Amr b. Ju'āyy to him. When he saw him approaching the apostle said, 'This is a treacherous fellow!' When he came up and spoke to him the apostle gave him the same reply as he had given Budayl and his companions, and he returned and told the Quraysh what the apostle had said.

1 This passage and 744, line 5, imply that leopard skins were actually worn. The language in Ḥadīth 82. 13 and Māṣūf, 640. 6 appears to be figurative. For milch-camels some substitute 'women and children'.
2 A wadi about 8 miles from 'Usfān.
3 Hjina is said to mean 'take away our sins'. Cf. Sūras 2. 55 and 7. 161.
4 Hađīn here may be a place-name, but the place of this name in Yāqūt, R. 339 is much too far away from Mecca.
Then they sent to him al-Hulays b. 'Alqama or Ibn Zubban, who was at that time chief of the black troops, being one of B. al-Harith b. 'Abdu Manaf b. Kinana. When he saw him the apostle said, 'This is one of the devout people, so send the sacrificial animals to meet him so that he can see them! When he saw them going past him from the side of the wadi with their festive collars round their necks and how they had eaten their hair because they had been so long kept back from the place of sacrifice, he went back to Quraysh and did not come to the apostle, so greatly was he impressed by what he had seen. When he told them that, they said, 'Sit down! You are only a Medeouin, utterly ignorant.'

'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr told me that this enraged al-Hulays, who said: 'You men of Quraysh, it was not for this that we made an alliance and agreement with you. Is a man who comes to do honour to God's house to be excluded from it? By him who holds my life in his hand, either you let Muhammad do what he has come to do or I shall take away the black troops to the last man.' They said, 'Be quiet, Hulayl! until we obtain for ourselves acceptable terms.'

In his narrative al-Zuhri said: Then they sent 'Urwa b. Mas'ud al-Thaqafi to the apostle and he said: 'You men of Quraysh, I have seen the harshness and rude words with which you have received those you sent to Muhammad when they returned to you. You know that you are the father and I am the son—for 'Urwa was the son of Suwayh's d. 'Abdu Shams—heard of what befell you and I collected those of my people who believed; then I came to you to help you.' They agreed and said that they did not suspect him. So he came to the apostle and sat before him and said: 'Muhammad, have you collected a mixed people together and then brought them to your own people to destroy them? Quraysh have come out with their milk-camels clad in leopard skins swearing that you shall never enter Mecca by force. By God I think I see you deserted by these people (here) tomorrow.' Now Abū Bakr was sitting behind the apostle and he said, 'Suck al-Lat's nipples! Should we desert him?' He asked who had spoken, and when he heard it was Ibn Abū Quraysh he said, 'By Allah, did I not owe you a favour I would pay you back for that, but now we are quits.' Then he began to take hold of the apostle's beard as he talked to him. Al-Mughira b. Shu'ba was standing by the apostle's head clad in mail and he began to hit his hand as he held the apostle's beard saying, 'Take your hand away from the apostle's face before you lose it.' 'Urwa said, 'Confound you, how rough and rude you are!' The apostle smiled and when 'Urwa asked who was he was told him that it was his brother's son, al-Mughira b. Shu'ba and he said, 'O wretch, it was only yesterday that I washed your duty parts!' (750).

The apostle told him what he had told the others, namely that he had not come out for war. He got up from the apostle's presence having seen

1 It is just possible that asbūn is the pl. of nsbūn, a bitter sallow herb with thorns (hamdia). In that case it would support the rendering of wāmi on p. 744.

2 v.s.
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...ringing as he tried to hide himself from the men.' Then the apostle heard that the news about 'Uthmân was false (741).

THE ARMISTICE

Al-Zuhri said: Then Quraysh sent Subayh b. 'Amr brother of B. 'Amr b. Lu'ayy to the apostle with instructions to make peace with him on condition that he went back this year, so that none of the Arabs could say that he made a forcible entry. When the apostle saw him coming he said, 'The people want to make peace seeing that they have sent this man.' After a long discussion peace was made and nothing remained but to write an agreement. 'Umar jumped up and went to Abū Bakr saying, 'Is he not God's apostle, and are we not Muslims, and are they not polytheists?' to which Abū Bakr agreed, and he went on: 'Then why should we agree to what is demeaning to our religion?' He replied, 'Stick to what he says, for I testify that he is God's apostle.' 'Umar said, 'And so do I.' Then he went to the apostle and put the same questions to which the apostle answered, 'I am God's slave and His apostle. I will not go against His commandment and He will not make me the loser.' 'Umar used to say, 'I have not ceased giving alms and fasting and praying and freeing slaves because of what I did that day out of fear for what I had heard, when I hoped that (my plan) would be better.'

Then the apostle summoned 'Ali and told him to write 'In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful.' Subayh said 'I do not recognize this; but write 'In thy name, O Allah.' The apostle told him to write the latter; he did so. Then he said: Write 'This is what Muhammad, the apostle of God has agreed with Subayh b. 'Amr.' Subayh said, 'There is no God but Allah, the Redeemer! I have not been given the right to write your name and the name of your father.' The apostle said: Write 'This is what Muhammad b. Abdullah has agreed with Subayh b. 'Amr: they have agreed to lay aside war for ten years during which men can be safe and refrain from hostilities on condition that if anyone comes to Muhammad without the permission of his guardian he will return him to them; and if anyone of those with Muhammad comes to Quraysh they will not return him to him. We will not show enmity one to another and there shall be no secret reservation or bad faith. He who wishes to enter into a bond and agreement with Muhammad may do so and he who wishes to enter into a bond and agreement with Quraysh may do so.' Here Khirāb's leap up and said, 'We are in a bond and agreement with Muhammad!' and B. Bakr leap up and said the same with regard to Quraysh, adding 'You must retire from this year and not enter Mecca against our will, and next year we will make way for you and you can enter it with your companions, and stay there three nights. You may carry a rider's weapons, the swords in their sheaths. You can bring in nothing more.'

While the apostle and Subayh were writing the document, suddenly Abū Jandal b. Subayh appeared walking in fetters, having escaped to the apostle. The apostle's companions had gone out without any doubt of occupying Mecca because of the vision which the apostle had seen, and when they saw the negotiations for peace and a withdrawal going on and what the apostle had taken on himself they felt depressed almost to the point of death. When Subayh saw Abū Jandal he got up and hit him in the face and took hold of his collar, saying, 'Muhammad, the agreement between us was concluded before this man came to you.' He replied, 'You are right.' He began to pull him roughly by his collar and to drag him away to return him to Quraysh, while Abū Jandal shrieked at the top of his voice, 'Am I to be returned to the polytheists that they may entice me from my religion O Muslims?' and that increased the people's dejection. The apostle said, 'O Abū Jandal, be patient and control yourself, for God will provide relief and a means of escape for you and those of you who are helpless. We have made peace with them and we and they have invoked God in our agreement and we cannot deal falsely with them.' 'Umar jumped up and walked alongside Abū Jandal saying, 'Be patient for they are only polytheists; the blood of one of them is but the blood of a dog,' and he brought the hilt of his sword close up to him. 'Umar used to say, 'I hoped that he would take the sword and kill his father with it, but the man spared his father and so the matter ended.'

When the apostle had finished the document he summoned representatives of the Muslims and polytheists to witness to the peace, namely Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Abdul-rahamān b. 'Aun, Abdullah b. Subayh b. 'Amr, 749 and Sa'd b. Abū Waqṣās, Māmmūd b. Maslama, Mikraž b. Ḥaṣṣ who was a polytheist at the time, and 'Ali who was the writer of the document.

The apostle was encamped in the profane country, and he used to pray in the sacred area. When the peace was concluded he slaughtered his victims and sat down and shaved his head. I have heard that it was Khirāb b. 'UmAYyā b. al-Fāḍl al-Khuza'ī who shaved him then. When the men saw what the apostle had done they leap up and did the same.

'Abdullāh b. Abī Najīf from Mūjlīdī from Ibn 'Abbās, he said, 'Some men shaved their heads on the day of al-Hudaybiyya while others cut their hair.' The apostle said, 'May God have mercy on the shavers.' They said, 'The cutters, too, O apostle?' Three times they had to put this question until finally he added 'and the cutters.' When they asked him why he had repeatedly declined the invocation of God's mercy to the shavers he replied, 'Because they did not doubt.' The same authorities told me that the apostle sacrificed in the year of al-Hudaybiyya among his victims a camel belonging to Abī Jahl which had a silver nose-ring, thus enraged the polytheists.

Zuhri continued: The apostle then went on his way back and when he was half-way back the sārah al-ṣāfī came down: 'We have given you a plain victory that God may forgive you your past sin and the sin which is
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to come and may complete his favour upon you and guide you on an upright path.\(^1\) Then the account goes on about him and his companions until he comes to mention the oath of allegiance and He said: 'Those who swear allegiance to you really swear allegiance to God, the hand of God being above their hands; so he who breaks his oath breaks it to his own hurt; while he who is faithful to what he has covenanted with God, to him will He give a great reward.'

Then He mentioned the Bedouin who held back from him. Then He said when he urged them to take the field with him and they procrastinated, 'The Bedouin who were left behind will say to you: Our possessions and our families preoccupied us.' Then follows an account of them until the words 'Those who were left behind will say when you go out to capture spoil, Let us follow you, wishing to change what God has said. Say, You shall not follow us. Thus has God said beforehand.' Then follows an account of them and how it was explained to them that they must fight a people of great prowess.

Abdullah b. Abū Najih from `Ata' b. Abū Rabhā from Ibn `Abbas said (That means) Persia. One whom I do not suspect from al-Zuhri told me that 'a people of great prowess' meant Ḥanifa with the arch-fair.

Then He said: 'God was pleased with the believers when they swore allegiance to you under the tree and He knew what was in their hearts, and He sent down the Sakīnā upon them and rewarded them with a recent victory and much spoil which they will take. God is mighty, wise. God has promised you much spoil which you will capture and has given you this in advance, and kept men's hands from you, that it may be a sign to the believers and He that guide you on an upright path, and other (things) which you have not been able to get. God encompasses them, and God is almighty.'

Then He mentioned how He had kept him away from battle after the victory over them, meaning those He had kept from him. Then He said: 'He it is who has kept their hands from you and your hands from them in the vale of Mecca, after He had given you victory over them. God is a seer of what you do.' Then He said: 'They are those who disbelieved and debarred you from the sacred mosque and the offering from reaching its goal.'\(^2\) 'And had it not been for the believing men and women whom you did not know lest you should tread them under foot and thus incur guilt for them unwittingly,' Maqāra means 'a fine', i.e. lest you should suffer loss for them unwittingly and pay its bloodwit; as for real guilt he did not fear it on their account.\(^3\)

Then he said, 'When those who disbelieve had set in their hearts zealotry, the zealotry of paganism,' i.e. Suhayl b. `Amr when he scorned to write 'In the name of Allah the Compassionate the Merciful' and that Muhammad is God's apostle. Then He said 'God sent down His sakīnā upon His apostle and the believers and imposed on them the word of piety, for they were meet and worthy of it,' i.e. the declaration of God's unity, the witness that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is His slave and His apostle.

Then He said: 'God has fulfilled the vision to His apostle in truth. You shall enter the sacred mosque if God will, safely with heads shaved and hair cut short fearing not. For He knows what you do not know,' i.e. the vision which the apostle saw that he would enter Mecca safely without fear. He says 'with your heads shaved and hair cut short' along with him without fear, for He knows what you do not know of that, and more than that He has wrought a near victory, the peace of al-Hudaybiya.

No previous victory in Islam was greater than this. There was nothing but battle when men met; but when there was an armistice and war was abolished and men met in safety and consulted together none talked about Islam intelligently without entering it. In those two years double as many or more than double as many entered Islam as ever before.\(^4\)

\(^1\) Sūra 48.
\(^2\) This is (a) a genuine Arabic word meaning 'tranquillity', 'calm'; and (b) a borrowing from the Hebrew shekeli, possibly through the medium of Syriac. A summary of what has been said about it with a bibliography is given by A. Jeffery, Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurān, 174.
\(^3\) About six or seven miles from Medina.
\(^4\) Or, 'The firebrand.' Would that others had been with him!
Then Abu Basir went off until he halted at al-Iṣa in the region of Dhūl-Marwa by the sea-shore on the road which Quraysh were accustomed to take to Syria. The Muslims who were confined in Mecca heard what the apostle had said of Abū Basir so they went out to join him in Ḥila. About seventy men attached themselves to him, and they so harried Quraysh, killing everyone they could get hold of and cutting to pieces every caravan that passed them, that Quraysh wrote to the apostle begging him by the ties of kinsmanship to take these men in, for they had no use for them; so the apostle took them in and they came to him in Medina (755).

When Suhayl heard that Abū Basir had killed his 'Amir, what he learnt of the Ka'b and swore that he would not remove it until this man's blood was shed. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb said, 'By God, this is sheer folly. It will not be paid.' Three times he said it.

Mauhar b. Riyah Abū Unays, an ally of B. Zuhra, said (756):

A brief word from Suhayl reached me
And woke me from my sleep.
If you wish to reprove me
Then reprove me, for you are not far from me.
Would you threaten me when Abū Manāf is round me
With Makhrūm? Alas, whom are you attacking?
If you put to the test you will not find me
A weak supporter in grave misfortunes.
I am rival in birth the best of my people.
When the weak are ill-treated I protect them.
They defend the heights of Mecca without doubt.
As far as the valleys and the wadi sides
With every blood mare and fiery horse
Grown thin from long fighting,
Ma'add know they have in al-Khayf.
A pavilion of glory exalted high.

Abūl-Abdah b. al-Ziba'ārī answered him:

Mauhar has become like a poor donkey
Braying in a village as he passes through it.
A man like you cannot attack Suhayl,
Vain is your effort. Whom are you attacking?
Shut up, you son of a blacksmith,
And stop talking nonsense in the land.
Don't mention the blame of Abū Yazid.
There's a great difference between oceans and puddles.

5 A place in Minah

Umm Kalthūm d. 'Uqba b. Abī Mu'āyah migrated to the apostle during this period. Her two brothers 'Umār and al-Walid sons of 'Uqba came and asked the apostle to return her to them in accordance with the agreement between and Quraysh at Ḥudaybiyya, but he would not. God forbade it.

Al-Zuhri from 'Urwā b. al-Zubayr told me: I came in to him as he was writing a letter to Ibn Abī Hunayd, the friend of al-Walid b. Abūl-Malik who had written to ask him about the word of God: 'O you who believe, when believing women come to you as emigrants test them. God knows best about their faith. If you know that they are believers do not send them back to the unbelievers. They are not lawful to them nor vice versa. And give them (the unbelievers) what they have spent on them. It is no sin for you to marry them when you have given them their dower, and hold not to the ties of unbelieving women' (757). Ask for what you have spent and let them ask for what they have spent. That is the judgement of Allah who judges between you. God is a knower, wise.'

'Urwā b. al-Zubayr wrote to him: The apostle made peace with Quraysh on the day of Ḥudaybiyya on condition that he should return to them those who came without the permission of their guardians. But when women migrated to the apostle and to Islam God refused to allow them to be returned to the polytheists if they had been tested by the test of Islam, and they knew that they came only out of desire for Islam, and He ordered that their dowers should be returned to Quraysh if their women were withheld from them if they returned to the Muslims the dowers of the women they had withheld from them. 'That is the judgement of God which He judges between you, and Allah is knowing, wise.' So the apostle withheld the women and returned the men, and he asked what God ordered him to ask of the dowers of the women who were withheld from them, and that they should return what was due if the other side did the same. Had it not been for this judgement of God's the apostle would have returned the women as he returned the men. And had it not been for the armistice and covenant between them on the day of Ḥudaybiyya he would have kept the women and not returned the dowers, for that is what he used to do with the Muslim women who came to him before the covenant.

I asked al-Zuhri about this passage: 'And if any of your wives have gone to the unbelievers and you have your turn of triumph, then give those whose wives have gone the like of what they spent, and fear Allah in whom you believe.' He said, if one of you loses his family to the unbelievers and a woman does not come to you you may take for her the like of what they

1 Sūra 60. 10.
2 He was the principal authority on apostolic tradition. His father was a cousin of the prophet, his mother Asmū' was a daughter of Abū Bakr, and his brother was a candidate for the caliphate, and he was closely associated with 'Āisha, who was his aunt. He was born in
take from you, then commensurate them from any booty that you secure. When this verse came down, 'O you who believe when believing women come to you as emigrants,' as far as the words 'and hold not to the cords of disbelieving women' it referred to 'Umar's' divorcing his wife Qunya b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughira. Mu'āwiyah b. Abū Sufyān married her afterwards while they were both polytheists in Mecca; and Umm Kulthum the Khuzâ'īte woman d. Jarwal mother of Ubaydullāh b. 'Umar whose Abū Jahm b. Hudhayfah b. Gānim a man of 'Umar's people married while they both were polytheists (758).

THE EXPEDITION TO KHYBAR, A.H. 7

After his return from al-Hudaybiyya the apostle stayed in Medina during Dhu'l-Hijja and part of al-Muḥarram, the polytheists superintending the pilgrimage. Then he marched against Khybar (759). Muhammad b. Ibrāhim b. al-Hārith al-Taymiyy from Abūl-Haytham b. Nāsir b. Duhr al-Aslami from his father who said that he heard the apostle as he journeyed say to 'Amir b. al-Akwa' who was the uncle of Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa' who was named Sinān: 'Dismount, Ibn al-Akwa', and chant one of your camel-songs for us' so he got down and recited this rough rhyme:

But for Allah we should not have guided Nor given alms nor prayed. If people treat us unjustly And if they wish to seduce us we resist. Send down Sakīna upon us And make our feet firm when we meet our enemies.

The apostle said, 'May God have mercy on you!' 'Umar said, 'You have made his death inevitable, O apostle of God. Would that you had let us enjoy him longer.' He was killed at Khybar as a martyr. I have heard that his sword turned upon him as he was fighting and gave him such a grievous wound that he died of it. The Muslims were in doubt as to whether he died a martyr, saying that he had died by his own weapon. But his nephew Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa' asked the apostle about it, telling him what men were saying; and he said, 'Certainly he is a martyr,' and he and the Muslims prayed over him.

One whom I do not suspect told me from 'Ati'a b. Abū Marwān al-Aslami from his father from Abū Mu'attib b. 'Amr that when the apostle looked down on Khybar he told his companions, among whom I was one, to ston. Then he said:

'0 God, Lord of the heavens and what they overshadow And Lord of the lands and what they make to grow And Lord of the devils and what into error they throw And Lord of the winds and what they winnow,' 1, 1.3

We ask Thee for the good of this town and the good of its people and the good of what is in it, and we take refuge in Thee from its evil and the evil of its people and the evil that is in it. Forward in the name of Allah.' He used to say that of every town he entered.

One whom I do not suspect told me from Anas b. Mālik: When the apostle raided a people he waited until the morning. If he heard a call to prayer he held back; if he did not hear it he attacked. We came to Khybar by night, and the apostle passed the night there; and when morning came he did not hear the call to prayer, so he rode and we rode with him, and I rode behind Abū Tahla with my foot touching the apostle's foot. We met the workers of Khybar coming out in the morning with their spades and baskets. When they saw the apostle and the army they cried, 'Muhammad with his force,' and turned tail and fled. The apostle said, 'Allah akbar. Khybar is destroyed. When we arrive in a people's square it is a bad morning for those who have been warned.' Hārīn told us from Humayd from Anas similarly.

When the apostle marched from Medina to Khybar he went by way of 'Iraq, and a mosque was built for him there; then by way of al-Sabba'ī. Then he went forward with the army until he halted in a wadi called al-Raj', halting between the men of Khybar and Qatāf to keep the latter reinforcing Khybar, for they were on their side against the apostle. I have heard that when Qatāf heard about the apostle's attack on Khybar they gathered together and marched out to help the Jews against him; but after a day's journey, hearing a rumour about their property and families, they thought that they had been attacked during their absence, and they went back on their tracks and left the way to Khybar open to the apostle.

The apostle seized the property piece by piece and conquered the forts one by one as he came to them. The first to fall was the fort of Na'im; there Mahruḍ b. Mūsā was killed by a millstone which was thrown on him from it; then al-Qandās the fort of B. Abūl-Huqayq. The apostle took captives from them among whom was Sāfiya d. Huyayy b. Akhtāb who had been the wife of Khānīa b. al-Rahb b. Abūl-Huqayq, and two cousins of hers. The apostle chose Sāfiya for himself.

Diyha b. Khalifa al-Kalbi had asked the apostle for Sāfiya, and when he chose her for himself he gave her two cousins. The women of Khybar were distributed among the Muslims. The Muslims ate the meat of the domestic donkeys and the apostle got up and forbade the people to do a number of things which he enumerated.

'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. Damra al-Fazārī told me from 'Abdullah b. Abū Salt from his father: The apostle's prohibition of the flesh of domestic donkeys reached us as the pots were boiling with it, so we turned them upside down.

1 This is the usual meaning of asḥāb, but probably here a more general term is indicated: 'a call to get up work'.
2 A mountain between Medina and Wadi l-Furq.
3 An evening's journey from Khybar.
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‘Abdullah b. Abū Najib told me from Makhul that the apostle prohibited four things that day: carnal intercourse with pregnant women who were captured; eating the flesh of domestic donkeys; eating any carnivorous animal; and selling booty before it had been duly allotted.

Sallâm b. Kârikir told me from ‘Amr b. Dînâr from Jâbir b. ‘Abdullah al-Ansârî (Jâbir had not been present at Khaybar) that when the apostle forbade the flesh of donkeys he allowed them to eat horseflesh.

759 Yâsîd b. ‘Abd Habîb told me from Abu Marzaq client of Tujib from Hanash al-Ṣanî‘ânt: With Rûwâyyî b. Thâbit al-Ansârî we attacked the Maghribi; and one of its towns called Jirbât was conquered. A man arose as a preacher and said, ‘Let me tell you what I heard the apostle say on the day of Khaybar. He got up among us and said: ‘It is not lawful for a man who believes in Allah and the last day to mingle his seed with another man’s (meaning to approach carnally a pregnant woman among the captives), nor is it lawful for him to take her until he has made sure that she is in a state of cleanness; nor is it lawful for him to sell booty until it has been properly divided; nor is it lawful for him to ride an animal belonging to the booty of the Muslims with the intention of returning to the pool when he has worn it out; nor is it lawful for him to wear a garment belonging to the booty of the Muslims with the intention of returning it to the pool when he has reduced it to rags.’”

Yâsîd b. ‘Abdullah b. Quasît told me that he was told from Uthâba b. al-Ṣamî‘: On the day of Khaybar the apostle forbade us to buy or sell gold ore for gold coin or silver ore for silver coin. He said, ‘Buy gold ore with silver coin and silver ore with gold coin.’ Then the apostle began to take the forts and the property one by one.

‘Abdullah b. Abî Bakr told me that one of Aslam told him that B. Sahn of Aslam came to the apostle and complained that they had fought and got nothing and found nothing with the apostle which he could give them. He said: ‘O God. You know their condition and that they have no strength, and that I have nothing to give them, so conquer them for the wealthiest of the enemy’s forts with the richest food.’ The following day God conquered the fort of al-Sa‘îb b. Mu‘âdh which contained the richest food in Khaybar.

760 When the apostle had conquered some of their forts and got possession of some of their property he came to their two forts al-Watîb and al-Sullanîm, the last to be taken, and the apostle besieged them for some ten nights (760).

‘Abdullah b. Sahl b. ‘Abdu’ll-Rahmân b. Sahl, brother of B. Hârîtha, told me from Jâbir b. ‘Abdullah: Marîjah the Jew came out from their fort carrying his weapons and saying:

Khaybar knows that I am Marîjah,
An experienced warrior armed from head to foot,

1 An island near Qobîs.
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Qaysir, let not all the unbelievers deceive you,
For all of them are like a slowly moving mirage.

When the two met al-Zubayr killed Qaysir.

Hisham b. Umayr told me that it was said to al-Zubayr, ‘By God, you must have had a sharp sword that day,’ to which he replied that it was not sharp, but he used it with great force.

Burayda b. Sufyana b. Farwa al-Aslamî told me from his father Sufyana from Salama b. ‘Amr b. al-Akwa’: The Apostle sent Abû Bakr with a banner and the seal of the banner (762) against one of the forts of Khaybar. He fought but returned having suffered losses and not taken it. On the morrow they sent ‘Utib and the same thing happened. The Apostle said, ‘Tomorrow I will give the flag to a man who loves Allah and his Apostle. Allah will conquer it by his means; he is no runaway.’ So he called ‘Ali who was suffering from ophthalmia at the time and spat in his eye, saying, ‘Take this flag and go with it until God gives victory through you.’ So ‘Ali went off with it, gazing as he hurried, while we followed behind in his tracks until he stuck the flag in a pile of rocks under the fort. A Jew looked at him from the top of the fort and asked who he was, and when he told him he said, ‘You have won, by what was revealed to Moses!’ or words to that effect. He did not return until God had conquered by his hands.

‘Abdullâh b. al-Hasan told me from one of his family from Abû Bakr, freed slave of the Apostle: We went with ‘Ali when the Apostle sent him with his flag and when he got near the fort the garrison came out and he fought them. A Jew struck him so that his shield fell from his hand, so ‘Ali laid hold of a door of the fort and used it as a shield. He kept it in his hand as he fought until God gave victory, throwing it away when all was over. I can see myself with seven others trying tougg that door over, but we could not.

Burayda b. Sufyana al-Aslamî told me from one of B. Salama from Abîl-Yasser Ka‘b b. ‘Amr: We were with the Apostle one evening at Khaybar when along came some sheep belonging to a Jew, making for their fort while we were besieging them. The Apostle asked who would get this food for us and Abîl-Yasser volunteered to go. He said, ‘I went out running like an ostrich, and when the Apostle saw me coming back he said “O God, may we long enjoy him.” I had overtaken the flock as the first sheep entered the fort and I seized the two last and carried them off under my arms, bringing them back at a run as though I carried nothing until I cast them down before the Apostle. They were duly killed and eaten.’ Abîl-Yasser was the last of the Apostle’s companions to die. Whenever he told this story he used to weep, saying, ‘They did enjoy me a long time; indeed I am the last of them.’

When the Apostle had conquered al-Qamîs the fort of B. Abîl-Huqayq, Sâfiyâ d. Huqayq b. Akhî Tat was brought to him along with another woman.

Billâl who was bringing them led them past the Jews who were slain; and when the woman who was with Sâfiyâ saw them she shrieked and slapped her face and poured dust on her head. When the Apostle saw her he said, ‘Take this devil away from me.’ He gave orders that Sâfiyâ was to be put behind him and threw his mantle over her, so that the Muslims knew that he had chosen her for himself. I have heard that the Apostle said to Billâl when he saw this Jewess behaving in that way, ‘Had you no compassion, Billâl, when you brought two women past their dead husbands?’ Now Sâfiyâ had been seen in a dream when she was the wife of Kinânâ b. al-Rabi’ b. Abîl-Huqayq that the moon would fall into her lap. When she told her husband he said, ‘This simply means that you covet the king of the Hijaz, Muhammad.’ He gave her such a blow in the face that he blackened her eye. When she was brought to the Apostle the mark was still there, and when he asked the cause of it he told him this story.

The Rest of the Affair of Khaybar

Kinânâ b. al-Rabi’, who had the custody of the treasure of B. al-Nadîr, was brought to the Apostle who asked him about it. He denied that he knew where it was. A Jew came (T. was brought) to the Apostle and said that he had seen Kinânâ going round a certain ruin every morning early. When the Apostle asked Kinânâ, ‘Do you know that if we find you have it I shall kill you?’ he said ‘Yes. The Apostle gave orders that the ruin was to be excavated and some of the treasure was found. When he asked them about the rest he refused to produce it, so the Apostle gave orders to al-Zubayr b. al-Huwâ, ‘Torture him until you extract what he has,’ so he kindled a fire with flint and steel on his chest until he was nearly dead. Then the Apostle delivered him to Muhammad b. Maslama and he struck off his head, in revenge for his brother Mahmûd.

* The Apostle besieged the people of Khaybar in their two forts al-Wâfiq and al-Sulâm until when they could hold out no longer they asked him to let them go and spare their lives, and he did so. Now the Apostle had taken possession of all their property—al-Shaqqî, Naṯâ, and al-Katîba and all their forts—except what appertained to these two. * When the people of Fadak heard of what had happened they sent to the Apostle asking him to let them go and spare their lives and they would leave him their property, and he did so. The one who acted as intermediary was Muhayyâ b. Mas‘ûd, brother of B. Harîthah. * When the people of Khaybar surrendered on these conditions they asked the Apostle to employ them on the property with half share in the produce, saying, ‘We know more about it than you and we are better farmers.’ The Apostle agreed to this arrangement on the condition that ‘if we wish to expel you we will expel you.’ He made a similar arrangement with the people of Fadak. So Khaybar became

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1. ‘Ali as an oath when he says ‘almaran.


the preyer of the Muslims, while Fadak was the personal property of the apostle because they had not driven horses or camels against it.1

When the apostle had rested Zaynab d. al-Harith, the wife of Sallām b. Mishkam prepared for him a roast lamb, having first inquired what joint he preferred. When she learned that it was the shoulder she put a lot of poison in it and poisoned the whole lamb. Then she brought it in and placed it before him. He took hold of the shoulder and chewed a nodule of it, but he did not swallow it. Bishr b. al-Bara’ b. Ma‘rūr who was with him took some of it as the apostle had done, but he swallowed it, while the apostle spat it out, saying, 'This bone tells me that it is poisoned.' Then he called for the woman and she confessed, and when he asked her what had induced her to do this she answered: 'You know what you have done to my people. I said to myself, If he is a king I shall ease myself of him and if he is a prophet he will be informed of what I have done.' So the apostle let her off. Bishr died from what he had eaten.

Marwān b. 'Uthmān b. Abī Sa‘id b. al-Mu‘allā told me: The apostle had said in his illness of which he was to die when Umm Bishr d. al-Bara’ came to visit him, 'O Umm Bishr, this is the time in which I feel a deadly pain from what I ate with your brother at Khaybar.' The Muslims considered that the apostle died as a martyr in the prophetic office with which God had honoured him.

Having finished with Khaybar, the apostle went to Wādīl-Qurā and besieged its people for some nights, then he left to return to Medina.

Thaur b. Zayd told me from Sālim, freed slave of 'Abdullah b. Mu‘tī from Abū Hurayra, who said: When we left Khaybar to go to Wādīl-Qurā with the apostle we halted there in the evening as the sun was setting. The apostle had a slave which Rīfā’ī b. Zayd al-Judhami, of the clan al-Dubayhī, had given him (763). He was laying down the apostle’s saddle when suddenly a random arrow hit him and killed him. We congratulated him on paradise, but the apostle said, 'Certainly not. His cloak is even now burning on him in Hell. He had surreptitiously stolen it on the day of Khaybar from the spoil of the Muslims.' One of his companions heard this and came to him saying, 'I took two sandal thongs.' He said, 'Two thongs of fire will be cut for you like them.'

I do not suspect told me from ‘Abdullah b. Mughaffal al-Muzami: 'I took a bag of lard from the booty of Khaybar and carried it off on my shoulder to my companions, when the man who had been put over the spoil met me and laid hold of the end of it, saying, 'He! This we must divide among the Muslims.' I said that I would not give him it and he began to try and pull the bag away from me. The apostle saw what was happening and laughed. Then he said to the officer in charge of the spoil 'Let him have it, confound you,' so he let go of it and I went off to my companions and ate it.'

When the apostle married Ṣafīya in Khaybar or on the way, she having

1 Cf. Būra 17, 66, i.e., captured it by force of arms

been beautified an hour be, and set at horse the apostle in Umm Solaym d. Mūtālah, mother of Ṣafīa b. Mu‘thi. The apostle passed the night with her in a tent of hers. Abī Ayyār b. Khalīl b. Zayd b. b. B. al-Najjar passed the night with his sword, guarding the apostle and going round the tent until in the morning the apostle saw him there and asked him what he meant by his action. He replied, 'I was afraid for you with this woman for you have killed her father, her husband, and her people, and till recently she was in unbelief, so I was afraid for you on her account.' They allege that the apostle said 'O God, preserve Abū Ayyār as he spent the night preserving me.'

Al-Zuhri told me from Sa‘id b. al-Munayyad: When the apostle left Khaybar and was on the way in the evening he said towards the end of the night: 'Who will watch over us till the dawn so that we may sleep?' Bilāl volunteered to do so, so all lay down and slept. Bilāl got up and prayed as long as God willed that he should; then he propped himself against his camel, and there was the dawn as he was looking at it, and his eyes were heavy and he slept. The first thing to wake the others was the feel of the sun. The apostle was the first to wake up and asked Bilāl what he had done to them. He said that the same thing had happened to him as had happened to the apostle, and he admitted that he was right. Then the apostle let himself be taken a short distance; then he made his camel kneel, and he and the men performed their ablutions. Then he ordered Bilāl to call to prayer, and the apostle led them in prayer. Having finished he went to them and said. 'If you forget your prayers, pray them when you remember them, for God has said, 'Perform prayer for My remembrance.''

I have heard that the apostle gave Ibn Luqaym al-‘Abdal the hens and domestic animals which were in Khaybar. The conquest took place in Ṣafar. Ibn Luqaym said:

Nātā was stormed by the apostle’s squadron
Fuly armed, powerful, and strong
It was certain of humiliation when it was split up
With the men of Aslam and Ghiyār in its midst.
They attacked B. ‘Amr b. Zur’ā in the morning
And Shaqq’s people met a day of gloom.
They trailed their cloaks in their plains
And left only hens cackling among the trees.1
Every for had a man of ‘Abdul-‘Ashhāl or B. al-Najjār
Busy with their horses,
And Emigrants who had displayed their badges
Above their helms, never thinking of flight.
I knew that Muhammad would conquer
And would stay there many Safaras.

1 Sūra 20, 14.
2 W.’s reading ‘They made the cocks run’ may be right.
3 C. as hūr.
The Jews in the fighting that day
Open their eyes in the dust (764).

Some Muslim women were with the apostle at Khaybar, and the apostle allowed them a small portion of the booty. He did not give them a definite share.

768 Sulaymân b. Suhaym told me from Umayyâ b. Abû'l-Salt from a woman of B. Ghiyâr whom he named to me: She said, 'I came to the apostle with some women of B. Ghiyâr and we told the apostle, as he was going to Khaybar, that we wanted to go with him where he went, to tend the wounded and to help the Muslims as far as we could. He told us to go with God's blessing, and so we went with him. I was a young girl and the apostle took me on the back of his saddle. When the apostle dismounted for morning prayer and I got off the back of his saddle, lo, some of my blood was on it. It was the first time that this had happened to me. I rushed to the camel in my shame. When the apostle saw my distress and the blood he guessed the reason and told me to cleanse myself; then to take water and put some salt in it, and then to wash the back of the saddle and go back to my mount.'

She added: 'When the apostle conquered Khaybar he gave us a small part of the booty. He took this necklace which you see on my neck and gave it to me and hung it round my neck with his own hand, and by God it will never leave me.' It was on her neck until she died when she gave instructions that it was to be buried with her. She never cleansed herself but she put salt in the purifying water, and gave instructions that it should he put in the water with which she was washed when she was dead.


Of those who found martyrdom at Khaybar according to what Ibn Shihîb al-Zuhî said was Masûd b. Rabî'a, an ally of B. Zukhrâ from al-Qira', and from the Ansâr of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, Aus b. Qattâda.

1 The glassy eyes of the dead are meant. The reading 'umâ 'ima l-unyâr with farra' understood as 'fard' seems much inferior.
They disliked the thought of death and so their preserve became a spoil.
And they behaved like miserable cowards.
Would they flee from death?
The death of the starved is not seemly.

Hassān also said, excusing Ayman b. Umm Ayman b. 'Ubayd who had stayed behind from Khaybar (he was of B. 'Auf b. al-Khaṣṣāj. His mother Umm Ayman was a freed slave of the apostle, the mother of Usāma b. Zayd who was thus brother to Ayman by his mother):

At the time when Ayman's mother said to him:
You are a coward and were not the horsemen of Khaybar
Ayman was no coward, but his horse
Was sick from drinking fermented barley-water.
Had it not been for the state of his horse
He would have fought with them as a horseman with his right hand.
What stopped him was the behaviour of his horse
And what had happened to it seemed to him more serious (768).

Nājiya b. Jundub al-Aslāmi said
O servants of Allah, why do you prize
What is nothing but food and drink
When Paradise has amazing joy?
He also said:
I am Ibn Jundubah to one who did not know me.
How many an adversary when I charged turned as he
He perished in the feeding-place of vultures and jackals (769).

THE ACCOUNT OF THE DIVISION OF THE SPOIL OF KHAYBAR

When the spoil of Khaybar was divided, al-Shaqq and Nadā fell to the Muslims while al-Kāṭiba was divided into five sections: God's fifth; the prophet's share (T. fifth); the share of kindred, orphans, the poor (T. and T. 1588 wayfarers); maintenance of the prophet's wives; and maintenance of the men who acted as intermediaries in the peace negotiations with the men of Fadak. To Muhayyisā, who was one of these men, the apostle gave thirty loads of barley and thirty loads of dates. Khaybar was apportioned among the men of al-Hudaybiya without regard to whether they were present at Khaybar or not. Only Jābir b. 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. Harām was absent and the apostle gave him the same share as the others. Two wadis, al-Surayr and Khāss, formed the territory into which Khaybar was divided. Nadā and al-Shaqq formed 18 shares of which Nadā formed 5 and al-Shaqq 13. These two places were divided into 1,800 shares.
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The number of the companions among whom Khuwayl was divided was 3,800, with shares for horse and foot; 1,400 men and 200 horses; every horse got two shares and his rider one; every footman got one share. There was a chief over every allotment for every 100 men, i.e. 18 blocks of shares (770).

The chiefs were 'Ali, al-Zubayr, abu al-'Awwâm; Talha abu 'Ubaydullah; 'Umar; abu'l-Rahmân; 'Abd al-Adî; Usayd al-Hudayr. Then the share of al-Hârith b. al-Khaizar; then the share in Nâ'im; then the share of B. Bayyâd, B. 'Ubayy, B. Harâm of B. Salâma, and 'Ubayy of the shares' (771); Sâ'da, Ghifîr and Aslam, al-Najîr, Harîthah, and Asâd.

The first lot in Nâ'im fell to al-Zubayr, namely al-Khaizar; and the same followed it; the second to B. Bayyâd; the third to Usayd; the fourth to B. al-Hârithah; the fifth in Nâ'im to B. 'Auf b. al-Khaizar and Murayna and their partners. In it Muhmmad b. Maslama was killed. So much for Nâ'im.

Then they went down to al-Shaqqar: the first lot fell to 'Asîm b. 'Adî brother of M. al-Âjîmân; and with it the apostle's share; then the shares of 'Abdu'l-Rahmân, Sâ'da, al-Najîr, 'Ali, Talha, Ghifîr and Aslam, 'Umar, Salama b. 'Ubayd and B. Harâm, Harîthah, 'Ubayy of the shares; then the share of Usayd which was the share of al-Lâfît to which Juhayna and the rest of the Arabs who were at Khaybar was joined; opposite the apostle's share which he got with 'Abdul's share.4

Then the apostle distributed all-Katib which is Wadi Khâṣ between his kindred and wives and to other men and women. He gave his daughter Fatima 200 loads; 'Ali 200; Usâma b. Zayd 200 and 50 loads of dates; 'Alisha 200; Abu Bakr 100; 'Abqîl b. Abû Talib 140; B. Jahar 50; Rabî b. al-Hârith 100; al-Sâl b. Makhrama and his two sons 100, 40 of them for al-Sâl himself; Abû Nabiqa 50; Rukhâna b. 'Abdu Yazid 50; Qays b. Makhrama 30; his brother Abûl-Qasim 40; the daughters of 'Ubaydah b. al-Hârith and the daughter of al-Husayn b. al-Hârith 100; B. 'Ubayd b. 'Abdu Yazid 60; Ibn Aus b. Makhrama 30; Miqâsh b. Utbah and Ibn Ilyas 50; Umm Rumaythah 40; Nu'am b. Hûd 30; Buhayna d. al-Hârith 30; Umayr b. 'Abdu Yazid 30; Umm Hakâm d. al-Zubayr b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalbîh 30; Junâma d. Abu Talib 30; I. al-Arqam 50; 'Abdu'l-Rahmân b. Abu Bakr 40; Hamma d. Jahsh 30; Umm-'Abdul-Zubayr 40; Dubâ'a d. al-Zubayr 40; I. Abû Khunaysah 30; Umm Talib 40; Abû 'Abdâ 20; Numâyla al-Khaizar 50; 'Abdullah b. Wahhâb and his two daughters 20 of which 40 were

1 This complicated and unsystematic account can be understood thus: the 18,000 shares were divided into 18 which were allotted (a) to the chief distributors, viz. 'Ali, al-Zubayr, Talha, 'Umar, 'Abdu'l-Rahmân, 'Abd al-Adî and Usayd; (b) to tribal 'shareholders', viz. al-Hârith b. al-Khaizar, B. Bâyyâd, B. 'Ubayy, B. Harâm, Sâ'da, B. Ghifîr and Aslam, B. al-Najîr, B. Harîthah, B. Asâd, and other elements (c) by the name of the property itself, Nâ'im; (d) by the name of the owner 'Ubayd, who bought up the shares. Total 18

for his two sons; Umm Habid b. Jahsh 30; Malik b. Abd 30; and to his own wife 700 (772).

In the Name of Allah the Compassionate the Merciful. A memorandum of what Muhammad the apostle of Allah gave his wives from the wheat of Khaybar. He distributed to them 126 loads. He gave his daughter Fatima 85, Ummâna b. Zayd 40, al-Miqâsh b. al-Awsat 15, Umm Rumaythah 5. 'Utub b. Afân was witness and 'Abbâs wrote the document.

'Sâlih b. Raysân told me from Ibn Shâhâb al-Zuhri from 'Ubaydullah b. 'Abdullah b. Uba b. Mâsîd: The only dispositions that the apostle made at his death were three: He bequeathed to the Râhâwân land which produced a hundred loads in Khaybar, to the Dâiyûn, to the Sâbab, and the Ashârâ the same. He also gave instructions that the mission of Ummâna b. Zayd b. Harîthah should be carried through and that two religions should not be allowed to remain in the peninsula of the Arabs.

THE AFFAIR OF FADAK

When the apostle had finished with Khaybar, God struck terror to the hearts of the men of Fadak when they heard what the apostle had done to the men of Khaybar. They sent to him an offer of peace on condition that they should keep half of their produce. Their messengers came to him in Khaybar or on the road; or after he came to Medina, and he accepted their terms. Thus Fadak became his private property, because it had not been 777 attacked by horse or camel.4

THE NAMES OF THE DÂRIYûN

They were B. al-Dîr b. Hâni' b. Habîb b. Numâra b. Lakhm who had come to the apostle from Syria, namely, Tamûn b. Asw and Nu'aym his brother, Yazid b. Qays, and 'Arâfa b. Malîk whom the apostle named 'Abdu'l-Rahmân (772), and his brother Murmar b. Malîk, and Fâhîs b. Numâna, Jabra b. Malîk, and Abû Hind b. Bâr and his brother al-Târiyûn whom the apostle named 'Abdallah.

According to what 'Abdallah b. Abu Bakr told me the apostle used to send to Khaybar 'Abdallah b. Rawâha to act as assessor between the Muslims and the Jews. When he made his assessment they would say, 'You have wronged us,' and he would say, 'If you wish it is yours and if you like it is ours,' and the Jews would say, 'On this (foundation) Heaven and earth stand.' But 'Abdallah acted as assessor for one year only before he was
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killed at Mu'ta. After him Jabbar b. Sakhr b. Umayya b. Khansa' brother of B. Salma took over the work. All went well and the Muslims found no fault in their behaviour until they attacked 'Abdullah b. Sahl brother of B. Haritha and killed him in violation of their agreement with the apostle, and the apostle and the Muslims suspected them on that account.

Al-Zubayr and Bushayr b. Yasar told me from Sahl b. Abu Hathama: 'Abdullah b. Sahl was killed in Khaybar. He had gone there with friends of his to take away the dates and was found in a pool with his neck broken, having been thrown there. So they took him and buried him and then came to the apostle and told him about the affair. His brother 'Abdu'l-Rahman came to him accompanied by his two cousins Huwayyi'a and Muhaqiqa the son of Mas'ud. Now 'Abdu'l-Rahman was the youngest of them and the avenger of blood and a prominent man among his people and when he spoke before his two cousins the apostle said, 'The eldest first, the elder first' (774) and he became silent. The two cousins then spoke and he after them. They told the apostle of the killing of their relative and he said, 'Can you name the killer, then swear fifty oaths against him that we should deliver him up to you?' They said that they could not swear to what they did not know. He said, 'If they swear fifty oaths that they did not kill him and do not know the slayer, will they be free from the guilt of his blood?' They answered, 'We cannot accept the oaths of Jews. Their insincerity is so great that they would swear falsely.' The apostle paid the bloodwit of a hundred she-camels from his own property. Sahl said, 'By Allah, I shall not forget a young red camel which I kicked as I was leading her.'

Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. al-Harith al-Taymi told me from 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. Bujays b. Qaysi brother of B. Haritha. Muhammad b. Ibrahim said: 'By God, Sahl did not know more than he, but he was the elder. He said to him, 'By Allah, the affair was not thus but Sahl misunderstood. The apostle did not say 'Swear to something you have no knowledge of,' but he wrote to the Jews of Khaybar when the Ansar spoke to him: 'A dead man has been found among your dwellings. Pay his blood-wit.' The Jews wrote back swearing by Allah that they had not killed him and did not know who had, so the apostle paid the blood-money.'

'Amr b. Shu'ayb told me the same story as 'Abdu'l-Rahman except that he said, 'Pay the blood-money or be prepared for war.'

I asked Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri, 'How was it that the apostle gave the Jews of Khaybar their palms when they gave them on a tax basis? Did he assign to them until he was taken or did he give them some other necessary reason?' He told me that the apostle took Khaybar by force after fighting and Khaybar was part of what God gave to him as booty. The apostle divided it into five parts and distributed it among the Muslims, and after the fighting the population surrendered on condition that they should migrate. The apostle called them and said that if they wished he would let them have the property on condition that they worked it and the produce was equally divided between both parties and he would leave them there as long as God let them stay. They accepted the terms and used it to work the property on those conditions. The apostle used to send 'Abdullah b. Rawaha and he would divide the produce and make a just assessment. When God took away His prophet, Abu Bakr continued the arrangement until his death, and so did 'Umar for the beginning of his amirate. Then he heard that the apostle had said in his last illness, 'Two religions shall not remain together in the peninsula of the Arabs' and he made inquiries until he got confirmation. Then he sent to the Jews saying, 'God has given permission for you to emigrate,' quoting the apostle's words. 'If anyone has an agreement with the apostle let him bring it to me and I will carry it out; he who has no such agreement let him get ready to emigrate.' Thus 'Umar expelled those who had no agreement with the apostle.

Naafi' client of 'Abdullah b. 'Umar told me from 'Abdullah b. 'Umar: With al-Zubayr and al-Miqdad b. al-Aswad I went out to our property in Khaybar to inspect it, and when we got there we separated to see to our individual affairs. In the night I was attacked as I was asleep on my bed and my arms were dislocated at the elbows. In the morning I called my companions to my aid and when they came and asked me who had done this I had to say that I did not know. They reset my arms and then took me to 'Umar who said, 'This is the work of the Jews.' Then he got up and addressed those present saying that the apostle had arranged with the Jews of Khaybar that we could expel them if we wished; that they had attacked 'Abdullah b. 'Umar and dislocated his arms, as they had heard, in addition to their attack on the Ansar previously. There was no doubt that they were the authors of these outrages because there was no other enemy on the spot. Therefore if anyone had property in Khaybar he should go to it, for he was on the point of expelling the Jews. And he did expel them.

'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me from 'Abdullah b. Makna' brother of B. Haritha: When 'Umar expelled the Jews from Khaybar he rode with the Muhaqiqin and Ansar and Jabbar b. Sakhr b. Umayya b. Khansa' brother of B. Salma who was the advisor and accountant of the Medinans and Yazid b. Thabit, and these two divided Khaybar among its owners according to the original agreement of the lot.

'Umar divided Wadi'l-Qura into shares: one each to 'Uthman, 'Abdul-
They obeyed the commands of women concerning us
And assisted the very enemies we were fighting.

Khalid answered him and said:
I do not insult my brother's honour since he is my brother
Though he does not refrain from evil words.
When affairs went ill with him there,
'Would that a man dead in Ṣurayba would rise from the grave!
Leave the dead in peace, for he has gone his way,
And deal with the man at hand who has more need of you.

And Mu'ayyib b. Abū Fātimah who became 'Umar's guardian of the public purse; he belonged to the family of Sa'id b. al-As; and Abū Mūṣā al-Aṣh'arī 'Abdullah b. Qays, an ally of the family of 'Utbah b. Rab'ī'a b. 'Abdu Shams. 4.


From B. 'Abdull-Dārī: Jahm b. Qays with his two sons Hararah and Khuwayma. His wife Umm Harrah d. 'Abdull-Aswad (she died in Abyssinia) with her two children. 1.


From B. 'Adī b. Ka'b: Ma'inār b. 'Abdullāh. 1.

From B. 'Amīr: Abī Ĥāthib b. 'Amr; Mālik b. Rab'ī'a with his wife 'Ammār d. al-Sa'dī b. Waqīlān. 2.


The widows of those who had died in Abyssinia were also brought in the two boats.

The total number of the men whom the Negus sent in the two boats with 'Amr b. Umayya was 16.

Of those who migrated to Abyssinia and did not return until after Badd and the Negus did not send in the two boats to the apostle; and those who came afterwards and those who died in Abyssinia were.

From B. Umayya b. Abī Shams: 'Abaydullāh b. Jahsh, an ally from Asad of Khuwashah with his wife Umm Ḥabibah d. Abū Sufyān and his daughter Ḥabibah from whom Abū Sufyān's daughter got her kinsman, her own name being Ramla. 'Abaydullāh had migrated with the Muslims, but when he got to Abyssinia he turned Christian and died there as such having abandoned Islam. The apostle afterwards married his wife.

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr from 'Urwa told me about Abaydullāh's turning Christian and said: When he passed by the apostle's companions he used to say, 'Our eyes are opened but yours veiled,' i.e.

The RETURN OF THOSE WHO HAD MIGRATED TO ABBYSINIA (778)

These are the names of the prophet's companions who stayed in Abyssinia until he sent 'Amr b. Umayya al-Dāmiri to the Negus to fetch them back in two boats and who ultimately rejoined him in Khaybar after al-Hudaybiya:

From B. Hāshim: Ja'far b. Abī 'Alīb with his wife Assāma d. 'Umayya; and his son 'Abdullah who was born to him in Abyssinia. Ja'far was killed at Mu'ta in Syria when acting as the apostle's amir. 1 man.

From B. 'Abdull Shams: Khalīl b. Sa'id b. Al-Āṣ b. Umayya with his wife Umayya d. Khalīf b. Assād (779); his two children Sa'īd and Ama begotten in Abyssinia (Khalīl was killed at Marj al-Sufar in the caliphate of Abū Bakr); his brother 'Amr whose wife Fātimah d. 'Abdullāh b. Umayya b. Muḥarrūt al-Kinātah, died in Abyssinia ('Amr was killed at Ajnāḍayn in Syria during the caliphate of Abū Bakr).

With reference to 'Amr b. Sa'id his father Sa'id b. Al-Āṣ b. Umayya Abū Ubayyāh said:

O 'Amr, I wish that I knew about you whether
When you carry arms when your arms have grown strong
Will you leave your people's affairs in such disorder
As will disclose the rage they retain in their breasts?

With reference to 'Amr and Khalīl, their brother Abīn said when the former had become Muslims, and their father Sa'id had died in al-Ṣurayba in the region of Ta'if:

Would that a dead man in Surayba could see
What 'Amr and Khalīl are falsely introducing into religion!

1 The genealogies I have drastically shortened. Full details have already been given.
2 A place in Damascus.
We can see clearly but you are only trying to see; you can’t yet see clearly, the metaphor being taken from a puppy who tries to open its eyes and flutters them before he can do so, i.e. We have opened our eyes and we see, but you have not opened your eyes to see though you are trying to do so.

And Qays b. 'Abdullah of B. Asad b. Khuzayma who was father of Umayya d. Qays who was with Umm Habiba, and his wife Baraka d. Yasir, the freed slave of Abu Suffyan. They were the two foster-mothers of 'Abaydulluh b. Jahlsh and Umm Habiba d. Abu Suffyan. They took them with them when he migrated to Abyssinia. 2 men.

From B. Asad b. 'Abdul- Uzzah: Yezid b. Zama who was killed a martyr with the apostle at Hunayn; and 'Amr b. Umayya b. al-Harith who died in Abyssinia. 2 men.

From B. 'Abdu'l-Dar: Abu'l-Rum b. Umayr and Firras b. al-Nadr. 2

From B. Zuhra b. Kilab: Al-Mutallib b. Azhar with his wife Ramla d. Abu 'Aul b. Dubayra who died in Abyssinia. She bore him there 'Abdullah b. al-Mutallib. It was said that he was the first man in Islam to inherit his father's property.

From B. Taym b. Murra: 'Amr b. 'Uthman who was killed at Qadisiyya with Sa'd b. Abu Waqqas. 1.

From B. Makrani b. Yaqara: Habib b. Suffyan b. 'Abdul-l-Asad killed at Ajnadayn in Abu Bakr's caliphate; and his brother 'Abdullah killed in the year of al-Yarmuk in 'Umar's caliphate. (There is doubt as to whether he was killed there or not); and Hisab b. Abu Hudayya. 3.

From B. Jumah b. 'Amr: Hishab b. al-Harith and his two sons Muhammad and al-Harith with his wife Fatima d. al-Mujallal. Hishab died in Abyssinia as a Muslim and his wife and his two sons came in one of the boats; and his brother Hishab with his wife Fukayda d. Yasar. He died there as a Muslim and his wife Fukayda came in one of the boats; and Suffyan b. Ma'mar b. Hishab and his two sons Junada and Jahir with their mother Hanaa, and their half-brother by their mother Shahib b. Husana. Suffyan and his two sons Junada and Jahir died in the caliphate of 'Umar. 6.

From B. Sahm b. 'Amr: 'Abdullah b. al-Harith who died in Abyssinia; and Qays b. Hudhafa; and Abu Qays b. al-Harith who was killed at al-Yamama in the caliphate of Abu Bakr; and 'Abdullah b. Hudhafa who was the apostle's envoy to Cheorosoe; and al-Harith b. al-Harith b. Qays; and Ma'mar b. al-Harith and Bishr b. al-Harith and a son of his mother from B. Tamim called Sa'id b. 'Amr who was killed at Ajnadayn in the caliphate of Abu Bakr; and Sa'id b. al-Harith who was killed in the year of al-Yarmuk in the caliphate of 'Umar; and al-Sa'id b. al-Harith who was wounded at al-Tariif with the apostle and killed in the battle of Fihl; in the caliphate of 'Umar—others say in the fight at Khaybar; and 'Umayr b. Ri'ab who was killed at 'Ayn al-Tamir with Khalid b. al-Walid when he came from al-Yamama in the caliphate of Abu Bakr. 11 men

From B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b; 'Urwa b. 'Abd()Ullah Uzzah who died in Abyssinia; and 'Adiy b. Nadla who also died there. 2.

'Adiy had a son called al-Nu'man who returned with the Muslims. In the caliphate of 'Umar he was put over Maysan in the district of Basra. He composed some verses:

Anast al-Hasni heard that her husband in Maysan
Is drinking from glasses and jars?
If I wished, the chief men of the city would sing to me
And dancing-girls pirouette on tiptoe.
If you're my friend, give me a drink in the largest cup,
Don't give me the smallest half broken!
Perhaps the commander of the faithful will take it amiss
That we're drinking together in a tumble-down castle!

When 'Umar heard of these verses he said: 'He's right, by God, I do take it amiss. Anyone who sees him can tell him that I have deposed him.' After his deposition he came to 'Umar and pleaded that he had never acted in the way that his verses implied, but that he was a poet who wrote in their exaggerated way. 'Umar replied that as long as he lived he would never act as his governor after having used such words.

From B. 'Amr b. Ghailib: Sa'd b. 'Amr who was the apostle's envoy to Hudaib b. al-Hana'i in al-Yamama. 1.

From B. al-Harith b. Fihr: 'Uthman b. 'Abdu Ghannam; and Sa'd b. 'Abdu Qays; and 'Tyab b. Zuhayr. 3.

The total number of those who were not at Badr and did not come to the apostle in Mecca, and those who came afterwards, and those whom the 787 Negus did not send in the two boats was 34 men.

The names of those who died in Abyssinia and their children were:


From B. Jumah: Hishab b. al-Harith and his brother Hishab.

From B. Sahm b. 'Amr: 'Abdullah b. al-Harith.


The total number of women who migrated to Abyssinia, those who came back and those who died there was 16 women besides their daughters whom they bore there who came back and who died there and who went along with them:

From Quraysh of B. Hashim: Ruqayya d. of the apostle.

From B. Umayya: Umm Habiba d. Abu Suffyan with her daughter Habiba. She took her with her from Mecca and they returned together.

From B. Makzumuz: Umm Salama d. Abu Umayya. She brought back her daughter Zaynab whom she bore there.

2 In Syria. Cf. Yaq. 853

1 Or 'the beauty'.

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From B. Taym b. Murra: Rayfa d. al-Hārith b. Jubayla who died on the journey and her two daughters 'A‘isha and Zaynab by al-Hārith born in Abyssinia. They all, together with their brother Mūsā b. al-Hārith, died on the journey from drinking foul water. Only her daughter Fāṭima, born there, survived to return.

From B. Sahm b. 'Amr: Ramla d. Abū 'Auf b. 'Dubayra.


From B. 'Amir b. Lau‘ayy: Sūdā d. Zama‘a b. Qays; and Sahla d. Suhayl b. 'Amr and his daughter al-Mujallal; and 'Amra d. al-Sa‘dī b. Waqdān; and Umm Kulthūm d. Suhayl b. 'Amr.

From distant Arab tribes: Asnād d. 'Umay b. al-Nu‘mān al-Khaṭṭābīyya; and Fāṭima d. Sāfīnā b. Umayy b. Muẓarrīth al-Kinānīyya; and Fukayha d. Yasrūr; and Barakā d. Yasīr; and Hasana Umm Shurahbīl b. Hasana.

These are the names of the children who were born to them in Abyssinia:


From B. 'Abd al-Shams: Muhammad b. Abū Ḥudhayfah; and Sa‘d b. Khālid b. Sa‘īd and his sister Ama.


From B. Taym: Mūsā b. al-Hārith b. Khālid and his sisters 'A‘isha and Fāṭima and Zaynab. 5 boys and 5 girls.

THE Fulfilled Pilgrimage; A.H. 7

When the apostle returned from Khaybar to Medina he stayed there from the first Rābi‘ until Shawwāl, sending out raiding parties and expeditions. Then in Dhul-Qari‘—the month in which the polytheists had prevented him from pilgrimage—he went out to make the 'fulfilled pilgrimage' (780) in place of the 'umra from which they had excluded him.

Those Muslims who had been excluded with him went out in A.H. 7, and when the Meccans heard of it they got out of his way. Quraysh said among themselves, 'Muhammad and his companions are in destitution, want, and privation.'

A man I have no reason to suspect told me that Ibn 'Abbas said: 'They gathered at the door of the assembly house to look at him and his companions, and when the apostle entered the mosque he threw the end of his cloak over his left shoulder leaving his right upper arm free. Then he said: 'God have mercy on a man who shows them today that he is strong.' Then he kissed the stone, and went out trotting1 as did his companions until when the temple concealed him from them and he had kissed the southern corner he walked to kiss the black stone. Then he trotted2 aimlessly three circuits and walked the rest.' Ibn 'Abbās used to say, 'People used to think that this practice was not incumbent on them because the apostle only did it for this clan of Quraysh because of what he had heard about them until when he made the farewell pilgrimage he adhered to it and the suṣura carried it on.'

'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr told me that when the apostle entered Mecca on that pilgrimage 'Abdullāh b. Rawāha was holding the halter of his camel and saying:

Get out of his way, you unbelievers, make way.2
Every good thing goes with His apostle,
O Lord I believe in your word,
I know God's truth in accepting it.
We will fight you about its interpretation.
As we have fought you about its revelation
With strokes that will remove heads from shoulders
And make friend unmindful of friend.

Abūn b. Sāliḥ and 'Abdullāh b. Abū Najīh from 'Ata‘ b. Abū Rabāḥ and Mūjahīd Abūl-Hajājī from Ibn 'Abbas told me that the apostle married Maymūna d. al-Hārith in that journey of his when he was Ḥarīm. Al-'Abbās b. Abūl-Muṭṭalib married him to her (783).4

The apostle remained three days in Mecca. Huwaytīb b. 'Abdul-'Uzza b. Abū Qays b. 'Abdul-Wudd b. 'Agār b. Mālik b. Ḥašil with a few Quraysh came to him on the third day because Quraysh had entrusted him with the duty of sending the apostle out of Mecca. They said: 'Your time is up, so get out of us.' The apostle answered: 'How would it harm you if you were to let me stay and I gave a wedding feast among you and we prepared food and you came too?' They replied, 'We don't need your food, so get out.' So the apostle went out and left Abū Rāfī his client in charge of Maymūna until he brought her to him in Sarīf.5 (T. The apostle ordered them to change the (normal) sacrificial animal and did so himself. Camels were hard to come by so he allowed them to offer oxen.) The apostle consummated his marriage with her there, and then went on to Medina in Dhul-Hijja (783).

THE RAID ON MUṬṬA IN A.H. 8

He remained there for the rest of Dhul-Hijja, while the polytheists supervised the pilgrimage, and throughout al-Muṣrarr and Ṣāfār and the two

1. Here for fisalāma‘īd, 'T., has formalāi‘a. See p. 3 above
2. Ṭ., adds a spurious hemistich which destroys the balance of the poem.
3. I.H.'s comment is cogent. S. says the occasion of the poem was Shī‘a; in other words it belongs to Shī‘a polemic.
4. This is a tradition which is borne of contention among Muslim lawyers. Cf. J. Schacht, The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence, Oxford, 1929, p. 453.
5. A place near al-Tan‘īm
Rabî's, in Jumânâ-l-Âla he sent to Syria his force which met with disaster in Mû'ta.

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr said: The apostle sent his expedition to Mû'ta in Jumânâ-l-Âla in the year 8 and put Zayd b. Haritha in command; if Zayd were slain then Ja'far b. Abû Talib was to take command, and if he were killed then 'Abdullah b. Rawâha. The expedition got ready to the number of 3,000 and prepared to start. When they were about to set off they bade farewell to the apostle's chiefs and saluted them. When 'Abdullah b. Rawâha took his leave of the chiefs he wept and when they asked him the reason he said, 'By God, it is not that I love the world and am inordinately attached to you, but I heard the apostle read a verse from God's book in which he mentioned hell: 'There is not one of you but shall come to it; that is a determined decree of your Lord, 641 and I do not know how I can return after I have been to it.' The Muslims said, 'God be with you and protect you and bring you back to us safe and sound.' 'Abdullah said:

But I ask the Merciful's pardon
And a wide open wound discharging blood,
Or a deadly lance-thrust from a zealous warrior
That will pierce the bowels and liver;
So that men will say when they pass my grave,
'God guide him, fine raider that he was, he did well!'

Then, when the people were about to start, 'Abdullah came to the apostle to bid him farewell and said:

May God confirm the good things He gave you
As he confirmed them to Moses with victory, 784
I perceived goodness in you by a natural gift.
God knows that I can see deeply.
You are the apostle and he who is deprived of his gifts
And the sight of him has no real worth (784).

Then the people marched forth, the apostle accompanying them until he said farewell and returned. 'Abdullah said:

May peace remain on the best companion and friend,
The man I said good-bye to amid the palms.

They went on their way as far as Ma'ân in Syria where they heard that Heraclius had come down to Ma'âb in the Balîb with 100,000 Greeks joined by 100,000 men from Lakhm and Judham and al-Qays and Bahrâ 785 and Halî commanded by a man of Balf of Irahs called Mîlik b. Zâfîla. When the Muslims heard this they spent two nights at Ma'ân pondering what to do. They were in favour of writing to the apostle to tell him of the enemy's numbers; if he sent reinforcements well and good, otherwise they would await his orders. 'Abdullah b. Rawâha encouraged the men saying, 'Men, what you dislike is that which you have come out in search of, viz. martyrdom. We are not fighting the enemy with numbers, or strength or multitude, but we are confronting (T. fighting) them with this religion with which God has honoured us. So come on! Both prospects 793 are fine: victory or martyrdom.' The men said, 'By God, Ibn Rawâha is right.' So they went forward and 'Abdullah said concerning their holding back:

We urged on our horses from Aja and Far, 791
Their bellies gorged with the grass they had eaten
We gave them as shoes the smooth hard ground,
Its surface smooth as leather.
They stayed two nights at Ma'ân;
After their rest they were full of spirit.
We went forward, our horses given free rein,
The hot wind blowing in their nostrils.
I swear that we will come to Ma'âb
Though Arabs and Greeks be there.
We arranged their bridles and they came furiously,
Their dust arose in streamers
With an army whose helmets as their points appeared
Seemed to shine like stars.
The woman who enjoys life our spears divorced.
She can remarry or remain a widow (785).

Then the army went forward, and 'Abdullah b. Abû Bakr told me that he was told that Zayd b. 'Arqam said: I was an orphan child of 'Abdullah b. Rawâha and he took me with him on this expedition riding on the back of his saddle, and as he journeyed by night I heard him reciting these verses of his: 784

When you have brought me and carried my gear
A four nights' journey from the swampy ground,
Then enjoy life and bear no blame
And may I never return to my people at home. (And when)
The Muslims have gone and left me
In Syria where I wish to be,
And a near relative of mine in God,
Though no blood relation, has brought you back,
There I shall not care for fruit that depends on rain
Or palms whose roots are watered by man.

I wept on hearing these words and he licked me with his whip and said,

1 Two mountains of Twiy. 794
2 He addresses his comrade
794 "Why worry, wretched fellow, if God grants me martyrdom and you return firmly in the saddle?" Then in one of his *ra'as* poems he said:

O Zayd, Zayd of the swift lean camels,
Long is the night you have been led, so dismout.

The people went forward until they were on the borders of the Bātālīb the Greek and Arab forces of Heraclius met them in a village called Mashā'īrīf. When the enemy approached, the Muslims withdrew to a village called Mu'ta. There the forces met and the Muslims made their dispositions, putting over the right wing Qutbs b. Qatāda of the B. 'Udhra, and over the left wing an Anṣārī called 'Uthāya b. Mālik (786).

When fighting began Zayd b. Hāritha fought holding the apostle's standard, until he died from loss of blood among the spears of the enemy. Then Ja'far took it and fought with it until when the battle hemmed him in he jumped off his horse and hamstrung her and fought till he was killed. Ja'far was the first man in Islam to hamstring his horse. Yahyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father who said, 'My foster-father, who was of the B. Murra b. 'Auf, and was in the Mu'ta raid said, "I see to see Ja'far when he got off his saddle and hamstrung her and then fought until he was killed as he said:

Welcome Paradise so near,
Sweet and cool to drink its cheer.
Greeks will soon have much to fear
Infidels, of descent unclear
When we meet their necks I'll sheat."' (787)

795 Yahyā b. 'Abbād on the same authority told me that when Ja'far was killed 'Abdullah b. Rawāja took the standard and advanced with it riding his horse. He had to put pressure on himself as he felt reluctant to go forward. Then he said:

I swear, my soul, you shall come to the battle;
You shall fight or be made to fight.
Though men shout and scream aloud,
Why should you spurn Paradise?
Long have you been at ease.
You are nothing but a drop in a worn-out skin!

He also said:

O soul, if you are not killed you will die.
This is the fate of death which you suffer.
You have been given what you hoped for,
If you do what those two did you will have been guided aright
meaning his two companions Zayd and Ja'far. Then he dismounted and a
cousin of his came up with a meat bone, saying, 'Strengthen yourself with this, for you have met in these battles of yours difficult days.' He took it and ate a little. Then he heard the sounds of confusion in the force and threw it away, saying, 'And you are still living?' He seized his sword and died fighting. Then Thabit b. Aqrām took the standard. He was brother of B. al-'Ajlīn. He called on the Muslims to rally round one man, and when they wanted to rally to him he demurred and they rallied to Khālid b. al-Walid. When he took the standard he tried to keep the enemy off and to avoid an engagement. Then he retreated and the enemy turned aside from him until he got away with the men.

According to what I have been told, when the army was smitten the apostle said: 'Zayd took the standard and fought with it until he was killed as a martyr; then Ja'far took it and fought until he was killed as a martyr.' Then he was silent until the faces of the Anṣār fell and they thought that something disastrous had happened to 'Abdullah b. Rawāja. Then he said: 'Abdullah took it and fought by it until he was killed as a martyr. I saw in a vision that they were carried up to me in Paradise upon beds of gold. I saw 'Abdullah's bed turning away from the beds of the other two, and when I asked why, I was told that they had gone on but he hesitated before he went forward.'

(7. 'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr told me that when the news of Ja'far's death reached the apostle he said, 'Ja'far went by yesterday with a company of angels making for Bishā in the Yaman. He had two wings whose feathers were stained with blood.')

'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr from Umm 'Isā al-Khuza'iyā from Umm Ja'far d. Muhammad b. Ja'far b. Abū Ṭalīb from her grandmother Asma' d. 'Umaysa said: When Ja'far and his companions were killed, the apostle came in to me when I had just tanned forty skins (788) and kneaded my dough and washed and oiled and cleansed my children. He asked me to bring him Ja'far's sons and when I did so he smelt them and his eyes filled with tears. He asked him whether he had heard bad news about Ja'far and his companions, and he said that he had and that they had been killed that day. I got up and cried aloud and the women gathered to me. The apostle went out to his family saying, 'Do not neglect Ja'far's family so as not to provide them with food, for they are occupied with the disaster that has happened to their head.'

'Abdu'll-Rahmān b. al-Qāsim b. Muhammad told me from his father from 'Aisha the prophet's wife who said: When news of Ja'far's death came we saw sorrow on the apostle's face. A man went to him and said, 'The women trouble us and disturb us.' He told him to go back and quieten them. He went but came back again saying the same words.

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1 Some MSS. have ḥārāhāhu bīhim 'took precautions for their safety', a reading which is supported by 788, 10, and may well be right.

2 A reference to the practice of sending cooked food to a bereaved family to provide a meal for the mourners and their visitors.
shows how Khalid took precautions for their safety and got away with them:

By God, I never cease to blame myself for stopping
When the horses were leaping forward with bolting eyes.
I stopped there neither asking help nor acting decisively.
Nor protecting those for whom death was decreed.
However, I did let inigate Khalid
And Khalid has no equal in the army.
My heart was moved for Ja'far in Mu'ta
When an arrow was no good to an archer
And he linked up their two wings to us
Muhajirs not polytheists nor unmoved.

Thus Qays made clear in his verses the facts which people dispute, namely that the army kept their distance and were afraid of death, and established the fact that Khalid and his men avoided battle (790).

Among the lamentations over the apostle's companions who died at 790
Mu'ta are the lines of Hassān b. Thābit:

A miserable night! I had in Yathrib,
Anxiety that robbed me of sleep when others slept soundly.
At the thought of a friend my tears ran fast.
(Memory is oft the cause of weeping.
Nay, the loss of a friend is a calamity,
And how many a noble soul is afflicted and endures patiently.)
I saw the best of the believers follow one another to death,
Though some held back behind them.¹
May God receive the slain at Mu'ta who went one after another.
Among them Ja'far now borne on wings,
And Zayd and 'Abdullah when they too followed
When the cords of death were active
On the day they went on with the believers,
The fortunate radiant one leading them to death
Bright as the full moon—all Hāshim's sons,
Haughty against wrong, daringly bold,
He fought till he fell unפשרed
On the battlefield, a broken shaft in his body.
He has his reward with the martyrs,
Gardens and green spreading trees.
We saw in Ja'far a man loyal to Muhammad,
One who gave decisive orders.
May there ever be in Islam of Hāshim's line
Pillars of strength and an endless source of pride;

¹ The readings vary: qa'la leaping; na'la lifting up their heads; qal'la pining.
² This is banal. The Dā'īr (xxi) 'for I had been kept back with those who were left behind' is better.
In Islam they are a mountain and the people round them
Are rocks piled up to a mound majestic and lofty.
Splendid leaders: of them Ja'far and his brother 'Ali
And of them Ahmad the chosen one.
And Hamza and al-'Abbās and 'Aqīl
And the sap of the wood from which he was squeezed.¹
By them relief comes in every hard dusty fight
Whenever men are in a tight corner.
'They are the friends of God Who sent down His wisdom to them
And among them is the purified bringer of the Book.²

Ka'b b. Mālik said:
While the eyes of others slept my eye shed tears
Like the dripping of a faulty water-skin
In the night when sorrows came upon me
When I was not sobbing I turned restlessly on my couch
Grief came repeatedly and I passed the night
As though I had to shepherd Ursus and Pisces.³
'Twas as though between my ribs and bowels
A burning piercing pain afflicted me,
Sorrowing for those who one after another
Were left lying that day in Mu'ta.
God bless them, the heroes,
And may plenteous rains refresh their bones!
They forced themselves for God's sake
To ignore the fear of death and cowardly failure.
They went in front of the Muslims
Like stallion foals, clad in long mail
When they were led by Ja'far and his flag
In front of their leader, and what a fine leader.
Until the ranks were breached and Ja'far
Where the ranks were trapped lay prostrate,
The moon lost its radiance at his death,
The sun eclipsed and fell into dark
A chief of high lineage from Hashim.
In lofty eminence and authority immovable,
A people by whom God protected His servants,
To them was sent down the revealed book.
They excelled other tribes in glory and honour
And their enlightened minds covered up the ignorance of others.
They would not embark on a vicious enterprise,
You could see their speaker deciding justly.

¹ In popular language: a chip of the old block.
² All this reads like Ablide propagandists.
³ Or, reading ultima 'yearning' or 'moaning'.
⁴ i.e. he watched the stars in their passage across the sky while others slept. A cliché.

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Their faces welcomed, their hands gave freely
When days of famine would excuse parsimony.
God was pleased with their guidance of His creation.
And by their good fortune the apostolic prophet was victorious.

Hassan b. Thābit mourning Ja'far
I wept, and the death of Ja'far the prophet's friend
Was grievous to the whole world.
I was distressed, and when I heard of your death said,
Who is for fighting by the flag Hawk and its shadow
With swords drawn from scabbards
Striking and lances piercing again and again?
Now Ja'far, Fāṭima's blessed son, is dead,
The best of all creatures, most heavy is his loss,
Noblest of all in origin, and most powerful
When wronged, most submissive to right
When it was indubitably true:
Most open-handed, least in unseemliness;
Most lavish in generosity and kindness,
Always excepting Muhammad,
Whom no living being can equal.

Mourning Zayd b. Haritha and 'Abdullah b. Rawāhah he said:
O eye, be generous with the last drop of thy tears
And remember in thy ease those in their graves.
Remember Mu'ta and what happened there
When they went to their defeat,
When they returned leaving Zayd there.
Happy be the abode of the poor one, imprisoned (in the grave),¹
The friend of the best of all creatures,
The lord of men whose love fills their breasts.
Ahmad who has no equal,
My sorrow and my joy are for him
Zayd's position with us
Was not that of a man deceived.
Be generous with thy tears for the Khazzanite,²
He was a chief who gave freely there.
We have suffered enough by their death
And pass the night in joyless grief.

A Muslim poet who returned from Mu'ta said:
Enough cause for grief that I have returned while Ja'far
And Zayd and 'Abdullah are in the dust of the grave!

¹ Or 'that fair refuge of the poor and the captive'
² i.e. 'Abdullah b. Rawāhah
They met their end when they went their way
And I with the survivors am left to life's sorrows.
Three men were sent forward and advanced
To death's loathed pool of blood.

The names of those who died a martyr's death at Mu'ta:
Of Quraysh: of the clan of B. Hāshim, Ja'far and Zayd.

THE CAUSES THAT LED TO THE OCCUPATION OF MECCA, A.H. 8

After he had sent his force to Mu'ta the apostle stayed in Medina during the latter Jumādā and Rajab. Then the B. Bakr b. 'Abdu Manāt b. Kinānā attacked Khuz'āa while they were at a well of theirs in the lower region of Mecca called al-Watīr. The cause of the quarrel was that a man of B. al-Hadrami called Mālik b. 'Abdāb— the Hadrami being at that time allies of al-Awsad b. Razn—had gone out on a trading journey; and when he reached the middle of the Khuz'āa country they attacked and killed him and took his possessions. So B. Bakr attacked a man of Khuz'āa and killed him; and just before Islam Khuz'āa attacked the sons of al-Awsad b. Razn al-Dīlī who were the most prominent chiefs of B. Kinānā—Salmā, Kulthum, and Dhū-ayb—and killed them in 'Arafā at the boundary stones of the sacred area.

One of the B. al-Dīlī told me that B. al-Awsad during the pagan era were paid double bloodwit because of their position among them, while they only got a single bloodwit.

While B. Bakr and Khuz'āa's were thus at enmity Islam intervened and occupied men's minds. When the peace of Hudābiyya was concluded between the apostle and Quraysh one of the conditions—according to what al-Zuhri told me from 'Urwa b. al-Zuhayr from al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Hakam and other traditionalists—was that anyone who wanted to enter into a treaty relationship with either party could do so; the B. Bakr joined Quraysh and Khuz'āa joined the apostle. When the armistice was established B. al-Dīlī of B. Bakr took advantage of it against Khuz'āa in their desire to revenge themselves on them for the sons of Aawsad whom they had killed. So Naufal b. Mu'tāwiya al-Dīlī, who was their leader at the time, went out with the B. al-Dīlī, though all the B. Bakr did not follow him, and attacked Khuz'āa by night while they were at al-Watīr their well, killing one of their men. Both parties fell back and continued the fight. Quraysh helped B. Bakr with weapons and some of them fought with them secretly under cover of the night until they drove Khuz'āa into the sacred area. When they reached it the B. Bakr said, 'O Naufal, we are in the sacred area. Remember your God, remember your God!' He replied in blasphemous words that he had no God that day.

'Take your revenge, ye sons of Bakr. By my life, if you used to steal in the sacred area, won't you take vengeance in it?' Now on the night they attacked them in al-Watīr they killed a man called Munabbībī who had gone out with one of his tribemen called Tamīm b. Aṣad. Munabbībī had a weak heart and he told Tamīm to escape for he was as good as dead whether they killed him or let him go, for his heart had given out. So Tamīm made off and escaped and Munabbībī was overtaken and killed. When Khuz'āa entered Mecca they took refuge in the house of Budayl b. Warqā and the house of a freed slave of theirs called Rāfī. Tamīm in excuse himself for running away from Munabbībī said:

When I saw the B. Nufāthah had advanced
Covering every plain and hill,
Rock and upland, no one else in sight,
Leading their swift wide-nosed horses
And I remembered the old blood feud between us,
A legacy of years gone by;
And I smelled the odour of death coming from them
And feared the stroke of a sharp sword
And knew that they would leave him they smote
Meat for mother lions and carrion for crows,
I set my feet firmly not fearing stumbling
And threw my garments on the bare ground.
I ran—no wild ass strong, lean-flanked, ran as I ran,
She may blame me, but had she been there
Her disapproval would have been urine wetting her.
Men well know that I did not leave Munabbībī willingly
Ask my companions (if you do not believe me) (792).

Al-Akhzar b. Luṭ al-Dīlī describing the fight between Kinānā and Khuz'āa's said:

Have not the most distant Aḥābībī heard
That we repulsed B. Ka'b in impotent disgrace?
We made them keep to the dwelling of the slave Rāfī
And they were confined helpless with Budayl
In the house of a low person who accepts humiliation
After we had slashed our vengeance on them with the sword.
We held them there for many a day

1 Possibly the Abyssinians are meant.
2 'with arrows snapped off near the feathered end'.
Until from every pass we charged down on them. 
We slaughtered them like goats, 
We were like lions racing to get our teeth in them 
They had wronged us and behaved as enemies 
And were the first to shed blood at the sacred boundary, 
When they pursued them with their vanguard in the wadi's bend 
They were like young ostriches in full flight.  

Budayl b. 'Abdu Manāt b. Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Ajabb who was called Budayl b. 'Umra Aṣram answered him thus: 
May those people lose one another who boast 
Since we left them no chief to call them to assembly save Nāfīl. 
It was for fear of a people you scorn 
That you went past al-Wāthir fearful, never to return? 
Every day we give to others to pay bloodwit for those they have killed 
While we take no help in paying our bloodwit. 
We came to your home in al-Tal'ah. 
Our swords silenced all complaints. 
From Bayd and 'Itwād to the slopes of Radwā 
We held off the attacks of horsemen. 
On the day of al-Ghamīt 'Uthayn ran away. 
We terrified him with a doubtful leader. 
Was it because the mother of one of you defecated in her house in her trepidation 
While you were leaping about that we met no opposition? 
By God's house you lie, you did not fight 
But we left you in utter confusion (793). 

When Quraysh and B. Bakr had combined against Khuzā'ah and killed some of them, thereby breaking their covenant word with the apostle in violating Khuzā'ah who were in treaty with him, 'Amr b. Sālim al-Khuzā'ah's of the clan of B. ka'b went to the apostle in Medina. (This led to the conquest of Mecca.) He stood by him as he was sitting among the men in the mosque and said:

O Lord, I come to remind Muhammad 
Of the old alliance between our fathers. 
You are sons for whom we provided the mother, 
Then we made peace and have not changed our minds.

1. Fatḥār is a place in Najd B. A. Dh. says; but unless the action referred to occurred before they reached the horn, it is hard to see what the combatants were doing. An ṣafār means the contingent that leads the pursuit of a fleeing enemy. It is to be preferred here to ṣālah. 

2. A well belonging to B. Kinḍā. The second hemistich is a reference to the proverb 'The sword comes before recrimination.' 

3. Places belonging to Kinḍā.

4. Between Mecca and Medina.

5. S. insists on this meaning for al'amāh, despite the last verse, on the ground that Khuzā'ah had not yet become Muslims. The poet is a later invention and the natural translation 'Then we became Muslims' is to be preferred.

Help us, now God guide you, 
And call God's servants to our aid. 
Among them the apostle of God prepared for war. 
When he was wronged his face becomes black with anger 
With a great army foaming like the sea. 
Verily Quraysh have broken their promise to you, 
They have violated their pledged word, 
And they set men to watch out for me in Kadh. 
They claim that I can get no one to help us 
And they but a miserable few. 
They attacked us at night in al-Wāthir 
And killed us as we performed the ritual prayers (794)

The apostle said, 'May you be helped O 'Amr b. Sālim!' Then as a cloud appeared in the sky he said, 'This cloud will provide help for the B. Ka'b.' 

Then Budayl b. Warqā came with a number of Khuzā'ah to the apostle in Medina and told him of their misfortune and how Quraysh had helped B. Bakr against them. Having done so they returned to Mecca. The apostle said, 'I think you will see Abū Sufyān coming to strengthen the agreement and to ask for more time.' When Budayl and his companions had got as far as 'Usfān' they met Abū Sufyān who had been sent by Quraysh to strengthen the agreement with the apostle and to ask for an extension, for they were afraid of the consequences of what they had done. Abū Sufyān asked Budayl whence he had come because he suspected him of having visited the apostle. He replied that he had come along the shore and the bottom of this valley with the Khuzā'ah, and denied that he had been to Muhammad. When Budayl had gone off to Mecca Abū Sufyān said, 'If Budayl came to Medina he will have given his camels dates to eat there,' so he went to where the camels had knelt and split up their dung and looked at the stones. 'By God, I swear Budayl has come from Muhammad,' he said.

Having arrived at Medina he went in to his daughter Umān Ḥabība, and as he went to sit on the apostle's carpet she folded it up so that he could not sit on it. 'My dear daughter,' he said, 'I hardly know if you think that the carpet is too good for me or that I am too good for the carpet.' She replied: 'It is the apostle's carpet and you are an unclean polytheist. I do not want you to sit on the apostle's carpet.' 'By God,' he said, 'since you left me you have gone to the bad.' Then he went to the apostle, who would not speak to him; he then went to Abū Bakr and asked him to speak to the apostle for him; he refused to do so. Then he went to 'Umar who said, 'Should I intercede for you with the apostle? If I had only an ant I would fight you with it.' Then he went in to see 'Ali with whom was Fātima the apostle's...

Or, reading tahārād, 'enraged.' 

2. A place on the heights above Mecca. 

3. Perhaps mahāsra here means 'You shall be helped.' 

4. Two days' journey on the road from Mecca to Medina.
daughter who had with her 'Ali's little son Hasan crawling in front of her. He appealed to 'Ali on the ground of their close relationship to intercede with the apostle so that he would not have to return disappointed; but he answered that if the apostle had determined on a thing it was useless for anyone to talk to him about it; so he turned to Fāṭima and said, 'O daughter of Muhammad, will you let your little son here act as a protector between men so that he may become lord of the Arabs for ever?' She replied that her little boy was not old enough to undertake such a task and in any case none could give protection against God's apostle. He then asked for 'Ali's advice in the desperate situation. He said, 'I do not see anything that can really help you, but you are the chief of B. Kinnānā, so get up and grant protection between men and then go back home.' When he asked if he thought that would do any good he replied that he did not, but that he could see nothing else. Thereupon Abū Sufyān got up in the mosque and said, 'O men, I grant protection between men.' He then mounted his camel and rode off to Quraysh who asked for his news. He said that Muhammad would not speak to him, that he got no good from Abū Qalīfā's son, and that he found 'Umar an implacable enemy (795). He had found 'Ali the most helpful and he had done what he recommended, though he did not know whether it would do any good. He told them what he had done and when they asked whether Muhammad had endorsed his words, he had to admit that he had not. They complained that 'Ali had made a fool of him and that his pronouncement was valueless, and he said that he could find nothing else to do or say.

The apostle ordered preparations to be made for a foray and Abū Bakr came in to see his daughter 'A'isha as she was moving some of the apostle's equipment. He asked if the apostle had ordered her to get things ready, and she said that he had, and that her father had better get ready also. She told him that she did not know where the troops were going. Later the apostle informed the men that he was going to Mecca and ordered them to make careful preparations. He said, 'O God, take eyes and ears' from Quraysh so that we may take them by surprise in their land,' and the men got themselves ready.

Hassān b. Thābit, inciting the men and mentioning the killing of the men of Khuza'ī, said:

It pained me though I did not see in Mecca's valley
The men of Banū Ka'b with their heads cut off
By men who had not drawn their swords
And the many dead who were left unburied.

Would that I knew if my help with its biting satire
Would injure Suhayl b. 'Armā, and Sa'īdān

i.e. reports from travellers and others who have seen the Muslims assembling

He means that Quraysh were really responsible for the death of these men in the sacred territory. This is implied in the n.d. in the Dīdār which has qāltā bi-khāṣṣā.Hassān was no fighter. He relied on his tongue to hurt the enemy.

Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr and another of our traditionists said that when the apostle decided to go to Mecca Hāṭīb b. Abū Balta' wrote a letter to Quraysh telling them that the apostle intended to come at them. He said to a woman whom Muhammad b. Jaʿfar alleged was from Muzayna while my other informant said she was Sārā, a freed woman of one of the B. 'Abūb'-I-Muttalib. He paid her some money to carry it to Quraysh. She put the letter on her head and then plaited her locks over it and went off. The apostle received news from heaven of Hāṭīb's action and sent 'Alī and al-Zubayr b. al-Awwān with instructions to go after her. They took her off in al-Khulayqa of B. Abū Ahmad. They made her dismount and searched her baggage but found nothing. 'Alī swore that the apostle could not be mistaken nor could they, and that if she did not produce the letter they would strip her. When she saw that she was in earnest she told him to turn aside, and then she let down her locks and drew out the letter and gave it to him and he took it to the apostle. The apostle summoned Hāṭīb and asked him what induced him to act thus. He replied that he believed in God and His apostle and had never ceased to do so, but that he was not a man of standing among Quraysh and he had a son and a family there and that he had to deal prudently with them for their sakes. 'Umar wanted to cut off his head as a hypocrite but the apostle said, 'How do you know, 'Umar; perhaps God looked favourably on those who were at Badr and said, 'Do as you please, for I have forgiven you.' Then God sent down concerning Hāṭīb: 'O you who believe, choose not My enemies and yours as friends so as to show them kindness' as far as the words 'You have a good example in Abraham and those with him when they said to their people: We are quit of you and what you worship beside God; we renounce you and between us and you enmity and hatred will ever endure until you believe in God alone.'

Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shīhāb al-Zuhri from 'Ubayyullah b. 'Abdul-lah b. 'Utb b. Mas'ād from 'Abdullah b. 'Abbaš told me: Then the apostle went on his journey and put over Medina Abū Ruhm Kulthum b. Husayn b. 'Utb b. Khaṭāf al-Ghifārī. He went out on the roth of Ramadān and he and the army fainted until when he reached al-Kudayd between 'Usfān and Amraj he broke his fast. He went on until he came to Marr al-Zahrān with 10,000 Muslims; Sūlaym numbered 700 and some say 1,000; and Muzayna 1,000; and in every tribe there was a considerable number and Islam. The Muhājirin and Helpers went as one man; none stayed behind.
white mule and went out on it until I came to the arak trees, thinking that I might find some woodcutters or milkers or someone who could go to Mecca and tell them where the apostle was so that they could come out and ask for safety before he entered the town by assault. As I was going along with this intent suddenly I heard the sound of Abū Sufyān (T. and Hakīm b. Ḥazīm) and Budayl talking together. Abū Sufyān was saying, 'I have never seen such fires and such a camp before.' Budayl was saying, 'These, by God, are (the fires of) Khuṣa'ī's which war has kindled.' Abū Sufyān was saying, 'Khuṣa'ī's are too poor and few to have fires and camps like these.' I recognized his voice and called to him and he recognized my voice. I told him that the apostle was here with his army and expressed concern for him and for Quraysh: 'If he takes you he will behead you, so ride on the back of this mule so that I can take you to him and ask for your protection.' So he rode behind me and his two companions returned.

Whichever we passed a Muslim fire we were challenged, and when they saw the apostle's mule with me riding it they said it was the prophet's uncle riding his mule until I passed by ʿUmar's fire. He challenged me and got up and came to me, and when he saw Abū Sufyān on the back of the beast he cried: 'Abū Sufyān, the enemy of God! Thanks be to God who has delivered you up without agreement or word.' Then he ran towards the apostle and I made the mule gallop, and the mule won by the distance a slow beast will outrun a slow man. I dismounted and went in to the apostle and 'Umar came in saying the same words and adding, 'Let me take off his head.' I told the apostle that I had promised him protection; then I sat by him and took hold of his head and said, 'By God, none shall talk confidentially to him this night without my being present'; and when 'Umar continued to remonstrate I said, 'Gently, 'Umar! If he had been one of the B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b you would not have said this, but you know that he is one of the B. 'Abd Manāf.' He replied, 'Gently, Abbaš! for by God your Islam the day you accepted it was dearer to me than the Islam of al-Khattab would have been had he become a Muslim. One thing I surely know is that your Islam was dearer to the apostle than my father's would have been.' The apostle told me to take him away to my quarters and bring him back in the morning. He stayed the night with me and took him in to see the apostle early in the morning and when he saw him he said, 'Isn't it time that you should recognize that there is no God but Allah?' He answered, 'You are dearer to me than father and mother. How great is your clemency, honour, and kindness! By God, I thought that had there been another God with God he would have continued to help me.' He said: 'Woe to you, Abū Sufyān, isn't it time that you recognize that I am God's apostle?' He answered, 'As to that I still have some doubt.'

I said to him, 'Submit and testify that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is the apostle of God before you lose your head,' so he did so. I pointed out to the apostle that Abū Sufyān was a man who liked to have some cause for pride and asked him to do something for him. He said, 'He
who enter Abū Sufyān's house is safe, and he who locks his door is safe, and he who enters the mosque is safe.' When he went off to go back the apostle told me to detain him in the narrow part of the wadi where the mountain projected so that God's armies would pass by and he would see them; so I went and detained him where the prophet had ordered.

The squadron passed him with their standards, and he asked who they were. When I said Sulaym he would say, 'What have I to do with Sulaym?' and so with Muzayyin until all had passed, he asking the same question and making the same response to the reply. Finally the apostle passed with his greenish-black squadron (799) in which were Muhājīrs and Ansār whose eyes alone were visible because of their armour. He said, 'Good heavens, 'Abdūsūr, who are these?' and when I told him he said that none could withstand them. 'By God, O Abū Fadl, the authority of your brother's son has become great.' I told him that it was due to his prophetic office, and he said that in that case he had nothing to say against it.

I told him to hurry to his people. When he came to them he cried at the top of his voice: 'O Quraysh, this is Muhammad who has come to you with a force you cannot resist. He who enters Abū Sufyān's house is safe.' Hind b. 'Uthāna went up to him, and seizing his moustaches cried, 'Kill this fat greasy bladder of lard! What a rotten protector of the people!' He said, 'Woe to you, don't let this woman deceive you, for you cannot resist what he who enters Abū Sufyān's house will have come.' 'God slay you,' they said, 'what good will your house be to us?' He added, 'Abūlās and he who shuts his door upon himself will be safe and he who enters the mosque will be safe.' Thereupon the people dispersed to their houses and the mosque.

Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr told me that when the apostle came to Dhu'Tūwā he halted on his beast turbaned with a piece of red Yaman cloth and that he lowered his head in submission to God, when he saw how God had honoured him with victory, so that his beard almost touched the middle of the saddle.

Yahyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr from his father from his grandmother Anas' d. Abū Bakr said: When the apostle stopped in Dhu'Tūwā Abū Qahfā said to a daughter of his, one of his youngest children, 'Take me up to Abū Qubays,' for his sight had almost gone. When they got there he asked her what she could see and she told him 'a mass of black.' 'Those are the horses,' he said. 'Then she told him that she could see a man running up and down in front of them and he said that that was the adjutant, meaning the man who carries and transmits the orders to the cavalry. Then she said, 'By God, the black mass has spread.' He said, 'In that case the cavalry have been released, so bring me quickly to my house.' She took him down and the cavalry encountered him before he could get to his house. The girl had a silver necklace and a man who met her tore it from her neck. When the apostle came in and entered the mosque Abū Bakr came leading his father. On seeing him the apostle said, 'Why did you not leave the old man in his house so that I could come to him there?' Abū Bakr replied that it was more fitting that he should come to him than vice versa. He made him sit before him and stroked his chest and asked him to accept Islam and he did so. When Abū Bakr brought his father in his head was as white as edelweiss, and the apostle told them to dye it. Then Abū Bāzīr got up and taking his sister's hand said, 'I ask in the name of God and Islam for my sister's necklace' and none answered him, and he said, 'Sister, regard your necklace as taken by God (and look to Him to requite you) for there is not much honesty among people nowadays."

Abdullāh b. Abū Najāf told me that the apostle divided his force at Dhu'Tūwā ordering al-Zubayr b. al-Awāmī to go in with some of the men from Kūdī. Al-Zubayr commanded the left wing: Sa'd b. 'Ubāda he ordered to go in with some of the men from Kūdī. Some traditionists allege that when Sa'd started off he said,

"Today is a day of war, Sanctuary is no more,
and one of the muhājīrs (800) heard him and told the apostle that it was to be feared that he would resort to violence. The apostle ordered 'Ali to go after him and take the flag from him and enter with it himself."

Abdullāh b. Abū Najāf in his story told me that the apostle ordered Khalīd to enter from al-Līt, the lower part of Mecca, with some men. Khalīd was in command of the right wing with Aslām, Sulaym, Ghifār, Muzayyin, Juḥayna, and other Arāb tribes. Abū 'Ubaydā b. al-Jarrāh advanced with the troops pouring into Mecca in front of the apostle who entered from Adhamī until he halted above Mecca and his tent was pitched there.

Abdullāh b. Abū Najāf and Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr told me that Sa'd b. Umayya and 'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl and Sulayh b. 'Amr had collected some men in al-Khanda'ma to fight. Himās b. Qays b. Khalīd brother of B. Bakr was sharpening his sword before the apostle entered Mecca, and his wife asked him why he was doing so. When he told her it was for Muhammad and his companions she said that she did not think that it would do them any harm. He answered that he hoped to give her one of them as a slave and said:

I have no excuse if today they advance.
Here is my weapon, a long-bladed lance,
A two-edged sword in their faces will dance!

Then he went to al-Khanda'ma with Sa'd, Sulayh, and 'Ikrima and when the Muslims under Khalīd arrived a skirmish followed in which

1 Lit. 'at the nose of the mountain'.
2 i.e. it could not provide cover for them all.
The Life of Muhammad

Kurz b. 'Abdurr b. Fihr, and Khunays b. 'Abdul b. Rabba b. 'Abdul, an ally of B. Munqihd, who were in 'Abdul's cavalry, were killed. They had taken a road of their own apart from 'Abdul and were killed together. Khunays was killed first and Kurz put him between his feet and fought in his defence until he was slain, saying meanwhile:

Safra' of the B. Fihr knews
The pure of face and heart
That I fight today in defence of Abu Sakhr.

Khunays was surnamed Abu Sakhr (801)

Safar b. al-Maylil, one of 'Abdul's horsemen, was killed, and the polytheists lost about 12 or 13 men; then they took to flight. 'Abdul ran off and went into his house and told his wife to bolt the door. When she asked what had become of his former words he said:

If you had witnessed the battle of Khandama
When Saifwan and 'Ikrima fled
And Abu Yazid was standing like a pillar
And the Muslims met them with their swords
Which cut through arms and skulls,
Only confused cries being heard
Behind us their cries and groans,
You would not have uttered the least word of blame (802)

The apostle had instructed his commanders when they entered Mecca only to fight those who resisted them, except a small number of whom were to be killed even if they were found beneath the curtains of the Ka'ba. Among them was 'Abdullah b. Sa'id, brother of the B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy. The reason he ordered him to be killed was that he had been a Muslim and used to write down revelation; then he apostatized and returned to Quraysh and fled to 'Uthman b. 'Affan whose foster-brother he was. The latter hid him until he brought him to the apostle after the situation in Mecca was tranquil, and asked that he might be granted immunity. They allege that the apostle remained silent for a long time till finally he said yes. When 'Uthman had left he said to his companions who were sitting around him, 'I kept silent so that one of you might get up and strike off his head!' One of the Ansaar said, 'Then why didn't you give me a sign, O apostle of God?' He answered that a prophet does not kill by pointing (803).

Another was 'Abdullah b. Khatal of B. Taym b. Ghilib. He had become a Muslim and the apostle sent him to collect the poor tax in company with one of the Ansar. He had with him a freed slave who served him. (He was a Muslim.) When they halted he ordered the latter to kill a goat for him and prepare some food, and went to sleep. When he woke up the man had done nothing, so he attacked and killed him and apostatized. He had two singing-girls Garan and her friend who used to sing satirical songs about the apostle, so he ordered that they should be killed with him.

Another was al-Huwairith b. Nuqayd b. 'Abd b. Qusayy, one of those who used to insult him in Mecca (804).

Another was Miqyas b. Hubaba' because he had killed an Ansaar who had killed his brother accidentally, and returned to Quraysh as a polytheist. And 'Uthman, freed slave of one of the B. 'Abdull-Mutaffifin; and 'Ikrima b. 'Abdul b. 'Abdul. 'Uthman had insulted him in Mecca. As for 'Ikrima, he fled to the Yaman. His wife Um'm Hakim d. al-Harith b. Hisham became a Muslim and asked immunity for him and the apostle gave it. She went to the Yaman in search of him and brought him to the apostle and he accepted Islam. [T]. 'Ikrima used to relate, according to what they say, that what turned him to Islam when he had gone to the Yaman was that he had determined to cross the sea to Abyssinia and when he found a ship the master said, 'O servant of God, you cannot travel in my ship until you acknowledge that God is one and disavow any rival to Him, for I fear that if you do not do so we should perish.' When I asked if none but such persons was allowed to travel in his ship he replied, 'Yes, and he must be sincere.' So I thought: Why should I leave Muhammad when this is what he has brought us? Truly our God on the sea is our God on the dry land. Thereupon I recognized Islam and it entered into my heart.) 'Abdullah b. Khatal was killed by Sa'id b. Husayn al-Makhzumi and Abu Barza al-Astami acting together. Miqyas was killed by Numaay b. 'Abdullah, one of his own people. Miqyas's sister said of his killing:

By my life, Numaay shamed his people
And distressed the winter guests when he slew Miqyas
Whoever has seen a man like Miqyas
Who provided food for young mothers in hard times.

As for Ibn Khatal's two singing-girls, one was killed and the other faked the apostle, asked for immunity, gave it her. Similarly 'Uthman, who lived until in the time of 'Umar a mounted soldier trolled her down in the valley of Mecca and killed her. Al-Huwairith was killed by 'Ali.

Sa'id b. 'Abd b. 'Abdul b. Murra, freed slave of 'Aqil b. 'Abdul Talib, told me that Um'm Hans d. 'Abdul Talib said: When the apostle halted in the upper part of Mecca two of my brothers-in-law from B. Makhzum fled to me. (She was the wife of Huhayra b. 'Abdul Wabab al-Makhzumi.) 'Ali came in swearing that he would kill them, so I bolted the door of my house on them and went to the apostle and found him washing in a large bowl in which was the remains of dough while his daughter Fatima was screening him with his garment. When he had washed he took his garment and wrapped himself in it and prayed eight bendings of the morning prayer.

1 This explanation of mu'tama is based on S.'s statement that elsewhere L.I. says that such is the meaning. The alternative 'A widow left with fatherless children' is supported by Azraqi, 47 kal'ajun't-mu'tama (quoted by Noldeke, Gesch. 103 and Tan' b. kal'ajun't-mu'tama).
Then he came forward and welcomed me and asked me why I had come. When I told him about the two men and 'Ali he said: 'We give protection to whomsoever you give protection and we protect those to whom you protect. He must not kill them' (805).

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr from 'Ubaydullah b. Abdullah b. Abū Thaur from Sa'īfa d. Shayba told me that the apostle after arriving in Mecca when the populace had settled down went to the temple and encompassed it seven times on his camel touching the black stone with a stick which he had in his hand. This done he summoned 'Uthmān b. Talha and took the key of the Ka'bah from him, and when the door was opened for him he went in. There he found a dove made of wood. He broke it in his hands and threw it away. Then he stood by the door of the Ka'bah while the men in the mosque gathered to him.¹

Azr. i. 70 [II. 1. from 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr from 'Ali b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Abbās: The apostle entered Mecca on the day of the conquest and it contained 360 idols which Īblīs² had strengthened with lead. The apostle was standing by them with a stick in his hand, saying, 'The truth has come and falsehood has passed away; verily falsehood is sure to pass away' (Sūra 17, 82). Then he pointed at them with his stick and they collapsed on their backs one after the other.

When the apostle prayed the noon prayer on the day of the conquest he ordered that all the idols which were round the Ka'bah should be collected and burned with fire and broken up. Pa'ājilā b. al-Mulāwālī al-Laythī said commemorating the day of the conquest:

Had you seen Muḥammad and his troops
The day the idols were smashed when he entered,
You would have seen God's light become manifest
And darkness covering the face of idolatry.

Azr. i. 107 [II. 1. from Ḥakīm b. 'Abbād b. Ḥanīf and other traditionalists: Quraysh had put pictures in the Ka'bah including two of Jesus son of Mary and Mary (on both of whom be peace!). I. Shihāb said: A'mās d. Shu'ār said that a woman of Ghassān joined in the pilgrimage of the Arabs and when she saw the picture of Mary in the Ka'bah she said, 'My father and my mother be your ransom! You are surely an Arab woman!' The apostle ordered that the pictures should be erased except those of Jesus and Mary.

A traditionalist³ told me that the apostle stood at the door of the Ka'bah and said: 'There is no God but Allah alone; He has no associate. He has made good His promise and helped His servant. He has put to flight the confederates alone. Every claim of privilege or blood or property are abolished by me except the custody of the temple and the watering of the pilgrims. The unintentionally slain in a quasi-intentional way by club or whip, for him the bloodwit is most severe: a hundred camels, forty of them to be pregnant. O Quraysh, God has taken from you the heightens of paganism and its veneration of ancestors. Man springs from Adam and Adam sprang from dust.' Then he read to them this verse: 'O men, we created you from male and female and made you into peoples and tribes that you may know one another: of a truth the most noble of you in God's sight is the most pious' to the end of the passage.⁴ Then he added, 'O Quraysh, what do you think that I am about to do with you?' They replied, 'Good. You are a noble brother, son of a noble brother.' He said, 'Go your way for you are the freed ones.'

[T. Thus the apostle let them go though God had given him power over their lives and they were his spoil. For this reason the Meccans were called the 'freed ones'. Then the populace gathered together in Mecca to do homage to the apostle in Islam. As I have heard, he sat (waiting) for them on al-Ṣafā while Umar remained below him imposing conditions on the people who paid homage to the apostle promising to hear and obey God and His apostle to the best of their ability. This applied to the men; when they had finished he dealt with the women. Among the Quraysh women who came was Hind d. 'Urba who came veiled and disguised because of what she had done especially in regard to Hamza, for she was afraid that the apostle would punish her. According to what I heard, when they approached him he asked if they gave their word not to associate anything with God, and Hind said, 'By God, you lay on us something that you have not laid on the men and we will carry it out.' He said, 'And you shall not steal.' She said, 'By God, I used to take a little of Abū Sufyān's money and I do not know whether that is lawful for me or not.' Abū Sufyān who was present when she said this told her that so far as the past was concerned it was lawful. The apostle said, 'Then you are Hind d. 'Urba?' and she said 'I am; forgive me what is past and God will forgive you.' He said, 'And do not commit adultery.' She answered, 'Does a free woman commit adultery, O apostle of God?' He said, 'And you shall not kill your children.' She said, 'I brought them up when they were little and you killed them on the day of Badr when they were grown up, so you are the one to know about them!' Umar laughed immediately at her reply. He said, 'You shall not invent slanderous tales.' She said, 'By God, slander is disgraceful, but it is sometimes better to ignore it.' He said, 'You shall not disobey me in carrying out orders to do good.' She said, 'We should not have sat all this time if we wanted to disobey you in such orders.' The apostle said to Umar, 'Accept their truth,' and he asked God's forgiveness for them while Umar accepted their homage on his behalf. The apostle never used to take the women's hands; he did not touch a woman nor did

¹ Especially inherited authority.
² i.e. manslaughter.
³ Sūra 49. 13.
⁴ A parallel tradition on the authority of I. 'Abbās via al-Zubair simply says that the idols were strengthened by lead.
⁵ Apparently I.H. has cut out what I.I. wrote and adopted the later tradition that all the pictures were obliterated. A more detailed account of these pictures will be found in Azr. i. 108.
⁶ T. here names the informants as 'Umar b. Mus'ab al-Wejīth from Qāqātā al-Sadāūt.
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Sa‘îd b. Abù Sa‘îd al-Maqbûrî from Abû Shurayh al-Khuza‘î said: When 'Amr b. al-Zubayr came to Mecca to fight his brother 'Abdullâh I came to him and said, 'Listen! When we were with the apostle the day after the conquest of Mecca, Khuzâ‘a attacked a man of Hudhayl and killed him, he being a polytheist. The apostle arose and addressed us, saying, 'God made Mecca holy the day He created heaven and earth, and it is the holy of holies until the resurrection day. It is not lawful for anyone who believes in God and the last day to shed blood therein, nor to cut down trees therein. It was not lawful to anyone before me and it will not be lawful to anyone after me. Indeed, it is not lawful for me except in this time because of (God's) anger against its people. Now it has regained its former holiness. Let those here now tell those that are not here. If anyone should say, 'The apostle killed men in Mecca, say God permitted His apostle to do so but He does not permit you. Refrain from killing, you men of Khuzâ‘a, for there has been too much killing even if there were profit in it. Since you have killed a man I will pay his bloodwit. If anyone is killed after my sojourn here you people have a choice: they can have his killer's life or the blood-money.' Then the apostle paid the bloodwit for the man whom Khuzâ‘a had slain.' 'Amr replied, 'Be off with you, old man! We know more about its sanctity than you. It does not protect the shedder of blood, nor the man who casts off his allegiance nor him who withholds tax.' Abû Shurayh answered, 'I was there and you were not. The apostle ordered us who were present to tell those who were absent. I have told you and the responsibility now rests with you!' (867).

Muhammad b. Jâfar from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me that Sa‘fîn b. 835 Umayya went out to Judda to take ship to the Yaman. 'Umar b. Wahhîb 836 told the prophet that Sa‘fîn, who was a chief among his people, had fled from him to cast himself into the sea, and asked him to grant him immunity. The prophet agreed to do so, and 'Umar asked him for a sign to prove it, and gave him the turban with which he had entered Mecca. 'Umar took it and overtook Sa‘fîn just as he was about to embark. He begged him not to commit suicide and produced the token of his safety. Sa‘fîn told him to be off and not to speak to him. He replied, 'My parents be your ransom! He is the most virtuous, most pious, most clement, and best of men, your very cousin. His honour is your honour.' He replied, 'I go in fear of my life because of him.' He answered, 'He is too clement and too honourable to kill you.' So he went back with him to the apostle and told him that 'Umar had said that he had promised him immunity. He said that he was true. Sa‘fîn asked for two months in which to make up his mind, and he gave him four months (808).

Al-Zuhîr told me that Umm Jâ’îmî d. al-Hârîth b. Hishâm and Fâhîtha d. al-Walîd (who was married to Sa‘fîn, while Umm Jâ’îmî's husband

1. S. here points out that this is a mistake on the part of I.H. and that the man was 'Amr b. Sa‘îd b. al-Asîr b. 'Umar; that the mistake is due either to I.H. or to al-Bakrî; and that the true tradition is given by Yûnus.

2. Or Khânsa‘a. A strange nickname. 'Red in power', 'Red æybold', or the like.
was 'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl) had become Muslims. The latter asked immunity for her husband and the apostle granted it and she joined him in the Yaman and brought him back. When 'Ikrima and Safwān became Muslims the apostle confirmed their first marriages.

Sa'd b. Abū-l-Rajmān b. Ḥassān b. Ṭabḥt told me that Ḥassān directed a single verse and no more at I. al-Ziba'ra who was in Najrān at the time: 6

Do not be without a man, hatred of whom
Has made you live in Najrān in utmost misery!

When this reached I. al-Ziba'ra he went to the apostle and accepted Islam. Then he said:

O apostle of God, my tongue is burning,
The mischief I did when a perishing (sinner).
When I followed Satan in going astray,
(He who turns aside with him must perish.)
My flesh and my bones believe in my Lord,
My heart hears witness that you are the warner,
I will drive the clan of Lu'ayy from you there,
All of them being deceived.

When he became a Muslim he said also:

Care and anxieties withheld sleep from me,
And night pitch black was agitated above me
Because I heard that Ahmad had blamed me;
I passed the night like a man with fever.
O best of those, a swift-light-footed,
Straight-running camel ever carried,
Forgive me for what I said and did
When I went wandering in error,
What time Ṣahm gave me most misleading orders,
And Makhrūz did the same;
When I supported evil courses
Led by those who erred, whose way was ill omened.
Today my heart believes in the prophet Muhammad.
He who misses this is a loser.
Enmity has passed, its tics are ended;
Kinsnhip and reason call us together.
Forgive my mistakes—my parents be thy ransom.
For you are compassionate having found mercy.
Upon you is the sign of God's knowledge,
A light most bright and a seal imprinted.

6 This line is an imitation of 1. 41 in the Ma'ālik of 'Amr b. Rubā'ī.

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After His love He gave you His proof to honour you
And God's proof is great.
I testify that your religion is true
And that you are great among men.
And God testifies that Ahmad is the chosen.
The noble one, cynosure of the righteous,
A prince whose lofty house is from Ḥishām,
Strong from top to bottom (859).

As for Ḥubayrā b. Abū Wahāb al-Makhrūz, he lived there until he died an unbeliever. His wife was Umm Ḥāni' b. Abī Tālib whose name was Hind. When he heard that she had become a Muslim he said:

Does Hind long for you or do you know that she has asked about you?
Thus distance produces many changes.
On a high inaccessible fort in Najrān she has banished my sleep.
When night falls her phantom roams abroad.
O that reproacher who wakes me at night and blames me!
She reproaches me by night—may her error err utterly!
Asserting that if I obey my family I shall perish,
But will anything but the loss of her kill me?
But I am of a people who if they do their utmost
They attain their end forthwith.
I protect the seat of my tribe
When they wheel beneath the spear points
And the swords in their hands become like
The stakes boys play with, no shade but the swords. 1
I loathe the envious and their works:
God will provide food for myself and my family.
Words spoken without truth
Are like an arrow without a head.
If you have followed Muhammad's religion
And the ties of kinship draw you to your kin,
Then stay far distant on a high round rock.
Dry dust its only moisture (810). 2

The Muslims who were present at the conquest of Mecca numbered 10,000; of B. Sulaym 700 (some say 1,000); of B. Ghiyār 400; of Aslama 400; of Muzayyin 1,003; and the rest of them were from Quaysh and the Anṣār and their allies and parties of Arabs from Tamīm and Qays and Aṣad.

1 This line is an imitation of 1. 41 in the Ma'ālik of 'Amr b. Rubā'ī.
2 The poet apostrophizes himself.

Some lexicographers favour a rendering 'knotted rags'. In either case the meaning is that they regarded the swords as mere toys.
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Among the poems about the conquest is the following from Hassän b. Thabit:

From Dhatu'l-Asabih and al-Iwâ to 'Adhrâ.
Traces have disappeared, their camping-ground is empty
The camps of B. al-Hasabâ are a desert
Obliterated by wind and rain.
There used always to be a friend there;
Its pastures held choice camels and sheep.
But leave that! Who will rid me of the night vision
Which keeps me from sleep when night's first hours have gone,
Of Shu'thâ who fills me with longing
So that my heart cannot be cured of it?
She is like the wine of Bayt Ra's.
Mixed with honey and water,
All draughts that could be mentioned
Cannot be compared with that wine.
We blame it for what we do amiss
If we are quarrelsome or insulting to others.
When we drink it we are as kings and lions,
Nothing can keep us from the fray.
May we lose our horses if you do not see them.
Raising the dust-clouds, their rendezvous Kâdâ.
They tug at the reins turning their necks to one side,
The thirsty lances couched above their shoulders.
As our horses raced along,
The women flapped their veils in their faces.
If you don't oppose us we shall celebrate the 'Umra,
The conquest will be completed and the covering removed.
But if you do, expect a fight on the day
When God helps those He pleases.
Gabriel, God's messenger, is with us and
The holy spirit has no equal.
God said, 'I have sent a man
Who speaks the truth if you will profit by experience

1 These places are in Syria; the latter was the camp of al-Hârith b. Abû Shurr the Ghassanid whom Hassän used to visit.
2 One post distant from Damascus.
3 A clan of B. Asad.
4 Who this woman was is not certain; some say she was d. Sallâhî. Mishkam the Jew; others say a woman of Khuzâ'a; others someone else.
5 A place in Jordan noted for its wine.
6 From this point the poem begins its theme.
7 Tanawatara in this sense is supported by T., 1650, 130. Gloss: Rain—bespattered'; suggested by A. D.'H, gives a poor sense unless it is a poetical way of saying that the sides of the horses were covered with foam. The Littû explains that the women flapped their veils to hinder them. The riding in Dhatûn and in some MSS. Subhârât al-hayyata may be right: 'they try to catch up with the points of the lances whose thorny shafts were couched above their shoulders'. The horses could see the lance tips on their right front. Cf. W., 707, 15.

I bear witness to him, so arise! confess him truthful.'
But you said, 'We will not and we do not wish to.'
And God said, 'I have sent an army,
The Ashar accustomed to the fray.'
Every day we get from Ma'add
Curving, battle, or lampooning.
We will repulse with verses those who lampoon us
And smite them when war breaks out.
Give Abu Sufyân a message from me,
For what was hidden has become clear,
Namely that our swords have left you a slave,
The heads of the 'Abdu'l-Dâr mere bondwomen.
You lampooned Muhammad and I answered for him:
There is a reward for that with God.
Would you lampoon him whom you cannot equal?
(The worse of you be a ransom for the better of you!) You have lampooned the pure blessed 'bnîn,
God's trusted one whose nature is loyalty.
Is he who lampoons God's apostle
And he who praises and helps him equal?
My father, my grandfather, and my honour
Protect Muhammad's honour against you.
My tongue is a sharp sword without a flaw,
My verse a sea which the buckets cannot make turbid (811).

Anas b. Zunaym al-Dili apologizing to the apostle for what 'Amr b. Salim al-Khuza'i said about them said:

Was it you by whose orders Ma'add was led?
Nay God guided them and said to you, Testify!
No camel ever carried a purer man
More true to his promise than Muhammad;
Swifter to do good, more lavish in giving
When he went forth like a polished Indian sword;
More generous in giving a rich Yamani robe hardly worn
And the horse that was easily first in the race.
Know, O apostle of God, that you will get me
And that a threat from you is as good as fulfilled.
Know, O apostle, that you have power
Over them that dwell in highland and plain.
Know that the riders, the riders of 'Uwaymir,
Are fears which break every promise.
They told the apostle that I satirized him.

1 The Dhatûn has 'and my people confessed', &c.
2 i.e. Quraysh who were descended from 'Adnan.
3 i.e. however many verses he composes from his inexhaustible stock the well of poetry will not be fouled by bad and intellectual lines.
Wore it true may my hand never lift a whip!
I merely said, Woe is the mother of the heroes
Who were slain in unhappy unlucky days!
Those not their equal in blood killed them
And great was my weeping and dismay.

You would break the covenant if you slandered
'Abd b. 'Abdullah and the daughter of Mahwad,
Dhu'ayb and Kulhûm and Salmâ went successively to death,
So if my eye does not weep let me grieve.
There is no clan like Salmâ and his brothers;
Are kings the same as slaves?
I have not broken with custom or shed blood.
Consider, you who know the truth, and act!

Budayr b. 'Abdu Manâf b. Umm Aamam answered him

Anas wept Râzn, how loud was his cry.
He should have wept for 'Adry unavenged and destroyed.
You wept, Abû 'Abs, because they were blood relations
That you might have an excuse if none started a war.
Noble warriors killed them on the day of Khandama,¹
Nuzayl and Mâ'âd among them if you inquire.
If your tears flow for them you will not be blamed
And if the eye does not weep then be sad (672).

Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abû Sulmâ said concerning the day of the conquest:

Muzayna and the Banû Khâdif that day
Expelled the people of al-Haballâq from every ravine.
We smote them with our sharp swords
The day the good prophet entered Mecca.
We came on them with seven hundred from Sulaym
And a full thousand from Banû 'Uthmân.
We smote their shoulders with cut and thrust
And shot them with our feathered shafts.
You could hear among the ranks their whisper
As if the notched end were split from its binding.²
We went with lances straight levelled

¹ A mountain in Mecca.
² Lit. ‘irod’. For abâdâlah some MSS. have abâdâlah ‘their flanks’.
³ After long hesitation I have adopted this rendering; but it might be that the poet is thinking of the arrows of the opposing forces passing one another in the air.

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While our horses wheeled among them.
We came back plundering as we would
While they went back discomfited.
We pledged our faith to the apostle
In sincere friendship.
They heard what we said and determined
To depart from us that day of fear (813).

KHâLID’S EXPEDITION AFTER THE CONQUEST TO THE DAO JâDHîMA OF KINÂNÂ AND ‘ÂLÎ’S EXPEDITION TO REPAIR KHâLID’S ERROR

The apostle sent out troops in the district round Mecca inviting men to God: he did not order them to fight. Among those he sent was Khâlid b. al-Walî whom he ordered to go to the lower part of the flat country as a missionary; he did not send him to fight. He subdued the B. Jâdhîma and killed some of them (814).¹

Hakîm b. Hakîm b. 'Abd b. 'Umayr from Abû Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Ali said: When he took possession of Mecca the apostle sent Khâlid forth as a missionary. He did not send him to fight. He had with him the Arab tribes of Sulaym b. Mansûr and Mûdli b. Mur, and they subdued the B. Jâdhîma b. 'Amir b. 'Abdu Manâb b. Kinânâ. When the people saw them they grabbed their weapons, and Khâlid said, ‘Lay down your arms, for everybody has accepted Islam.’

A traditionist of B. Jâdhîma who was one of our companions told me: ‘When Khâlid ordered us to lay down our arms one of our men called Jabdam said, “Woe to you, B. Jâdhîma! This is Khâlid. If you lay down your arms you will be bound, and after you have been bound you will be beheaded. By God, I’ll never lay down my arms.” Some of his people laid hold of him saying “Do you want to shed our blood? Everyone else has accepted Islam and laid down their arms; war is over and everybody is safe.” They persisted to the point of taking away his arms, and they themselves laid down their arms at Khâlid’s word.’

Hakîm b. Hakîm from Abû Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Ali told me: As soon as they had laid down their arms Khâlid ordered their hands to be tied behind their backs and put them to the sword, killing a number of them. When the news reached the apostle he raised his hands to heaven and said, ‘O God, I am innocent before Thee of what Khâlid has done’ (815).

Hakîm on the same authority told me that the apostle summoned ‘Ali and told him to go to these people and look into the affair, and abolish the practices of the pagan era. So ‘Ali went to them with the money the apostle had sent and paid the bloodwit and made good their monetary loss even for

¹ T’s history (1649) is better arranged. It shows that I.I.’s narrative recorded that the force halted at al-Guwayya, a well belonging to Jâdhîma, and records the latter’s killing of Khâlid’s uncle. I.H. has disturbed the natural flow of events.
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a dog’s bowl. When all blood and property had been paid for he still had some money over. He asked if any compensation was still due and when they said it was not he gave them the rest of the money on behalf of the apostle in case claims of which neither he nor they knew at the time should arise. Then he returned and reported to the apostle what he had done and he commended him. Then the apostle arose and faced the Qibla and raised his arms so that his armpits could be seen and said: ‘O God, I am innocent before Thee of what Khalid has done.’ This he said three times.

Some who would excuse Khalid said that he said: ‘I did not fight until ‘Abdullah b. Hudayfah al-Suhri ordered me to do so and he said, “The apostle has ordered you to fight them because they keep back from Islam.”’ (816).

Jahdham had said to them when they laid down their arms and he saw what Khalid was doing with the B. Jadhíma: ‘O B. Jadhíma, the battle is lost. I gave you full warning of the disaster into which you have fallen.’ I have heard that Khalid and Abúl-Rahmán b. ‘Auf had words about this. The latter said to him, ‘You have done a pagan act in Islam,’ to which he replied that he had only avenged Abúl-Rahmán’s father. He answered that he was a liar because he himself had killed his father’s slayer; but Khalid had taken vengeance for his uncle al-Fákhb b. al-Mughra so that there was bad feeling between them. Hearing of this the apostle said, ‘Gently, Khalid, leave my companions alone, for by God if you had a mountain3 of gold and spent it for God’s sake you would not approach the merit of my companions.’

Now al-Fákhb b. al-Mughra b. ‘Abdullah b. ‘Umar b. Makhzúm, and ‘Auf b. ‘Abdulláh b. Abúl-Harith b. Zuhr, and ‘Afín b. Abúl-‘Ays b. Umasya b. ‘Abdu Shams had gone out trading to the Yemen. ‘Afín took his son ‘Uthmán and ‘Auf took his son Abúl-Rahmán. When they returned they carried the money of a man of B. Jadhíma b. ‘Amir, who had died in the Yemen, to his heirs. One of them made Khalid b. Hisám claim it and met them in the Jadhíma territory before they could get to the dead man’s family. They refused to give it up. A fight for the possession of the money took place during which ‘Auf and al-Fákhb were killed, ‘Afín and his son escaping. They seized the property of al-Fákhb and ‘Auf and took it away and Abúl-Rahmán killed Khalid b. Hisám the slayer of his father. Quraysh mediated an attack on B. Jadhíma, but they declared that the assault had not been planned by them and that they did not know of it until afterwards. They offered to pay compensation for blood and property and Quraysh agreed, and so war was avoided.

One of the B. Jadhíma said, though some say it was a woman called Salmá:

Had not one tribe said to another, Be Muslims, Sulaym, that day, would have met a strong opponent.

1 Lit. Ubud.

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Busr and the men of Jadhám and Murra would have smitten them Until they left the camels groaning in pain.
How many warriors did you see on the day of Ghumraya?2
Dead, never wounded before, always giving the wounds.3
(War) made husbandless women remain with the marríngmakers And separated the men who were married from their wives (817).

‘Abbás b. Mírdas answered her; some say it was al-Jabáf b. Hakím al-Sulámi:

Stop this idle talk; sufficient opponent
Are we always to the hero of the battle. Khalid was more to be excused than you
The day he took the plain way in the affair, Helped by God’s command driving towards you (Horses) which stumble not going left and right.
They brought the news of Málék’s death in the plain when they went 837 down to it.
Storm viaged showing their teeth in clouds of dust.
If we have bereaved you, Salma, You have left2 men and women to bewail Málık.

Al-Jabáf b. Hakím al-Sulámi said:

Horses given free rein were with the prophet at Hunayn Bleeding from their wounds.
In Khalid’s raid too their hooves Galloped in the sacred area.
We set our faces against the spears Faces never given to be slapped.
I am not one to throw my garments from me3 Whenever a warrior shakes his lance, But my coat beneath me bears me To the heights4 with my sharp sword.

Ya'qúb b. ‘Utbá b. al-Mughra b. al-Akhnás from al-Zuhri from Ibn Abú Íhadad al-Aslami told me: I was with Khalid’s cavalry that day when a young man of the B. Jadhíma who was about my own age spoke to me. His hands were tied to his neck by an old rope and the women were standing in a group a short distance away. He asked me to take hold of the rope and lead him to the women so that he might say what he had to say and then bring him back and do what we liked with him. I said that that was a

1 If say yana be read here, the meaning would be: ‘Dead, having wounded no one, though they could have done so (had they had the chance).’
2 C. ‘you have been left’. In the absence of further information one can only adopt what seems the more probable sense; you were the aggressors when you killed Málık.
3 i.e. to expose himself so as to obtain quarter from his opponent; or, if yâbâ here means ‘mail’, to reduce his weight so that his mount could run away faster.
4 Perhaps meaning ‘to the heights of glory’.
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small thing to ask and I led him to them. As he stood by them he said, 'Fare you well, Hubaysha, though life is at an end.'

Tell me when I sought and found you in Halya
Or came on you in al-Khunain,
Was I not a lover worthy to be given what he asked,
Who undertook journeys by night and noonday?
I did no wrong when I said when our people were together,
Reward me with love before some misfortune befalls!
Reward me with love before distance divides
And the chief goes off with a dear one thus parted.
For I was never disloyal to our secret trust
And my eye never looked admiringly at another.
When the tribe's troubles distracted me from love
Even then the attraction of love was there (818).

The same authority told me that she said: 'May your life be prolonged seven and ten continuous years and eight thereafter.' Then I took him away and he was beheaded.

Abu Fira'is b. Abu Samihul al-Aslamî from some of their shaykhs from one who was present said: She went to him when he was beheaded and bent over him and kept on kissing him until she died at his side.

One of the B. Jadhima said:

God requite Mudij for the evil they did us
Wherever they go or rest.
They took our goods and divided them:
The spears came at us not once nor twice.
Were it not for the religion of Muhammad's people
Their cavalry would have fled and been driven off.
What hindered them from helping a squadron
Like a swarm of locusts loose and scattered abroad?
If they repent or return to their (right) way
We will not repay them for what the squadron lost.1

Wahb of the B. Layth answered him:

We called 'Amir to Islam and the truth.
It is not our fault if 'Amir turned their backs.
What happened to 'Amir, confound them, is not our fault.
Because their minds were foolish and went astray.

One of the B. Jadhima said:

Congratulations, B. Ka'b on the coming of Khalid and his companions
The mora when the squadrons came on us.
Ibn Khuyaylid showed no desire for revenge.

Reading with C. Khay'if

2 Or, reading the passive with W., 'for the squadron having been led astray'.

You would have been content had you not been there.
Our men do not keep their foals from us,
Nor is the malady of the day of al-Ghumaysî cured.

A young man of B. Jadhima who was leading his mother and his two 839 sisters in their flight from Khalid's force said:

Set free your skirts, let your garments trail;
Walk as chaste women who do not quail.
We guard our women, we will not fail.

Young men of B. Jadhima known as B. Mubhaiq were composing rough verse when they heard of Khalid, and one of them said:

Ṣafra', white of flanks whom a man with flock and camels
Possesses, knows that I will do all a man can do this day.

And another said:

Ṣafra', who diverts her husband well knows,
She who eats but a morsel of meat,
That today I will deliver a swift blow
As one leaving the sacred area hits sluggish pregnant camels

And another said:

No long-nerved lion with ponderous paws,
Ferocious mien, and tawaw whiskers,
Roaring 'twixt jungle and thicket when the morn is cold,
Whose only food is man,
Is holier than I was that day, I swear.

Khālid's Journey to Destroy Al-'Uzza

Then the apostle sent Khālid to al-'Uzza which was in Nakha. It was a temple which this tribe of Quraysh and Kûmân and all Mudar used to venerate. Its guardians and wardens were B. Shubayb of B. Sulaym, allies of B. Hāshim. When the Sulaim guardian heard of Khalid's coming he hung his sword on her, climbed the mountain on which she stood, and said:

O 'Uzza, make an annihilating attack on Khālid,
Throw aside your veil and gird up your train.
O 'Uzza, if you do not kill this man Khālid
Then bear a swift punishment or become a Christian.2

When Khālid arrived he destroyed her and returned to the apostle.

1 I prefer this reading to W.'s shulat, 'calm'.
2 For 'tihm see Lane, 3yo; it can stand both for crime and punishment. Tanajjari really means 'become a Muslem', because the speaker at that date saw no difference between the two religions.
When Hawāzīn heard how God had given the apostle possession of Mecca, Mālik b. ‘Auf al-Nasīr collected them together. There assembled to him also all Thaqif and all Naṣr and Jusham; and Sa’d b. Bakr, and a few men from B. Hitāl. There were no others present from Qays ‘Ayān. Ka‘b and Kīlāb of Hawāzīn kept away and no one of any importance from them was present. Among the B. Jusham was Durayd b. al-Simmā, a very old man whose sole remaining use was his valuable advice and his knowledge of war, for he was an experienced leader. Thaqif had two leaders: Qārīb b. al-Aswād b. Mas‘ūd b. Mu‘attib commanded the Ajālāf, and Dhu‘l-Khīmār Subay’ b. al-Hārith b. Mālik and his brother Abārmand the B. Mālik. The general direction of affairs lay with Mālik b. ‘Auf al-Nasīr. When he decided to attack the apostle he placed with the men their cattle, wives, and children. When he halted at Autās the men assembled to him, among them Durayd b. al-Simmā in a sort of howdah in which he was carried. As soon as he arrived he inquired what wadi they were in and when he was told that it was Autās he said that it was a fine place for cavalry. ‘Not a hill with jagged rocks, nor a plain full of dust; but why do I hear the groaning of camels and the braying of asses, and the crying of children and the bleating of sheep?’1 They told him that Malik had brought them with the men, and he immediately inquired for him and said, ‘O Mālik, you have become the chief of your people and this is a day which will be followed by great events.’ He then inquired about the cattle and the women and children, and Mālik explained that his purpose in bringing them and putting them behind the men was to make them fight to the death in their defence. He made a sound indicative of dismay2 and said: ‘You sheep-tender, do you suppose that anything will turn back a man that runs away? If all goes well nothing will help you but sword and lance; if it goes ill you will be disgraced with your family and property.’ Then he asked what had happened to Ka‘b and Kīlāb; and when he heard that they were not there he said, ‘Bravery and force are not here; were it a day of lofty deeds Ka‘b and Kīlāb would not have stayed away. I wish that you had done what they have done. What clans have you got?’ They told him ‘Amr b. ‘Amir and ‘Auf b. ‘Amir and he said, ‘Those two sprigs of Amīr can do nothing either way. You’ve done no good, Mālik, by sending forward the mainbody, the mainbody of Hawāzīn, to meet the cavalry. Send them up to the high and inaccessible part of their land and meet the apostles’ on horseback. If all goes well those behind can join you, and if the battle goes against you you will have saved your families and stock. Mālik answered, ‘I won’t do it. You are an old dotard. You will either obey me, O Hawāzīn, or I will lean on my sword until it comes out from my back.’ He could not hear Durayd’s having any credit in the matter. Hawāzīn said that they would obey him and Durayd said, ‘This is a day which I did not witness (as a warrior) and did not altogether miss.’

Would that I were young again!
I would ride forward gently
Leading long-haired steeds
Like young antelopes (819).

(T. Durayd was the chief of the B. Jusham and their leader and greatest man, but old age had overtaken him so that he was feeble. His full name was Durayd b. al-Simmā b. Bakr b. ‘Alqama b. Jushā‘ a. Ghāzīya b. Jusham b. Mu‘āwīa b. Bakr b. Hawāzīn. Then Mālik said to the men, ‘As soon as you see them, break your scabards and attack them as one man.’)

Umayya b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān informed me that he was told that Mālik sent out spies who came back with their joints dislocated. When he asked what on earth had happened to them they said, ‘We saw white men on piebald horses and immediately we suffered as you see.’ And, by God, even that did not turn him back from the course he intended.

When the prophet heard about them he sent ‘Abdullāh b. Abī Ḥadīd al-Aslamī to them and ordered him to go among them and stay with them until he learned all about them, and then bring him back the news. ‘Abdullāh went and stayed with them until he learned that they had decided to fight the apostle and the dispositions of Hawāzīn, and then came back to tell the apostle. (T. The apostle called for ‘Umar and told him what Ibn Abī Ḥadīd had said. ‘Umar said that he was a liar. He replied, ‘You may call me a liar, ‘Umar, but for a long time you denied the truth.’ ‘Umar said, ‘Do you not hear what he says, O apostle?’ and the apostle answered, ‘You were in error and God guided you, ‘Umar.’)

When the apostle decided to go out against Hawāzīn he was told that Saḥwān b. Umayya had some armour and weapons, so he sent to him though he was at that time a polytheist, saying, ‘Lend us these weapons of yours so that we may fight our enemies tomorrow.’ Saḥwān asked, ‘Are you demanding them by force, Muhammad?’ He said, ‘No, they are a loan and a trust until we return them to you.’ He said that in that case there was no objection and he gave him a hundred coats of mail with sufficient arms to go with them. They allege that the apostle asked for transport to carry them and he provided it.

Then the apostle marched with 2,000 Meccans and 10,000 of his companions who had gone out with him when he conquered Mecca, 12,000 in

1 The ḥabīb was one who changed his religion; in this case the newly converted Muslims
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§831. The apostle left in charge of Mecca 'Atīth b. Asīd b. Abīl-'Īs b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams to look after the men who had stayed behind. Then he went forward to meet Ḥawāzin.

'Abdās b. Mūriḍās al-Sulami said:

This year the ghoul of their people has smitten Rīf!
In the midst of their tents, for the ghoul has many forms.

Alas for the mother of Khūth when the cavalry of Ibn Haudha
And Insānī came on them unopposed.

Deny not your kindred, strengthen the bonds with your protégés,
Your cousins are Sa'd and Dhuwhāni.

You will not return them though it is a flagrant disgrace (not to do so),
As long as milk is in the captured camels.

It is a disgrace by whose shame Ḥadāni has been covered
And Dhu Shaughar and Silīvānī flow with it.

It is no better than what Ḥaddāf roasted
When he said, 'All roasted wild ass is inedible.'

Hawāzin are a good tribe save that they have a Yamānī disease:
If they are not treacherous they are deceitful.

They have a brother—had they been true to their covenant
And had we reduced them by war they would have been kindly.

Take to Ḥawāzin one and all

A plain message of advice from me.

I think God's apostle will attack you in the morning
With an army extending over all the plain;
Among them your brother Sulaymān who will not let you go.

And the Muslims, God's servants, Ghassān.

On his right are the Bānī Asad
And the redoubtable Bānī 'Asha and Dhūbyān.

The earth almost quaked in fear,
And in the van are Aus and 'Uthmān.

Aus and 'Uthmān are two tribes of Muzayna (820).

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhārī from Sīnān b. Abū Sīnān al-Dū'āli from Abū Wāqiq al-Laythī told me that al-Ḥārith b. Malik said: We went forth with the apostle to Ḥunaynīn fresh from paganism. The heathen Quraysh and other Arabs had a great green tree called Dhuṭū Anwāt to which they used to come every year and hang their weapons on it and sacrifice beside it and devote themselves to it for a day. As we were going with the apostle we saw a great locust tree and we called out to the apostle from the sides of the way, 'Make us a tree to hang things on such as they have.' He said, 'Allah akbar! By Him who holds my life in His hand, You have said what Moses' people said to him: 'Make us a god even as they have gods.' He said, 'You are ignorant people. You would follow the customs of those who were before you.'

'Āsim b. 'Umar b. Qatīda from Abūl-Raḥmān b. Jābir from his father Jābir b. Abdulrahman told me: When we approached Wādī Ḥunayn we came down through a wadi wide and sloping. We were descending gradually in the morning twilight. The enemy had got there before us and had hidden themselves in its bypaths and side tracks and narrow places. They had collected and were fully prepared, and by God we were terrified when as we were coming down, the squadrons attacked us as one man. The people broke and fled none heeding the other. The apostle dwindled to the right and said, 'Where are you going, men? Come to me. I am God's apostle. I am Muhammad the son of 'Abdulrahman.' And not for nothing did the camels bump one into the other. The men ran away except that a number of Muhājirs and Anṣār and men of his family remained with the apostle. Of the Muhājirs who stood firm were Abū Bakr and 'Umar; of his family 'Alī and al-'Abbās and Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith and his son; and al-Fād b. 'Abbās, and Rabi' b. al-Ḥārith and Ubayy b. Sa'd and Ayman b. Umair Ayman b. 'Ubayy who was killed that day (834).

There was a man of Hawāzin on a red camel carrying a black banner at the end of a long spear leading Hawāzin. When he overtook a man he thrust him with his spear. When people moved out of his reach he lifted his spear to those behind him and they went after them.

When the men fled and the rude fellows from Mecca who were with the apostle saw the flight some of them spoke in such a way as to disclose their enmity. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb said, 'Their flight will not stop before they get to the sea.' He had his divining arrows with him in his quiver. Jabal b. al-Raḥbil cried (822) (he together with his brother Sa'fān b. Umayya was a polytheist during the respite which the apostle had given him):

'Surely soreness is vain today,' Sa'fān said, 'Shut up! God smash your mouth! I would rather be ruled by a man of Quraysh than a man of Hawāzin.' (823).

Shayba b. 'Uthmān b. Abū Ṭalḥa, brother of B. 'Abdul-'Arī, Dār, said: I said, 'Today I will get my revenge on Muhammad (for his father had been killed at Uhud). Today I will kill Muhammad.' I went round him to kill him and something happened to stay my purpose so that I could not do it and I knew that he was protected from me.

One of the Moccans told me that when the apostle left Mecca for Ḥunayn and saw the great number of God's armies that were with him he said, 'We shall not be worsted today for want of numbers.' Some people allege that a man of B. Bakr said this:

Al-Zuhārī from Kathār b. al-'Abbās from his father told me: I was with the apostle holding the ring of the bridle which I had put between the jaws

1 Suhrā 7, 134.
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of his white mule. I was a big man with a powerful voice. The apostle was saying when he saw the army in confusion, 'Where are you going, men?' And not one of them paid heed, and he said, 'O 'Abdās cry loudly, 'O Ansār, O comrades of the acacia tree'! and they answered 'Here we are'; and a man would try to turn his beast and could not do it; and he would take his mail and throw it on its neck, and take his sword and shield and get off his mount and let it go its way and make for the voice until he came to the apostle. Finally a hundred were gathered by him and they went forward and fought. At first the cry was 'To me, Ansār!' and finally 'To me, Khazraj!' They were steadfast in the fight and the apostle standing in his stirrups looked down at the mêlée as they were fighting and said, 'Now the oven is hot.'

'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qata'ī from 'Abūl-Rahmān from his father Jabir b. 'Abdullāh said, 'While that man with the Hawāzīn standard on his camel was doing as he did 'Ali and one of the Ansār turned aside making for him, 'Ali came on him from behind and hamstring his camel and it fell upon its rump; and the Ansār leapt upon him and struck him a blow which sent his foot flying with half his shank and he fell from his saddle. The men went on fighting and, by God, when those who had ran away returned they found only prisoners handcuffed with the apostle.

The apostle turned to 'Abū Sufyān who was one of those who stood firm with the apostle that day and was an excellent Muslim when he accepted the faith, as he was holding on to the back of the saddle of his mule and asked who it was. He replied, 'I am your mother's son, O apostle of God.'

'Abdullāh b. 'Abū Bakr told me that the apostle turned and saw 'Umm Sulaym d. Mūlah who was with her husband 'Abū Taḥla. She was wearing a striped girdle and was pregnant with her son 'Abdullāh b. 'Abū Taḥla. She had her husband's camel with her and was afraid that it would be too much for her, so she brought its head near to her and put her hand in the nose ring of hair along with the nose rein. After telling the apostle who she was in response to his question she said, 'Kill those who run away from you as you kill those who fight you, for they are worthy of death!' The apostle said, 'Rather God will save (me the need), O 'Umm Sulaym!' She had a knife with her and 'Abū Taḥla asked why, and she said, 'I took the knife so that if a polytheist came near me I could rip him up with it!' He said, 'Do you hear what 'Umm Sulaym al-Rumaysa? says, O apostle?'

When he set out for Hunayn the apostle had joined B. Sulaym to al-Dāhīdāh b. Sufyān al-Kilābī so that they went along with him. And when the men fled Mālik b. 'A'am said, addressing his horse:

Forward, Muhāja! This is a difficult day
Such as I on such as thee turns ever to the fight.

1 *Wāqyā*, a play on the name Ayāt.
2 He was actually his cousin. Mother here stands for grandmother.
3 The name of his horse.

If the front and rear ranks are lost
Still they come band after band,
Squadrons the eye tire in counting.
I used to thrust with a spear dripping with blood.
When the lurking cove was blazed
I would make a wide gash whence blood gushed audibly:
Blood spurting from its midst,
Sometimes in spouts, sometimes quietly flowing,
The spear shaft broken in it.
O Zayd, O Iba Hamān, where are you fleeing?
Now teeth are gone, old age has come.
The white long-veiled women know
That I am no tyro in such affairs
When the chaste wife is sent out from the curtains.

Malik also said:

Forward, Muhāja! They are fine horsemen.
Do not think that the enemy have gone (824).

'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr told me that he was told from Abū Qata'ī al-Anṣārī and one of our companions whom I have no reason to suspect told me from Nāfī', client of B. Ghiyār Abū Muhammad from Abū Qata'ī, that the latter said: On the day of Hunayn I saw two men fighting, a Muslim and a polytheist. A friend of the latter was making to help him against the Muslim, so I went up to him and struck off his head, and he throttled me with the other; and by God he did not let me go until I smelt the neck of blood (825). He had all but killed me and had not less of blood weakened him he would have done so. But he fell and I struck and killed him, and was too occupied with the fighting to pay any more attention to him. One of the Meccans passed by and stripped him, and when the fighting was over and we had finished with the enemy the apostle said that anyone who had killed a foe could have his spoil. I told the apostle that I had killed a man who was worth stripping and had been too occupied with fighting at the time and that I did not know who had spoiled him. One of the Meccans admitted that I had spoken the truth and that the spoil was in his possession. 'So pay him to his satisfaction on my behalf from his spoil.' Abū Bakr said, 'No, by Allah, he shall not "give him satisfaction" from it. Are you going to make one of God's lions who fought for His religion go shares with you in his prey? Return the spoil of the man he killed to him!' The apostle confirmed Abū Bakr's words, so I took the spoil from him and sold it and bought with the money a small palm-grove. It is the first property I ever held.

One I do not suspect told me from Abū Salama from Ibrahīm b. 'Abdullāh b. Abū Taḥla from Anas b. Malik: Abū Taḥla alone took the spoil of twenty men.

1 i.e. when the enemy attack the encampment and the women cannot be protected.
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My father Ishāq b. Yasār told me that he was told from Jubayr b. Mu'ājm: Before the people fled and men were fighting one another I saw the like of a black garment coming from heaven until it fell between us and the enemy. I looked, and to black ants everywhere filled the wadi. I had no doubt that they were the angels. Then the enemy fled.

When God put to flight the polytheists of Hunayn and gave his apostle power over them a Muslim woman said:

Allah’s cavalry have beaten Al-Lāt’s cavalry
And Allah best deserves to hold fast (826).

When Hawāzin were put to flight the killing of Thaqqīf among the B. Mālik was severe and seventy of them were killed beneath their flag, among whom were 'Uthmān b. 'Abdullah b. Rabī‘a b. al-Hārith b. Habīb. Their flag was with Dhū‘l-Khimār. When he was killed 'Uthmān b. 'Abdullah took it and fought by it until he was killed.

‘Amīr b. Wahb b. al-Aswad told me that when news of his death reached the apostle he said, 'God curse him! He used to hate Quraysh.'

Ya‘qūb b. ‘Uthba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhamas told me that a young uncircumcised Christian slave was killed with ‘Uthmān, and while one of the Anṣārians was plundering the slain of Thaqqīf he stripped the slave to plunder him and found that he was uncircumcised. He called out at the top of his voice, 'Look, you Arabs, God knows that Thaqqīf are uncircumcised.' Mughīra b. Shu‘ba took hold of his hand, for he was afraid that this report would go out from them among the Arabs, and told him not to say that, for the man concerned was only a Christian slave. Then he began to uncover the slain and showed that they were circumcised.

The flag of the Ablāf was with Qārīb b. al-Aswad, and when the men were routed he leant it against a tree, and he and his cousins and his people fled. Only two men of the Ablāf were killed and one of the B. Ghiyara called Wahh and another of B. Kubba called al-Julāh. When the apostle heard of the killing of al-Julāh he said, 'The chief of the young men of Thaqqīf except Ibn Hunayda has been killed today, meaning by him al-Hārith b. Uways.

‘Abbās b. Mīrās al-Sulami, mentioning Qārīb b. al-Aswad and his flight from his father's sons, and Dhū‘l-Khimār and his shutting up his people to death, said:

Who will tell Ghaylān and ‘Urwa from me
(I think one who knows will come to him).
I send to tell you something
Which is different from what you say which will go round
That Muhammad is a man, an apostle to my Lord
Who errs not, neither does he sin.
We have found him a prophet like Moses,
Any who would rival him in goodness must fail.

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Evil was the state of the B. Qaṣīy in Wajj
When each one's affairs were decreed.
They lost the day (and every people has a ruler
And fortunes change).
We came on them like lions of the thickets,
The armies of God came openly.
We came at the main body of B. Qaṣīy
Almost flying at them in our rage.
Had they stayed I swear we would have come at them
With armies and they would not have got away.
We were as lions of Liya there until we destroyed them
And al-‘Naṣīr were forced to surrender.
There was a day before that day at Hunayn which is past
And blood then flowed freely.
In former days there was no battle like this;
Men of long memories have never heard of such.
We slew B. Ḥujayt in the dust by their flags
While the cavalry turned away.
Dhū‘l-Khimār was not the chief of a people
Who possessed intelligence to blame or disapprove.
He led them on the road to death
As everyone could see.
Those who escaped were choked with terror,
A multitude of them were slain.
The languid man could not help in such a case
Nor he who was too shy and hesitant to attack.
He destroyed them and he perished himself.
They had given him the leadership and the leaders fled.
Bani ‘Auf’s horses went at a fair pace
Fed on fresh grass and barley.
But for Qārīb and his father's sons
The fields and castles would have been divided,
But they attained prominence
By the lucky advice they were given.
They obeyed Qārīb and they had good fortune
And good sense that brought them glory.
If they are guided to Islam they will be found
Leaders of men while time lasts.
If they do not accept it they call
For God's war in which they will have no helper.
As war destroyed the B. Sa‘d
And fate the clan of B. Ghaziya.
The B. Mu‘āwiya b. Bakr

1 Qaṣī is a name of Thaqqīf and Wajj is a wadi in al-Ṭā‘if.
2 A place near al-Ṭā‘if.
3 The family of Mālik b. ‘Auf al-Naṣīr.
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Wore like a flock of sleep coming bleating to Islam.
We said, 'Be Muslims; we are your brethren,
For our breasts are free from enmity.'

When the people came to us they scouted
Blind to hatred after peace had come (827).

When the polytheists were routed they came to al-'Tā'if. Mālik b. 'Auf was with them and others were encamped in Auṣās. Some of them made for Nakhl, but only the B. Ghayyār of Thaqīf. The apostle's cavalry followed those who took the road to Nakhl, but not those who went to the passes.

Rabi'ī b. Rufay'ī b. Uibān b. Tha'labā b. Rabī'ī b. Yarbi'ī b. Sammāl b. 'Auf b. Imrū'ul-Qays who was called after his mother Ibn Dughanna more often (828) overtook Durayd b. al-Simma and took hold of his camel's halter, thinking that he was a woman because he was in his howdah. And lo, it was a man; he made the camel kneel and it was a very old man—Durayd b. al-Simma. The young man did not know him and Durayd asked him what he wanted and what was his name. He told him and said that he wanted to kill him, and struck him with his sword to no effect. Durayd said, 'What a poor weapon your mother has given you! Take this sword of mine that is behind the saddle in the howdah and strike me with that above the spine and below the head, for that is the way I used to strike men. Then when you come to your mother tell her that you have killed Durayd b. al-Simma, for many's the day I have protected your women.'

The B. Sulaym allege that Rabi'ī said, 'When I smote him he fell and exposed himself, and lo his chest and the inside of his thighs were like paper from riding horses bareback. When Rabi'ī returned to his mother he told her that he had killed him and she said, ‘By God, he set free three mothers and grandmothers of yours.'

853 'Amra d. Durayd said of Rabi'ī's killing him:

I'm faith I did not fear the army of fate
On Durayd's account in the valley of Sumayra
God repay the B. Sulaym for him
And may ingratitude rend them for what they have done.
May He give us the blood of their best men to drink
When we lead an army against them.
My y a calamity did you avert from them
When they were at the point of death.
Many a noble woman of theirs did you free
And others you loosed from bonds.
Many a man of Sulaym named you noble
As he died when you had answered his call.
Our reward from them is ingratitude and grief.

1 Miṣw. 68 quotes two lines of verse attributed to Durayd which may have been in Maghāza. Cf. Ismāīl, 377.

'Amra also said:

They said, 'We have killed Durayd.' 'True,' I said,
And my tears flowed down my garment.
Were it not for Him who has conquered all the tribes
Sulaym and Ra'b would have seen what counsel to follow.
A great army of pungent smell!
Would have attacked them continuously wherever they were (829).

The apostle sent Abū 'Amir al-Ash'ari on the track of those who had gone towards Auṣās and he overtook some of the fugitives. In the skirmishes which followed Abū 'Amir was killed by an arrow and Abū Mūsā al-Ash'ari, his cousin, took the standard. He continued the fight and God gave him the victory and routed the enemy. It is alleged that Sulaym b. Durayd shot Abū 'Amir in the knee and the wound proved fatal. He said:

If you ask about me I am Sulaym,
The son of Samādir to one who asks further,
I smite with my sword the heads of the Muslims.

Samādir was his mother.

The B. Naṣr killed many of B. Ri'āb and they allege that 'Abdullah b. Qays, called b. al-'Aurāf, one of B. Wābb b. Ri'āb, said to the apostle, 'B. Ri'āb have perished,' and they allege that the apostle said, 'O God, make good their losses.'

Mālik b. 'Auf during the flight stopped with some of his horsemen at a pass on the road and told them to wait until the weak ones passed and those in the rear had caught up, and they did so. Mālik said of that:

Were it not for two charges on Muhāj
The way would be difficult for the camp followers.
But for the charge of Duhmān b. Naṣr
At the palms where al-Shaadīqā flows
Ja'far and Bani Hilāil would have returned discontented
Riding two on a camel in their distress (836).

Salama b. Durayd who was conducting his wife until he escaped they said

You would have me forget though you are unhurt
And though you know that day at the foot of al-Āzrub
That I protected you and walked behind you.
Watching on all sides when to ride would have been a boon,
When every well-trained warrior with flowing locks
Fled from his mother and did not return to his friend (831).

Accoutrements were often polished with dung.
A walk in the suburbs of al-Taw. 
One of our companions told us that the apostle that day passed by a woman whom Khalid b. al-Walid had killed while men had gathered round her. When he heard what had happened he sent word to Khalid and forbade him to kill child, or woman, or hired slave.

One of B. Sa'd b. Bakr told me that the apostle said that day, 'If you get hold of Bujjád, a man of B. Sa'd b. Bakr, don't let him escape you,' for he had done great wrong. When the Muslims took him they led him away with his family and with him (T. his sister) al-Shayma' b. al-Harith (T. b. Abdullah) b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza, foster-sister of the apostle. They treated her roughly as they brought her along and she told the Muslims that she was the foster-sister of the apostle, but they did not believe until they had brought her to the apostle.

Yazid b. 'Ubayd al-Sa'di told me that when she was brought to the apostle she claimed to be his foster-sister, and when he asked for proof she said, 'The bite you gave me in my back when I carried you at my hip.' The apostle acknowledged the proof and stretched out his robe for her to sit on and treated her kindly. He gave her the choice of living with him in affection and honour or going back to her people with presents, and she chose the latter. The B. Sa'd allege that he gave her a slave called Makhzul and a slave girl; the one married the other and their progeny still exists (832).

The names of those martyred at Hunayn were:

From Quraysh of B. Hisham: Ayman b. 'Ubayd.


From the Ansar: Surāqa b. al-Harib b. Adiy from B. 'Ajlan.

From the Ash'ariyyun: Abū 'Amir al-Ash'ari.

The captives of Hunayn were brought to the apostle with their property. Mas'ud b. 'Amr al-Ghifari (T. al-Qatari) was over the spoils and the apostle ordered that the captives and the animals should be brought to al-Jirâna and he kept in ward there.

Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abū Sulma' said about Hunayn:

But for God and His servant you would have turned back
When fear overwhelmed every coward
On the slope the day our opponents met us
While the horses galleped at full stretch
Some running clutching their garments,
Others knuckled sideways by hooves and chests.
God honoured us and made our religion victorious
And glorified us in the worship of the Compassionate
God destroyed them and dispersed them all
And humiliated them in the worship of Satan (833).
The Life of Muhammad

I tell you I saw him charging in clouds of dust
Crushing the heads of the polytheists;
Now throttling with bare hands,
Now splitting their skulls with his sharp sword.1
The B. Sulaym hastened before him
With continual cuts and thrusts at the enemy.
They walked beneath his banner there
Like lions with a haunt they mean to defend.
They did not hope for consideration of kinship
But obedience to their Lord and your love.
These were our doings for which we are renowned.
And our Helper is your Lord.

He said also:

If you saw, O Umm Farwa, our horses
Some led riderless and lame!
The battle had reduced their fitness,
Blood gushed from deep wounds.
Many a woman whom our prowess protected
From the hardship of war so that she2 had no fear, said,
'There are none like those who came to make an agreement
Which forged an inseparable link with Muhammad.'
A deputation among them Abū Qaṣār, Husayd
And Abū’l-Ḳhwāz and Wāsī’ and Miqna.
And he who led the hundred which brought
The nine hundred to a complete thousand.
Banū Ṭaʿāf and the clan of Muhkūshin collected six hundred
And four hundred were brought from Khūṣuf.
There when the prophet was helped by our thousand
He handled us a fluttering standard.
We conquered with his flag and his commission bequeathed3
A glorious life and authority that will not cease.
The day that we formed the prophet’s flank
In the vale of Mecca when spears were quivering ‘twas
Our answer to him who called us to our Lord in truth:
We went helmeted and unmailed alike,
With long mail whose mesh David chose
When he wove iron, and Tubba’ too.
By Hunayn’s two wells we had a train
Which slew the hypocrites—an immovable army.
By us the prophet gained victory; we are the people who

1 C. adds here:
Smiting the heads of the warriors with it
If you had seen as I saw his prowess you would have been satisfied.
2 Or ‘her people’ (al-ḥabīb).
3 The choice of words brings out the double meaning of ‘tying’ and making an agreement.

The Life of Muhammad

In any emergency inflict loss and do well
We drove off Hawāzīn that day with spears.
Our cavalry was submerged in rising dust
When even the prophet feared their bravery, and as they came in masse
The sun all but ceased to shine thereat.
Banū Ḥudaydah were summoned and the hordes of Naṣr
In the midst while the spears were thrusting
Until the apostle Muhammad said,
‘O Banū Sulaym, you have kept your word, now desist.’
We went off and but for us their bravery
Would have injured the believers and they would have kept what they had gained.

He also said:

Miṣṣal is deserted by its people and Mutālī2
And the plain of Arīf, and its cisterns are empty.
We had houses, O Juml, when all life was pleasant
And the change of abode3 brought the tribe together.
Long absence afar has changed my beloved,
But can a happy past ever return?
If you seek the unbelievers I do not blame you,
But I am a healer and follower of the prophet.
The best of embassies I know summoned us to them,
Khuṣaymā, and al-Marrār and Wāsī’,
So we came with a thousand of Sulaym finely clad
In armour woven by David.
We hailed him lord at the two mountains of Mecca
And it was to God that we paid homage.
We entered Mecca publicly with the guided one by force of arms,
While the dust arose in all directions.
Sweat covered the backs of the horses
And warm blood from within grew hotter.
On the day of Hunayn when Hawāzīn came against us
And we could scarcely breathe
We stood steadfast with al-Dahhāk;
Struggle and combat did not dismay us.
In front of the apostle a banner fluttered above us
Like the rapid movement of a cloud.
The night that Dahhāk b. Sufyān fought with the apostle’s sword
And death was near
We defended our brother from our brother.4

2 Mutālī is a mountain in Najd.
3 Banū Ḥudaydah says ‘the days’ changes’ which is a cliché that is often used by the poets and may well be right here.
4 The point is that he is of Sulaym who was from Qays to whom Hawāzīn belonged. The line runs: ’Ayn—Qays—Khaṭṭāt—Ṭiruma—Marrār, the ‘father’ of Hawāzīn and Sulaym.
Had we a choice we would have followed our own kin,
But God's religion is the religion of Muhammad.
We are satisfied with it; it contains guidance and laws.
By it he set our affairs right after we had erred
And none can avert the decree of God.

He also said:

'The last link with Umm Mu'ammal is broken,
She has changed her mind contrary to her promise:
She had sworn by God she would not break the link,
But she did not keep her word or fulfill her oath.
She is of Banu Khuffaf who summer in the vale of al-'Aqiq
And occupy Wajra and 'Urf in the deserts.
Though Umm Mu'ammal follows the unbelievers
She has made me love her more despite her distance from me.
Someone will tell her that we refuse to do so
And seek only our Lord in alliance;
And that we are on the side of the guide, the prophet Muhammad,
And number a thousand which (number) no (other) tribe reached.
With strong warriors of Sulaym
Who obey his orders to the letter,
Khuffaf and Dhakwân and 'Auf whom you would think
Were black stallions walking among the she-camels
As though our reddish-white mail and helmets^2
Clothed long-armed lions which meet one another in their hairs.
By us God's religion is undeniably strong.
We added a like number to the clan that was with him.
When we came to Mecca, our banner
Was like an eagle soaring to dart on its prey
(Riding) on horses which gazed upwards.
You would think when they gallop in their bits there is a sound of jinn among them.

The day we trod down the unbelievers
And found no deviation or turning from the apostle's order
In a battle mid which the people heard only
Our exhortations to fight and the smashing of skulls
By swords that sent heads flying from their base
And severed the necks of warriors at a blow.
Often have we left the slain cut to pieces

And a widow crying Alas! over her husband.
*Tis God not man we seek to please;
'To Him belongs the seen and the unseen.

He also said:

What alas thine eye painful and sleepless,
Its lash feeling like a piece of chaff?
Sorrow brings sleeplessness to the eye
And tears now cover it, now flow down
Like a string of pearls with the stringer
The thread breaks and they are scattered.
How far off is the home of her you long for,
Al-Samman and al-Hazar stand in the way!
Talk no more of the days of youth.
Youth is gone and scant white locks have come,
And remember the fighting of Sulaym in their settlements;
And Sulaym have something to boast about:
They are the people who helped God
And followed the apostle's religion while men's affairs were confused.
They do not plant young palms in their midst
And crows do not low in their winter quarters.
But steeds like eagles are kept near them
Surrounded by multitudes of camels.
Khuffaf and 'Auf were summoned on their flanks
And the clan of Dhakwân armed and keen to fight.
They smote the armies of the polytheists openly
In Mecca's vale, and killed them quickly,
Until we departed, and their dead
Were like uprooted palms in the open valley.
On Hunayn's day our stand strengthened religion
And with God that is stored up.
Then we risked death in the gloom
As the black scattered dust cleared away from the horses
Under the banner with al-Dahhab leading us
As a lion wails when he enters his thicket
In a narrow place where war pressed hard.4
Sun and moon were almost blotted out by it.
We devoted our lance to God in Antis,
We helped whom we would and we became victorious
Until certain people returned to their dwellings, who
But for us and God would not have returned.
You will see no tribe great or small
But we have left our mark upon them.

1 A wadô in the Hijaz.
2 The reading here should be fâgâl 'helmets', not fâgâl 'swords' as in C. The word is left unsupplied in W. The poet is comparing the chain flaps depending from the helmets to the long ears of lions.
3 This line is difficult. A.DI. says marâ'ibûdâhâ means its pegs or pins (cover) while S. suggests that it means "where animals pasture", i.e. go to and fro. I am indebted to Dr. W. Amrâf for the rendering given above.
4 Hevan queried this hemistich. Beckendorff, Ar. Syntace, 173 reads ha'tâlahâd and renders: 'in einer Ecke wo der Kampf seine Brust hin und her setzt'; and refers to Nöldeke.
5 Grimm, 75 and Fleischer, i. 184 f.
He also said:

O rider with whom there hastens
A strong, sturdy, firm footed she-camel,
If you come to the prophet say to him as you should
When the assembly is quiet,
'O best that ever rode a camel
Or walked the earth, if souls are weighed,
We were faithful to our covenant with you
When the cavalry were driven off by warriors and wounded
When there flowed from all the sides of Jibthā
A multitude which shook the mountain paths
Until we came on the people of Mecca with a squadron
Glittering with steel, led by a proud chief
composed of Sulaym’s stoutest men
Capped in strong iron mesh with iron top
Blooding their shafts when they dashed into battle.
You would think them glowing lions.
They engaged the squadron wearing their budes.
Sword and spear in hand.
At Hunayn we were a thousand strong
By which the apostle was reinforced.
They defended the believers in the vanguard.
The sun was reflected a thousand times from their steel.
We went forward, God guarding us,
And God does not lose those He guards.
We made a stand in Manājib,
Which pleased God, what a fine stand it was!
On the day of Auṭs we fought so fiercely
That the enemy had enough and cried Stop!
Hawāżin appealed to the brotherhood between us—
The breast that supplied them with milk, is dry—
Until we left them like wild asses
Which wild beasts have continually prayed upon (§15).

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He also said:

We helped God’s apostle, angry on his account,
With a thousand warriors apart from unarmed men,
We carried his flag on the end of our lances,
His helper protecting it in deadly combat.
We dyed it with blood, for that was its colour,
The day of Hunayn when Salīwān thrust with his spear.
We were his right wing in Islam,
We had charge of the flag and displayed it.

We were his bodyguard before other troops,
He consulted us and we consulted him.
He summoned us and named us intimates first of all
And we helped him against his opponents.
God richly reward that fine prophet Muhammad
And strengthen him with victory, for God is his helper! (§36)

He also said:

Who will tell the peoples that Muhammad, God’s apostle,
Is rightly guided wherever he goes?
He prayed to his Lord and asked His help alone.
He gave it graciously fulfilling His promise.
We journeyed and met Muhammad at Qudayd,
He intending to do with us what God had determined.
*They doubted about us in the dawn and then
*They saw clearly warriors on horseback with levelled lances,
Firmly clad in mail, our infantry
A strong force like a rushing torrent,
The best of the tribe if you must ask.
Were Sulaym and those who claimed to be Sulaym,
And an army of Helpers who did not leave him
Obeying what he said unquestioningly.
Since you have made Khalid chief of the army
And promised him he has become a chief indeed
In an army guided by God whose commander you are
By which you smite the wicked with every right.
I swore a true oath to Muhammad
And I fulfilled it with a thousand briddled horses.
The prophet of the believers said, Advance!
And we rejoiced that we were the vanguard,
We passed the night at the pool of Mustad infrared
*There was no fear in us but desire and preparations (for war).
We obeyed you till all the enemy surrendered
And until in the morning we overtook the crowd, the people of Yalmlam.

The piebald steed with reddish barrel went astray
And the chief was not content till it was marked,
We attacked them like a flock of grousing the morning affrights
Everyone was too concerned to see to his fellow,
From morn till eve till we left Hunayn
With its watercourses streaming with blood.
Wherever you looked you could see a fine mare

1 A clan of Sulaym.
2 On the Mecca-Twif road
3 Even such a conspicuous animal was lost in the great crowd. The meaning of the next line may be: 'The old man was not content until he wore a distinguishing mark.'
And its rider lying beside a broken lance.
Háwázín had recovered their herds from us
And it pleased them that we should be disappointed and deprived (of them).

Yaráya b. 'úsayya al-Sulami said concerning Húnayn (Thaqíf had killed
Kínána b. al-Hakám b. Khálid b. al-Sharid, so he killed Mítján and a
nephew of his, both of Thaqíf):

'We brought our horses without overdriving them.
'To Jurash' from the people of Zayyán and al-Fam,
Killing the young lions and making for the temples
Built before our day and not yet destroyed.
If you boast of the killing of Ibn al-Sharid
I have left many widows in Wájí.

I killed the two of them avenging Ibn al-Sharid
Whom your promise of protection deceived and he blameless.
Our spears slew the men of Thaqíf
And our swords inflicted grievous wounds.

He also said:

Tell the men with you who have wives,
Never trust a woman
After what a woman said to her neighbour,
'Had the raiders not returned I should have been in the house.'
When she saw a man whom the fierce heat of a torrid land
Had left with blackened face and fleshless bones,
You could see his leaness at the end of the night
As he was clad in his mail for a raid,
I am always in the saddle of a thick short-haired mare,
My garment touching my belt.
One day in quest of booty,
Another, fighting along with the Ansára,
How much fertile land have I travelled,
How much rough uneven ground at gentle pace
That I might change her state of poverty,
And she did not want me to return, the baggage! (837)

Málík b. 'Áf, excusing his flight said:
Slit-eared camels straying from the track
Prevented sleep for an hour.
Ask Háwázín do I not injure their enemy

1 In the Yamán.
2 A place in al-Tdíd.
3 i.e., at the disposal of callers.
4 As the horse muted forward sword and belt and garments would face the same direction. The husband is speaking at this point.
5 This is the natural translation of the line, but as there is no record of 'Umar having been wounded in this battle the meaning may be that he escaped a thrust which would have soaked his saddle in blood.
A woman of B. Jusham lamenting two of her brothers who were slain at Hunayn said:

O eyes, be generous with your tears
For Malik and al-'Ali, be not niggardly.
They were the slayers of Abu 'Amir
Who held a sword with streaky marks.
They left him a bleeding lump
Staggering, feebly unsupported.

Abu Thawb Zayd b. Suhat, one of B. Sa'd b. Bakr, said:
Have you not heard that Quraysh conquered Hawazin
(Misfortunes have their causes).
There was a time, Quraysh, when if we were angry
Red blood flowed because of our rage.
There was a time, Quraysh, when if we were angry
It seemed as though snuff were in our nostrils.
And now Quraysh drive us
Like camels urged on by peasants.
I am not in a position to refuse humiliation
Nor am I disposed to give in to them (83).

'Abdullah b. Wahab, one of B. Tamim of the clan of Usayyid, answered

By God's command we smote those we met
In accordance with the best command.
When we met, O Hawazin,
We were saturating heads with fresh blood.
When you and B. Qasiy assembled
We crushed opposition like beaten leaves.
Some of your chiefs we slew
And we turned to kill both fugitive and standfast.
At-Multab lay with outstretched hands,
His dying breath sounding like a gasping young camel.
If Qays 'Aylin be angry
My snuff has always subdued them.

Khadij b. al-'Aujal al-Nasir said:
When we drew near to the waters of Hunayn
We saw repellent black and white shapes
In dense well-armed throng if they had thrown them
At the peaks of 'Uzwa they would have become flat.
If my people's chiefs had obeyed me
We should not then have met the thick cloud

Nor should we have met the army of Muhammad's people,
Eighty thousand reinforced by Khindif.

The Capture of al-Taif, a.h. 8

When the fugitives of Thaqif came to al-Taif they shut the gates of the city and made preparations for war. Neither 'Urwa b. Mas'ud nor Ghaylan b. Salama were present at Hunayn or at the siege of al-Taif; they were in Jurash learning the use of the testudo, the catapulta, and other instruments. When he had finished at Hunayn the apostle went to al-Taif. Ka'b b. Malik when the apostle came to this decision said:

We put an end to doubt in the lowlands and Khaybar,
Then we gave our swords a rest.
We gave them the choice and could they have spoken.
Their blades would have said, Give us Daus or Thaqif.
May I be motherless if you do not see
Thousands of us in your courts.
We will tear off the roofs in the valley of Wajj
And we will make your houses desolate.
Our swiftest cavalry will come on you
Leaving behind a tangled mass.
When they come down on your courts
You will hear a cry of alarm
With sharp cutting swords in their hands like flashes of lightning
By which they bring death to those who would fight them
Tempered by Indian smiths—not beaten into plates.
You would think that the flowing blood of the warriors
Was mingled with saffron the morn the forces met.
Good God, had they no adviser
From the peoples who knew about us
To tell them that we had gathered
The finest blood horses and that we had brought an army
To surround the walls of their fort with troops?
Our leader the prophet, firm,
Pursue of heart, steadfast, continent,
Straightforward, full of wisdom, knowledge, and clemency;
Not frivolous nor light minded.
We obey our prophet and we obey a Lord
Who is the Compassionate, most kind to us.
If you offer peace we will accept it
And make you partners in peace and war.
If you refuse we will fight you doggedly,
'Twill be no weak faltering affair.
We shall fight as long as we live

1 Dhitar, a sort of testudo

1 Cf. 85th. 4.
2 I conjecture mutakhatatish for mutakhashish which gives a poor sense. On p. 870. 7 the MSS. vacillate between kashifan and kashifan, and again the former is the better reading. However, some such meaning as 'looming' might be ascribed to mutakhashish. C. says it means zaahir.
Till you turn to Islam, humbly seeking refuge.
We will fight not caring whom we meet
Whether we destroy ancient holdings or newly gotten gains.
How many tribes assembled against us
Their finest stock and allies.
They came at us thinking they had no equal
And we cut off their noses and ears.
With our fine polished Indian swords,
Driving them violently before us.
To the command of God and Islam,
Until religion is established, just and straight, and
Al-Lat and al-'Uzza and Mudd are forgotten.
And we plunder of their necklaces and earrings.
For they had become established and confident,
And he who cannot protect himself must suffer disgrace.

Amr b. 'Abd Allah b. 'Amr b. 'Umayr answered him:
He who covets us willing to fight us (let him come).
We are in a well-known house which we never leave.
Our fathers were here long since
And we hold its wells and vineyards.

Amr b. 'Amir put us to the test aforetime
And the wise and intelligent told them about it.
They knew if they speak the truth that we
Bring down the high looks of the proud.
We force the strong to become meek.
And the wrongdoer to become known to the discerning.
We wear light mail the legacy of one who burned men
Gleaming like stars in the sky.
We drive them from us with sharp swords,
When they are drawn from the scabbard we do not sheathe them.

Shaidād b. 'Aid al-Jushami said about the apostle's expedition to al-Ta'īf:
Don't help al-Lat for God is about to destroy her.
How can one who cannot help herself be helped?
She that was burned in black smoke and caught fire,
None fighting before her stones, is an outcast.
When the apostle descends on your land
None of her people will be left when he leaves.

The meaning of this hemistich may be: 'And then they professed (Islam) and had peace'.

This is a hit at the Ansār through their common desertion.

1 i.e. Amīr.

2 Lit. 'not one for whom bloodwit must be paid'.

The apostle journeyed by Nakhlat'ul-Yamānīyya, and Qarn, and al-Mulyāb, and Wururatu'l-Rughah of Liya. A mosque was built there and he prayed in it.

*Amr b. Shu'ayb told me that when he came there that day he allowed retaliation for homicide, and that was the first time such a thing happened in Islam. A man of B. Layth had killed a man of Hudhayl and he killed him in retaliation. When he was in Liya the apostle ordered that the fortress of Malik b. 'Ufayyid should be destroyed. Then he went on a road called 'al-Ḍayqa'. As he was passing along it he asked its name. When he was told that it was 'the straight' he said, 'No, it is the easy.' Then he went by Nakhl till he halted under a lote tree called al-Sādhara near the property of a man of Thaqif. The apostle sent word to him, 'Either come out or we will destroy your wall.' He refused to come out so the apostle ordered his wall to be destroyed.

He went on until he halted near al-Tīlīf and pitched his camp there. Some of his companions were killed by arrows there because the camp had come too close to the wall of al-'Aṭā and the arrows were reaching them. The Muslims could not get through their wall for they had fastened the gate. When these men were killed by arrows he (T. withdrew and) pitched his camp near where his mosque stands today. He besieged them for some twenty days (839).

He had two of his wives with him: Umm Salama d. Abū Umayya (T. and another with her). He struck two tents for them and prayed between the tents. Then he stayed there. When Thaqif surrendered Amr b. Umayya b. Wāhū b. Mū'āṭtīb b. Mālik built a mosque over the place where he prayed. There was a pillar in the mosque. Some allege that the sun never rises over it any day but a cracking noise is heard from it. The apostle besieged them and fought them bitterly and the two sides exchanged arrows (840), until when the day of storming came at the wall of al-Ta'īf a number of his companions went under a testudo and advanced up to the wall to break it. Thaqif let loose on them scraps of hot iron so they came out from under it and Thaqif shot them with arrows and killed some of them. The apostle ordered that the vineyards of Thaqif should be cut down and the men fell upon them cutting them down.

Abū Saifān b. Ḥarb and al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba went up to al-Ta'īf and called to Thaqif to grant them safely so that they could speak to them. When they agreed they called on the women of Quraysh, and B. Khāna to come out to them for they were afraid that they would be captured, but they refused to come. They were Amīna d. Abū Saifān who was married to 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd by whom she gave birth to Dād Ḫ. 'Urwa (844); and...
al-Firāsṭa d. Suwayd b. 'Amr b. Thaʾlabā whose son was 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. Qāri b; and al-Fuqaymiyya Umayya d. the intercalator Umayya b. Qal'. When they refused to come out Ibn al-Aswad b. Māṣ'ūd said to the two men, 'Let me tell you of something better than that which you have come about. You know where the property of B. Aswad is.' (The apostle was between it and al-Tāʾif in a valley called al-Aqīq.) 'There is no property in al-Tāʾif more laborious to water, harder to cultivate, and more difficult to maintain than this property of B. Aswad. If Muhammad cuts down its trees it will never be cultivated again, so speak to him and let him take it for himself or leave it to God and kinmen, for there is a well-known relationship between us.' They allege that the apostle left it to them.

I have heard that the apostle said to Abū Bakr while he was besieging al-Tāʾif, 'I saw (in a dream) that I was given a bowl of butter and a cock pecked at it and spit it.' Abū Bakr said, 'I don’t think that you will attain your desire from them today.' The apostle said that he did not think so either.

Then Khūwāylā d. Ḥakīm b. Umayya b. Ḥārīthah b. al-Auqāṣ al-Sulamīyya, wife of 'Uthmān b. Maq'in, asked the apostle to give her the jewellery of Bādiya d. Ghaylān b. Salama, or the jewellery of al-Fār'ā d. Aqīq if God gave him victory over al-Tāʾif, for they were the best beloved women of Thaqīf. I have been told that the apostle said to her, 'And if Thaqīf is not permitted to me, O Khūwāylā?' She left him and went and told 'Umar, who came and asked the apostle if he had really said that. On hearing that he had, he asked if he should help him in order to break camp, and receiving his permission he did so.

When the army moved off Sa'id b. 'Ubayd b. Aṣīl b. Abū 'Amr b. 'Allāj called out, 'The tribe is holding out.' Uyyayna b. Ḥiṣn said, 'Yes, nobly and gloriously.' One of the Muslims said to him, 'God smite you, Uyyayna! Do you praise the polytheists for holding out against the apostle when you have come to help him?' 'I did not come to fight Thaqīf with you,' he answered, 'but I wanted Muhammad to get possession of al-Tāʾif so that I might get a girl from Thaqīf whom I might tread (T. make pregnant) so that she might bear me a son, for Thaqīf are a people who produce intelligent children.'

During his session there some of the slaves besieged in al-Tāʾif came to him and accepted Islam and he freed them. One whom I do not suspect from Abūdullāh b. Mukaddam from men of Thaqīf said that when al-Tāʾif surrendered some of them talked about these slaves, but the apostle refused to do anything saying that they were God's free men. One of those who spoke about them was al-Hārīth b. Kalada (842).

Now Thaqīf had seized the family of Marwān b. Qays d. Daus, having become a Muslim and helped the apostle against Thaqīf. Thaqīf allege—and Thaqīf is the ancestor on whom the tribe's claim to be of Qays is based—that the apostle said to Marwān b. Qays, 'Seize in revenge for your family the first man of Qays that you meet.' He met Ubayy b. Malik al-Qushayri and took him until they should return his family to him. Al-Dākhāl b. Suyūn al-Kilābi took the matter in hand and spoke to Thaqīf until they let Marwān's family go, and he freed Ubayy. Al-Dākhāl in what passed between him and Ubayy said:

Will you forget my kindness, O Ubayy b. Malik
The day the apostle looked away from you?
Marwān b. Qays led you by his rope
Submissive as a well-trained beast.
Some of Thaqīf behaved badly to you,
(If anyone comes to them asking for trouble they get it)
Yet they were your relatives and their minds turned to you
When you were almost in despair (843).

These are the names of the Muslims who were martyred at al-Tāʾif:
From Quraysah: the clan of B. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams: Sa'id b. Sa'id b. al-Āṣ b. Umayya; and 'Urufa b. Jannāb, an ally from al-Āṣ b. al-Ghāthuh (844): the clan of B. Taym b. Murra: 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr was shot by an arrow and died of it in Medina after the death of the apostle; the clan of Makkūn: 'Abdullāh b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughira from an arrow that day; the clan of B. 'Adīy b. Ka'b: 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr b. Rabi'a an ally; the clan of B. Sihn b. 'Amr; Al-Sa'id b. al-Hārīth b. Qays b. 'Adīy and his brother 'Abdullāh; the clan of B. Sa'id b. Layth: Jūlayyā b. 'Abdullāh.


Twelve of the apostle's companions were martyred at al-Tāʾif, seven from Quraysah, four from the Anṣār, and a man from B. Layth.

When the apostle left al-Tāʾif after the fighting and the siege Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abū Sulmā said commemorating Iunaym and al-Tāʾif:

(Al-Tāʾif) was a sequel to the battle of Hunayn
And Auṣā'a and al-ʿAbraq when
Hawāzin gathered their force in their folly
And were dispersed like scattered birds.
(The men of al-Tāʾif) could not hold a single place against us
Except their wall and the bottom of the trench.
We showed ourselves that they might come forth,
But they shut themselves in behind a barred gate.
Our unenrolled men returned to a strong surging force
Fully armed glittering with death-dealing weapons;
Compact, dark green, (if one threw them at Hadān)
It would become as though it had not been created?

The alternative 'wasted man' (pl. of ḫalid) seems less fitting. ḫanūn in pl. of hašār.

A mounain in Najd

1 i.e. as if it had never been there at all
With the gait of lions walking on thorns, as though we were horses now separated now coming together as they are led, in long armour which whenever it is donned is like a shimmering pool ruffled by the wind; well-woven armour which reaches to our sandals. Woven by David and the family of Muharram.  

DIVISION OF THE SPOIL OF HAWAZIN AND GIFTS TO GAIN MEN'S HEARTS

When he left al-Ta'if the apostle went by way of Dahná until he stopped at al-Jirána with his men, having a large number of Hawazin captives. One of his companions on the day he left Ta'if asked him to curse them but he said, 'O God, guide Ta'if and bring them to Islam.'

Then a deputation from Hawazin came to him in al-Jirána where he held 6,000 women and children, and sheep and camels innumerable which had been captured from them. 'Amr b. Shu'ayb from his father from his grandfather 'Abdullah b. 'Amr said that the deputation from Hawazin came to the apostle after they had accepted Islam, saying that the disaster which had befallen them was well known and asking him to have pity on them for God's sake. One of the Hawazin of the clan B. Sa'd b. Bakr (T. it was they who had provided the fostermother for the apostle) called Zuhray Abú Surad said: 'O Apostle of God, in the enclosures are your paternal and maternal aunts and the women who suckled you who you looked after you. Had we acted as fosterparents for al-Harith b. Abú Shirm or al-Na'man b. al-Mundhir and then got into the position in which you hold us we could hope for his kindness and favour, and you are the best of trustworthy men' (645).

(T. Then he said:

Have pity on us, apostle of God, generously,
For you are the man from whom we hope and expect pity.
Have pity on a people whom fate has frustrated,
Their well-being shattered by time's misfortunes.)

The apostle said, 'Which are dearest to you? Your sons and your wives or your cattle?' They replied, 'Do you give us the choice between our cattle and our honour? Nay, give us back our wives and our sons, for that is what we most desire.' He said, 'So far as concerns what I and the B. 'Abdul-Muttalib have are yours. When I have prayed the noon prayer with the men then get up and say, 'We ask the apostle's intercession with the Muslims, and the Muslims' intercession with the apostle for our sons and our wives.' I will then give them to you and make application on your behalf.' When the apostle had ended the noon prayers they did as he had ordered them, and no said what he had promised to say. Then the Muhájirír said that what was theirs was the apostle's, and the Ansáir said the same. But al-Aqra' b. Hábit said, 'So far as I and B. Tamím are concerned, No.' 'Uyya'na b. 'Hishän said No on behalf of himself and B. Fazára and so did 'Abbás b. Mirdás for himself and B. Sulaym; but B. Sulaym said, 'Not so; what is ours is the apostle's.' 'Abbás said to B. Sulaym, 'You have put me to shame.' Then the apostle said, 'He who holds to his right to these captives shall have six camels for every man from the first booty I (T. we) take.' Then the women and children were returned to their men.


Nafia', a client of 'Abdullah b. 'Umar from 'Abdullah b. 'Umar, told me: I sent her to my aunts of B. Jumáh to prepare and get her ready for me until I had circumambulated the temple and could come to them, wanting to take her when I returned. When I had finished I came out of the mosque and the men were running about, and when I asked why they told me that the apostle had returned their wives and children to them, so I told them that her woman was with B. Jumáh and they could go and take her, and they did so. 'Uyya'na b. 'Hishän took an old woman of Hawazin and said as he took her, 'I see that she is a person of standing in the tribe and her ransom may well be high.' When the apostle returned the captives at a price of six camels each he refused to give her back. Zuhray Abú Surad told him to let her go, for her mouth was cold and her breasts flat; she could not conceive and her husband would not care and her milk was not rich. So he let her go for the six camels when Zuhray said this. They alleged that when 'Uyya'na met al-Aqra' b. Hábit he complained to him about the matter and he said: By God, you didn't take her as a virgin in 797 he prime nor even a plump middle age!

The apostle asked the Hawazin deputation about Málık b. 'Auf and said that he was in al-Ta'if with Thaqif. The apostle told them to tell Málık that if he came to him as a Muslim he would return his family and property to him and give him a hundred camels. On hearing this Málık came out from al-Ta'if. He had been afraid that Thaqif would get to know what the apostle had said and imprison him, so he ordered that his camel should be got ready for him and that a horse should be brought to him in al-Ta'if. He came out by night, mounted his horse, and rode hard until he got to the place where his camel was tethered, and rode off to join the apostle, overtaking him in al-Jirána or Mecca. He gave him back his family and property and gave him a hundred camels. He became an excellent Muslim and at the time he said:

3 Or 'hounds'.

Following C. Qudr which the commentators say means 'horses that put the hind leg where the foreleg has trod'. W. has fudhr 'camels' or 'wild goats'. It may be that camels are meant.

i.e. 'Amr b. HIOD, King of Itra.
I have never seen or heard of a man
Like Muhammad in the whole world;
Faithful to his word and generous when asked for a gift,
And when you wish he will tell you of the future.
When the squadron shows its strength
With spears and swords that strike,
In the dust of war he is like a lion
Guarding its cubs in its den.

The apostle put him in command of those of his people who had accepted Islam, and those tribes (T. round al-Ta'if) were Thumālā, Salima, and Fahm. He began to fight Thaqīf with them: none of their flocks could come out but he raided them until they were in sore straits.

Abū Miḥiṭān b. Ḥabīb b. 'Amr b. Ḥumayr al-Thaqīfī said:
Enemies have always dreaded our neighbourhood
And now the Banū Salima raid us!
Malik brought them on us
Breaking his covenant and solemn word.
They attacked us in our settlements
And we have always been men who take revenge.

When the apostle had returned the captives of Hunayn to their people he rode away with the men followed him, saying, 'O apostle, divide our spoil of camels and herds among us' until they forced him back against a tree and his mantle was torn from him and he cried, 'Give me back my mantle, men, for by God if you had (T. I had) as many sheep as the trees of Thāima I would distribute them among you; you have not found me niggardly or cowardly or false.' Then he went to his camel and took a hair from its hump and held it aloft in his fingers, saying, 'Men, I have nothing but a fifth of your booty even to this hair, and the fifth I will return to you;
so give back the needle and the thread; for dishonesty will be a shame and a flame and utter ignominy to a man on the resurrection day.' One of the Ansār came with a ball of camel hair, saying, 'O apostle, I took this ball to make a pad for a sore camel of mine.' He answered, 'As for my share in that you can keep it!' 'If it has come to that,' he said, 'I do not want it,' and he threw it away.

The apostle gave gifts to those whose hearts were to be won over, notably the chiefs of the army, to win them and through them their people.
He gave to the following 100 camels: Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb; his son Mu'āwiya; Abū Ḥamīd b. Ḥizām; al-Ḥarīrī b. al-Ḥafrī b. Kalāda brother of B. 'Abdullāh b. Dār (847); al-Ḥarīrī b. Ḥishām; Subayl b. 'Amr; Ḥuwarrayh b. 'Abdullāh b. Ḥuwayrah al-Majā'ī al-Thaqīfī an ally of B. Zuhra; 'Umayna b. Ḥisān b. Ḥudhayfa b. Būd; al-Aqrā' b. Ḥābīs al-Tamīmī; Mālik b. 'Aṭā al-Naṣṣī; and Safwān b. Umayya.
He gave less than 100 camels to the following men of Quraysh: Makhūmā b. Naufal al-Zuhri; 'Umayr b. Wāb b. Ḥiṣāb; 'Amr b. 'Abdullāh b. Luʿayy and others. He gave 50 to Sa'd b. Yarbu and to al-Muhīr b. Ankhāda b. 'Amir b. Makhzūm and to Sa'd b. Yarbu (848).

The apostle gave Abū Ṣa'īd b. Miṣrī some camels and he was dissatisfied with them and blamed the apostle in the following verses:

It was spoil that I gained
When I charged on my horse in the plain
And kept the people awake lest they should sleep
And when they slept kept watch.
My spoil and that of 'Ubayd my horse
Is shared by 'Umayna and al-Aqrā'.
Though I protected my people in the battle,
Myself unprotected I was given nothing
But a few small camels
To the number of their four legs!
Yet neither Ḥābīs nor Ḥarmūni
To surpass my father in the assembly,
And I am not inferior to either of them.
And whom you deem present today will not be exalted (849).

The apostle said, 'Get him away and cut off his tongue from me,' so they gave him (camels) until he was satisfied, this being what the apostle meant by his order (850).

Muhammad b. Ḥabrīm b. al-Ḥafrī b. al-Taymī told me that a companion 883 said to the apostle: 'You have given 'Umayna and al-Aqrā' a hundred camels each and left out Ju'sayl, Surāqā al-Dumār.' He answered, 'By Him in whose hand is the soul of Muhammad, Ju'sayl is better than the whole world full of men like those two; but I have treated them generously so that they may become Muslims and I have entrusted Ju'sayl to his Islam.'

Abū 'Ubaydā b. Muhammad b. ʿAmr b. Yūsīf b. Miṣram Abī' Qāsim, freed slave of 'Abdullāh b. al-Ḥarīrī b. Naufal, told me: I went in company with Tālīb b. Kīlāb b. Lathīfī b. ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀdī as he was going round the temple with his sandals in his hand, and we asked him whether he was with the apostle when the Tamīmtes spoke to him on the day of Hunayn. He said that he was and that a man of Tamīm called Dhul-Khuwaynī came and stood by the apostle as he was making gifts to the men and said, 'Muhammad, I've seen what you have done today.' 'Well, and what do you think?' he answered. He said, 'I don't think you have been just.' The prophet was angry and said, 'If justice is not to be

They were the fathers of the two men mentioned in line 6.

1 I.H.'s note in which Surā 36. 60 is quoted rests on the absurd statement of an anonymous traditionist that Muhammad was so ignorant of verse that he could not recognize rhyme when he heard it, a poor compliment to the greatest Arab of all time. Here, for want of a better place, I cite I.H. from al-Zuhri via Yūnus (Surā 36. 60).: 'We have not taught him verse. That does not befel him.' The meaning is 'What We have taught him is not verse. It is not being that he should bring verse from Us.' The apostle only uttered verse which had been spoken by others before him. Abū ʿAbdullah b. Abī Duhaylīn b. Abī Duhaylīn, by al-Ṣaʿūdi, ed. F. Kittel, Beirut, 1930, pp. 71...
found with me then where will you find it? 'Umar asked to be allowed to kill him, but he said, 'Let him alone, for he will have a following that will go so deeply into religion that they will come out of it as an arrow comes out of the target; you look at the butt end and there is nothing on it; you look at the butt end and there is nothing on it; then at the nock and there is nothing on it. It went through before flesh and blood could adhere to it.'

Muhammad b. 'Ali b. al-Husayn, Abū Ja'far, told me a similar story and named the man Dāhīl-Khuwayyina. 'Abdullah b. Abū Najīl told me the same from his father (857).

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(QT) 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr told me that one of the apostle's companions who was at Hunayn with him said, 'I was riding my camel by the side of the apostle, wearing a rough sandal, when my camel jostled his and the toe of my sandal hit the apostle's shank and hurt him. He hit my foot with his whip, saying, 'You hurt me. Get behind!' so I went behind him. The next morning the apostle was looking for me and I thought it was because I had hurt his leg, so I came expecting (punishment); but he said, 'You hurt my leg yesterday and I struck your foot with my whip. Now I have summoned you to compensate me for it,' and he gave me eighty shekels for the one blow he struck me.'

835 'Abūl-Abī, Qatādā b. Māhidā b. Labid from Abū Sa'īd al-Khadrā told me: When the apostle had distributed these gifts among Quraysh and the Baduq tribes, and the Ansār got nothing, this tribe of Ansār took the matter to heart and talked a great deal about it, until one of them said, 'By God, the apostle has met his own people.' Sa'd b. Abī-Uhāda went to the apostle and told him what had happened. He asked, 'Where do you stand in this matter, Sa'd?' He said, 'I stand with my people.' Then gather your people in this enclosure,' he said. He did so, and when some of the Muhājjīn came, he let them come, while others he sent back. When he had got them altogether he went and told the apostle, and he came to them, and after praising and thanking God he addressed them thus: 'O men of Ansār, what is this I hear of you? Do you think ill of me in your hearts? Did I not come to you when you were crying and God guided you? poor and God made you rich? enemies and God softened your hearts?' They answered; 'Yes indeed, God and His apostle are most kind and generous.' He continued: 'Why don't you answer me, O Ansār?' They said, 'How shall we answer you? Kindness and generosity belong to God and His apostle.' He said, 'Had you so wished you could have said—and you would have spoken the truth and have been believed—You came to us, discredited and we believed you; deserted and we helped you; a fugitive and we took you in; poor and we comforted you. Are you disturbed in mind because of the good things of this life by which I win over a people that may become Muslims while I entreat you to your Islam? Are you not satisfied that men should take away flocks and while you take

\[\text{Some MSS. have here a gloss in which, 134, takes up the narrative of L.1, which he broke off when he cut out the passage from Tāhāri that contains what L.1 wrote.}\]

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back with you the apostle of God? By Him in whose hand is the soul of Muhammad, but for the migration! I should be one of the Ansār myself. If all men went one way and the Ansār another I should take the way of the Ansār. God have mercy on the Ansār, their sons and their sons' sons.'

The people wept until the tears ran down their beards as they said: 'We are satisfied with the apostle of God as our lot and portion'. Then the apostle went off and they dispersed.

THE APOSTLE MAKES THE LESSER PILGRIMAGE FROM AL-JĪRĀNA

Then the apostle left al-Jīrāna to make the lesser pilgrimage. He gave orders that the rest of the spoil should be kept back in Majāna near Marṣull-Zābīl. Having completed the pilgrimage he returned to Medina. He left 'Atār b. Asād in charge of Mecca. He also left behind with him Mu'āllā b. Jālal to instruct the people in religion and to teach them the 887 Qurān. He himself was followed by the rest of the spoil (853).

The apostle's pilgrimage was in Dāhīl-Qa'dā, and he arrived in Medina towards the end of that month or in Dāhīl-Hijā (853).

The people made the pilgrimage that year in the way the (pagan) Arabs used to do. 'Atār made the pilgrimage with the Muslims that year, A.H. 8. The people of al-Tā'īf continued in their polytheism and obstinacy in their city; from the time the apostle left in Dāhīl-Qa'dā of the year 8 until Ramadān of the following year.

THE AFFAIR OF KA'B B. ZUHAYR AFTER THE DEPARTURE FROM AL-TĀ'ĪF

When the apostle arrived (at Medina) after his departure from al-Tā'īf Bujāy r. Zuḥayr b. Abū Sulmā wrote to his brother Ka'b telling him that the apostle had killed some of the men in Mecca who had satirised and insulted him and that the Quraysh poets who were left—Abū al-Zubayr and Hubayr b. Abī Walīb—had fled in all directions. 'If you have any use for your life then come quickly to the apostle, for he does not kill anyone who comes to him in repentance. If you do not do that, then get to some safe place.' Ka'b had said:

Give Bujāy a message from me:
Do you accept what I said, confound you?
Tell us plainly if you don't accept what I say
For what reason other than that has he led you
To a religion I cannot find his fathers ever held
And you cannot find that your father followed?

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* Had he not been joined by the Muhājjīn from Mecca who had remained faithful to him, he would have severed his connection with Quraysh altogether and joined the community of Medina. * Similarly MSS b. 'Uqba, No. 12.
If you don’t accept what I say I shall not grieve
Nor say if you stumble God help you!
Al-Ma’āmun has given you a full cup to drink
And added a second draught of the same (854).

Buṣayr said to Ka‘b:
Who will tell Ka‘b that that for which you wrongly blame me
Is the better course?
To God alone not al-Uzza and al-Lat
You will escape and be safe while escape is possible,
On a day when none will escape
Except a Muslim pure of heart.
Zuhayr’s religion is a thing of naught
And the religion of Abu Sulma is forbidden to me.

Ka‘b used the title al-Ma‘āmun (854) simply for the reason that Quraysh
used to name the apostle thus.

When Ka‘b received the missive he was deeply distressed and anxious
for his life. His enemies in the neighbourhood spread alarming reports
about him saying that he was as good as slain. Finding no way out, he
wrote his ode in which he praised the apostle and mentioned his fear and
the slanderous reports of his enemies. Then he set out for Medina and
stayed with a man of Juḥayna whom he knew, according to my information.
He took him to the apostle when he was praying morning prayers, and
he prayed with him. The man pointed out the apostle to him and told
him to go and ask for his life. He got up and went and sat by the apostle
and placed his hand in his, the apostle not knowing who he was. He said,
‘O apostle, Ka‘b b. Zuhayr has come to ask security from you as a repentant
Muslim. Would you accept him as such if he came to you?’ When the
apostle said that he would, he confessed that he was Ka‘b b. Zuhayr.

Aṣim b. ‘Umar b. Ḥathāma told me that one of the Anṣār leapt upon him
asking to be allowed to behead the enemy of God, but the apostle told him
to let him alone because he had come repentant breaking away from his
past. Ka‘b was angry at this tribe of the Anṣār because of what this man
had done and moreover the men of the Muhājirin spoke only well of him.
In his ode which he recited when he came to the apostle he said:

Su‘ād is gone, and today my heart is love-sick, in thrall to her, un-
requited, bound with chains;
And Su‘ād, when she came forth on the morn of departure, was but as
a gazelle with bright black downcast eyes.
When she smiles, she lays bare a shining row of side-teeth that seems
to have been bathed once and twice in (fragrant) wine—
Wine mixed with pure cold water from a pebbly hollow where the
north-wind blows, in a bend of the valley,
From which the winds drive away every speck of dust, and it brims

over with white-foamed torrents fed by showers gushing from a
cloud of morn.
Oh, what a rare mistress were she, if only she were true to her promise
and would hearken to good advice!
But hers is a love in whose blood are mingled pain and lying and 890
faithlessness and inconstancy.
She is not stable in her affection—even as ghouls change the hue of
their garments—
And she does not hold to her parted word otherwise than as sieves
hold water.
The promises of Urqūb were a parable of her, and his promises were
naught but vanity.
I hope and expect that women will ever be ready to keep their word;
but never, methinks, are they ready.
Let not the wishes she inspired and the promises she made beguile
thee: lo, these wishes and dreams are a delusion.

In the evening Su‘ād came to a land whither none is brought save by
camels that are excellent and noble and fleet.
To bring him there, he wants a stout she-camel which, though
fatigued, loses not her wonted speed and pace;
One that largely bedews the bone behind her ear when she sweats, one
that sets herself to cross a trackless unknown wilderness;
Scanning the high grounds with eyes keen as those of a solitary white
oryx, when stony levels and sand-hills are kindled (by the sun);
Bir in the neck, fleshy in the hock, surpassing in her make the other
daughters of the sire;
Thick-necked, full-cheeked, robust, male-like, her flanks wide, her
front (tail) as a milestone;
Whose tortoise-shell skin is not pierced at last even by a lean (hungry)
tick on the outside of her back;
A hardy beast whose brother is her sire by a noble dam, and her sire’s
brother is her dam’s brother; a long-necked one and nimble,
The qurūd2 crawls over her: then her smooth breast and flanks cause
it to slip off.
Onager-like is she; her side slapped with firm flesh, her elbow-joint
far removed from the ribs;
Her nose aquiline; in her generous ears are signs of breeding plain for
the expert to see, and in her cheeks smoothness.
Her muzzle juts out from her eyes and throat, as though it were a
pick-axe.
She besets a tail like a leafless palm-branch with small tufis of hair hang
down over a sharp-edged (unrounded) udder from which its teats
do not take away (milk) little by little.3

1 A large species of tick.
2 i.e. the middle joint of the foreleg.
3 i.e. she is a camel for riding, not for milking.
Though she be not trying, she races along on light slender feet that skim the ground as they fall,

With twainy hock-tendons—feet that leave the gravel scattered and are not shod so that they should be kept safe from the blackness of the heaped stones,

The swift movement of her forelegs, when she sweats and the mirage enfolds the hills—

On a day when the chameleon basked in some high spot until its exposed part is baked as in fire,

And, the grey cicadas having begun to hop on the gravel, the cameldriver bids his companions take the sīṣta—

Resembles the beating of hand on hand by a bereaved grey-haired woman who rises to lament and is answered by those who have lost many a child,

One wailing shrilly, her arms weak, who had no understanding when news was brought of the death of her firstborn son:

She tears her breast with her hands, while her tunic is rent in pieces from her collar-bones.

The fools walk on both sides of my camel, saying, 'Verily, O grandson of Abū Sulmi, thou art as good as slain';

And every friend of whom I was hopeful said, 'I will not help thee out: I am too busy to mind thee.'

I said, 'Let me go my way, may ye have no father! for whatever the Merciful hath decreed shall be done.'

Every son of woman, long though his safety be, one day is born upon a gibbous bier.

I was told that the Messenger of Allah threatened me (with death), but with the Messenger of Allah I have hope of finding pardon.

Gently! mayst thou be guided by Him who gave thee the gift of the Koran, wherein are warnings and a plain setting-out (of the matter).

Do not punish me, when I have not sinned, on account of what is said by the informers, even should the (false) sayings about me be many.

Ay, I stand in such a place that if an elephant stood there, seeing (what I see) and hearing what I hear,

The sides of his neck would be shaken with terror—if there be no forgiveness from the Messenger of Allah.

I did not cease to cross the desert, plunging betimes into the darkness when the mantle of Night is fallen,

Till I laid my right hand, not to withdraw it, in the hand of the avenger whose word is the word of truth.

For indeed he is more feared by me when I speak to him—and they told me I should be asked of my lineage—

Than a lion of the jungle, one whose lair is amidst dense thickets in the lowland of 'Aththar:

He goes in the morning to feed two cubs, whose victual is human flesh rolled in the dust and torn to pieces;

When he springs on his adversary, 'tis against his law that he should leave the adversary ere he is broken;

From him the asses of the broad dale flee in affright, and men do not walk in his way,

Albeit ever in his wadi is a trusty fere, his armour and hardworn raiment smeared with blood—ready to be devoured.

Truly the Messenger is a light whence illumination is sought—a drawn Indian sword, one of the swords of Allah,

Amongst a band of Kuraish, whose spokesman said when they professed Islam in the valley of Mecca, 'Depart ye! They departed, but no weaklings were they or shieldless in battle or without weapons and courage;

They march like splendid camels and defend themselves with bowed when the short black men take to flight;

Warriors with noses high and straight, clad for the fray in mail-coats of David's weaving;

Bright, ample, with pierced rings strung together like the rings of the qaf sa.'

They are not exultant if their spears overtake an enemy or apt to despair if they be themselves overtaken.

The spear-thrust falls not but on their throats: for them there is no shrinking from the pangs of death (856).4

'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qata'da said: When Ka'b said, 'When the short black men take to flight,' he meant us, the Ansār, because of the way one of us had treated him. He singled out the Muhājīrīn among the apostle's companions for praise. This excited the Ansār's anger against him. After he had become a Muslim he spoke in praise of the Ansār and mentioned their trials with the apostle and their position among the Yaman tribes:

He who loves a glorious life
Let him ever be with the horsemen of the righteous Ansār,
Who transmit glorious deeds from father to son.

The best men are they, sons of the best men
Who launch with their arms spears
Like long Indian swords,
Who peer forward unawaresly
With eyes red as burning coals.

1 Probably a hit at the people of Medina, some of whom had urged Muhammad to show the poet no mercy.
2 David is described in the Qur'an (xli. 80) as a maker of coats of mail.
3 Name of a plant.
4 i.e. places where droughts of death are drunk. By the courtesy of the Cambridge University Press, I take this translation from Translations of Eastern Poetry and Prose by my old friend R. A. Nicholson.
Who devote their lives to their prophet
On the day of hand-to-hand fighting and cavalry attacks.
They purify themselves with the blood of infidels:
They consider that an act of piety
Their habit is that of thick-necked lions
Accustomed to hunt in a valeday thicket.
If you come to them for protection
You are as so were in the inaccessible haunts of mountain goats.
They smote 'Alī such a blow on the day of Badr
As brought the downfall of all Nāṣr.
If people knew all that I know about them
Those that dispute with me would recognize the truth of what I say.
They are a people who richly feed the night-travellers,
Who arrive in a time of death (857).

The raid on Tabūk, A.H. 9

The apostle stayed in Medina from Dhul-Hijja to Rajab, and then gave orders to prepare to raid the Byzantines. The following account is based on what al-Zuhri and Yasid b. Rūmān and 'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr and 864 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qāqāda and other authorities told me; some supplied information which others lacked.

The apostle ordered his companions to prepare to raid the Byzantines at a time when men were hard pressed; the heat was oppressive and there was a drought; fruit was ripe (T. shade was eagerly sought) and the men wanted to stay in the shade with their fruit and disliked travelling at that season. Now the apostle nearly always referred allusively to the destination of a raid and announced that he was making for a place other than that which he actually intended. This was the sole exception, for he said plainly that he was going for the Byzantines because the journey was long, the season difficult, and the enemy in great strength, so that the men could make suitable preparations. He ordered them to get ready and told them that he was going for the Byzantines. (T. So the men got ready in spite of their dislike for the journey in itself to say nothing of their respect for the reputation of the Byzantines.)

One day when he was making his arrangements the apostle said to Judd b. Qays of B. Salima: 'Would you like to fight the B. Aṣfār, Judd?' He replied, 'Will you allow me to stay behind and not tempt me, for everyone knows that I am strongly addicted to women and I am afraid that if I see the Byzantine women I shall not be able to control myself.' The apostle gave him permission to remain behind and turned away from him. It was about him that the verse came down, "There are some who say Give me leave (to stay behind) and do not tempt me. Surely they have fallen into the temptation already and hell encompasses the unbelievers," i.e. it was not that he feared temptation from the Byzantine women: the temptation he had fallen into was greater that he hung back from the apostle and sought to please himself rather than the apostle. God said, 'Verily hell is behind him.'

The disaffected said one to another, 'Don't go forth in the heat,' disliking strenuous war, doubting the truth, and creating misgivings about the apostle. So God sent down concerning them: 'And they said, Go not forth in the heat. Say: The fire of hell is hotter did they but understand. Let them laugh a little and let them weep much as a reward for what they were earning' (858).

The apostle went forward energetically with his preparations and ordered the men to get ready with all speed. He urged the men of means to help in providing money and mounts for God's work (T. and persuaded them). The wealthy men provided mounts and stored up a reward with God.

Uthmān b. 'Affān spent a larger sum than any had ever done (859).

Then seven Muslims known as The Weepers, Anṣār, and others from B. 'Amr b. 'Auf came to the apostle and asked him to provide them with mounts for they were without means. Their names were: Sālim b. 'Umayr; Ullā b. Qayd, brother of B. Hāritha; Abū Laylā 'Abdullāh-Raḥmān b. Ka'b, brother of B. Māsin b. al-Najār; 'Amr b. Jáshūm b. al-Jamāḥ, brother of B. Salīm; 'Abdullah b. al-Mughaffal al-Muzani (or b. 'Amary); Hāramy b. 'Abdullah, brother of B. Wāqif; and 'Irāb b. Sāriya al-Feṣārī. He said that he had no money to give them and they turned back, their eyes flowing with tears for grief that they had not the wherewithal to meet the expense of the raid.

I have heard that Ibn Yāmān b. 'Umayr b. Ka'b al-Nadīrā met Abū Laylā and 'Abdullah b. Mughaffal as they were weeping, and when he asked what they were crying for they told him that they had applied to the apostle for a mount, but that he had none to give them and they had nothing. Thereupon he gave them a watering camel, and they saddled it and he provided them with some dates and so they went off with the apostle.

Some Bedouin came to apologize for not going, but God would not accept their excuse. I have been told that they were from B. Ghīrār. (T. One of them was Khulāfī b. 'Imār b. Raḥdā.)

When the apostle's road was clear he determined to set off. Now there was a number of Muslims who were slow to make up their minds so that they lagged behind without any doubt or misgivings. They were Ka'b b. Mālik b. Abū Ka'b, brother of B. Salīm; Murāq b. al-Raḥbī, brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf; Hilāl b. Umayya, brother of B. Wāqif; Abū
Khaythama, brother of B. Salim b. 'Auf; they were loyal men whose Islam was above suspicion.

When the apostle had set out he pitched his camp by Thaniyatu'l-Wadā'. (66a).

Abdullah b. Umayy (T. b. Salû) pitched his camp separately below him in the direction of Dhubâb (T. a mountain in al-Jabbâna below Thaniyatu'l-Wadā'). It is alleged that it was not the smaller camp. When the apostle went on, 'Abdullah b. Umayy separated from him and stayed behind with the hypocrites and doubters. (T. 'Abdullah was brother of B. 'Auf b. al-Khaizarj, and 'Abdullah b. Nâbiâ was brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf; and Râfû b. Zayd b. al-Tâbi'î was brother of B. Qaymiuma'. These were the principal men among the hypocrites and wished ill to Islam and its people. Concerning them God sent down: 'They sought rebellion aforetime and upset things for you.'

The apostle left 'Ali behind to look after his family, and ordered him to stay with them. The hypocrites spoke evil of him, saying that he had been left behind because he was a burden to the apostle and he wanted to get rid of him. On hearing this 'Ali seized his weapons and caught up with the apostle when he was halting in al-Jurf and repeated to him what the hypocrites were saying. He replied: 'They lie. I left you behind because of what I had left behind, so go back and represent me in my family and youth. Are you not content, 'Ali, to stand to me as Aaron stood to Moses, except that there will be no prophet after me?' So 'Ali returned to Medina and the apostle went on his way. Muhammad b. 'Aisha b. Zubayr was from Ibrahim b. Sa'd b. Abû Waqqas from his father Sa'd told me that he heard the apostle saying these words to 'Ali.

Then 'Ali returned to Medina and the apostle went his way. Abû Khaythama (T. brother of B. Salim) returned to his family on a hot day some days after the apostle had set out. He found two wives of his in his tents. Each had sprinkled her hut and cooled it with water and got ready food for him. When he arrived he stood at the door of the hut and looked at his wives and what they had done for him and said: 'The apostle is out in the sun and the wind and the heat and Abû Khaythama is in a cool shade, food prepared for him, resting in his property with a fair woman. This is not just. By God, I will not enter either of your huts, but join the apostle; so get ready some food for me.' They did so and he went to his camel and saddled it and went out in search of the apostle until he overtook him in Tabûk. 'Umayr b. Wahb al-Jumâhî had overthrown Abû Khaythama on the road as he came to find the apostle, and they joined forces. When they approached Tabûk Abû Khaythama said to 'Umayr, 'I have done wrong. You can stay behind me if you like until I come to the apostle, and he did so. When he approached the apostle as he was stopping in Tabûk, the army called attention to a man riding on the way and the apostle said it would be Abû Khaythama, and so it was. Having dismounted he came

and saluted the apostle, who said, 'Woe to you, Abû Khaythama!' Then he told the apostle what had happened, and he spoke well and blessed him (861).

When the apostle passed al-Hijjâ2 he stopped, and the men got water from its well. When they went the apostle said, 'Do not drink any of its water nor use it for ablutions. If you have used any of it for dough, then feed it to the camels and eat none of it. Let none of you go out at night alone but take a companion.' The men did as they were told except two of them of B. Sâdi'a: one went out to relieve himself and the other to look for a camel of his. The first was half choked on his way and the second was carried away by a wind which cast him on the two mountains of Tayyi'. The apostle was told of this and reminded the men that he had forbidden them to go out alone. Then he prayed for the man who was choked on the way and he recovered; the other man was brought to the apostle in Medina by a man of Tayyi'. This story comes from 'Abdullah b. Abû Bakr from 'Abbâs b. Sahl b. Sa'd b. al-Sû't. 'Abdullah told me that 'Abbâs had told him who they were, but confidentially, so he refused to name them to me (864).

In the morning when the men had no water they complained to the apostle, so he prayed, and God sent a cloud, and so much rain fell that they were satisfied and carried away all the water they needed.

Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatââd from Mâmed b. Labûd from men of B. 'Abdul-Asâlîh told me that he said to Mahmûd, 'Do the men know the hypocrites among them?' He replied that a man would know that hypocrisy existed in his brother, his father, his uncle, and his family, yet they would cover up each other. Then Mahmûd said: Some of my tribesmen told me of a man whose hypocrisy was notorious. He used to go wherever the apostle went and when the affair at al-Hijjâ happened and the apostle prayed as he did and God sent a cloud which brought a heavy rain they said, 'We went to him saying, "Woe to you! Have you anything more to say after this?" He said, "It is a passing cloud."'

During the course of the journey the apostle's camel strayed and his companions went in search of it. The apostle had with him a man called 'Umar b. Hazm who had been at al-'Aqaba and Badr, uncle of B. 'Amr b. Hazm. He had in his company Zayd al-Luayy al-Qaymiumâ from who was a hypocrite (863). Zayd said while he was in 'Umar's camp and 'Umar was with the apostle, 'Does Muhammad allege that he is a prophet and can tell you news from heaven when he doesn't know where his camel is?' The apostle said while 'Umar was with him: 'A man has said: Now Muhammad tells you that he is a prophet and alleges that he tells you of heavenly things and yet doesn't know where his camel is. By God, I know

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1 Often called Mâdâ'a b. Sûhîh. Doughty's account of this place in Arabia Deserta, passim, is still the most interesting.

2 The lexicographers say that abândûqîs is a disease which attacks men and horses and sometimes birds in the throat.
only what God has told me and God has shown me where it is. It is in this wañ; in such-and-such a gian. A tree has caught it by its halter; so go and bring it to me.' They went and brought it. 'Umâra returned to his camp and said: 'By God, the apostle has just told us a wonderful thing about something someone has said which God has told him of.' Then he repeated the words. One of his company who had not been present with the apostle exclaimed, 'Why, Zayd said this before you came.' 'Umâra advanced on Zayd pricking him in the neck and saying, 'To me, you serve like God! I had a misfortune in my company and knew nothing of it. Get out, you enemy of God, and do not associate with me.' Some people allege that Zayd subsequently repented; others say that he was suspected of evil until the day of his death.

Then the apostle continued his journey and men began to drop behind. When the apostle was told that So-and-so had dropped behind he said, 'Let him be; for if there is any good in him God will join him to you; if not God has rid you of him.' Finally it was reported that Abû Dhar had dropped behind and his camel had delayed him. The apostle said the same words. Abû Dhar waited on his camel and when it walked slowly with him he took his gear and loaded it on his back and went off walking in the track of the apostle. The apostle stopped at one of his halting-places when a man called his attention to someone walking on the way alone. The apostle said that he hoped it was Abû Dhar, and when the people had looked carefully they said that it was he. The apostle said, 'God have mercy on Abû Dhar. He walks alone and he will die alone and he raised alone.'

Buraydah b. Sufyân al-Ashami from Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurashi from 'Abdullâh b. Mas'ûd told me that when 'Uthmân exiled Abû Dhar to al-Rabadhâ and his appointed time came there was none with him but his wife and his slave. He instructed them to wash him and wind him in his shroud and lay him on the surface of the road and to tell the first caravan that passed who he was and ask them to help in burying him. When he died they did this. 'Abdullâh b. Mas'ûd came up with a number of men from Iraq on pilgrimage when suddenly they saw the bier on the top of the road; the camels had almost trodden on it. The slave got up and said, 'This is Abû Dhar the apostle's companion. Help us to bury him.' 'Abdullâh b. Mas'ûd broke out into loud weeping saying, 'The apostle was right. You walked alone, and you died alone, and you will be raised alone.' Then he and his companions alighted and buried him and he told them his story and what the apostle had said on the road to Tabûk.

A band of hypocrites, among them Wadi'a b. Thîbit, brother of E. 'Amr b. 'Auf, and a man of Ash'îrî' an ally of B. Salîma called Muckhâshshin b. Humayyir (864) were pointing at (T. going with) the apostle as he was journeying to Tabûk saying one to another, 'Do you think that fighting the Byzantines is like a war between Arabs? By God we (T. I) seem to see you bound with ropes tomorrow so as to cause alarm and dismay to the believers. Muckhâshshin said, 'I would rather that every one of us were sentenced to a hundred lashes than that a verse should come down about us concerning what you have said.'

The apostle—so I have heard—told 'Ammâr b. Yasîr to join the men, for they had uttered lies, and ask them what they had said. If they refused to answer, tell them that they said so-and-so. 'Ammâr did as he was ordered and they came to the apostle making excuses. Wadi'a said as the apostle had halted on his camel, and as he spoke he laid hold of its girth, 'We were merely chatting and joking, O apostle.' Then God sent down, 'If you ask them they will say, We were merely chatting and joking.'

Muckhâshshin b. Humayyir said, 'O apostle, my name and my father's name disgrace me.' The man who was pertaining in this verse was Muckhâshshin and he was named 'Abdul-RA'mân. He asked God to kill him as a martyr with none to know the place of his death. He was killed on the day of al-Yâmâma and no trace of him was found.

When the apostle reached Tabûk Yuhanna b. Ru'ba governor of Ayla came and made a treaty with him and paid him the poll tax. The people of Jarîb and Adhrûh also came and paid the poll tax. The apostle wrote for them a document which they still have. He wrote to Yuhanna b. Ru'ba thus: 'In the name of God the Compassionate and Merciful. This is a guarantee from God and Muhammad the prophet, the apostle of God, to Yuhanna b. Ru'ba and the people of Ayla, for their ships and their caravans by land and sea. They and all that are with them, men of Syria, and the Yaman, and seamen, all have the protection of God and the protection of Muhammad the prophet. Should any one of them break the treaty by introducing some new factor then his wealth shall not save him; it is the fair prize of him who takes it. It is not permitted that they shall be restrained from going down to their ships or using their roads by land or sea.'

Then the apostle summoned Khâlid b. al-Walîd and sent him to Ukaydîr 903 at Du'ma. Ukaydîr b. 'Abdûl-Malik was a man of Kinda who was ruler of Du'ma; he was a Christian. The apostle told Khâlid that he would find him hunting wild goats. Khâlid went off until he came within sight of his fort. It was a summer night with a bright moon and Ukaydîr was on the roof with his wife. The cows were rubbing their horns against the gate of the fort all the night. His wife asked him if he had ever known anything of the kind in the past, and urged him to go after them. He called for his horse, and when it was saddled he rode off with a number of his family, among them a brother called Hassân. As they were riding the apostle's cavalry fell in with them and seized him and killed his brother. Ukaydîr was wearing a gown of brocade covered with gold. Khâlid stripped him of this and sent it to the apostle before he brought him to him.

'Âsîm b. 'Umar b. Qatîdâ from Anas b. Malik said: I saw Ukaydîr's gown when it was brought to the apostle. The Muslims were feeling it

1 A place near Medina.
2 Ukaydîr implies harshness and rudeness, and Humayyir means a little donkey.
and admiring it, and the apostle said, 'Do you admire this? By Him in whose hand is my life the napkins of Sa'd b. Mu'āadh in Paradise are better than this.'

Then Khalid brought Umayr to the apostle who spared his life and made peace with him on condition that he paid the poll tax. Then he released him and returned to his town. A man of Ṭayyī called Bujayr b. Bujara remembering the words of the apostle to Khalid, 'You will find him hunting wild cows,' said that what the cows did that night in bringing him out of his fort was to confirm what the apostle had said:

Blessed is He who drove out the cows.
I see God guiding every leader.
Those who turn aside from yonder Tabūk, (let them)
For we have been ordered to fight.

The apostle stayed in Tabūk some ten nights, not more. Then he returned to Medina.

On the way there was water issuing from a rock—enough to water two or three riders. It was in a wadi called al-Mushaqqiq. The apostle ordered anyone who should get there before him not to take water from it until he came. A number of the disaffected got there first and drew water from it. When the apostle arrived he halted and saw no water there. He asked who had got there first and was told their names. He exclaimed, 'Did I not forbid you to take water from it until I came?' Then he cursed them and called down God's vengeance on them. Then he alighted and placed his hand under the rock, and water began to flow into his hand as God willed. Then he sprinkled the rock with the water and rubbed it with his hand and prayed as God willed him to pray. Then water burst forth, as one who heard it said, with a sound like thunder. The men drank and satisfied their need from it, and the apostle said, 'If you live, or those of you who live, will hear of this wadi that it is more fertile than its neighbours.'

Muhammad b. İbrahīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Ṭaymi told me that 'Abdullah b. Mas'ūd used to say: 'I got up in the middle of the night when I was with the apostle in the raid on Tabūk when I saw a light near the camp. I went after it to look at it and lo it was the apostle with Abū Bakr and 'Umar, and 'Abdullah Ibn-Bījdayn had just died and they had dug a grave for him. The apostle was in the grave and Abū Bakr and 'Umar were letting him down to him as he was saying, 'Bring your brother near to me,' so they let him down and as he arranged him for his niche he said, 'O God, I am pleased with you; be Thou pleased with him!' 'Abdullah b. Mas'ūd used to say, 'Would that I had been in the grave!' (86c.)

Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri reported from Ibn Ukayma al-Laythi from Ibn ʿAbī Ṭārah al-Ghifrān that he heard Abū Ṭārah al-Kuhlām b. al-Hussayn, who was one of the companions who did homage to the apostle beneath the tree, say: When I made the raid on Tabūk with the apostle I journeyed the night with him. While we were at al-Akhḍar near the

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The apostle God cast a heavy sleep on us and I began to wake up when my camel had come near the apostle's camel. I was afraid that if it came too near his foot would be hurt in the stirrup. I began to move my camel away from him until sleep overcame me on the way. Then during the night my camel jostled against his while his foot was in the stirrup and I was wakened by his voice saying, 'Look out!' I asked his pardon and he told me to carry on. The apostle began to ask me about those who had dropped out from B. Ghifār and I told him. He asked me about the people with long strangling red beards and I told him that they had dropped out. Then he asked about the men with short curly hair and I confessed that I did not know that they were of us. 'But yes,' he said, 'they are those who own camels in Shabakatu Shadākh.' Then I remembered that they were among B. Ghifār, but I did not remember them until I recalled that they were a clan of Aslam who were allies of ours. When I told him this he said, 'What prevented one of these when he fell out from mounting a zealous man in the way of God on one of his camels? The most painful thing to me is that mufājrūn from Quraysh and the Anṣār and Ghifār and Aslam should stay behind.'

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The apostle went on until he stopped in Dhu Awān a town an hour's daylight journey from Medina. The owners of the mosque of opposition had come to the apostle as he was preparing for Tabūk, saying, 'We have built a mosque for the sick and needy and for nights of bad weather, and we should like you to come to us and pray for us there.' He said that he was on the point of travelling, and was preoccupied, or words to that effect, and when he came back if God willed he would come to them and pray for them in it.

When he stopped in Dhu Awān news of the mosque came to him, and he summoned Mālik b. al-Dukhasham, brother of B. Sālim b. 'Aqīf, and Ma'n b. ʿAdy (or his brother ʿĀsim) brother of B. al-'Affān, and told them to go to the mosque of those evil men and destroy and burn it. They went quickly to B. Sālim b. 'Aqīf who were Mālik's clan, and Mālik said to Ma'an, 'Wait for me until I can bring fire from my people.' So he went in and took a palm-branch and lighted it, and then the two of them ran into the mosque where its people were running and burned and destroyed it and the people ran away from it. A portion of the Quran came down concerning them: 'Those who chose a mosque in opposition and unbelief and to cause division among believers' to the end of the passage.

The twelve men who built it were: Khidrām b. Khalid of B. 'Ubayd b. 907 Zayd, one of B. 'Amr b. ʿAqīf; his house opened on to the schismatic mosque; Thalāb b. Ḥabīb of B. Umayya b. Zayd; Mu'ātib b. Quṣayr; Abū Ḥabīb b. al-Az'ar, both of B. Dubay'ā b. Zayd; ʿAbdāb b. Hunayf.

1 Sūra 9. 108

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brother of Sa'il b. 'Abi Jafar, and his two sons: Abu Juhayl b. Zayd and Abu Jahl b. Zayn. He was a clairvoyant and a famous poet.

The apostle's mosques between Tabuk and Medina are well known and named. They are the mosques in Tabuk; Thanyahat Dirham; Dhatul-Zirab; Al-Akhdar; Dhatul-Khurmi; Ab'; beside Al-Barrat' at the end of Kawsikib; Shiqiq, Shiqiq Tarra; Dhatul-Jifaa; Sada Hauda; Al-Hijar; Al-Sa'id; the wadi known today as Wadi'l-Qura; al-Rug' of Shiqiq, the Shiqiq of B. Udara; Dhatul-Marwa; Fayfa'; and Dhu Khushub.

THE THREE MEN WHO ABSTAINED FROM THE RAID ON TABUK

When the apostle came to Medina he found that some disaffected persons had stayed behind. Among them were three Muslims who had not held back through doubt or disaffection, namely Ka'b b. Malik, Murra b. al-Rabi', and Hilal b. Umayya. The apostle told his companions not to speak to these three. The disaffected who had stayed behind came and made excuses with oaths and he forgave them, but neither God nor His apostle accepted their excuse. The Muslims withdrew from these three and would not speak to them (T. until God sent down His word concerning them).

Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihab b. Al-Zubair from 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Abdullah b. Ka'b b. Malik said that his father, whom he used to lead about when his sight failed, said: I heard my father Ka'b telling his story of how he held back from the apostle in his raid on Tabuk, and the story of his two companions:

I had never held back from any raid the apostle had undertaken except the battle of Badr, and that was an engagement which none was blamed either by God or His apostle for missing because the apostle had gone out only to find the Qurashhah caravan when God brought him and his enemies together without previous intent. I was present with the apostle at Al-'Aqaba when we pledged our faith in Islam, and I should not prefer to have been at Badr rather than there even if the battle of Badr is more famous. The fact was that when I stayed behind in the raid on Tabuk I had never been stronger and wealthier. Never before had I possessed two camels. Seldom did the apostle intend a raid but he pretended that he had another objective except on this occasion. He raided it in violent heat and faced a long journey and a powerful enemy and told men what they had to do so that they might make adequate provision, and he told them the direction he intended to take. The Muslims who followed him were many and he did not enrol them in a book. (He meant by that a register; he did not enrol them in a written register). The few who wanted to absent themselves thought that they could conceal it from him as long as no revelation came down from God about it. The apostle made that raid when the fruits were ripe and shade was desirable so that men were averse from it. The apostle made his preparations and the Muslims likewise, and I would go to get ready with them and come back not having done what was necessary, saying to myself, 'I can do that when I want to,' and I continued procrastinating until the men had acted with energy and in the morning they and the apostle had gone while I had made no preparation. I thought that I could get ready a day or two later and then join them. Day after day passed and I had done nothing until the raiders had gone far ahead and still I thought of going and overtaking and I wish that I had done so but I did not. After the apostle had gone when I went about among the men it pained me to see only those who were accused of disaffection or a man whom God had excused because of his helpless women. The apostle did not remember me until he reached Tabuk when he asked, as he was sitting among the men, what had become of me. One of the B. Salima said that my fine clothes and conceit of my appearance kept me at home. Mu'adh b. Jabal said that that was an evil thing to say and that they knew nothing but good of me. But the apostle was silent.

When I heard that the apostle was on his way back from Tabuk I was smitten with remorse and began to think of all I could tell to escape from his anger and get some of my people to support me in it but when I heard that he was near at hand falsehood left me and I knew that I could only escape by telling the truth, so I determined to do so. In the morning the apostle entered Medina and went into the mosque and after performing two rak'as he sat down to await the men. Those who had stayed behind came and began to make excuses with oaths—there were about eighty of them—and the apostle accepted their public declarations and oaths and asked the divine forgiveness for them, referring their secret thoughts to God. Last of all I came and saluted him and he smiled as one who is angry. He told me to come near, and when I sat before him he asked me what had kept me back, and had I not bought my mount. I said, 'O apostle of God, were I sitting with anyone else in the world I should count on escaping his anger by an excuse, for I am astute in argument. But I know that if I tell you a lie today you will accept it and that God will soon excite your anger against me; and yet if I tell you the truth which will make you angry with me, I have hopes that God will reward me for it in the end. Indeed, I have no excuse. I was never stronger and richer than when I stayed behind.' The apostle said, 'So far as that goes you have told the truth, but get up until God decides about you.' So I got up and some of B. Salima rose in annoyance and followed me, saying, 'We have never known you do wrong before, and you were unable to excuse yourself to the apostle as the others who stayed behind did. It would have sufficed if the apostle had asked pardon for your sin.' They kept at me until I wanted to go back to the apostle and give the lie to myself. Then I asked them if any others were in
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...the same case and they said that there were two men who had said what I had said, and they got the same answer. They were Mūsār b. al-Rabī‘ al-'Amrī of B. 'Amr b. Auf, and Hāli b. Abū Umaya al-Walīqī, two honest men of exemplary character. When they mentioned them I was silent. The apostle forbade anyone to speak to us three out of those who had stayed behind, so men avoided us and showed an altered demeanour, until I hated myself and the whole world as never before. We endured this for fifty nights. As for my two companions in misfortune they were humiliated and stayed in their houses, but I was younger and harder, so I used to go out and attend prayers with the Muslims, and go round the market while no one spoke to me; and I would go to the apostle and salute him while he sat after prayers, asking myself if his lips had moved in returning the salutation or not; then I would pray near him and steal a look at him. When I performed my prayer he looked at me, and when I turned towards him he turned away from me. When I had endured much from the harshness of the Muslims I walked off and climbed over the wall of Abū Qatādā's orchard. He was my cousin and the dearest of men to me. I saluted him and God he did not return my salām so I said, 'O Abū Qatādā, I adjure you by God, do you not know that I love God and His apostle?' but he answered me not a word. Again I adjured him and he was silent; again, and he said, 'God and His apostle know best.' At that my eyes swam with tears and I jumped up and climbed over the wall.

In the morning I walked in the market, and there was one of the Nabāḥi traders from Syria who came to sell food in Medina asking for me. When he asked for me the people pointed me out to him, and he came and gave me a letter from the king of Ghassān which he had written on a piece of silk which read as follows: 'We hear that your master has treated you badly. God has not put you in a house of humiliation and loss, so come to us and we will provide for you.' When I read it I thought that this too was part of the ordeal. My situation was such that a polytheist hoped to win me over; so I took the letter to the oven and burned it.

Thus we went on until forty of the fifty nights had passed and then the apostle's messenger came to me and told me that the apostle ordered that I should separate myself from my wife. I asked whether this meant that I was to divorce her, but he said No, I was to separate myself and not approach her. My two companions received similar orders. I told my wife to rejoin her family until such time as God should give a decision in the matter. The wife of Hāli came to the apostle and told him that he was an old man, lost without a servant, was there any objection to her serving him? He said there was not provided that he did not approach her. She told the apostle that he never made a movement towards her and that his weeping was so prolonged that she feared that he would lose his sight. One of my family suggested that I should ask for similar permission from the apostle, but I declined to do so because I did not know what he would say in reply since I was a young man. Ten more nights passed until fifty

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...I prayed the morning prayer on the top of one of our houses on the morrow of the fiftieth night in the way that God had prescribed. The world, spacious as it is, closed in on us and my soul was deeply distressed. I had set up a tent on the top of a crag and I used to stay there when suddenly I heard the voice of a crier coming over the top of the crag shouting at the top of his voice 'Good news, Ka'b b. Malik! I fell down prostrate, knowing that relief had come at last.

The apostle announced God's forgiveness when he prayed the dawn prayer and men went off to tell us the good news. They went to my two fellows with the news and a man galloped off to me on a horse, and a runner from Aslam ran until he came over the mountain, and the voice was quicker than the horse. When the man whom I had heard shouting the good news came, I tore off my clothes and gave them to him as a reward for good tidings, and by God at the time I had no others and had to borrow more and put them on. Then I set off towards the apostle and men met me and told me the good news and congratulated me on God's having forgiven me. I went into the mosque and there was the apostle surrounded by men. Tālha b. 'Ubaydullāh got up and greeted me and congratulated me, but no other mubājir did so. (Ka'b never forgot this action of Tālha's.)

When I saluted the apostle he said as his face shone with joy, 'This is the best day of your life. Good news to you!' I said, 'From you or from God?' 'From God, of course,' he said. When he told good news his face used to be like the moon, and we used to recognize it. When I sat before him I told him that as an act of penitence I would give away my property as alms to God and His apostle. He told me to keep some of it for that 913 would be better for me. I told him that I would keep my share in Khaybar booty, and I said, 'God has saved me through truthfulness, and part of my repentance towards God is that I will not speak anything but the truth so long as I live; and by God I do not know any man whom God has favoured in speaking the truth since I told the apostle that more graciously than He favoured me. From the day I told the apostle that to the present day I never even purposely lied, and I hope that God will preserve me for the time that remains.'

God sent down: 'God has forgiven the prophet and the emigrants and the helpers who followed him in the hour of difficulty after the hearts of a party of them had almost swerved; then He forgave them. He is kind and merciful to them and to the three who were left behind' as far as the words 'And be with the truthful.'

Ka'b said: 'God never showed me a greater favour after He had guided me to Islam than when I told the apostle the truth that day so that I did not lie and perish like those who lied; for God said about those who lied to him when He sent down the revelation 'They will swear to you by God when

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1. The language is borrowed from Sūrah 9. 119 v.i.
2. Cf. 578. 4. 'testify' is a possible alternative.
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you return to them that you may turn from them. Do turn from them for they are unclean and their resting place is hell, in reward for what they have earned. They swear to you that you may be satisfied with them, and if you are satisfied with them God is not satisfied with an evil people."[1]

We three were kept back from the affair of those from whom the apostle accepted an apology when they swore an oath to him and he asked forgiveness for them. And the apostle postponed our affair until God gave His judgement, and about that God said, 'And to the three who were left behind.'[2]

When God used the word khulifi it had nothing to do with our holding back from the raid, but he was holding us back and postponing our affair from those who swore to him and made excuses which he accepted.

914

THE ENVOYS OF THAQIF ACCEPT ISLAM, A.H. Q

The apostle returned from Tabuk in Ramadhan and in that month the deputation of Thaqif came to him.

When the apostle came away from them 'Urwa b. Mas'ud al-Thaqif followed him until he caught up with him before he got to Medina, and accepted Islam. He asked that he might go back to his people as a Muslim, but the apostle said—so his people say—"They will kill you," for the apostle knew the proud spirit of opposition that was in them. 'Urwa said that he was dearer to them than their firstborn (856).

He was a man who was loved and obeyed and he went out calling his people to Islam and hoping that they would not oppose him because of his position among them. When he went up to an upper room and showed himself to them after he had invited them to Islam and shown his religion to them they shot arrows at him from all directions, and one hit him and killed him. The B. Makkhit alleges that one of their men killed him; his name was Aus b. 'Auf, brother of B. Salim b. Malik. The A'jamites allege that one of their men from B. Atta b. Malik called Wabih b. Jabir killed him. It was said to 'Urwa, "What do you think about your death?" He said, 'It is a gift which God has honoured me with and a martyrdom which God has led me to. I am like the martyrs who were killed with the apostle before he went away from you; so bury me with them." They did bury him with them and they allege that the apostle said about him, 'Among his people he is like the hero of Ym Sin among his people.'[3]

Thaqif delayed some months after the killing of 'Urwa. Then they took counsel among themselves and decided that they could not fight the Arabs all around them, who had paid homage and accepted Islam.

Ya'qub b. 'Uthba b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhas told me that 'Amr b. Umayya, brother of B. 'Ilaj, was not on speaking terms with 'Abdu Yalil b. 'Amr and there was bad feeling between them. 'Amr was a most crafty man and he walked to 'Abdu Yalil and entered his dwelling and sent word to him to come out to him. 'Abdu Yalil expressed great surprise that 'Amr, who was so careful of his life should come to him, so he came out, and when he saw him he welcomed him. 'Amr said to him: 'We are in an impasse. You have seen how the affair of this man has progressed. All the Arabs have accepted Islam and you lack the power to fight them, so look to your case.' Thereupon Thaqif took counsel and said one to another, 'Don't you see that your herds are not safe; none of you can go out without being cut off.' So after conferring together they decided to send a man to the apostle as they had sent 'Urwa. They spoke to 'Abdu Yalil, who was a contemporary of 'Urwa, and laid the plan before him, but he refused to act, fearing that on his return he would be treated as 'Urwa was. He said that he would not go unless they sent some men with him. They decided to send two men from al-Ahlab and three from B. Makkhit, six in all. They sent with 'Abdu Yalil, al-Hakam b. 'Amr b. Wabh b. Mu'attib, and Shurhabib b. Gaylan b. Salima b. Mu'attib; and from B. Makkhit, 'Uthman b. Abdl-'As b. Bishr b. 'Abdu Duhman, brother of B. Yasar, and Aus b. "Auf, brother of B. Salim b. "Auf, and Numayr b. Kharasha b. Rabi'a, brother of B. al-Harith. 'Abdu Yalil went with them as leader in charge of the affair. He took them with him only out of fear of meeting the same fate as 'Urwa and in order that each man on his return could secure the attention of his clan.

When they approached Medina and halted at Qanat they met there al-Mughira b. Shu'ba whose turn it was to pasture the camels of the apostle's companions, for the companions took this duty in turn. When he saw them he left the camels with the Thaqifites and jumped up to run to give the apostle the good news of their coming. Abu Bakr met him before he could get to the apostle and he told him that riders of Thaqif had come to make their submission and accept Islam on the apostle's condition provided that they could get a document guaranteeing their people and their land and animals. Abu Bakr implored al-Mughira to let him be the first to tell the apostle the news and he agreed, so Abu Bakr went in and told the apostle while al-Mughira rejoined his companions and brought the camels back. He taught them how to salute the apostle, for they were used to the salutation of paganism. When they came to the apostle he pitched a tent for them near his mosque, so they allege. Khalid b. Sa'id b. al-'As acted as intermediary between them and the apostle until they got their document; it was he who actually wrote it. They would not eat the food which came to them from the apostle until Khalid ate some and until they had accepted Islam and had got their document.

Among the things they asked the apostle was that they should be allowed to retain their idol Al-Lat undestroyed for three years. The apostle refused, and they continued to ask him for a year or two, and he refused; finally they asked for a month after their return home; but he refused to agree to any set time. All that they wanted as they were trying to show was to be safe from their fanatics and women and children by
leaving her, and they did not want to frighten their people by destroying her until they had accepted Islam. The apostle refused this, but he sent Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and al-Mughira b. Shu'ba to destroy her. They had also asked that he would excuse them from prayer and that they should not have to break their idols with their own hands. The apostle said: 'We excuse you from breaking your idols with your own hands, but as for prayer there is no good in a religion which has no prayers.' They said that they would perform them though it was demeaning.

When they had accepted Islam and the apostle had given them their document he appointed 'Uthmān b. Abū'l-As over them although he was the youngest of them. This was because he was the most zealous in studying Islam and learning the Quran. Abū Bakr had told the apostle this.

Iāš b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Aṭīya b. Sufyān b. Rabī's al-Ṭāqīfī from one of the deputation told me: Bilāl used to come to us when we had become Muslims and we fasted with the apostle for the rest of Ramaḍān, and bring our supper and our breakfast from the apostle. He would come to us in the morning twilight and we would say 'We see that the dawn has risen.' He would say, 'I left the apostle eating at daybreak, so as to make the dawn meal later,' and he would bring our evening meal and we would say, 'We see that the sun has not entirely vanished,' and he would say, 'I did not come to you until the apostle had eaten.' Then he would put his hand in the dish and eat from it (867).

Sā'd b. Abī Hind from Mutarrif b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Shakhirī from 'Uthmān b. Abū'l-As said: The last thing the apostle enjoined on me when he sent me to Ṭāqīfī was to be brief in prayer, to measure men by their weakest members; for there were old and young, sick and infirm among them.

When they had accomplished their task and had set out to return to their country the apostle sent with them Abū Sufyān and al-Mughira to destroy the idol. They traveled with the deputation and when they reached al-Ṭā'īf, al-Mughira wanted to send on Abū Sufyān in advance. The latter refused and told him to go to his people while he stayed in his property in Dhūl-Haram. When al-Mughira entered he went up to the idol and struck it with a pickaxe. His people the B. Mu'attīb stood in front of him fearing that he would be shot or killed as 'Urwa had been. The women of Ṭāqīfī came out with their heads uncovered bewailing her and saying:

O woe for our protector
With trooys would neglect her
Whose swords need a corrector (868).

Abū Sufyān, as al-Mughira smote her with the axe, said 'Alas for you, alas!' When al-Mughira had destroyed her and taken what was on her and her jewels he sent for Abū Sufyān when her jewellery and gold and beads had been collected.

Now Abū Mula'yī b. 'Urwa and Qārīb b. al-Aswad had come to the apostle before the Ṭā'īf deputation when 'Urwa was killed, desiring to separate themselves from Ṭā'īfī and to have nothing to do with them. When they became Muslims the apostle said to them, 'Take as friends whom you will,' and they said, 'We choose God and His apostle.' The apostle said, 'and your maternal uncle Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb,' and they said, 'Even so.'

When the people of al-Ṭā'īfī had accepted Islam and the apostle had sent Abū Sufyān and al-Mughira to destroy the idol, Abū Mula'yī b. 'Urwa asked the apostle to settle a debt his father had incurred from the property of the idol. The apostle agreed and Qārīb b. al-Aswad asked for the same privilege for his father. Now 'Urwa and al-Aswad were full brothers. The apostle said, 'But al-Aswad died a polytheist.' He answered, 'But you will be doing a favour to a Muslim a near relation,' meaning himself; 'the debt is only incumbent on me and from me it is required.' The apostle ordered Abū Sufyān to satisfy the debts of 'Urwa and al-Aswad from the property of the idol, and when al-Mughira had collected its money he told Abū Sufyān that the apostle had ordered him to satisfy these debts thus, and he did so.

The text of the document the apostle wrote for them runs: 'In the name of God the Compassionate the Merciful. From Muhammad the prophet, the apostle of God, to the believers: The acacia trees of Wajī and its game are not to be injured. Anyone found doing this will be scourged and his garments confiscated. If he repeats the offence he will be seized and brought to the prophet Muhammad. This is the order of the prophet Muhammad, the apostle of God.' Khālid b. Sa'd has written by the order of the apostle Muhammad b. Abdullah, so let none repeat the offence to his own injury in what the apostle of God Muhammad has ordered.

ABŪ BAKR LEADS THE PILGRIMAGE, A.H. 9

The apostle remained there for the rest of the month of Ramaḍān and Shawaūd and Dhū-l-Qa'dā. Then he sent Abū Bakr in command of the ḥajj in the year 9 to enable the Muslims to perform their ḥajj while the polytheists were at their pilgrimage stations. Abū Bakr and the Muslims duly departed.

A discharge came down permitting the breaking of the agreement between the apostle and the polytheists that none should be kept back from the temple when he came to it, and that none need fear during the sacred month. That was a general agreement between him and the polytheists; meanwhile there were particular agreements between the apostle and the Arab tribes for specified terms. And there came down about it and about
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the disaffected who held back from him in the raid on Tabûk, and about what they said (revelations) in which God uncovered the secret thoughts of people who were dissembling. We know the names of some of them, of others we do not. He said: 'A discharge from God and His apostle towards those polytheists with whom you made a treaty,' i.e. those polytheists with whom you made a general agreement. 'So travel through the land for four months and know that you cannot escape God and that God will put the unbelievers to shame. And a proclamation from God and His apostle to men on the day of the greater pilgrimage that God and His apostle are free from obligation to the polytheists,' i.e. after this pilgrimage.

So if you repent it will be better for you; and if you turn back know that you cannot escape God. Inform those who disbelieve, about a painful punishment except those polytheists with whom you have made a treaty, i.e. the special treaty for a specified term, 'since they have not come short in anything in regard to you and have not helped anyone against you. So fulfill your treaty with them to their allotted time. God loves the pious. And when the sacred months are passed, He means the four which he fixed as their time, 'then kill the polytheists wherever you find them, and seize them and believe them and lie in wait for them in every ambush. But if they repent and perform prayer and pay the poor-tax, then let them go their way. God is forgiving, merciful. If one of the polytheists, i.e. one of those whom I have ordered you to kill, asks your protection, give it him so that he may hear the word of God; then convey him to his place of safety. That is because they are a people who do not know.'

Then He said: 'How can there be for the polytheists with whom you had a general agreement that they should not put you in fear and that you would not put them in fear neither in the holy places nor in the holy months 'a treaty with God and His apostle except for those with whom you made a treaty at the sacred mosque?' They were the tribes of B. Bakr who had entered into an agreement with Quraysh on the day of al-'Ahdabiyya up to the time agreed between the apostle and Quraysh. It was only this clan of Quraysh who had broken it. They were al-'Aad of B. Bakr b. Wa'il who had entered into the agreement of Quraysh. So he was ordered to fulfill the agreement with those of B. Bakr who had not broken it, up to their allotted time. 'So long as they are true to you be true to them. God loves the pious.'

Then He said: 'And how, if when they have the upper hand of you,' i.e. the polytheists who have no agreement up to a time under the general agreement with the polytheists 'they regard not pact or compact in regard to you' (869).

'They satisfy you with their lips while their hearts refuse. Most of them are wrongdoers. They have sold the revelations of God for a low price and debaered (men) from His way. Evil is that which they are wont to do. They observe neither pact nor compact with a believer. Those are the transgressors,' i.e. they have transgressed against you. 'But if they repent and perform prayer and pay the poor-tax, then they are your brothers in religion. We make clear the revelations for a people who have knowledge.'

Hâkim b. Hakim b. Abîd b. Hunayf from Abî Ja'far Muhammad b. Abî Bakr told me that when the discharge came down to the apostle after he had sent Abî Bakr to superintend the hajj, someone expressed the wish that he would send news of it to Abî Bakr. He said, 'None shall transmit it from me but a man of my own house.' Then he summoned 'Ali and said: 'Take this section from the beginning of 'The Discharge' and proclaim it to the people on the day of sacrifice when they assemble at Mâdâ'î. No unbeliever shall enter Paradise, and no polytheist shall make pilgrimage after this year, and no naked person shall circumambulate the temple. He who has an agreement with the apostle has it for his appointed time only.' 'Ali went forth on the apostle's silt-eared camel and overtook Abî Bakr on the way. When Abî Bakr saw him he asked whether he had come to give orders or to convey them. He said 'to convey them.' They went on together and Abî Bakr superintended the hajj, the Arabs in that year doing as they had done in the heathen period. When the day of sacrifice came 'Ali arose and proclaimed what the apostle had ordered him to say, and he gave the men a period of four months from the date of the proclamation to return to their place of safety or their country; afterwards there was to be no treaty or compact except for one with whom the apostle had an agreement for a period, and he could have it for that period. After that year no polytheist went on pilgrimage or circumambulated the temple naked. Then the two of them returned to the apostle. This was the Discharge in regard to the polytheists who had a general agreement, and those who had a respite for the specified time.

Then the apostle gave orders to fight the polytheists who had broken the special agreement as well as those who had a general agreement after the four months which had been given them as a fixed time, save that if any one of them showed hostility he should be killed for it. And He said, 'Will you not fight a people who broke their oaths and thought to drive out the apostle and attacked you first? Do you fear them when God is more worthy to be feared if you are believers? Fight them! God will punish them by your hands, and put them to shame and give you the victory over them and will heal the breasts of a believing people, and He will remove the anger of their hearts and God will relent,' i.e. after that 'towards whom He willed, for God is knowing, wise.' Or do you think that you will be left (idle) when God does not yet know those of you who bestir yourselves and choose none for friend but God and His apostle and the believers? God is informed about what you do' (870).

Then He mentioned the words of Quraysh, 'We are the people of the sanctuary, the waterers of the pilgrims, and the tenders of this temple and none is superior to us,' and He said: 'He only shall tend God's sanctuaries who believes in God and the last day,' i.e. your tending was not thus. Only
those who tend God's sanctuaries means tend them as they ought to be tended 'who believe' in God and the last day and perform prayer and pay the poor tax and fear only God,' i.e. those are the tenders, perhaps those may be the rightly guided, 'Perhaps' coming from God means a fact. Then he said: 'Would you make the waterering of the pilgrims and the tending of the sacred mosque equal to one who believes in God and the last day and fights in the way of God? They are not equal with God."

Then comes the story of their enemy until he arrives at the mention of Hunayn and what happened there and their turning back from their enemy and how God sent down help after they had abandoned one another. Then he said (v. 28): 'The polytheists are nothing but unclean, so let them not approach the sacred mosque after this year of theirs, and if you fear poverty that was because the people said 'the markets will be cut off from us, trade will be destroyed, and we shall lose the good things we used to enjoy,' and God said, 'If you fear poverty God will enrich you from His bounty,' i.e. in some other way, if He will. He is knowing, wise. Fight those who do not believe in God and the last day and forbid not that which God and His apostle have forbidden and follow not the religion of truth from among those who have been given the scripture until they pay, the poll tax out of hand being humbled, i.e. as a compensation for what you fear to lose by the closing of the markets. God gave them compensation for what He cut off from them in their former polytheism by what He gave them by way of poll tax from the people of scripture.

Then He mentioned the two peoples of scripture with their evil and their lies against Him until the words 'Many of the rabbis and monks devour men's wealth wickedly and turn men from the way of God. Those who hoard up gold and silver and do not spend it in the way of God, announce to them a painful punishment.'

Then He mentioned the fixing of the sacred months and the innovations of the Arabs in the matter. 'Nazi' means making profane months which God has declared holy and vice versa. 'The number of the months with God is twelve in the book of God on the day He created heaven and earth. Four of them are sacred; that is the standing religion, so wrong not yourselves therein,' i.e. do not make the sacred profane or the profane sacred as the polytheists did. 'Postponement (of a sacred month) which they used to practise 'is excess of infidelity whereby those who disbelieve are misled; they allow it one year and forbid it another year that they may make up the number of the months which God has made sacred so that they allow that which God has forbidden, the evil of their deeds seeming good to them. But God does not guide a disbelieving people.'

Then He mentioned Tabuk and how the Muslims were weighed down by it and exaggerated the difficulty of attacking the Byzantines when the apostle called them to fight them; and the disaffection of some; then how the apostle upbraided them for their behaviour in Islam. God said, 'O you who believe, what was the matter with you that when it was said to you, Go forth in the way of God you were weighed down to the earth!' then as far as His words 'He will punish you with a painful punishment and choose a people other than you' to the words 'if you do not help him still God helped him when those who disbelieve drove him out the second of two when the twain were in the cave.'

Then He said to His prophet, mentioning the disaffected: 'Had it been a near adventure and a short journey they would have followed you, but the long distance weighed upon them. And they will swear by God, Had we been able we would have set forth with you. They destroy themselves, God knowing that they are liars, i.e. that they were able. 'May God forgive you. Why did you give them leave (to stay behind) before those who told the truth were plain to you and you knew the liars?' as far as the words 'Had they gone forth with you they would have contributed naught but trouble and have hurried about among you seeking to cause sedition among you there being among you some who would have listened to them.'

Among the men of high standing who asked his permission (to stay behind) according to my information were Abdullah b. Usayb b. Salih and al-Jabir b. Qays. They were nobles among their people and God kept them back because He knew that if they went forth with him they would cause disorder in his army, for in the army were men who loved them and would obey them in anything they asked because of their high standing among them, God said: 'And among them are some who would have listened to them, and God knows about the evil-doers. In the past they sought to cause sedition, i.e. before they asked your permission, and overthrew your affairs,' i.e. they attempted to draw away your companions from you and to frustrate your affair 'until the truth came and God's command became manifest though they were averse'. Of them is he who said, Give me permission (to stay behind) and tempt me not. Have they not fallen into temptation already?' The one who said that according to what we were told was al-Jabir b. Qays, brother of B. Salima, when the apostle called him to war with the Byzantines. Then the account goes on to the words 'If they were to find a refuge or caverns or a place to enter they would have turned to it with all speed. And of them is he who defamed you in the matter of alms. If they are given some they are content; but if they are not given some they are enraged,' i.e. their whole aim, their satisfaction, and their anger, are concerned with their worldly life.

Then He explained and specified to whom alms should be given: 'Alms are only for the poor and needy and the collectors of it and for those whose hearts are to be won, and to free captives and debtors, and for the way of God and for the wayfarer as an ordinance from God and God is knowing, wise.'

Then He mentioned their duplicity and their vexing the apostle and said: 'And of them are those who vex the prophet and say, He is an ear. Say: an ear of good for you, who believe in God and is faithful to the believers and a mercy for those of you who believe. There is a painful
punishment for those who vex God’s apostle.” According to my information the man who said those words was Nabi b. al-Harith, brother of B. Amr b. ‘Auf, and this verse came down about him because he used to say “Muhammad is only an ear. If anyone tells him a thing he believes it.” God said, “Say: An ear of good to you,” i.e. he hears good and believes it.

Then He said, “They swear by God to you to please you, but God and His apostle have more right that they should please Him if they are believers.” Then He said, “If you ask them they will say We were but talking and jesting. Say: Do you scoff at God and His signs and His apostle?” as far as the words “If We pardon a party of you We will punish a party.” The one who said these words was Wadi’a b. Thalbit, brother of B. Umayya b. Zayd of B. Amr b. ‘Auf. The one who was pardoned, according to my information, was Mukhshash b. Humayyir al-Ashjā’a, an ally of B. Salma, because he disapproved of what he heard them saying.

The description of them continues to the words, “O prophet, fight the unbelievers and disaffected, and deal roughly with them. Their abode is hell, an evil resting-place.” They swear by God that they did not say it but they did say the word of unbelief and disbelieved after their Islam and planted what they could not attain. They sought revenge only because God and His apostle had enriched them from His bounty to the words, “a friend and no helper.” The one who said those words was al-Julās b. Suwâyd b. Sāmi, and a man of his family called Umayr b. Sa’d reported them and he denied that he had said them and swore an oath by God. But when the Qur’ān came down concerning them he repented and changed his mind. His repentance and his state became excellent as I have heard.

Then He said, “And of them is he who made a covenant with God: If He gives us of His bounty we will give alms and become of the righteous.” The one who made a covenant with God were Thawab b. Ḥāthib and Mu‘āshib b. Qushayr, both of B. Amr b. ‘Auf.

Then He said, “Those who defame such of the believers as give freely in alms and such as can only give their efforts and scoff at them, God will scoff at them and they will have a painful punishment.” The believers who freely gave alms were ‘Abdullāh-Rahmān b. ‘Aṣma b. Ṭady, brother of B. ‘Ajlīn, because the apostle incited and urged men to almsgiving. ‘Abdullāh-Rahmān arose and gave 4,000 dirhams, and ‘Aṣma arose and gave 100 loads of dates, and they defamed them and said, “This is nothing but extortiation.” The man who gave in alms all he could was ‘Abd ‘Aql b. ‘Ajlīn, brother of B. Umayy, who brought a measure of dates and cast it all into the alms. They laughed at him saying, “God can do without ‘Abd ‘Aql’s paltry measure.”

Then He mentioned what they said one to another when the apostle endured war and the expedition to Tabūk in great heat and sterile conditions. “They said, Go not forth in the heat. ‘Say: The fire of hell is much hotter did you but understand. But let them laugh a little and weep much’ as far as the words ‘and let not their wealth and children astonish you.’

Al-Zuhri from ‘Ubaydullāh b. ‘Abdullāh b. Uthmān from B. ‘Abbās said: I heard ‘Umar saying, “When ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Ubayd died the apostle was called to pray over him; and when he went and stood by him about to pray I changed my position so as to confront him and said ‘Are you going to pray over God’s enemy ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Ubayd, the man who said so-and-so on such-and-such occasions?’” The apostle smiled when I had made a long story and said, “Get behind me. ‘Umar, I have been given the choice and I have chosen. It was said to me, ‘Ask pardon for them or ask it not. If you ask pardon for them seventy times God will not pardon them.’ Did I know that if I added to the seventy he would be forgiven I would add thereto.” Then he prayed over him and walked with him till he stood over his grave until he was disposed of. I was astonished at myself and my boldness when God and His apostle know best. It was not long before these two verses came down “And never pray for any one of them who dies and do not stand by his grave for they disbelieved in God and His apostle and died as evil-doers.” Afterwards the apostle never prayed over a disaffected person until the day of his death.

Then He said: “And when a sin is set down: Believe in God and strive along with His apostle, men of wealth among them asked your permission (to stay behind).” ‘Abdullāh was one of them and God upbraided him for it, then He said: “But the apostle and those who believe with him strive with their wealth and their lives; for them are the good things; they are the successful.” God has prepared for them gardens beneath which rivers flow wherein they shall abide for ever, that is the great triumph. And the excuse-offering Bedouin came to ask leave and those who disbelieved God and His apostle stayed at home” to the end of the account. The men with excuses so I have heard were a number of B. Ghifār among whom was Khujjāt b. Ayyār b. Rāhāb; he goes on with the story of these to the words “nor to those who when they came to you to mount them you said I cannot find a beast on which to mount you, turned back, their eyes flowing with tears for grief that they could not find the wherewithal to spend.” Those were the weepers.

Then He said: “The way (of blame) is only against those who asked leave, they being rich. They wanted to be with the women. God sealed their hearts and they do not know.” The khujjāt were the women. Then He mentioned their oath and their excuse to the Muslims and said, “Pursue away from them to His words ‘And if you are satisfied with them God will not be satisfied with an evil people.’

Then He mentioned the Bedouin and the disaffected among them and how they waited for (the discomfiture of) the apostle and the believers: “And of the Bedouin there is he who regards what is spent,” i.e. of the alms or expenses in the way of God “as a tax and awaits evil fortune for you. The evil fortune will be theirs and God is hearing, knowing.”
Then He mentioned the sincere and faithful Bedouin among them and said: 'And of the Bedouin there is he who believes in God and the last day and regards what he spends and the prayers of the apostle as acceptable offerings with God. It is an acceptable offering for them.'

Then He mentioned the first emigrants and helpers and their merit and the goodly reward which God promised them. Then He joined with them their later followers in goodness and He said, 'God is pleased with them and they are pleased with Him.' Then He said: 'And of the Bedouin round you there are the disaffected and of the people of Medina there are those who are stubborn in disaffection,' i.e. persist in it and refuse to be otherwise; 'we shall punish them twice.' The punishment with which God threatened them twice according to my information is their grief over their position in Islam and their inward rage at not getting a (heavenly) reward; then their punishment in the grave when they get there; then the great punishment to which they will be brought, the punishment of hell eternally. Then He said: 'And there are others who acknowledged their faults. They mixed a good deed with another that was bad; perhaps God will relent towards them, for He is forgiving, merciful.'

Then He said, 'Take alms from their wealth whereby to purify and cleanse them' to the end of the passage. Then He said: 'And there are others who are postponed to God's decree; either He will punish them or relent towards them.' They are the three who were left in abeyance and the apostle postponed their case until their forgiveness came from God. Then He said, 'And as for those who chose a mosque out of opposition' to the end of the passage. Then He said: 'God has bought from the believers their lives and their wealth for the Garden that will be theirs.' Then comes the narrative dealing with Tabûk to the end of the chapter.

In the time of the prophet and afterwards Bara'a was called al-Muha'-thira because it laid bare the secret thoughts of men. Tabûk was the last raid that the apostle made.

THE POETRY OF HASSAN ENUMERATING THE BATTLES

Hassan b. Thabit, enumerating the battles and campaigns in which the Ansa' fought in company with the apostle, said: (872)

Am I not the best of Ma'sadd in family and tribe?
If all of them be reckoned and counted,
A people all of whom witnessed Badr with the apostle
Neither falling short nor deserting.
'They gave him the dearest, not one betrayed it,
And there was no deceit in their pledged word.
On the day when in the glen of Uhud

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**Notes:**

- **Cf. Sûra 82.** 4 and 100. 9.
- B. explains that Hassan who was not of Ma'sadd means men in general and says 'Ma'sadd' because of their great number.

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We were kings of men before Muhammad
And when Islam came we had the superiority.
God the only God honoured us with
Bygone days that have no parallel
In our help to God and His apostle and His religion,
And God has given us a name which has no equal.
Those people of mine are the best of all people.
Whatever is counted good my people are worthy of it.
They surpass all their predecessors in generosity
And the way to their generosity is never barred.

When men come to their assemblies they do not behave unseemly,
Nor are they mean when asked for a gift.
They are inimitable in war and peace.
To fight them is death; to make peace easy.
Their sojourner's house is high and inaccessible.
While staying with us he enjoys respect and hospitality.
If one of them assumes a debt he pays it
Without defaulting or running into debt.
He who speaks speaks the truth,
Their clemency is constant, their judgement just.
He whom the Muslims trusted while he lived;
And he whom the angels washed of his impurity were of us (874).

Hassān also said:
These are my people if you ask,
Generous when a guest arrives.
Large are the cooking-pots for the gamesters
Wherein they cook the fat-humped camels.
They give the sojourner a life of plenty
And protect their friend when he is wronged.
They were kings in their lands,
They call for the sword when injustice is flagrant.3
They were kings over men—never by others
Have they been ruled even for a short time.
Tell4 about 'Ad and its peoples:
Of Thamūd and the survivors of Iram,
Of Yathrib where they had built forts among the palms
And cattle were housed there,
Watering camels which the Jews trained
Saying, Off with you, and Come!
They had what they wanted of wine and pleasure,
An easy life free of care.
We came to them with our equipment
On our white war-loving camels;
Beside them we led war-horses
Covered with thick leather.
When we halted on the sides of Sīrāt5
And made fast the saddles with twisted ropes
They were scared by the speed of the horses
And the sudden attack from the rear.
They fled swiftly in terror
As we came on them like lions of the jungle.

On our long, carefully tended mares
Which were not out of condition from long stabling.
Dark bay, spirited,
Strong jointed like arrows,
Carrying horsemen accustomed to fighting warriors
And to smiting down brave foes;
Kings when (others) behaved as tyrants in the land,
Never retreating but always advancing.
We came back with their leading men
And their women and children also were divided among the victors.
We inherited their houses when they had gone
And remained there as owners.
When the rightly guided apostle brought us the truth
And light after darkness
We said, 'You speak the truth, O God's apostle;
Come and dwell with us.
We bear witness that you are the slave of God
Sent in light with an upright religion.
We and our children are a protection for you
And our wealth is at your disposal,1
Such are we if others give you the lie,
So shrink not from proclaiming aloud,
Proclaim what you have hidden.
Openly without concealing it.'
The erring ones came with their swords
Thinking that he would be slain.
We attacked them with our swords,
Fighting the miscreants of the peoples in 1 defence
With our brightly polished swords
Fine-edged, biting, cutting.
When they encountered hard bones
They did not recoil or become blunted.
Such have our nobles bequeathed us
In ancestral glory and proud fame.
When one passes another takes his place
And he leaves a scion when he dies.
There is none who is not indebted to us,
Though he may have been disloyal (875).

THE YEAR OF THE DEPUTATIONS, A.H. 9
When the apostle had gained possession of Mecca, and had finished with Tabūk, and Thaqqif had surrendered and paid homage, deputations from the Arabs came to him from all directions (876).

1 Act as a judge in our affairs (or property).
In deciding their attitude to Islam the Arabs were only waiting to see what happened to this clan of Quraysh and the apostle. For Quraysh were the leaders and guides of men, the people of the sacred temple, and the pure stock of Ishmael son of Abraham; and the leading Arabs did not contest this. It was Quraysh who had declared war on the apostle and opposed him; and when Mecca was occupied and Quraysh became subject to him and he subdued it to Islam, and the Arabs knew that they could not fight the apostle or display enmity towards him they entered into God's religion 'in batches' as God said, coming to him from all directions. God said to His prophet: 'When God's help came and the victory, and you saw men entering into God's religion in batches, then glorify God with praise and ask His pardon for He is most forgiving.' i.e. praise God for His having made your religion victorious, and ask His pardon, for He is most forgiving.

THE COMING OF THE DEPUTATION OF BANU TAMIM


And in the deputation of B. Tamīm were Nu'ayn b. Yazid and Qays b. al-Hārith and Qays b. 'Asim brother of B. Sa'd with a great delegation from B. Tamīm (878). With them was 'Umayna b. Ḥisn b. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr al-Fażārī.

Al-Aqra' and 'Umayna had been with the apostle at the occupation of Mecca and Hunayn and al-Ta'if, and when the deputation came they were among them. When the deputation entered the mosque they called out to the apostle who was behind in his private apartments, 'Come out to us, Muhammad!' This loud call annoyed the apostle and he came out to them, and they said, 'Muhammad, we have come to compete with you in boasting, so give permission to our poet and our orator.' The apostle did so, and 'Uthrid b. Hājib got up and said:

'Praise belongs to God for His favour to us and He is worthy to be praised, who has made us kings and given us great wealth wherewith we are generous, and has made us the strongest people of the east and the greatest in number, and the best equipped, so who among mankind is our equal? Are we not the princes of men and their superiors? He who would compete with us let him enumerate what we have enumerated. If we wished we could say more, but we are too modest to say much of what He has given us and are well known for that. I say this that you may bring forward the like and anything better.' Then he sat down. The apostle said to Thabit

b. Qays b. al-Shammās, brother of B. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj, 'Get up and answer the man's speech'; so Thabit got up and said:

'Praise belongs to God Who created heaven and earth and established His rule therein, and His knowledge includes His throne; nothing exists but by His bounty. By His power He made us kings and chose the best of His creation as an apostle, and honoured him with lineage, made him truthful in speech, and favoured him with reputation, and sent down to him His book and entrusted him with it above (all) that He had created. He was God's choice from the worlds. Then He summoned men to believe in him, and the emigrants from his people and his kinsmen believed in God's apostle; the most noble men in reputation, the highest in dignity, and the best in deeds. The first of creatures to answer and respond to God when the apostle called them were ourselves. We are God's helpers and the assistants of His apostle, and will fight men until they believe in God; and he who believes in God and His apostle has protected his life and property from us; and he who disbelieves we will fight in God unceasingly and killing him will be a small matter to us. These are my words and I ask God's pardon for myself and the believers both men and women. Peace upon you.'

(T. Then they said, 'Give permission to our poet to speak' and he did so,) and al-Zibriqān got up and said:

We are the nobles, no tribe can equal us. From us kings are born and in our midst churches are built. How many tribes have we plundered, For excellence in glory is to be sought after. In time of dearth we feed our meat to the hungry When no rain cloud can be seen. You can see chiefs coming to us from every land, And we feed them lavishly. We slaughter fat-humped young camels as a matter of course; Guests when they come are satisfied with food. You will see whenever we challenge a tribe's superiority They yield and abandon leadership. He who challenges us we know the result: His people withdraw and the news is noise abroad. We forbid others but none forbid us. Thus we are justly exalted in pride (879).

Hassān was absent at the time and the apostle sent a messenger to tell him to come and answer the B. Tamīm's poet. Hassān said, As I went to the apostle I was saying:

We protected God's apostle when he dwelt among us Whether Ma'add liked it or not.

Sūrā 110. For a criticism of this translation (demanded by I.L.'s exegesis) and of I.L.'s explanation see Subay'ī in loc.

3 Lit. 'become as a head that is cut off.'
We protected him when he dwelt among our houses
With our swords against every evil wretch
In a unique house whose glory and wealth
Is in Jābiyatul-Jaulān among the foreigners.
Is glory aught but ancient lordship and generosity,
The dignity of kings and the bearing of great burdens?

When I came to the apostle and the tribal poet had said his say, I made
allusions to what he had said on the same pattern. When al-Zibrīnān had
finished the apostle said to Ḥassān, ‘Get up and answer the man,’ and
Ḥassān arose and said:

The leaders of Fihr and their brothers
Have shown a way of life to be followed.
Everyone whose heart is devout
And does all manner of good approves them.
Such a people when they fight injure their enemies
Or gain the advantage of their adherents which they seek.
Such is their nature—no recent habit.
(The worst of characteristic is innovation.)
If there are men who surpass those who come after them
Then they would be behind the last of them.
Men do not repair what their hands have destroyed in fighting,
Nor destroy what they have repaired.
If they compete with others they take the lead.
If weighed against men famous for liberality they send down the scale.
Chaste men whose chastity is mentioned in revelation,
Undefiled, no impurity can injure them.
Not mean with their wealth towards the sojourner
And no stain of covetouness touches them.
When we attack a tribe we do not go softly to them
Like a calf running to the wild cow.
We rise up when the claws of war reach us
When good-for-noughts are humbled by its nails.
They do not boast when they overcome their enemy,
And if they are beaten they are not weak nor despairing.
In battle when death is at hand
They are like lions in Ḥalya with crooked claws.
Take what you can get if they are enraged
And seek not what they have forbidden.
To fight them is to meet poison and bane
So do not antagonize them.
How noble the people who have God’s apostle with them!
When sects and parties differ!
My heart sings their praises!

Aided in its beloved task by an eloquent and ready tongue,
For they are the best of all creatures
In matters grave and gay (880).

When Ḥassān had ended al-Aqra’ said: ‘By my father, this man has a qah
ready helper. His orator and his poet are better than ours and their voices are sweeter than ours.’ In the end they accepted Islam and the
apostle gave them valuable gifts.
They had left ‘Amr b. al-Ahmad behind with their camels, being the
youngest of them. Ḥassān b. Ḥāmīn, who hated ‘Amr, said, ‘O apostle
of God, there is one of our men with the camels, a mere youngster,’
and he spoke disparagingly of him. But the apostle gave him the same as he
gave the others. When ‘Amr heard that Qays had said that, he satirized
him thus:

You exposed yourself to contempt when you defamed me to the
apostle.
You were a liar and spoke not the truth.
(T. You may hate us, for Roman is your origin
But Rome does not hold fast for the Arabs.)
We ruled you with a wide authority, but your authority
is that of one sitting on his behind and showing his teeth! (881)

Concerning them the Quran came down: ‘Those who call you from
behind the private apartments most of them have no sense!’

The Story of ‘Amr b. al-Ṭufayl and Arbad b. Qays
Among the deputation from B. ‘Amr was ‘Amr b. al-Ṭufayl and Arbad
Jafar. These three were the chiefs and leaders of the tribe.
‘Amr, the enemy of God, came to the apostle intending to kill him
treacherously. His people had urged him to accept Islam because others
had done so, but he said: ‘I have sworn that I will not stop until the Arabs
follow me. Am I to follow in the steps of this fellow from Quraysh?’ Then
he said to Arbad: ‘When we get to the man I will distract his attention
from you, and when I do that smite him with your sword.’ When they
got to the apostle ‘Amr said, ‘Muhammad, come apart with me.’

So C. (ṣabā). W. has old ‘rise above ours’.

1 i.e. a dog. In T. 11.77 the verse runs
We ruled and our authority is ancient, but your authority
is behind at the root of the ramp and the tail.

If we may suppose that there is a play on the word and which should be read as ‘ad and
understood as a synonym of yād (cf. Ibn Ṭufayl, Hijār b. Yaqṣān, 85), it is easy to see why
1.4 cut out one verse and boudelized the next.

2 T. has ‘‘Three of the Banu Tamim who call you from behind the private apartments
have no sense’ and that is the preferable reading.” Surah 49. 4. Cf. Wellhausen, Muhammad
in Medina, 387.

A less likely meaning, as the commentators point out, is ‘make friends with me’.

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replied, 'No, I will not until you believe in God alone.' He repeated the request and went on talking to him expecting that Arbad would do as he had told him but he remained inactive. He again repeated his request and got the same answer. When the apostle refused he said, 'By God I will fill the land against you with horses and men.' When they went away the apostle said, 'O God, rid me of 'Amir b. al-Tufayl.' On their way back 'Amir said to Arbad, 'Confound you, Arbad, why didn't you do what I ordered? By God there is no man on the face of the earth whom I fear more than you, but by God I shall never fear you after today.' He answered, 'Don't be hasty with me. Whenever I tried to get at him as you ordered, you got in the way so that I could see only you. Was I to smite you with the sword?'

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'Amir b. al-Tufayl said:

'The apostle sent word about what you know and it was as though We were making a planned raid on the squadrons And our worn-out horses had brought us to Medina
And we had killed the Ansar in its midst.'

As they were on their way back God sent a bubonic plague in 'Amir's neck, and God killed him in the house of a woman of B. Safil. He began to say, 'O Banu 'Amir, A boil like the boil of a young camel in the house of a woman of Banu Safil!' (882)

When they had buried him his companions returned to the B. 'Amir country to winter and the people asked Arbad what had happened. 'Nothing, by God,' he said; 'he asked us to worship something. I wish we were here now and I would kill him with an arrow.' A day or two after saying this he went out with his camel behind him and God sent on him and his camel a thunderbolt which consumed them. Arbad was brother of Labid b. Rabia by the same mother (883).

Labid said, weeping Arbad:

The fates spare none,
Neither anxious father nor son.
I feared a violent death for Arbad,
But I did not fear the blow of Pisces and Leo,
O eye, why do you not weep for Arbad?
Since we and the women rose in sorrow?
If men blistered he took no notice,
If they were moderate in judgement he showed moderation.
Sweet, astute, withal in his sweetness bitter,
Gentle in bowels and liver.
O eye, why do you not weep for Arbad?
When the winter winds strip the leaves from the trees
And make pregnant camels milkless.

1 These words are proverbial; see Freytag, Proc. ii. 172.

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Until the last few drops appear? (He was)
Older than a man-eating lion in his thicket,
Eager for fame and far-seeing.
The eye could not see as far as it wished.
The night the horses came weak from the battle.
Who sent the mourning-women among his mourners
Like young gazelles in a barren land.
The lightning and thunderbolts distressed me.
For the brave knight on the day of misfortune.
Who spoiled the spoiler to repay the spoiled
Who came to him distressed and if he asked for more he gave it;
Liberal when times were bad.
As the gentle spring rain that waters the grass.
All sons of a freewoman must become few
However many she bare.
Envisaged though they be, they must fall;
Though they hold authority one day they must perish and die (884).

Another explanation of su'da is 'the best of the inheritance',

2 Two mountains
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Or the two stars of the polar region and the Great Bear Everlasting, their destruction unthinkable.¹

Labid also said:

Announce to the noble the death of noble Arbad,
Announce the death of the chief, the kind-hearted,
Giving away his wealth that he might gain praise,
Camels like wild untamed cows,
Abundant in virtues if they were reckoned,
Who filled the platter again and again.
Whenever a poor man came he ate at will
As when a lion finds water in a dry land.
The more he is threatened the nearer he comes.
You have left us no paltry inheritance,
And wealth newly acquired and sons.
Youths like hawks, young men, and beardless boys.

Labid also said:

You will never exhaust the good deeds of Arbad, so weep for him continually.
Say, He was the protecting warrior when armour was donned.
He kept wrong-doers from us when we met insolent enemies.
The Lord of creation took him away since He saw there was no long stay on earth.

He died painlessly without hurt and he is sorely missed.

Labid also said:

Every bitter opponent whose way seemed harmful reminds me of Arbad.
If they were fair, then he was nobly fair: if they were unfair so was he.
He guided the people carefully when their guide went astray in the desert (885).

Labid also said:

I went walking after (the death of) Salmā b. Malik
And Abū Qays and 'Urwa like a camel whose hump is cut off.²
When it sees the shadow of a raven it shoos it away
Anxious for the rest of its spine and sitheans (896).

The Coming of Dimām b. Thālabā as a Deputy from Banū Sa'd b. Bakr

The B. Sa'd b. Bakr sent one of their men called Dimām b. Thālabā to the apostle, Muhammad b. al-Walīd b. Nuwaytī from Kurayb client of

¹ In Breckheim's edn. the poem (avii) has 51 verses. The text in Chālālā, p. 17, is in better sequence
² By its starving owners in their hunger.

"Abdullāh b. 'Abbās from Ibn 'Abbās told me: When the B. Sa'd sent Dimām to the apostle he came and made his camel kneel at the door of the mosque, hobbled it, and went into the mosque where the apostle was sitting with his companions. Now Dimām was a thickest hairy man with two forelocks. He came forward until he stood over the apostle and said, 'Which of you is the son of 'Abdu'l-Mu'tṭalib?' The apostle said that he was. 'Are you Muhammad?' he asked. When he said that he was he said, 'O son of 'Abdu'l-Mu'tṭalib, I am going to ask you a hard question, so don't take it amiss.' The apostle told him to ask what he liked and he would not take it amiss and he said, 'I adjure you by God your God and the God of those before you and the God of those who will come after you, has God sent you to us as an apostle? Yes, by God He has,' he replied. He then adjured him to answer the questions. Has He ordered you to order us to serve Him alone and not to associate anything with Him and to discard those rival deities which our fathers used to worship along with Him; and to pray these five prayers; then the ordinances of Islam one by one, alone, fasting, pilgrimage, and all the laws of Islam?' At the end he said: 'I testify that there is no God but Allah and I testify that Muhammad is the apostle of God, and I carry out these ordinances, and I will avoid what you have forbidden me to do; I will neither add to, nor diminish from them.' Then he went back to his camel. The apostle said, 'If this man with the two forelocks is sincere he will go to Paradise.'

The man went to his camel, freed it from its hobble, and went off to his people, and when they gathered to him the first thing he said was, 'How evil are al-Lat and al-'Uzza!' 'Heavens above, Dimām,' they said, 'barefaced leprosy and elephantiasis and madness!' He said: 'Woe to you, they can neither hurt nor heal. God has sent an apostle and sent down to him a book, so seek deliverance thereby from your present state; as for me, I bear witness that there is no God but the one God who is without associate, and that Muhammad is His slave and apostle. I have brought you what He has commanded you to do and what He has ordered you not to do. And by God before the night was over there was not a man or woman in the tribe who had not become a Muslim. 'Abdullāh b. 'Abbās said: We have never heard of a representative of a tribe finer than Dimām b. Thālabā.

The Coming of al-Jarūḍ in the Deputation from 'Abdu'l-Qays

Al-Jarūḍ b. 'Amr b. Ḥanash, brother of 'Abdu'l-Qays, came to the apostle (887).

One of whom I have no suspicion told me from al-Hasan that when he ⁹⁴⁵ came to the apostle he spoke to him, and the apostle explained Islam to him and invited him to enter it with kindly words. He replied: 'Muhammad,
I owe a debt. If I leave my religion for yours will you guarantee my debt? The apostle said, 'Yes, I guarantee that what God has guided you to is better than that,' so he and his companions accepted Islam. Then he asked the apostle for some mounts, but he told him that he had none available. Al-Jārūd pointed out that there were some stray beasts lying between Medina and his country and could he not ride away on them? He replied, 'No, beware of them, for that would lead to hell fire.'

Al-Jārūd went off to his own tribe, a good Muslim, firm in his religion until his death, having lived to the time of the Apostasy. And when some of his people who had become Muslims returned to their former religion with al-Ghārūr b. al-Mundhir b. al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir, al-Jārūd got up and spoke and confessed his faith and called them to Islam. He pronounced the shahādā and declared that he would regard anyone who refused to do likewise as infidel (888).

The apostle had sent al-'Alī b. al-Hādramī to al-Mundhir b. Sāwā al-‘Abdī before the conquest of Mecca, and he became a good Muslim. He died after the apostle but before the apostasy of the people of al-Bahrayn. Al-‘Alī was with him as governor for the apostle over al-Bahrayn.

THE DEPUTATION FROM BAND ḤANĪFA WITH WHOM WAS MUṢAYLIMA

The deputation of B. Ḥanīfa came to the apostle bringing with them Muṣaylima b. Ḥabīb al-Ḥanīf, the arch liar (888). They lodged in the house of d. al-Ḥārizh, a woman of the Amr b. al-Nuṣairīr. One of the scholars of Medīna told me that B. Ḥanīfa brought him to the apostle hiding him in garments. The apostle was sitting among his companions having a palm-branch with some leaves on its upper end. When he came to the apostle as they were covering him with garments he spoke to him and asked him (for a gift). The apostle answered: 'If you were to ask me for this palm branch (T. which I hold) I would not give it to you.'

A shaykh of B. Ḥanīfa from the people of al-Yamāma told me that the incident happened otherwise. He alleged that the deputation came to the apostle having left Muṣaylima behind with the camels and the baggage. When they had accepted Islam they remembered where he was, and told the apostle that they had left a companion of theirs to guard their stuff.

The apostle ordered that he should be given the same as the rest, saying, 'His position is no worse than yours,' i.e. in minding the property of his companions. That is what the apostle meant.

Then they left the apostle and brought him what he had given him. When they reached al-Yamāma the enemy of God apostatized, gave himself out as a prophet, and played the liar. He said, 'I am a partner with him in the affair,' and then he said to the deputation who had been with him, 'Did he not say to you when you mentioned me to him "His position is no worse than yours"? What can that mean but that he knows that I am a partner with him in the affair?' Then he began to utter hymns in zaj and speak in imitation of the style of the Qurān: 'God has been gracious to the pregnant woman; He has brought forth from her a living being that can move; from her very midst.' He permitted them to drink wine and fornicate, and let them dispense with prayer, yet he was acknowledging the apostle as a prophet, and Ḥanīfa agreed with him on that. But God knows what the truth was.

ZAYDU’L-KHAYL COMES WITH THE DEPUTATION FROM TAYYĪ

The deputation of Tayyī containing Zaydu’l-Khayl who was their chief came to the apostle, and after some conversation he explained Islam to them and they became good Muslims. A man of Tayyī whom I have no reason to suspect told me that the apostle said, 'No Arab has ever been spoken of in the highest terms but when I have met him I have found that he falls below what was said of him except Zaydu’l-Khayl, and he exceeds all that has been said about him.' Then the apostle named him Zaydu’l-Khayl and allotted to him Fayd and some lands with it and gave him a deed accordingly.

As Zayū went back to his tribe the apostle said that he hoped he would escape the Medina fever. The apostle did not call it Himmā or Umā Maldim; my informant could not say what. When he reached one of the watering-places of Najd called Fardā the fever overcame him and he died. When he felt his end coming he said:

Are my people to travel eastwards tomorrow
While I’m to be left in a house in Fardā in Najd?
How often if I were sick would women visit me
If not worn out by the journey at least tired.

When he was dead his wife got the deeds which the apostle had given him and burnt them in the fire.

‘ADĪY B. ḤĀTIM

I have been told that ‘Adīy b. Ḥātim used to say, ‘No Arab disliked the apostle when he first heard of him more than I. Now I was a chief of noble birth, a Christian, and I used to travel about among my people to collect a quarter of their stock. I was my own master in religious matters and was a king among my people and treated as such. When I heard of the apostle I disliked him and said to an Arab servant of mine who was looking after my camels, “Prepare some of my well-trained, well-fed camels, and keep them near me, and when you hear of Muhammad’s army coming
into this country bring me word." One morning he came to me and said, "Whatever you are going to do when Muhammad's cavalry comes upon you, do it now, for I have seen flags and I learn that they are the troops of Muhammad." I ordered him to bring my camels and I put my family and children on them and decided to join my fellow Christians in Syria. I went as far as al-Jashiya (Safa) and I left one of Hātim's daughters in the settlement. When I reached Syria I stopped there.

In my absence the apostle's cavalry came and among the captives they took was Hātim's daughter, and she was brought to the apostle among the captives of 'Aqīq. The apostle had heard of my flight to Syria. Hātim's daughter was put in the enclosure by the door of the mosque in which the captives were imprisoned and the apostle passed by her. She got up to meet him, for she was a courteous woman, and said, 'O apostle of God, my father is dead and the man who should act for me has gone. If you spare me God will spare you.' He asked her who her man was and when she told him it was 'Ady b. Hātim he exclaimed, 'The man who runs away from God and His apostle.' Then he went on and left her. Exactly the same thing happened the next day, and on the following day she was in despair. Then a man behind him motioned to her to get up and speak to him. She said the same words as before and he replied, 'I have done so, but do not hurry away until you find one of your people whom you can trust who can take you away from here, then let me know.' I asked the name of the man who had beckoned to me to speak and was told that it was 'Ali. I stayed until some riders came from Bali or Quda'a. All I wanted was to go to my brother in Syria. I went to the apostle and told him that some trustworthy man of reputation from my people had come for me. The apostle gave me clothing and put me on a camel and gave me money and I went away with them until I came to Syria.

'Ady said: 'I was sitting among my people when I saw a howdah making for us and I said, 'It is Hātim's daughter' and so it was, and when she got to me she reviled me, saying, 'You evilascal, you carried away your family and children and abandoned your father's daughter.' I said, 'Do not say anything that is bad, little sister, for by God I have no excuse. I did do what you say.' Then she alighted and stayed with me; and as she was a discreet woman I asked her what she thought of this man and she said, 'I think that you should join him quickly, for if the man is a prophet then those who get to him first will be preferred; and if he is a king you will not be shamed in the glory of al-Yaman, you being the man you are.' I said that this was a sound judgement so I went to the apostle when he was in his mosque in Medina and saluted him and told him my name and he got up to take me to his house. As we were making for it there met him an old feeble woman who asked him to stop and he stopped for a long time while she told him of her needs. I said to myself "This is no king." Then he took me into his house and took hold of a leather cushion stuffed with palm leaves and threw it to me saying, 'Sit on that.' I said, 'No, you sit on it,' and he said, 'No, you!' So I sat on it and he sat on the ground. I said to myself, 'This is not the way a king behaves.' Then he said, 'Now 'Ady, are you not half a Christian?" When I said that I was he said, 'Don't you go among your people collecting a quarter of their stock?' When I admitted that he said: 'But that is not permitted to you in your religion." 'Quite true," I said, and I knew that he was a prophet sent by God knowing what is not generally known. Then he said, 'It may well be that the poverty you see prevents you from joining this religion but, by God, wealth will soon flow so copiously among them that there will not be the people to take it. But perhaps it is that you see how many are their enemies and how few they are? But, by God, you will hear of a woman coming on her camel from Qādisiya to visit this temple unafraid. But perhaps it is that you see that others have the power and sovereignty, but by God you will soon hear that the white castles of Babylon have been opened to them.' Then I became a Muslim.'

'Ady used to say that the two things happened and the third remained to be fulfilled. I saw the white castles of Babylon laid open and I saw women coming from Qādisiya on camels unafraid to make the pilgrimage to this temple; and, by God, the third will come to pass: wealth will flow until there will not be the people to take it.

THE COMING OF FARWA B. MUSAYK AL-MURĀDI

Farwa b. Musayk al-Murādi came to the apostle, separating himself from the kings of Medina. Shortly before Islam there had been a battle between Murādi and Hamdān in which the former suffered a severe defeat, losing many men in the engagement called al-Radīn (T. al-Rasm). The leader of Hamdān was al-Ajda' b. Malik (894).

Farwa said about the battle:

'They passed by Lufāt with sunken eyes
Tugging at the reins as they turned to one side.
If we conquer we were conquerors of old
And if we are conquered we were not often conquered.
Cowardice is not our habit,
But our fate and the fortune of others (caused our defeat).
Thus fate's wheel turns

1 Rukbat is defined as a man midway between a Christian and a Sabi, as nowadays, a man who changes his religion. Thus 'Ady would seem to be, like so many of the Arabs at this time, a convert but not a practicing Christian in the full sense.
2 The words imply the Ka'ba at Mecca and the next paragraph makes this certain. As the conversation is said to have taken place in Medina the authenticity of the tradition is suspect, unless kushūd means no more than 'join.'
3 In Murādi territory.
Now for and now against a man.
While we are happy and rejoice in it,
Though we have enjoyed its favour for years,
Suddenly fate’s wheel is turned
And you find those who were envied ground to pieces.
Those whom men envy for fate’s favours
Will find time’s changes deceitful.
If kings were immortal we should be so;
And if the noble persisted so should we;
But the chiefs of my people are swept away
Like the generations before them (892).

When Farwa set out to go to the apostle, leaving the kings of Kinda, he said:

When I saw the kings of Kinda had failed to go right,
Like a man whose leg sinew lets him down,
I brought up my camel to go to Muhammad
Hoping for its welfare and good ground (893).

When he reached the apostle he asked him, so I have been told, ‘Are you upset at what befall your people on the day of al-Radm?’ He answered that such a tribal defeat as that would distress any man, and the apostle said that if that were so Islam could bring them only good. The prophet appointed him governor over Murâd and Zubayd and Madhbiy and sent with him Khalid b. Sa‘id b. al-‘As in charge of the poor tax; he remained with him in his land until the death of the apostle.

The Coming of Ma‘dîkarîb from the Banû Zubayd

‘Amr b. Ma‘dîkarîb came to the apostle with some men of B. Zubayd and accepted Islam. He had said to Qays b. Malashîb al-Murâdî when news of the apostle reached them, ‘You are the chief of your tribe, Qays. We have heard that a man of Quraysh called Muhammad has appeared in the Hijaz claiming to be a prophet, so come with us so that we may find out the facts. If he is a prophet as he says, it will be apparent to you and when we meet him we will follow him. If he is not a prophet we shall know.’ But Qays refused and declared his advice to be folly. Thereupon ‘Amr rode off to the apostle and accepted Islam. When Qays heard of this he was enraged and threatened ‘Amr, saying that he had gone against him and rejected his advice. ‘Amr said concerning that:

I gave you an order on the day of Dhū Ṣān‘a‘,
An order that was plainly right.
I ordered you to fear God and to practise goodness.
You went off after pleasure like a young ass
Whose lust beguiled him.

He wished to meet me on a horse on which I sat as a lion
Wearing a loose coat of mail glittering like a pool
On hard ground which makes the water clear.
Mail that turns back the lances with bent points
With broken shafts flying apart.
Had you met me you would have met a lion with flowing mane.
You would meet a ravening beast
With mighty paws and lofty shoulders
Matching his adversary whom he overthrows if he makes for him:
Seizes him, picks him up, throws him down and kills him;
Dashes out his brains and shatters him;
Tears him in pieces and devours him,
Admitting none a share in the prey his teeth and claws hold fast (894).

‘Amr stayed with his people the B. Zubayd while Farwa b. Musayk was over them. When the apostle died ‘Amr revolted, and said:

We have found Farwa’s rule the worst of rules,
An ass sniffing at a female ass.
If you were to look at Abû ‘Umayr
You would think he was a cait with its filthy discharge (895).

Al-Asîhîth b. Qays Comes with the Deputation of Kinda

Al-Asîhîth b. Qays came to the apostle with the deputation of Kinda, Al-Zuhri told me that he came with eighty riders from Kinda and they went in to the apostle in the mosque. They had combed their locks and blackened their eyes with kahl, and they wore striped robes bordered with silk. The apostle asked them if they had accepted Islam and when they said that they had he asked why this silk was round their necks. So they tore it off and threw it away.

Then al-Asîhîth said, ‘We are the sons of the eater of bitter herbs and so are you.’ The apostle smiled and said that to al-‘Abbas b. ‘Abdu‘l-Muṭṭalib and Rabi‘a b. al-Hârîth that ancestry was attributed. These two men were merchants and when they went about among the Arabs and were asked who they were they would say that they were sons of the eater of bitter herbs, taking pride in that because Kinda were kings. Then he said to them, ‘Nay, we are the sons of al-Nadr b. Kiṣâfa: we do not follow our mother’s line and disown our father.’ Al-Asîhîth said ‘Have you finished (û). Do you know, O men of Kinda? By God if I hear a man saying that (û. after today) I will give him eighty strokes’ (896).

1 This throws light on Robertson Smith’s theory of a primitive matriarchy in ancient Arabia.
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THE COMING OF SURAD B. 'ABDULLAH AL-AZDI

Surad came to the apostle and became a good Muslim with the deputation from al-Azdi. The apostle put him in command of those of his people who had accepted Islam and ordered him to fight the neighbouring polytheists from the tribes of the Yanam with them. Surad went away to carry out the apostle's orders and stopped at Jurash, which at that time was a closed town containing some of the tribes of the Yanam. Khath'am had taken refuge with them and entered it when they heard of the approach of the Muslims. The latter besieged them for about a month, but they could not force an entry. Surad withdrew as far as one of their mountains (now) called Shaar, and the inhabitants of Jurash, thinking that he had fled from them, went out in pursuit of him, and when they overtook him he turned on them and killed a large number of them.

Now the people of Jurash had sent two of their men to the apostle in Medina to look about them and see (what was happening), and while they were with the apostle after the afternoon prayer he asked where Shaar was. The two men got up and told him that there was a mountain in their country called Kashar by the people of Jurash, to which he replied that it was not Kashar but Shaar. 'Then what is the news of it?' they asked. 'Victims offered to God are being killed there now,' he said. The two men went and sat with Abû Bakr or it may have been 'Uthman and he said, 'Woe to you! the apostle has just announced to you the death of your people, so get up and ask him to pray to God to spare your people.' They did so, and he did so pray. They left the apostle and returned to their people and found that they had been smitten on the day that Surad attacked them on the very day and at the very hour in which the apostle said these words.

The deputation of Jurash came to the apostle and accepted Islam and he gave them a special reserve1 round their town with definite marks for horses, riding camels, and ploughing oxen. The cattle of any (other) man who pastured it could be seized with impunity. One of the Azd in reference to that raid said: (Khath'am used to assail Azd in pagan times and attack them in the sacred month):

What a successful raid we had! Mules, and horses and asses.

Until we came to Himyar with its forts
Where Khath'am had been given full warning.

If I could satisfy the ransom I feel
I should not care whether they were Muslims or heathen.

THE DEPUTATION OF THE KINGS OF HIMYAR

On his return from Tabûk a messenger brought a letter from the kings of Himyar with their acceptance of Islam: al-Hârîth b. 'Abdu Kullâl, and

1 The old word bard, meaning a sacred area, has lost its force here.

Nu'aym b. 'Abdu Kullâl, and al-Nu'mân prince of Dhû Nu'ayn and Ma'ârî and Hamdân. Zûr'a Dhû Yazan sent Malik b. Murra al-Rahâwî with their submission to Islam and abandonment of polytheism and its adherents. Then the apostle wrote to them: 'In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful, from Muhammad the apostle of God, the prophet, to al-Hârîth b. 'Abdu Kullâl and to Nu'aym b. 'Abdu Kullâl and to al-Nu'mân prince of Dhû Nu'ayn and Ma'ârî and Hamdân. I praise God the only God unto you. Your messenger reached me on my return from the land of the Byzantines and he met us in Medina and conveyed your message and your news and informed us of your Islam and of your killing the polytheists. God has guided you with His guidance. If you do well and obey God and His apostle and perform prayer, and pay alms, and God's fifth of hosty and the apostle's share and selected part,2 and the poor tax which is incumbent on believers from land, namely a tithe of that watered by fountains and rain; of that watered by the bucket a twentieth; for every forty camels a milch camel; for every thirty camels a young male camel; for every five camels a sheep; for every ten camels two sheep; for every four cows one cow; for every thirty cows a bull calf or a cow calf; for every forty sheep at pasture one sheep. This is what God has laid upon the believers. Anyone who does more it is to his merit. He who fulfills this and bears witness to his Islam and helps the believers against the polytheists he is a believer with a believer's rights and obligations and he has the guarantee of God and His apostle. If a Jew or a Christian becomes a Muslim he is a believer with his rights and obligations. He who holds fast to his religion, Jew or Christian, is not to be turned (T. seduced) from it. He must pay the poll tax—for every adult, male or female, free or slave, one full dinar calculated on the valuation of Ma'ârî (T. or its value) or its equivalent in clothes. He who pays that to God's apostle has the guarantee of God and His apostle, and he who withholds it is the enemy of God and His apostle.

'The apostle of God, Muhammad the prophet, has sent to Zûr'a Dhû Yazan: When my messenger Mu'âd b. Jabal, and 'Abdullah b. Zayd, and Malik b. 'Ubûsâ, and Qu'a b. Nîm, and Malik b. Murra and their companions come to you I commend them to your good offices. Collect the alms and the poll tax from your provinces and send them over to my messengers. Their leader is Mu'âd b. Jabal, and let him not return unless satisfied. Muhammad witnesses that there is no God but Allah and that he is His servant and apostle. Malik b. Murra al-Rahâwî has told me that you were the first of Himyar to accept Islam and have killed the polytheists, and I congratulate you and order you to treat Himyar well and not to be false and treacherous, for the apostle of God is the friend both of your poor and your rich. The

1 Bal. 71 adds 'and to Sharh b. 'Abdu Kullâl' and omits all words after 'Hamdân' as far as 'polytheists'.

2 i.e. the part he chooses as his before the property is divided.
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alms tax is not lawful to Muhammad or his household; it is alms to be
given to the poor Muslims and the wayfarer. Malik has brought the news
and kept secret what is confidential, and I order you to treat him well.
I have sent you some of the best of my people, religious and learned men,
and I order you to treat them well, for they must be respected. Peace
upon you and the mercy and blessings of God.'

THE APOSTLE'S INSTRUCTIONS TO MU'ADH WHEN HE
SENT HIM TO THE YAMAN

'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that he was told that when the apostle sent
Mu'adh he gave him instructions and orders and then said: Deal gently
and not harshly; announce good news and do not repel people. You are
going to one of the people with scripture who will ask you about the key
of heaven. Say to them it is the witness that there is no God but Allah,
Who has no partner. Mu'adh went off to the Yamam and did as he was
ordered and a woman came to him and said, 'O companion of God's
apostle, what rights has a husband over his wife?' He said, 'Woe to you, a
woman can never fulfill her husband's rights, so do your utmost to fulfill
his claims as best you can.' She said, 'By God, if you are the companion
of God's apostle you must know what rights a husband has over his wife'
He said, 'If you were to go back and find him with his nostrils running
with pus and blood and sucked until you got rid of them you would not
have fulfilled your obligation.'

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If I perish you will miss your brother
And if I live you will recognize my rank,
For I possess the noblest qualities a man can have:
Generosity, bravery, and eloquence.

When the Byzantines determined to crucify him by a pool in Palestine
called 'Afrā he said:

Has Salmā heard that her husband
Is by the water of 'Afrā raised on a riding camel,
A camel whose mother no stallion ever mounted,
Its branches shorn with sickles?

Al-Zuhri alleged that when they brought him to crucify him he said:

Tell the chiefs of the Muslims that I
Surrender to my Lord my body and my bones.

Then they beheaded him and hung him up by that water. May God have
mercy on him!

THE BANU'L-HABITH ACCEPT ISLAM

Then the apostle sent Khalid b. al-Walid in the month of Rabī' al-akhir
or Jumādā al-Dār in the year 10 to the B. al-Habith b. Ka'b in Najrān, and
ordered him to invite them to Islam three days before he attacked them.
If they accepted then he was to accept it from them; and if they declined
he was to fight them. So Khalid set out and came to them, and sent out
riders in all directions inviting the people to Islam, saying, 'If you accept
Islam you will be safe,' so the men accepted Islam as they were invited.
Khālid stayed with them teaching them Islam and the book of God and the
sunnah of His prophet, for that was what the apostle of God had ordered
him to do if they accepted Islam and did not flight.

Then Khalid wrote to the apostle: In the name of God the compassionate,
the merciful. To Muhammad the prophet the apostle of God. From
Khalid b. al-Walid. Peace be upon you, O apostle of God, and God's
mercy and blessings. I praise God the only God unto you. You sent me to
the B. al-Habith b. Ka'b and ordered me when I came to them not to
fight them for three days and to invite them to Islam; and if they accepted
it to stay with them, and to accept it from them and teach them the
institutions of Islam, the book of God, and the sunnah of His prophet.

1 The following line makes the point clear.
2 After these words 'T.' has 'And stay with them and teach them the book of God and the
sunnah of the prophet and the institutions of Islam.' It looks as if these words had fallen out
of LII.1's reception (unless he deliberately excised them) and that he wrote in the clause
beginning 'for that' which 'T.' omits. Clearly one of them is redundant and the passage in
'T.' reads more smoothly. The words 'to stay with them' in Khalid's letter are given by C.,
not by W.
And if they did not surrender I was to fight them. I duly came to them and invited them to Islam three days as the apostle ordered me, and I sent riders among them with your message. They have surrendered and have not fought and I am staying among them instructing them in the apostle's positive and negative commands and teaching them the institutions of Islam and the prophet's sunna until the apostle writes to me. Peace upon you &c.

The apostle wrote to him with the same preamble as before, saying:

'I have received your letter which came with your messenger telling me that the B. al-Harith surrendered before you fought them and responded to your invitation to Islam and pronounced the shahâda, and that God had guided them with His guidance. So promise them good and warn them and come. And let their deputation come with you. Peace upon you &c.

So Khalid came to the apostle with the deputation of B. al-Harith, among whom were Qays b. al-Husayn Dhû'l-Ghassa, and Yazid b. 'Abdu'l-Madân, and Yazid b. al-Muhajjal, and 'Abdullah b. Qurâd al-Ziyád, and Shaddâd b. 'Abdullah al-Quraysh, and 'Amr b. 'Abdullah al-Dibâbi.' When they came to the apostle he asked who these people who looked like Indians were, and was told that they were the B. al-Harith b. Kâb. When they came to the apostle they said, 'We testify that you are the apostle of God and that there is no God but Allah.' But he said, 'And I testify that there is no God but Allah and that I am the apostle of Allah.' Then he said, 'You are the people who when they were driven away pushed forward, and they remained silent, and none of them answered him. He repeated the words three times without getting an answer, and the fourth time Yazid b. 'Abdul-Madân said, 'Yes, we are,' and said it four times. The apostle said, 'If Khalid had not written to me that you had accepted Islam and had not fought I would throw your heads beneath your feet.' Yazid answered, 'We do not praise you and we do praise Khalid.' Then whom do you praise?' he asked. He said: 'We praise God who guided us by you. 'You are right,' he said, and asked them how they used to conquer those they fought in the pagan period. They said that they never conquered anyone. 'Nay, but you did conquer those who fought you,' he said. They replied, 'We used to conquer those we fought because we were united and had no dissenters, and never began an injustice.' He said, 'You are right,' and he appointed Qays b. al-Husayn as their leader.

The deputation returned to their people towards the end of Shawwâl or at the beginning of Dhûl-Qa'da, and some four months after their return the apostle died.

Now the apostle had sent to them after their deputation had returned 'Amr b. Hazm to instruct them in religion and to teach them the sunna and the institutions of Islam and to collect their alms; and he wrote him a letter in which he gave him his orders and injunctions as follows: In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful. This is a clear announcement from God and His apostle. O you who believe, be faithful to your agreements. The instructions of Muhammad the prophet the apostle of God to 'Amr b. Hazm when he sent him to the Yemen. He orders him to observe piety to God in all his doings for God is with those who are pious and who do well; and he commanded him to behave with truth as God commanded him: and that he should give people the good news and command them to follow it and to teach men the Qur'an and instruct them in it and forbode men to do wrong so that none but the pure should touch the Qur'an and should instruct men in their privileges and obligations and be lenient to them when they behave right and severe on injustice, for God hates injustice and has forbidden it. The course of God is on the evil-doers. Give men the good news of paradise and the way to earn it, and warn them of hell and the way to earn it, and make friends with men so that they may be instructed in religion, and teach men the rites of the hajj, its customs and its obligation and what God has ordered about it: the greater hajj is the greater hajj and the lesser hajj is the 'umra; and prohibit men from praying in one small garment unless it be a garment whose ends are double over their shoulders, and forbid men from squatting in one garment which exposes their person to the air, and forbid them to twist the hair of the head, (T. if it is long) on the back of the neck; and if there is a quarrel between men forbid them to appeal to tribes and families, and let their appeal be to God; they who do not appeal to God but to tribes and families let them be smitten with the sword until their appeal is made to God; and command men to perform the ablutions, their faces, and their hands to the elbows and their knees to the ankles, and let them wipe their heads as God has ordered; and command prayer at the proper time with bowing, prostration, and humble reverence; prayer at daybreak, at noon when the sun declines, in the afternoon when the sun is descending, at evening when the night approaches not delaying it until the stars appear in the sky; later at the beginning of the night; order them to run to the mosques when they are summoned, and to wash when they go to them, and order them to take from the booty God's fifth and what alms are enjoined on the Muslims from land— a tithe of what the fountains water (T. the ba'al waters) and the sky waters, and a twentieth of what the bucket waters; and for every ten camels two sheep; and for every twenty camels four sheep; for every forty cows one cow; for every thirty ewes a bull or cow calf; for every sheep as a cow calf; this is what God has enjoined on the believers in the matter of alms. He who adds thereto it is a merit to him. A Jew or a Christian who becomes a sincere Muslim

1 Sûra 5. 2 Sûra 26. 128. 3 Sûra 3. 4 i.e. to wear a skirt.
5 Here undoubtedly T. and Bal. retain the original text. For the original sense of Ba'al's land see W. Robertson Smith, Religions of the Semites, pp. 98 ff. Probably it means land watered by underground streams.
of his own accord and obey the religion of Islam is a believer with the same rights and the same obligations. If one of them holds fast to his religion he is not to be turned (T. 'seduced') from it. Every adult, male or female, bond or free, must pay a golden dinar or its equivalent in clothes. He who performs this has the guarantee of God and His apostle; he who withholds it is the enemy of God and His apostle and all believers.

**The Coming of Rifa'ah b. Zayd al-Judhami**

Rifa'ah b. Zayd al-Judhami of the clan of al-Ḍubayy came to the apostle during the armistice of al-Ḥudaybiya before Khaybar. He gave the apostle a slave and he became a good Muslim. The apostle gave him a letter to his people in which he wrote:

To Rifa'ah b. Zayd whom I have sent to his people and those who have joined them to invite them to God and His apostle. Whosoever comes forward is of the party of God and His apostle, and whosoever turns back has two months' grace.

When Rifa'ah came to his people they responded and accepted Islam; then they went to al-Ḥarra, the Ḥarra of al-Rajil, and stopped there (897).

**The Liars Musaylima al-Hanafi and al-Aswad al-Ansi**

Now the two arch-liars Musaylima b. Ḥabib and al-Aswad b. Ka'b al-'Anei had spoken during the apostle's lifetime, the first in al-Yamama among the B. Ḥanifa, and the second in San'ā'. Yazid b. 'Abdulmuhhammad b. Qasayj told me from 'Ammah b., 'Abdulhadi b. Qasayj, saying: 'I heard the apostle as he was addressing the people from his pulpit say 'I saw the sight of al-gadr and then I was made to forget it; and I saw on my arms two bracelets of gold which I disliked so I blew on them and they flew away. I interpreted it to mean these two liars, the man of al-Yamama and the man of al-Yaman.'

One whom I do not suspect on the authority of Abū Hurayra said: 'I heard the apostle say: The hour will not come until thirty antichrists come forth, each of them claiming to be a prophet.'

**The Sending Out of Collectors of the Poor-Tax**

The apostle sent out his officials and representatives to every district subject to Islam to collect the poor-tax. He sent al-Muhijir b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughira to Ṣan'ā', and al-'Anei came out against him while he was there, 'Aziz b. Labid, brother of B. Bayḍa al-Andari, he sent to Ḥadramaut, 'Adiy b. Ḥātim he sent to Taʾyi and B. Asad; Malik b. Nuwayra (898), to B. Ḥanṣala. The poor-tax of B. Sa'ā he divided between two men: Zibrīqān b. Badr and Qays b. 'Āṣim each to be in charge of a section; al-'Ās b. al-Ḥaḍrami to al-Bahrayn, and 'Āṣ b. Abī Talib to the people of Najrān, to collect the poor-tax and to superintend the collection of the poll-tax.

**Musaylima's Letter and the Apostle's Answer Thereeto**

Musaylima had written to the apostle: 'From Musaylima the apostle of God to Muhammad the apostle of God. Peace upon you. I have been made partner with you in authority. To us belongs half the land and to Quraysh half, but Quraysh are a hostile people.' Two messengers brought this letter.

A shaykh of Asša'ī told me on the authority of Salama b. Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd al-Aszi from his father Nu'aym: I heard the apostle saying to them when he read his letter 'What do you say about it?' They said that they said the same as Musaylima. He replied, 'By God, were it not that heralds are not to be killed I would behead the pair of you!' Then he wrote to Musaylima: 'From Muhammad the apostle of God to Musaylima the liar. Peace be upon him who follows the guidance.' The earth is God's. He left whom He will of His creatures inherit it and the result is to the pious.' This was at the end of the year 10

**The Farewell Pilgrimage**

In the beginning of Dhu'l-Qa'da the apostle prepared to make the pilgrimage and ordered the men to get ready.

'Abdulrahām b. al-Qāsim from his father al-Qāsim b. Muhammad from 'Armāna the prophet's wife told me that the apostle went on pilgrimage on the 25th Dhu'l-Qa'da (899).

Neither he nor the men spoke of anything but the pilgrimage, until when he was in Sarif and had brought the victims with him as also some dignitaries had done, he ordered the people to remove their pilgrim garments except those who brought victims. That day my messengers were upon me and he came in to me as I was weeping and asked me what ailed me, guessing correctly what was the matter. I told him he was right and said I wished to God that I had not come out with him on the journey this year. He said (T. Don't do that) 'Don't say that, for you can do all that the pilgrims do except go round the temple.' The apostle entered Mecca and everyone who had no sacrificial victim, and his wives, took off the pilgrim garment. When the day of sacrifice came I was sent a lot of beef and it was put in my house. When I asked what it was they said that the apostle had sacrificed cows on behalf of his wives. When the night that the pebbles

1 Cf. Sūra 20. 49.
2 Cf. Sūra 7. 135.
were thrown duly came the apostle sent me along with my brother 'Abdul-Rahmân and let me perform the umrah from al-Tanâm in place of the umrah which I had missed.

Nâfî, client of 'Abdullah b. Umar from 'Abdullah, from Hafsah d. Umar, said that when the apostle ordered his wives to remove the pilgrim garments they asked him what prevented him from doing the same and he said: 'I have sent on my victims and have matted my hair, but I shall not be free of the shâhû until I slaughter my victims.'

'Abdullah b. Abî Nâfî told me that the apostle had sent 'All to Najraân and met him in Mecca when he was still in a state of shâhû. He went in to Fátima the apostle's daughter and found her dressed in her ordinary clothes. When he asked why, she told him that the apostle had ordered his wives so to do. Then he went to the apostle and reported the result of his journey and he told him to go and circumambulate the temple and remove the pilgrim garb as the others had done. He said that he wanted to slaughter a victim as the apostle did. The apostle again told him to remove the pilgrim garb. He replied: 'I said when I put on the pilgrim garb, 'O God, I will invoke thy name over a victim as your prophet and your slave and your apostle Muhammad does.' When he asked him if he had a victim he said that he had not, and the apostle gave him a share in his, so he retained the pilgrim garb with the apostle until both of them had completed the pilgrimage and the apostle slaughtered the victim on behalf of them both.

Yahyâ b. 'Abdullâh b. 'Abdul-Rahmân b. Abî 'Amra from Yazîd b. Tašîb b. Yazîd b. Ruhânî told me that when 'All came from the Yaman to meet the apostle in Mecca he hurried to him and left in charge of his army one of his companions who went and covered every man in the force with clothes from the linen 'All had. When the army approached he went out to meet them and found them dressed in the clothes. When he asked what on earth had happened the man said that he had dressed them so that they might appear secretly when they mingled with the people. He told him to take off the clothes before they came to the apostle and they did so and put them back among the spoil. The army showed resentment at their treatment.

'Abdullah b. 'Abdul-Rahmân b. Ma'mar b. Házam from Sulaymân b. Muhammad b. Ka'b b. 'Ujra from his aunt Zaynab d. Ka'b who was married to Abû Sa'id al-Khudri, on the authority of the latter told me that when the men complained of 'All the apostle arose to address them and he heard him say: 'Do not blame 'All, for he is too scrupulous in the things of God, or in the way of God, to be blamed.'

Then the apostle continued his pilgrimage and showed the men the rites and taught them the customs of their hajj. He made a speech in which he made things clear. He praised and glorified God, then he said: 'O men, listen to my words. I do not know whether I shall ever meet you in this place again after this year. Your blood and your property are sacrosanct until you meet your Lord, as this day and this month are holy. You will surely meet your Lord and He will ask you of your works. I have told you. He who has a pledge let him return it to him who entrusted him with it; all usury is abolished, but you have your capital. Wrong not and you shall not be wronged. God has decreed that there is to be no usury and the usury of 'Abâs b. 'Abdul-Mutâlâ is abolished, all of it. All blood shed in the pagan period is to be left unavenged. The first claim on blood I abolish is that of h. Ra'bâ b. al-Fârîh b. 'Abdul-Mutâlâ (who was fostered among the B. Layth and whom Hudhayl killed). It is the first blood shed in the pagan period which I deal with. Satan despairs of ever being worshipped in your land, but if he can be obeyed in anything short of worship he will be pleased in matters you may be disposed to think of little account, so beware of him in your religion. 'Postponement of a sacred month is only an excess of disbelief whereby those who disbelieve are misled; they allow it one year and forbid it another year that they may make up the number of the months which God has hallowed, so that they may permit what God has forbidden, and forbid what God has allowed.'

Time has completed its cycle and as it was on the day that God created the heavens and the earth. The number of months with God is twelve; four of them are sacred, three consecutive and the Rehâb of Mûdâr, which is between Jumâdâ and Sha'bân.

You have rights over your wives and they have rights over you. You have the right that they should not defile your bed and that they should not behave with open unseemliness. If they do, God allows you to put them in separate rooms and to beat them but not with severity. If they refrain from these things they have the right to their food and clothing with kindness. Lay injunctions on women kindly, for they are prisoners with you having no control of their persons. You have taken them only as a trust from God, and you have the enjoyment of their persons by the words of God, so understand (and listen) to my words, O men, for I have told you. I have left with you something which if you will hold fast to it you will never fall into error—a plain indication, the book of God and the practice of His prophet, so give good heed to what I say.

Know that every Muslim is a Muslim's brother, and that the Muslims are brethren. It is only lawful to take from a brother what he gives you willingly, so wrong not yourselves. O God, have I not told you?

1 Sûrât 0. 37
2 A Dh. explains that it was so called because Mûdâr used to treat it as sacred while other Arabs did not (I suspect that in Ibrâhîm's edition, p. 440, takhassûmahu is a mistake for tahârâtahu, p. 2. 3. bi amânatî 'llah. This is a difficult phrase. It is probably to be understood in the sense of Sûrât 8. 27 and more particularly 33. 72 where the Qur'anic commentators differ widely, see Lane, 1926.

Cf. Mos b. 'Ujra, No. 17.
I was told that the men said 'O God, yes,' and the apostle said ' O God, bear witness.'

Yahyā b. 'Abbāb b. 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father told me that the man who used to act as crier for the apostle when he was on 'Arafā was Rabi'ā b. Umayya b. Khalif. The apostle said to him, 'Say: O men, the apostle of God says, Do you know what month this is?' and they would say the holy month. Then he said, 'Say to them: God has hallowed your blood and your property until you meet your Lord like the sanctity of this month. Do you know what country this is?' and they said 'The holy land' and he said the same as before. Do you know what day this is?

and they said the day of the great Ḥajj, and he said the same again.

Layth b. Abū Sulaym from Shahr b. Haushab al-As'hir from 'Amr b. Khārira told me: 'Atīb b. Usayd sent me to the apostle on a matter while the apostle was standing on 'Arafā. I came to him and stood beneath his camel and its font was falling on my head. I heard him say: 'God has assigned to everyone his time. Testamentary bequests unto an heir are not lawful. The child belongs to the bed and the adulterer must be stoned. He who claims as father him who is not his father, or a client a master who is not his master, on him rests the curse of God, the angels, and men everywhere. God will not receive from him compensatory stonement, however great.'

'Abdullah b. Abū Najīth told me that when the apostle stood on 'Arafā he said, 'This station goes with the mountain that is above it and all 'Arafā is a station.' When he stood on Quṣayy on the morning of al-Muzdalifa he said, 'This is the station and all al-Muzdalifa is a station.' Then when he had slaughtered in the slaughtering place in Minā he said, 'This is the slaughtering place and all Minā is a slaughtering place.' The apostle completed the Ḥajj and showed men the rites, and taught them what God had prescribed as to their Ḥajj, the station, the throwing of stones, the circumambulation of the temple, and what He had permitted and forbidden. It was the pilgrimage of completion and the pilgrimage of farewell because the apostle did not go on pilgrimage after that.

THE SENDING OF USĀMA B. ZAYD TO PALESTINE

Then the apostle returned and stopped in Medina for the rest of Dhu'l-Hijja, Muharram, and Safar. He ordered the people to make an expedition to Syria and put over them Usāma b. Zayd b. Hāritha, his freed slave. He ordered him to lead his cavalry into the territory of the Balq'ī and al-Darūm in the land of Palestine. The men got ready and all the first emigrants went with Usāma (980).

MESSANGERS SENT TO THE VARIOUS KINGDOMS

(T. As to I.I. according to what I. Harari alleged and told us saying that Ṣalāma had it from him, he said: The apostle had sent out some of his companions in different directions to the kings of the Arabs and the non-Arabs inviting them to Islam in the period between al-Ḥudaybiyya and his death.)

Yasirb b. Abū Hābib al-Misrī told me that he found a document in which was a memorandum (T. that was in my father's collection) of those the apostle sent to the countries and kings of the Arabs and non-Arabs and what he said to his companions when he sent them. I sent it to Muhammad b. Shihāb al-Zuhri (T. with a trustworthy companion of his) and he recognized it. It contained the statement that the apostle went out to his companions and said: 'God has sent me as a mercy to all men, so take a message from me, God have mercy on you. Do not hang back from me as the disciples hung back from Jesus son of Mary.' They asked how they had hung back and he said, 'He called them to a task similar to that to which I have called you. Those who had to go a short journey were pleased and accepted; those who had a long journey before them were displeased and refused to go, and Jesus complained of them to God. (T. From that very right) every one of them was able to speak the language of the people to whom he was sent.' (T. Jesus said 'This is a thing which God has determined that you should do, so go.')

Those whom Jesus son of Mary sent, both disciples and those who came after them, in the land were: Peter the disciple and Paul with him, (Paul belonged to the followers and was not a disciple) to Rome; Andrew and Matthew to the land of the cannibals; Thomas to the land of Babel which is in the land of the east; Philip to Carthage which is in Africa; John to Ephesus the city of the young men of the cave; James to Jerusalem which is Aelia the city of the sanctuary; Bartholomew to Arabia which is the land of the Hijāj; Simon to the land of the Berbers; Judah which was not one of the disciples put in the place of Judas.2

(T. Then the apostle divided his companions and sent Salīh b. 'Amr b. T. 1590 'Abdu Shama b. 'Abdu Wudd, brother of B. 'Abdul Mutt, to Haushab. b. 'Ali ruler of al-Yanāma; al-'Ali b. al-Hadrāmī to al-Mundhir b. Sāwā, brother of B. 'Abdull-Qays, ruler of al-Bahlīyān; 'Amr b. al-'Aṣ to Jayfar b. Juliārā and 'Abdāb his brother the Ṣada, rulers of 'Uιma; Ḥābit b. Abī Bākā'ā to the Muqasir ruler of Alexandria. He handed over four to him the apostle's letter and the Muqasir gave to the apostle four slave girls, one of whom was Mary mother of Ibrahim the apostle's son; Dīya b. Khalīfa al-Kabīr b. Ḥārira he sent to Caesar, who was Heracleus king of Rome. When he came to him with the apostle's letter he looked at it and then put it between his thighs and his ribs.)

(T. Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri from 'Ubaydullah b. 'Abdullah b. 'Uthb b. T. 1651 Or, perhaps, 'defer in your response to me'.}
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Mas‘ūd from ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abdul-Rahmān b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abdūn b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Uthmān disputed with me, saying, “We were a merchant people and the war between us and the apostle had shut us in until our goods were stolen. When there was an armistice between us we felt sure that we should be safe. So I went out with a number of Quraysh merchants to Syria making for Gāza. We got there when Harūn b. ‘Abdul-Rahmān b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abdūn b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Uthmān was there, and when they went up to the city they were repulsed. When he saw that they were defeated he went out from Gāza, which was his headquarters, walking on foot in thanks to God for what He had restored to him, so that he could pray in this holy city. Carpets were spread for him and aromatic herbs were thrown on them. When he came to Aelia and had finished praying there with his patricians and the Roman nobles he became sorrowful, turning his eyes to heaven; and his patricians said, ‘You have become very sorrowful this morning, O king.’ He said, ‘Yes, in a vision of the night I saw the kingdom of a circumcised man victorious.’ They said that they did not know a people who circumcised themselves except the Jews and they were under his sovereignty. They recommended him to send orders to everyone of authority in his dominions to keep every Jew and thus rid himself of his anxiety. And by God as they were trying to induce him to do this, the messenger of the governor of Būṣara came in leading a man while the princes were exchanging news, and said, ‘This man, O king, is from the Arabs, people of sheep and camels. He speaks of something wonderful that has happened in his country, so ask him about it.’ Accordingly the king asked his interpreter to inquire what had happened and the man said, ‘A man appeared among us alleging that he was a prophet. Some followed and believed him; others opposed him. Fights between them occurred in many places, and I left them thus.’ When he had given his news the king told them to strip him; they did so, and lo he was circumcised. Heraclius said, ‘This, by God, is the vision I saw; not what you say. Give him his clothes. Be off with you.’ Then he summoned his chief of police and told him to turn Syria upside down until he brought him a man of the people of that man, meaning the prophet. We were in Gāza when the chief of police came down upon us asking if we were of the people of this man in the IIjūzd; and learning that we were he told us to come to the king, and when we came to him he asked if we were of the clan of this man and which was the nearest of kin to him. I said that I was, and by God I have never seen a man whom I consider more shrewd than that uncircumcised man, meaning Heraclius. He told me to approach and sat me in front of him with my companions behind me. Then he said, ‘I will interrogate him, and if he lies confute him.’ But, by God, if I were to lie they could not confute me. But I am a man of high birth too honourable to lie and I knew that it was only too easy for them, if I lied to him, to remember it against me and to repeat it in my name, so I did not lie to him. He said, ‘Tell me about this man who has appeared among you making these claims.’ I began to delibe him and to speak disparagingly of his affair and to say, ‘Don’t let him cause you anxiety; his importance is less than you have heard,’ but he took no heed. Then he said, ‘Tell me what I ask you about him.’ I told him to ask what he liked and he asked about his lineage among us. I told him it was pure; our best lineage. Then he asked if any of his house had made the same claims which he was copying. When I said No he asked if he possessed any sovereignty among us which we had robbed him of and had he made this claim so that we might return it to him? Again I said No. Then he asked about the character of his followers. I told him that they were the weak and poor and young slaves and young women; not one of the elders and nobles of his people followed him. Then he asked whether those who followed him loved him and stuck to him or despised him and left him, and I told him that none of his followers had left him. Then he asked about the war between us and him. I said that his fortunes varied. Then he asked if he was treacherous. This was the only question of his which I found fault with. I said No, and that while we had an armistice with him we did not fear treachery; but he paid no attention to what I said. Then he summed up and said: ‘I asked you about his lineage and you alleged that it was pure and of your best and God chooses only a man of the noblest lineage as a prophet. Then I asked if any man of his family made similar claims and you said No. Then I asked if he had been robbed of dominion and made this claim to recover it, and you said No. Then I asked you about his followers and you said that they were the weak and poor and young slaves and women, and such have been the followers of the prophets in all ages. Then I asked if his followers left him and you said None. Thus is the sweetness of faith: it does not enter the heart and depart. Then I asked if he was treacherous and you said No; and truly if you have told me the truth about him he will conquer me on the ground that is beneath my feet, and I wish that I were with him that I might wash his feet. Go about your business.’ So I got up rubbing my hands together and saying that the affair of Ibn Abū Kabsha had become great in that the kings of the Greeks dreaded him in their sovereignty in Syria. The apostle’s letter with Dihya b. Khallifa b. Khallifa came to him saying, ‘If you accept Islam you will be safe; if you accept Islam God will give you a double reward; if you turn back the sin of the husbandmen will be upon you,’ i.e., the burden of it.’

From al-Zuhri from ‘Ubaydullah from ‘Abdul-Latif from Ibn ‘Abdus-Samad from Ibn ‘Abdul-Latif b. ‘Abdul-Latif b. Marwān who told him that he knew about the affair of the apostle and Heraclius and understood it. When the apostle’s letter by Dihya came to him he took it and put it between his thighs and his

1 The cross was recovered from the Persians by Heraclius in A.D. 628.

1 This appears to be an allusion to Matt. xxii. 33 f.
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hands of the Arabs when we are a people with a greater kingdom, a larger population, and a finer country.' He said, 'Come and I will pay him the poll-tax every year and avert his onslaught and get rest from war by the money I pay him.' They replied, 'Are we to pay this poll-tax? We do not know how to pay tax.' The Abbasites said, 'Are we to give him the land of Syria, when you know that it is the navel of Shām? By God, we will never do it.' At this refusal he said, 'You will see that you will be conquered when you protect yourselves against him in your province.' Then he got on his mule and rode off until he looked down on the Pass facing Shām and said, 'Farewell for the last time, O land of Syria.' Then he rode off rapidly to Constantinople.


(T. via Salama: The apostle sent 'Amr b. Umayya al-Dāmiri to the Negus about Ja'far b. Abū Talīb and his companions and sent a letter with him... From Muhammad the apostle of God to the Negus al-Asham... I pray Allah unto you the King, the Holy, the Peace, the Faithful, the Watcher, and I bear witness that Jesus son of Mary is the spirit of God and His word which He cast to Mary the Virgin, the good, the pure, so that she conceived Jesus. God created him from His spirit and His breathing as He created Adam by His hand and His breathing. I call you to God the Unique without partner and to His obedience, and to follow me and to believe in that which came to me, for I am the apostle of God. I have sent to you my nephew Ja'far with a number of Muslims, and when they come to you entertain them without haughtiness, for I invite you and your armies to God. I have accomplished (my work) and my admonitions, so receive my advice. Peace upon all those that follow true guidance.'

The Negus replied:... From the Negus al-Asham b. Abjar, Peace upon you, O prophet of Allah, and mercy and blessing from Allah beside Whom there is no God, who has guided me to Islam. I have received your letter in which you mention the matter of Jesus and by the Lord of heaven and earth he is not one scrap more than what you say. We know that with which you were sent to us and we have entertained your nephew and his companions. I testify that you are God's apostle, true and confirming (those before you). I have given my fealty to you and to your nephew and I have surrendered myself through him to the Lord of the

1 These are precisely the boundaries of Shām in the early days of the Arab conquest.
2 Yavdi, i.e. the land of Qinnisrin. The Pass (dhali) may mean that over Aramus or the Taurus or the Cilician Caeti.
worlds. I have sent to you my son Arhā. I have control only over myself and if you wish me to come to you, O apostle of God, I will do so. I bear witness that what you say is true'.

I was told that the Negus sent his son with sixty Abyssinians by boat, and when they were in the middle of the sea the boat foundered and they all perished.)

T. 1572 (T. via Salama. From 'Abdulla b. Abū Bakr from al-Zubīr from Abū Salama from 'Abdul-l-Rahmān b. 'Auf. 'Abdulla b. Ḥudāfa brought the apostle's letter to Chosroes and when he had read it he tore it up. When the apostle heard that he had torn his letter up he said, 'His kingdom will be torn in pieces'.)

(T. via Yazid b. Abū Habīb. Then Chosroes wrote to Bādhān, who was governor of the Yamam, 'Send two stout fellows to this man in the Hijaz and tell them to bring him to me.' So Bādhān sent his steward Ṣəbāwāyhi who was a skilled scribe with a Persian called Kharkharsh to carry a letter to the apostle ordering him to go with them to Chosroes. He told Ṣəbāwāyhi to go to this man's country and speak to him and then come back and report. When they got as far as al-Ṭāʾif they found some men of Quraysh in (wadi) Nakhb and inquired about him. They told them that he was in Medīna. They rejoiced at meeting these men, saying, 'This is good news, for Chosroes' king of kings is moved against the man and you will be rid of him'.

The two men came to the apostle and Ṣəbāwāyhi told him that Shāhānshāh king of kings Chosroes had written to the governor Bādhān ordering him to send men to bring him to him and that they had been sent to take him away. If he obeyed, Bādhān would write to the king of kings on his behalf and keep him from him; but if he refused to come he knew what sort of man he was: he would destroy his people and lay waste his country. They had come in to the apostle's presence with shaven beards and long moustaches, so that he could not bear to look at them. He advanced on them and said, 'Who ordered you to do this? To which they replied, 'Our Lord' meaning Chosroes. The apostle answered, 'But my Lord has ordered me to let my beard grow long and to cut my moustache.' Then he told them to come back in the morning.

News came from heaven to the apostle to the effect that God had given Ṣḥawāyhi power over his father Chosroes and he had killed him on a certain night of a certain month at a certain hour. Thereupon he summoned them and told them, 'They said: 'Do you know what you are saying? We can take revenge on you. What is easier? Shall we write this as from you and tell the king of it?' He said, 'Yes, tell him that from me and tell him that my religion and my sovereignty will reach lengths which the king of Chosroes never attained. Say to him, "If you submit I will give you what you already hold and appoint you king over your people in the Yamam."' Then he gave Kharkharsh a girdle containing gold and silver which one of the kings had given him.

They left him and came to Bādhān and reported. He exclaimed, 'This is not the speech of a king. In my opinion he is a prophet as he says. We will see what happens. If what he said is true then he is a prophet who has been sent by God; if it is not, we must consider the matter further.' Hardly had he finished speaking when there came a letter from Shīrāzh saying that he had killed Chosroes because he had angered the Persians by killing their nobles and keeping them on the frontiers. He must see that his men pledged their obedience to the new king. He must see the man about whom Chosroes had written, but not provoke him to war until further instructions came.

When Bādhān received this letter he said, 'Without doubt this man is an apostle,' and he became a Muslim as did the Persians with him in the Yamam.

The men of Ḥimyar used to call Kharkharsh 'Dhūl-Miḥājara' because of the girdle which the apostle gave him, because 'girdle' in the Ḥimyarī tongue is miḥājara. To this day his sons keep the nickname. Ṣəbāwāyhi said to Bādhān, 'I never spoke to a man for whom I felt more respectful awe.' Bādhān inquired, 'Did he have any police with him?' He answered No.

A SUMMARY OF THE APOSTLE'S FIGHTS

The apostle took part personally in twenty-seven (T. six) raids:

Waddān which was the raid of al-Abwā'ī.
Buwāt in the direction of Raḍwān.
'Ushayra in the valley of Yambu'.
The first fight at Badr in pursuit of Kurz b. Jābir.
The great battle of Badr in which God slew the chiefs of Quraysh (T. and their nobles and captured many).
Banū Sulaym until he reached al-Kudr.
Al-Sawiq in pursuit of Abū Suyyāb b. Ḥarb (T. until he reached Qarqara al-Kudr).
Ghaṭafān (T. towards Najd), which is the raid of Dhū Amarr.
Bahrān, a mine in the Ḥijāz (T. above al-Furū').
Uḥud.
Hamra'āt-Il-Asad.
Banū Nadir...
Dhānīl-Riqqā of Nakhl.
The last battle of Badr.
Dūnūnāt-Il-Fandil.

1 It will be seen that there is no inādīd for this tradition. I.H. has dealt with it in his summary to this section. I have omitted T. 1574, 4-1575, 5 because it is unintelligible without the preceding story from Yazid b. Abū Habīb which evidently ran parallel with what I.H. had said.

2 malak.
A SUMMARY OF THE EXPEDITIONS AND RAIDING PARTIES

These were thirty-eight (T. thirty-five) in number (T. between the time of his coming to Medina and his death). ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥarith was sent to the lower part (T. to the tribes) of Thaniyah al-Mara (T. which is a well in the Hijaz); Ḥamza b. ʿAbduʾl-Muṭṭalib to the coast in the direction of al-Ṭis. (Some people date Ḥamza’s raid before that of Ḥabība; Sa’d b. ʿAbd Waqqas to al-Kharrār (T. in the Hijaz); ʿAbdullah b. Jaʿl scholarship to Nakha; Zayd b. Ḥaritha to al-Qadra (T. a well in Najd); Muḥammad b. Maslama’s attack on Kaʾb b. al-Aswad; Marthad b. Abū Marthad al-Ghanawi to al-Raʾif; al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr to Biʾr Maʿāna; Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ to Dhul-Qaṣṣa on the Iraq road; ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to Turba in the B. Ṭāʾīr country; Ali b. Abū Ṭalib to the Yanam; Ghālib b. ʿAbdullah al-Kalbī, the Kalb of Layth, to al-Kalbī where he smote B. al-Mulawaḥa.

GHĀLIB’S RAID ON THE B. AL-MULAWWAḤ

Yaʿqūb b. ʿUthma b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhṣas from Muslim b. ʿAbdullah b. Khubayb al-Juḥi from al-Mundhir from Jundah b. Makīth al-Juḥani told me that the latter said: The apostle sent Ghālib b. ʿAbdullah al-Kalbī, Kalb of B. ʿAṭā b. Layth, on a night raid in which I took part. He ordered him to make a cavalry raid on B. al-Mulawaḥa who were in al-Kalbī. We went out and when we reached Quḍayd we fell in with al-Ḥarith b. Malik b. al-Barṣaʾ al-Laythī and seized him. He said that he had come to be a Muslim and was going to the apostle. We told him that if he was a Muslim it would not hurt him to be tied up for a night, and if he were not we should make sure of him; so we bound him tightly and left him in charge of a young negro and told him to cut off his head if he tried to attack him.

We went on until we came to (T. the valley of) al-Radādī at sunset. We were in the wadi and my companions sent me on to wait for them. So I left them and went on until I came to a hill overlooking the enemy’s camp. I went up to the top and looked down at the camp; and by God as I was lying on the hill out came a man from his tent and said to his wife, “I see something black on the hill which I didn’t see at the beginning of the day. Look and see if any of your gear is missing; perhaps the dogs have dragged off something.” She went out and told him that nothing was missing. He then told her to fetch him his bow and a couple of arrows and he shot me in the side. I pulled out the arrow and laid it aside and kept my place (T. did not move). Then he shot me again in my shoulder. Again I pulled it out and kept my place. He said to his wife, ‘If this had been a scout of some party he would have moved, for both my arrows hit him; in the morning go and get them. Don’t let the dogs gnaw them.’ Then he went inside his tent.

We gave them time until they quietened down and went to sleep (T. until their cattle returned in the evening and they milked them and lay down quietly, and a third of the night passed) and towards dawn we attacked them and killed some and drove off the cattle. They cried out to one another for aid, and a multitude that we could not resist came at us (T. omit and has ‘and we went on quickly until we passed by al-Ḥarith’) and we went on with the cattle and passed Bn al-Barṣaʾ and his companion and carried them along with us. The enemy were hard on our heels and only the Wadi Quḍayd was between us, when God sent a flood in the wadi from whence He pleased, for there were no clouds that we could see and no rain. It brought such water that none could resist it and none could pass over. And there they stood looking at us as we drove off their cattle. Not one of them could cross to us as we hurried off with them until we got away; they could not pursue us, and we brought them to the apostle.

A man of Aslam on the authority of another of them told me that the war-cry of the apostle’s companions that night was Slay! Slay! A ṭajīm of the Muslims who was driving the cattle exclaimed:

ʿAbūl-Qasim refused to let you graze
On lushous herbs which you aimaze
With yellow tops the colour of maize (ṣuṭ).

I will now continue the summary of the night raids and raiding parties:

Ali to B. ʿAbdullah b. Saʾd of Fadak; ʿAbūl-ʿAujaʾ al-Sulaimī to B. Sulaim country where he and all his companions were killed; ʿUkkashā b. Miḥṣan to al-Gharrā; Abū Salama b. ʿAbdul-ʿAuja to Qatān, a well

1 From C. The whole passage in T. 1508 i. differs in phraseology though not in content from LH, who has apparently edited the text freely.
of B. Asad in the direction of Najd. Mas‘ud b. ‘Urwa was killed there; Muhammad b. Maslama, brother of b. Hāritha, to al-Quraybī of Hawāzin; Bashir b. Su‘d to B. Murra in Fadak; Bashir b. Su‘d in the direction of Khaybar; Zayd b. Hāritha to al-Jam‘ūm in B. Sulaym country; Zayd also to Judhām in Khushayn country. So says Ibn Hešām, but al-Sha‘bī from ‘Amr b. Habīb from Ibn Iblīs says ‘in Hīṣm country’.

THE RAID OF ZAYD B. HĀRITHA AGAINST JUDHĀM

One whom I can trust told me from some men of Judhām who knew about the affair that Riḍā’s b. Zayd al-Judhāmī when he came to his people with the apostle’s letter inviting them to Islam and they accepted it, was soon followed by Dīlyā b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī who came from Caesar, king of the Greeks, whom the apostle had sent with him some merchandise of his. When he reached one of their wadis called Shanīr, al-Hunayd b. ‘Uṣ and his son ‘Uṣ of Dūlāy’ a clan of Judhām attacked Dīlyā and seized everything he had with him. News of this reached some of al-Dubaybī of the kin of Riḍā’s b. Zayd who had become Muslims and they went after al-Hunayd and his son; al-Nu‘mān b. Abū Jī`dīl of B. al-Dubaybi was among them. They fell in with them and a skirmish took place. On that day Qurra b. Anṣārī al-Dīfārī the clan of al-Dūlāy proclaimed his origin and said, ‘I am the son of Lubānī,’ and shot al-Nu‘mān b. Abū Jī’dīl with an arrow, hitting him in the knee, saying, ‘Take that! I am the son of Lubānī.’ Lubānī was his mother. Now Hassān b. Milla al-Dubaybī had been a friend of Dīlyā before that and he had taught him the first su‘ra of the Qurʾān (9o2). They recovered what Hunayd and his son had taken and restored it to Dīlyā, and Dīlyā went off and told the apostle what had happened and asked him to let him kill al-Hunayd and his son. The apostle sent Zayd b. Hāritha against them and that was what provoked the raid of Zayd on Judhām. He sent a force with him. Ghayafān of Judhām and Wa’il and they of Salīmān and Sa‘d b. Judhām set off when Riḍā’s b. Zayd came to them with the apostle’s letter and halted in the lava belt of al-Bajāla, while Riḍā’s was in Kura’ Rabba, knowing nothing, with some of the B. al-Dubaybi while the rest of B. Dubaybī were in Wadi Ma’dān in the region of the lava belt where it flows to the east. Zayd’s force came up from the direction of al-Aulāj and attacked al-Maṣjis from the harra. They rounded up the cattle and men they found and killed al-Hunayd and his son and two men of B. al-Alnah (9o3), and one of B. al-Khaṣībī. When B. al-Dubaybi and the force in Fayyāl’u Ma’dān heard of this some of them went off, among those who rode with them being Hassān b. Milla on a horse belonging to Suyayd b. Zayd called al-‘Ajāja, and Unayf b. Milla on a horse of Milla’s called Righāl, and Abū Zayd b. ‘Amr on a horse called Shamarī. They went on until they came near the army when Abū Zayd and Hassān said to Unayf b. Milla, ‘Leave us and go, for we are afraid of your tongue.’ (T. So he withdrew) and stopped near them. Hardly had they left him when his horse began to paw the ground and rear and he said (to it), ‘I am more interested in the two men than you in the two horses.’ He let her go until he overtook them and they said to him, ‘Seeing that you have behaved thus, spare us your tongue and don’t bring us bad luck today.’ They agreed among themselves that only Hassān should speak. Now they had a word which they used in the pagan period which they learned one from another: if one wanted to smile with his sword he said Būri or Thārī. When they came near the army the men came running to them and Hassān said to them, ‘We are Muslims.’ The first man to meet them was on a black horse (T. with lance outstretched, T. 1743) the man who displayed it had as it was fixed on the withers of his horse as he cried, ‘Forward, outstrip them!’ and he advanced driving them. Unayf said Būri, but Hassān said Gently. When they stopped by Zayd b. Hāritha Hassān said, ‘We are Muslims.’ Zayd said, ‘Then recite the first su‘ra.’ When he did so Zayd ordered that it should be proclaimed through the army that God had declared their land sacrosanct except as regards those who had broken their covenant.

Hassān’s sister, the wife of Abū Wabr b. ‘Ady b. Umayya b. al-Dubaybī, was among the prisoners and Zayd told him to take her and she clasped him by the waist. Ummul-Fizr of Dūlāy said, ‘Are you taking your daughters and leaving your mothers?’ One of B. al-Khaṣībī said, ‘She is (of) B. al-Dubaybī and their tongue uttered all the day long.’ Some of the army heard this and told Zayd and he gave orders that the hands of Hassān’s sister should be loosed from his waist and told her to sit with the daughters of her uncle until God should decide what should be done with them. So they went back. He forbade the army to go down into the valley whence they had come and they passed the night with their people. They sought their night draught of milk from a herd belonging to Suyayd b. Zayd and when they had drunk it they rode off to Riḍā’s b. Zayd. Among those who went were Abū Zayd b. ‘Amr; Abū Shammās b. ‘Amr; Suyayd b. Zayd; Ba‘ja and Bardhā and Tha‘labā, sons of Zayd; Mukhrariba b. ‘Ady; Unayf b. Milla; and Hassān b. Milla, until in the morning they came up with Riḍā’s in Kura’ Rabba behind the harra by a well there of Harra. Hassān said to him, ‘Here you sit milking goats while the women of Judhām (T. are dragged as) prisoners. The letter which you brought has deceived them.’ Riḍā’s called for his camel, and as he began to saddle it he said: ‘Are you alive or do you call the living?’ When morning came they and he with Umayya b. Dafārā, the brother of the slain Khaṣībī, departed early from behind the harra; they journeyed for three nights to Medina and when they entered it and came to the mosque a man looked at them and told them not to make their camels kneel lest their legs should be cut off. So they dismantled, leaving them standing. When they entered the mosque and the apostle saw them he beckoned to them to advance; and as Riḍā’s began to speak a man said, ‘Apostle, these
men are sorcerers,' and repeated the accusation twice. Rifi'a said, 'God be gracious to him who treats us well today.' Then he handed the apostle the letter which he had written to him, saying, 'Take it, O apostle; it was written long since but its validity is recent.' The apostle told a young man to read it openly, and when he had done so he asked what had happened, and they told him. Three times he said, 'What am I to do about the slain?' Rifi'a answered, 'You know best, O apostle. We do not regard as wrong what you think is right or the converse.' Abū Zayd b. 'Amr said, 'Give us back those who are alive and those who are dead I disregard.' The apostle said that Abū Zayd was right and told 'Ali to ride with them. 'Ali objected that Zayd would not obey him, whenupon the apostle told him to take his sword and gave it to him. 'Ali then said that he had no beast to ride, so they (Ṭ. the apostle) mounted him on a beast belonging to Tha'laba b. 'Amr called al-Mihkhāl and they went off, when to a messenger from Zayd b. Hāritha came on a camel of Abū Wabr called al-Shamir. They made him dismount and he asked 'Ali how he stood. He said that they knew their property and they took it. They went on and fell in with the army in Fayfī-ul-Pahlatayn and took their property which they held even to the smallest pail from a woman's saddle. When they had finished their tasks Abu Ji'āl said:

There's many a woman who scolds unhappily,
Who but for us would be feeding her captor's fire
Pushed about with her two daughters among the captives
With no hope of an easy release.
Had she been entrusted to Us and Aus
Circumstances would have prevented her release.
Had she seen our camels in Miṣr
She would have dreaded a repetition of the journey.
We came to the waters of Yathrib in anger
(After four nights, search for water is painful)
With every hardened warrior like a wolf
Dour on the saddle of his swift camel.
May every force in Yathrib be a ransom
For Abū Sulaymān when they meet breast to breast
The day you see the experienced warrior humbled,
His head turning as he flees away (904).

Zayd b. Hāritha also raided al-Ṭaraf in the region of Nakhl on the road to Iraq.

ZAYD B. HĀRITHA'S RAID ON B. FAẒĀRA AND THE DEATH OF UMM QIRFA

Zayd also raided Wādī-l-Qurā, where he met B. Faṭāra and some of his companions were killed; he himself was carried wounded from the field.

1 A.Dh. in Bihāj's text has jība with the explanation 'mocaf'.

Ward b. 'Amr b. Mālāsh, one of B. Sa'd b. Hudhayl, was killed by one of B. Badr (whose name was Sa'd b. Hudhayl—T. and I.H.). When Zayd came he swore that he would use no ablation1 until he raised B. Faṭāra; and when he recovered from his wounds the apostle sent him against them with a force. He fought (Ṭ. he met) them in Wādī-l-Qurā and killed some of them. Qays b. al-Musāhhab al-Ya'muri killed Mas'āda b. Hākama b. Mālīk b. Hudhayl b. Badr, and Umm Qirfa Fāṭima d. Rābi' b. Badr was taken prisoner. She was a very old woman, wife of Mālīk. Her daughter and 'Abdullāh b. Mas'āda were also taken. Zayd ordered Qays b. al-Musāhhab to kill Umm Qirfa and he killed her cruelly (Ṭ. by putting a rope to her two legs and to two camels and driving them until they rent her in two). Then they brought Umm Qirfa's daughter and Mas'āda's son to the apostle. The daughter of Umm Qirfa belonged to Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa' who had taken her. She held a position of honour among her people, and the Arabs used to say, 'Had you been more powerful than Umm Qirfa you could have done no more.' Salama asked the apostle to let him have her and he gave her to him and he presented her to his uncle Ḥānā b. Abū Wabh and she bare him 'Abdullāh-Raḥmān b. Ḥānā.

Qays b. al-Musāhhab said about the killing of Mas'āda:

I tried as his mother's son would to get revenge for Ward.
As long as I live I will avenge Ward.
When I saw him I attacked him on my steed,
That doughty warrior of the family of Badr,
I impaled him on my lance of Qā'dab make
Which seemed to flash like a fire in an open space.

'ABDULLAH B. RAWĀHI'A'S RAID TO KILL AL-YUSAYR
B. RIZĀM

'Abdullāh b. Rawāhi'a raided Khaybar twice; on one occasion he killed al-Yusayr b. Rizām (905). Now al-Yusayr (T. the Jew) was in Khaybar collecting Ghaťafān to attack the apostle. The latter sent 'Abdullāh b. Rawāhi'a with a number of his companions, among whom were 'Abdullāh b. Unays, an ally of B. Salima. When they came to him they spoke to him (T. and made him promises) and treated him well, saying that if he would come to the apostle he would give him an appointment and honour him. They kept on at him until he went with them with a number of Jews. 'Abdullāh b. Unays mounted him on his beast (T. and he rode behind him) until when he was in al-Qarqara, about six miles from Khaybar, al-Yusayr changed his mind about going to the apostle. 'Abdullāh

1 i.e. abstinence from sexual intercourse. The Semites, like other ancient peoples, tabooed intercourse during war. Cf. 1 Sam. 21. 5. 6 and Robertson Smith, Religion of the Semites, 454 et passim.
perceived his intention as he was preparing to draw his sword, so he rushed at him and struck him with his sword cutting off his leg. Al-Yusayr hit him with a stick of shawat wood which he had in his hand and wounded his head (T. and God killed Yusayr). All the apostle's companions fell upon their Jewish companions and killed them except one man who escaped on his feet (T. his beast). When 'Abdullah b. Unays came to the apostle he spat on his wound and it did not suppurate or cause him pain.

On the second occasion 'Abdullah b. 'Asik raided Khaybar and killed Rafi' b. Abi-'Uqayq.

**'ABDULLAH B. UNAYS' RAID TO KILL KHALID B. SUFYAN B. NUBAYH**

The apostle sent him against Khalid, who was in Nakhla or 'Urana collecting men to attack the apostle, and he killed him.

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me that 'Abdullah b. Unays said: The apostle called me and said that he had heard that Ibn Sufyan b. Nubayh al-Hudhali was collecting a force to attack him, and that he was in Nakhla or 'Urana and that I was to go and kill him. I asked him to describe him so that I might know him, and he said, 'If you see him he will remind you of Satan. A sure sign is that when you see him you will feel a shudder.' I went out girding on my sword until I came on him with a number of men in a howdah seeking a halting-place for them. It was the time for afternoon prayer, and when I saw him I felt a shuddering as the apostle had said. I advanced towards him fearing that something would prevent my prayer, so I prayed as I walked towards him bowing my head. When I came to him he asked who I was and I answered, 'An Arab who has heard of you and your gathering a force against this kuffar and has come to you.' He said, 'Yes, I am doing so.' I walked a short distance with him and when my chance came I struck him with my sword and killed him, and went off leaving his women bending over him. When I came to the apostle he saw me and said, 'The aim is accomplished.' I said, 'I have killed him, O Apostle,' and he said, 'You are right.'

Then he took me into his house and gave me a stick telling me to keep it by me. When I went out with it the people asked me what I was doing with a stick. I told them that the apostle had given it to me and told me to keep it, and they said, 'Why don't you go back to the apostle and ask him why?' So I did so, and he said, 'It is a sign between you and me on the resurrection day. There are few men who will be carrying sticks then.' So 'Abdullah b. Unays fastened it to his sword and it remained with him until his death, when he ordered that it should be put in his winding sheet and it was buried with him (906).

To return to the expeditions: The raid of Zayd b. Haritha and Ja'far b. Abi-'Talib and 'Abdullah b. Rawatha to Mu'ta in Syria in which all

were killed; and the raid of Ka'ib b. 'Umayr al-Hashir to Dhamar Asfal in Syria in which he and all his companions were killed; and the raid of 'Umayn b. Hish on B. al-'Anbar of B. Tamim.

**THE RAID OF 'UWAYNA B. HISH ON B. AL-'ANBAR OF B. TAMIM**

The apostle sent him to raid them, and he killed some and captured others. 'Asim b. 'Umara b. Qatada told me that 'Aisha said to the apostle that she must free a slave of the sons of Isma'il, and he said, 'The captives of B. al-'Anbar are coming now. We will give you one whom you can set free.' When they were brought to the apostle a deputation from B. Tamim rode with them until they reached the apostle. Among them were Rabia b. Ruyay'; Sabara b. 'Amr; al-Qa'q' b. Mabsed; Wardan b. Muvira; Qays b. 'Asim; Malik b. 'Amr; al-Aqra' b. Habis; and Firas b. Habis. They spoke to the apostle on their behalf and he liberated some and accepted ransom for others.

Among the B. al-'Anbar who were killed that day were 'Abdullah and two brothers of his, sons of Wahib; Shaddad b. Firas; and Hanza b. Dahir. Among the women who were captured were Aamah d. Malik; Ka'a d. Arify; Najwa d. Nahd; Junayya d. Qays; and 'Amra d. Matar.

Salmah d. 'Attab said about that day:

'Adiy b. Jundab had a serious fall.

From which it was hard to rise.

Enemies surrounded them on every side.

And their glory and prosperity disappeared (907).

**CHALIB B. ABDULLAH'S RAID ON THE LAND OF B. MURRA**

The raid of Ghalib b. 'Abdullah al-Kalbi, the Kalb of Layth, was on the country of B. Murra in which he slew Mirdas b. Nahl, an ally of theirs from al-Huraq of Juwayna. Usama b. Zayd and a man of the Ansar killed him (908). Usama b. Zayd said: 'When I and a man of the Ansar overtook him and attacked him with our weapons he pronounced the shahada, but we did not stay our hands and killed him. When we came to the apostle we told him what had happened and he said, 'Who will absolve you, Usama, from ignoring the confession of faith?' I told him that the man had pronounced the words merely to escape death; but he repeated his question and continued to do so until I wished that I had not been a Muslim heretofore and had only become one that day and that I had not killed the man. I asked him to forgive me and promised that I would never kill a man who pronounced the shahada. He said, 'You will say it after me, Usama?' and I said that I would.'

1 i.e. after the prophet's death.
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'AMR B. AL-ĀŠ RAIDS DHĀTU'L-SALĀSİL.

The raid of 'Amr on Dhatū'l-Salasīl in the country of (T). Bali and the raid on B. 'Udha. The apostle sent him to provoke the Arabs to war on Syria. The mother of al-Āš b. Wā'il was a woman of Bali, so the apostle sent him to them to claim their help. When 'Amr came to water in the country of Jisdham called al-Salasī (T. Salasī), from which the raid took its name, he took alarm and sent to the apostle for reinforcements. The apostle sent him Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ with the first Muhājirs among whom were Abū Bakr and 'Umar. He told Abū 'Ubayda when he sent him not to quarrel. When he reached 'Amr the latter said, 'You have come only to reinforce me.' 'No,' said Abū 'Ubayda, 'but I have my sphere of command and you have yours'; for he was a man of easy gentle disposition on whom the affairs of this world sat lightly. So when 'Amr insisted that he had come to reinforce him he said, 'The apostle told us not to quarrel, and though you disobey me I will obey you,' to which he replied, 'I am your superior officer and you are here only to reinforce me.' 'Have it your own way,' said he, and 'Amr took the lead in the prayers.

An informant who had it from Rāfī b. Abū Rāfī al-Tā'īy who was Rāfī b. 'Umayra told me that the latter said: I was a Christian called Faris, the surest and best guide in the sandy desert. During the pagan period I used to bury water which I had put in ostrich shells in various places in the desert and then raid men's camels. When I had got them into the sand I was safely in possession of them and none dare follow me thither. Then I would go to the places where I had concealed the water and drink it. When I became a Muslim I went on the raid on which the apostle sent 'Amr b. al-Āš to Dhatū'l-Salasīl, and I made up my mind to choose a companion, and selected Abū Bakr with whom I rode. He wore a Fadak cloak and whenever we halted he spread it out, and put it on when we rode. Then he fastened it on him with a packing-needle. That was the reason why the people of Najd when they apostatized said, 'Are we to accept as ruler the man with the cloak?' When we approached Medina on our return I told Abū Bakr that I had joined him so that God might profit him by me, and I asked for his advice and instruction. He told me that he would have given this even if I had not asked, and told me to proclaim the unity of God and not to associate anything with Him; to perform prayer; to pay the poor-tax; to fast in Ramadān; to go on pilgrimage; to wash after impurity; and never to assume authority over two Muslims. I told him that I hoped that I should never associate anyone with God; that I would never abandon prayer if God so willed; that if I had the means I would always pay the poor-tax; that I would never neglect Ramadān; that I would go on pilgrimage if I were able; and would wash after impurity; but as to leadership I observed that only those who exercised it were held in honour with the apostle and the people, so why should he exclude me from it? He answered, 'You asked me for the best advice that I could give you, and I will tell you. God sent Muhammad with this religion and he strove for it until men accepted it voluntarily or by force. Once they had entered it they were God's protectors and neighbours under His protection. Beware that you do not betray God's trust in regard to His neighbours so that He pursue you relentlessly on behalf of His protectors. For if one of you were wronged in this way his muscles would swell with anger if the sheep or camels of his protecté had been seized, and God is more angry on behalf of those under His protection.' Thereupon we parted. When the apostle died and Abū Bakr was set over men I went to him and reminded him that he had forbidden me to assume authority over two Muslims. He said that he still forbade me to do so, and when I asked him what he had done to assume authority over one he said that he had no alternative; he was afraid that Muhammad's community would split up.

Yaṣāf b. Abū Habīb told me that he was informed on the authority of 'Auf b. Mālik al-Asja' that he said: I was in the raid on which the apostle sent 'Amr b. al-Āš to Dhatū'l-Salasīl, in company with Abū Bakr and 'Umar. I passed by some people who were butchering a camel they had slaughtered. They could not dismember it, while I was a skilled butcher; so I asked them if they would give me a share if I divided it between them, and when they agreed I took a couple of knives and cut it up on the spot. I took my share and carried it to my companions and we cooked and ate it. Abū Bakr and 'Umar asked me where I had got the meat, and when I told them they said that I had done wrong in giving it to them to eat, and they got up and forced themselves to expurgate what they had swallowed. When the army returned from that expedition I was the first to come to the apostle as he was at prayer in his house. When I saluted him he asked if I were 'Auf b. Mālik the butcher of that camel, and he would say nothing more.

THE RAID OF IBN ABŪ HADRAD ON THE VALLEY OF IDAM AND THE KILLING OF 'AMIR B. AL-ĀŠĀṬ AL-ASHJA'I

Yaṣāf b. 'Abdullāh b. Qussāyī from al-Qa'a b. 'Abdullāh b. Abū Hadrād from his father said: The apostle sent us to Idam with a number of Muslims among whom were Abū Qatādā al-Hāriš b. Ribi'y; and Mūhālim b. Jaththāmā b. Qays. We set forth until when we were in the valley of Idam (T. this was before the conquest of Mecca) 'Amīr b. al-Āšāṭ al-Asja'ī passed by us on a camel of his with a meagre supply of provisions and a skin of laban. As he passed us he saluted us as a Muslim and we held off from him. But Mūhālim b. Jaththāmā attacked and killed him on account of a quarrel they had had, and took his camel and provisions. When we came to the apostle and told him the news there came down concerning us: 'O you who believe, when you go forth in the way of God
peace between people. Are you sure that the apostle will not curse you so that God will curse you with his curse, or that he will not be angry with you so that God will also be angry with you? I swear that unless you submit him to the apostle and let him do with him as he pleases I will bring fifty men of the B. Tamim who will all call God to witness that your friend who was slain was an unbeliever who never prayed at all and thus cause his blood to be disregarded." When they heard that they agreed to take the bloodwit (911).

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One whom I have no reason to suspect told me from Ibn Hadrad as follows: I had married a woman of my tribe and promised her two hundred dirhams as a dowry. I came to the apostle and asked him to help me in the matter and when I told him the amount that I had promised he said, 'Good gracious, if you could get dirhams from the bottom of a valley you could not have offered more! I haven't the money to help you.' I waited for some days when a man of B. Jusham b. Mu'awiyah called Rifa'a b. Qays or Qays b. Rifa'a came with a number of clans of B. Jusham and encamped with them in al-Ghâba intending to gather Qays to fight the apostle, he being a man of high reputation among Jusham. The apostle summoned me and two other Muslims and told us to go to this man (T. and bring him to him or) bring news of him, and sent us an old thin she-camel. One of us mounted her, but she was so weak that she could not get up until men pushed her up from behind, and even then she hardly managed to do so. Then he said, 'Make the best of her and ride her in turn.'

We set forth taking our arrows and swords until we arrived near the settlement in the evening as the sun was setting. I hid at one end and ordered my companions to hide at the other end of the camp and told them that when they heard me cry 'Allah akbar' as I ran to the camp they were to do the same and run with me. There we were waiting to take the enemy by surprise or to get something from them until much of the night had passed. Now they had a shepherd who had gone out with the animals and was so late in returning that they became alarmed on his behalf. Their chief this Rifa'a b. Qays got up and took his sword and hung it round his neck, saying that he would go on the track of the shepherd, for some harm must have befallen him; whereupon some of his company begged him not to go alone for they would protect him, but he insisted on going alone. As he went he passed by me, and when he came in range I shot him in the heart with an arrow, and he died without uttering a word. I leapt upon him and cut off his head and ran in the direction of the camp shouting 'Allah akbar' and my two companions did likewise, and by God, shouting

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2 Or, perhaps, 'die in'.

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2 i.e. not to be wiped out by the blood of his slayer or tribesmen or to be paid for.
out to one another they all fled at once with their wives and children and such of their property as they could lay hands on easily. We drove off a large number of camels and sheep and brought them to the apostle and I took Rifi’a’s head to the apostle, who gave me thirteen of the camels to help me with the woman’s dowry, and I consummated my marriage.

‘Abdu’l-Rahmān b. ‘Auf’s raid on Dūmat ‘l-Jandal

One whom I have no reason to suspect told me from ‘Aṭī b. Abū Ribāḥ that he said that he heard a man of Bāṣra ask ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb about wearing the turban flying loosely behind one. He said that he would give them information on the point. ‘I was’, he said, ‘the tenth of ten of the apostle’s companions in his mosque, namely Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, ‘Ali, ‘Abdu’l-Rahmān b. ‘Auf, Ibn Mas‘ūd, Mu‘ādh b. Jabal, Hudhayfah b. al-Yamān, Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī, and myself. Suddenly one of the Anṣār came and saluted the apostle and sat down and asked the apostle who was the most excellent of the believers. “The best in character”, he replied. “And who is the wisest?” “The one who most often remembers death and makes the best preparation for it before it comes to him. Such men are the wise.”’ The man remained silent, and the apostle said to us, “O Muhājirūn, there are five things which may befall you and I pray God that you may escape them: moral decay never openly shows itself among a people but they suffer from pestilence and disease such as their fathers have never known; they do not use light weights and measures but they are smitten by famine and the injustice of rulers; they do not hold back the poor-tax from their herds but rain is withheld, for but for the beasts there would be no rain sent; they do not break the covenant with God and His apostle but an enemy is given power over them and takes much of their possessions; and their imams do not give judgement about God’s book and behave arrogantly in regard to what God has sent down but God brings upon them the calamity they have engendered.”

Then he ordered ‘Abdu’l-Rahmān b. ‘Auf to make his preparations for the expedition. In the morning he wore a black turban of cotton. The apostle told him to approach and unwind it and then rewound it leaving four fingers or so loose behind him, saying, “Turban yourself thus, Ibn ‘Auf; for thus is it better and neater.” Then he ordered Bilāl to give him the standard and he did so. Then he gave praise to God and prayed for himself. He then said, “Take it, Ibn ‘Auf; fight everyone in the way of God and kill those who disbelieve in God. Do not be deceitful with the spoil; do not be treacherous, nor mutineer, nor kill children. This is God’s ordinance and the practice of his prophet among you.” Thereupon ‘Abdu’l-Rahmān took the standard (912).

1 W. mukhāsibāyah ‘become perplexed’.
2 a’tāf perhaps means ‘more in keeping with accepted practice’.
3 sīra.

Aḥbāb b. al-Jarrāḥ’s Raid to the Coast

‘Aḥbāb b. al-Walīd b. ‘Aḥbāb b. al-Sāmīt brought me word: The apostle sent a force to the coast commanded by Abū ’Ubayda and furnished them with a supply of dates. He began to ration them until the day came when he had to count them, and finally he could give each man but one date a day. One day he divided them among us and a man lacked even a date and we felt the loss of them that day. When we were exhausted by hunger God brought us a whale from the sea, and we fell upon its flesh and fat and stayed by it for twenty nights until we grew fat and recovered our strength. Our leader took one of its ribs and set it in the way; then he sent for our largest camel and mounted our largest man upon it; he sat on it and came out from under it without lowering his head. When we came to the apostle we gave him the news and asked him what he thought about our having eaten the whale. He said, “It was food which God provided for you” (913).

(Ibn Hamīd told us from Salama b. al-Ṣa’dī from Muhammad b. T. al-Jarrāḥ from Ja’far b. al-Ṣa’dī from al-Ḥasan b. ‘Amr b. Umayya al-Damrī from his father that his grandfather ‘Amr b. Umayya that the last-named said: After the killing of Khuwayyīn and his companions the apostle sent an Anṣārī with me telling us to go and kill Abū Sufyān, so we set out. My companion had no camel and his legs were injured, so I carried him on my back as far as the valley of Yafaj where we tethered our beast in the corner of a pass and rested there. I suggested to my companion that we should go to Abū Sufyān’s house and I would try to kill him while he kept watch. If there was a commotion or he feared danger he should take to his camel and go to Medina and tell the prophet the news; he could leave me because I knew the country well and was fleet-footed. When we entered Mecca I had a small dagger like an eagle’s feather which I held in readiness: if anyone held hold of me I could kill him with it. My companion asked that we might begin by going round the Ka’ba seven times and pray a couple of rak‘āt. I told him that I knew more about the Meccans than he: in the evening their courts are sprinkled with water and they sit there, and I am more easily recognizable than a piebald horse. However, he kept on at me until we did as he wanted, and as we came out of the Ka’ba we passed by one of their groups and a man recognized me and called out at the top of his voice, ‘This is ‘Amr b. Umayya!’ Thereupon the Meccans rushed at us, saying, ‘By God, ‘Amr has come for no good. He has never brought anything but evil,’ for ‘Amr was a violent unruly fellow in heathen days.

They got up to pursue us and I told my companion to escape, for the very thing I feared had happened, and as to Abū Sufyān there was no means of getting at him. So we made off with all speed and climbed the mountain and went into a cave where we spent the night, having successfully eluded them so that they returned to Mecca. When we entered the cave
I put some rocks at the entrance as a screen and told my companion to keep quiet until the pursuit should die down, for they would search for us that night and the following day until the evening. While we were in the cave, Uthman b. Mâlik b. 'Ubaydullah al-Taymi cutting grass for a horse of his. He kept coming nearer until he was at the very entrance of the cave. I told my friend who he was and that he would give us away to the Meccans, and I went out and stabbed him under the breast with the dagger. He screamed so loud that the Meccans heard him and came towards him. I went back to the cave and told my friend to stay where he was.

The Meccans hastened in the direction of the sound and found him at the last step. They asked him who had stabbed him and he told them that it was I, and died. They did not get to know where we were and said, 'By God, we knew 'Amr was up to no good.' They were so occupied with the dead man whom they carried off that they could not look for us, and we stayed a couple of days in the cave until the pursuit died down. Then we went to al-Tun'im, and lo, Khubayb's cross.' My friend asked if we should take him down from the cross, for there he was. I told him to leave the matter to me and to get away from me for guards were posted round it. If he was afraid of anything he must go to his camel and tell the apostle what had happened. I ran up to Khubayb's cross, freed him from it, and carried him on my back.

Hardly had I taken forty steps when they became aware of me and I threw him down and I cannot forget the thud when he dropped. They ran after me and I took the way to al-'Safrâ' and when they wearied of the pursuit they went back and my friend rode to the prophet and told him our news. I continued on foot until I looked down on the valley of Dâjân. I went into a cave there taking my bow and arrows, and while I was there in came a one-eyed man of B. al-Dil driving a sheep of his. When he asked who I was I told him that I was one of B. Bakr. He said that he was also, adding of B. al-Dil clan. Then he lay down beside me and lifting up his voice began to sing:

I won't be a Muslim as long as I live,  
Nor heed to their religion give.

I said (to myself), 'You will soon know!' and as soon as the hadâ' was asleep and snoring I got up and killed him in a more horrible way than any man has been killed. I put the end of my bow in his sound eye, then I bore down on it until I forced it out at the back of his neck. Then I came out like a beast of prey and took the highroad like an eagle hastening until I came out at a village which, (said the narrator), he described; then to Rakubah and al-Naqi' where suddenly there appeared two Meccans whom Quraysh had sent to spy on the apostle. I recognized them and called on them to surrender, and when they refused I shot one and killed him, and the other surrendered. I bound him and took him to the apostle.

Ibn Ishâq from Sulaymân b. Wardân from his father from 'Amr b.  

674  
Umâyra: 'When I got to Medina I passed some shaykhs of the Anṣâr and when they exclaimed at me some young men heard my name and ran to tell the apostle. Now I had bound my prisoner's thumb with my bowstring, and when the apostle looked at him he laughed so that one could see his back teeth. He asked my news and when I told him what had happened he blessed me') (914).  

675  
Sâlim b. 'Umâyra's expedition to kill Abû 'Afak

Abû 'Afak was one of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf of the B. 'Ubâyda clan. He showed his disaffection when the apostle killed al-Hârith b. Suwayd b. 'Abdul Malik said:

Long have I lived but never have I seen  
An assembly or collection of people  
More faithful to their undertaking  
And their allies when called upon  
Than the sons of Qayla when they assembled,  
Men who overthrew mountains and never submitted,  
A rider who came to them split them in two (saying)  
'Permitted', 'Forbidden' of all sorts of things.  
Had you believed in glory or kingship  
You would have followed Tubba'.

The apostle said, 'Who will deal with this rascal for me?' whereupon Sâlim b. 'Umâyra, brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf of the 'weepers', went forth and killed him. Umâma b. Muzâyriya said concerning that:

You gave the lie to God's religion and the man Ahmad!  
By him who was your father, evil is the son he produced!  
A hâfit gave you a thrust in the night saying  
'Take that Abû 'Afak in spite of your age!'  
Though I knew whether it was man or jinn  
Who slew you in the dead of night (I would say naught).  

676  
'Sâlim b. 'Adî's journey to kill 'Aşmâ' d. Marwân

She was of B. 'Umâyra b. Zayd. When Abû 'Afak had been killed she displayed disaffection. 'Abdallah b. al-Hârith b. al-Fudâjî from his father said that she was married to a man of B. Khaṭîma called Yâsîd b. Zayd. Blaming Islam and its followers she said:

I despise B. Mâlik and al-Nahît  
And 'Auf and D. al-Khaṣṣâj.

1 I.H.'s account will be found in the section devoted to his additions.  
2 Qayla was the putative ancestress of Aus and Khazraj.  
3 A gibe at the language of the Quran.  
4 i.e. You resisted Tubba' who, after all, was a king in fact and a man of great reputation, so why believe in Muhammad's claims?  
5 Wellhausen, p. 91, proposed an emendation of the text which hardly seems necessary.  
6 This line is not in W.
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You obey a stranger who is none of yours,
One not of Murād or Mātābījī.

Do you expect good from him after the killing of your chiefs
Like a hungry man waiting for a cook's broth?

Is there no man of pride who would attack him by surprise
And cut off the hopes of those who expect aught from him?

Hassān b. Thābit answered her:
Banū Wa'll and B. Waqīf and Khaṭma
Are inferior to B. al-Khaṭrī.
When she called for folly woe to her in her weeping,
For death is coming.
She stirred up a man of glorious origin,
Noble in his going out and his coming in.
Before midnight he dyed her in her blood
And incurred no guilt thereby.

When the apostle heard what she had said he said, 'Who will rid me of Marwān's daughter? 'Umayr b. 'Adīy al-Khaṭmī who was with him heard him, and that very night he went to her house and killed her. In the morning he came to the apostle and told him what he had done and he said, 'You have helped God and His apostle, O 'Umayr!' When he asked if he would have to bear any evil consequences the apostle said, 'Two goats won't but their heads about her,' so 'Umayr went back to his people.

Now there was a great commotion among B. Khaṭma that day about the affair of Bint Marwān. She had five sons, and when 'Umayr went to them from the apostle he said, 'I have killed Bint Marwān, O sons of Khaṭma. Withstand me if you can; don't keep me waiting.' That was the first day that Islam became powerful among B. Khaṭma; before that those who were Muslims concealed the fact. The first of them to accept Islam was 'Umayr b. 'Adīy who was called 'the Reader', and 'Abdullah b. Aus and Khuza'ya b. Thābit. The day after Bint Marwān was killed the men of B. Khaṭma became Muslims because they saw the power of Islam.

THE CAPTURE OF THUMĀMA B. ATHĀL AL-ḤANAFĪ
I heard on the authority of Abū Sa'id al-Maqbūrī from Abū Hurayra that the latter said: The apostle's cavalry went out and captured a man of B. Ḥanifa not knowing who he was until they brought him to the apostle who told them that he was Thumāma b. Atīl al-Ḥanafī and that they must treat him honourably in his captivity. The apostle went back to his house and told them to send what food they had to him, and ordered that his milk-camel should be taken to him night and morning; but this failed to satisfy Thumāma. The apostle went to him and urged him to accept Islam. He said, 'Enough, Muhammad; if you kill me you kill one whose blood must be paid for; if you want a ransom, ask what you like.' Matters remained thus so long as God willed and then the apostle said that Thumāma was to be released. When they let him go he went as far as al-Baqr, where he purified himself and then returned and paid homage to the prophet in Islam. When evening came they brought him food as usual, but he would take only a little of it and only a small quantity of the camel's milk. The Muslims were astonished at this; but when the apostle heard of it he said, 'Why are you astonished? At a man who at the beginning of the day ate with an unbeliever's stomach and at the end of the day with a Muslim's? An unbeliever eats with seven stomachs: the believer with one only' (915).

THE EXPEDITION OF 'ALQAMA B. MUJAZZIZ

When Waqqās b. Mujazziz al-Mudlijī was killed on the day of Dhū Qa'dār, 'Alqama b. Mujazziz asked the apostle to send him on the track of the people so that he might take vengeance on them. 'Abdu'l-ʿAzīz b. Muhammad from Muhammad b. 'Amr b. 'Alqama from 'Umar b. al-Ḥakam b. Thawbān from Abū Sa'id al-Khuddī said: The apostle sent 'Alqama b. Mujazziz, I being with the force, and when we were on the way he summoned a part of the force and appointed 'Abdullah b. Hudhāfā al-Sabīm their leader. He was one of the apostle's companions—a facetious fellow, and when they were on the way he kindled a fire and said to the men: 'Have I not claimed on your obedience so that if I order you to do something you must do it?' and when they agreed he said, 'Then by virtue of my claim on your obedience I order you to leap into this fire.' Some of them began to gird up their loins so that he thought that they would leap into the fire, and then he said, 'Sit down, I was only laughing at you!' When the apostle was told of this after they had returned he said, 'If anyone orders you to do something which you ought not to do, do not obey him.'

Muhammad b. Ṭalha said that 'Alqama and his companions returned without fighting.

KURZ B. JĀBIR'S EXPEDITION TO KILL THE BAJILIS WHO HAD KILLED YASĀR

A traditionist told me from one who had told him from Muhammad b. Ṭalha from 'Uthmān b. 'Abdu'l-Rahmān that in the raid of Muḥārīb and B. Ṭallābā the apostle had captured a slave called Yasār, and he put him in charge of his milk-camels to shepherd them in the neighbourhood of al-Jamārā. Some men of Qays of Kubbā of Bajila came to the apostle suffering from an epidemic and enlarged spleens, and the apostle told them that if they went to the milk-camels and drank their milk and urine they
would recover, so off they went. When they recovered their health and their
bellies contracted to their normal size they fell upon the apostle's shepherd
Yasir and killed him and stuck thorns in his eyes and drove away his
camels. The apostle sent Kurz b. Jabir in pursuit and he overtook them
and brought them to the apostle as he returned from the raid of Dhū Qarad. He cut off
their hands and feet and gouged out their eyes.

‘ALI’S RAID ON THE YAMAN

‘Ali raided the Yaman twice (916).

USĀMA B. ZAYD’S MISSION TO PALESTINE

The apostle sent Usāma to Syria and commanded him to take the cavalry
into the borders of the ḇakūl and al-Dārūm in the land of Palestine. So
the men got ready and all the first emigrants went with Usāma (917).

THE BEGINNING OF THE APOSTLE’S ILLNESS

While matters were thus the apostle began to suffer from the illness by
which God took him to what honour and compassion. He intended
for him shortly before the end of Safar in the beginning of Rabī‘ al-
awwal. It began, so I have been told, when he went to Baqī‘ al-Gharqad
in the middle of the night for the dead. Then he returned to
his family and in the morning his sufferings began.

Abdullah b. ‘Umar from ‘Ubayd b. Jubayr, a freedman of al-Hakam
b. Abū-l-‘Ās, from ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Ās from Abū Muwāyhi, a
freedman of the apostle, said: In the middle of the night the apostle sent
for me and told me that he was ordered to pray for the dead in this cemetery
and that I was to go with him. I went; and when he stood among them he
said, ‘Peace upon you, O people of the graves! Happy are you that you are
so much better off than men here. Dimensions have come like waves of
darkness one after the other, the last being worse than the first.’ Then
he turned to me and said, ‘I have been given the choice between the keys of the
treasuries of this world and long life here followed by Paradise, and meeting
my Lord and Paradise (at once).’ I urged him to choose the former, but
he said that he had chosen the latter. Then he prayed for the dead there
and went away. Then it was that the illness through which God took him
began.

Yuqīb b. ‘Utba from Muhammad b. Muslim al-Zubair from ‘Ubay-
dullah b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Utba b. Mas‘ud b. ‘Abī’ishā, the prophet’s wife,
said: The apostle returned from the cemetery to find me suffering from
a severe headache and I was saying, ‘O my head! He said, ‘Nay, ‘Abī’ishā,
O my head!’ Then he said, ‘Would it distress you if you were to die before
me so that I might wrap you in your shroud and pray over you and bury
you?’ I said, ‘Methinks I see you if you had done that returning to my
house and spending a bridal night therein with one of your wives.’ The
apostle smiled and then his pain overcame him as he was going the round
of his wives, until he was overpowered in the house of Maymīna. He
called his wives and asked their permission to be nursed in my house,
and they agreed (918).

THE APOSTLE’S ILLNESS IN THE HOUSE OF ‘Ā’ISHA.

The apostle went out walking between two men of his family, one of
whom was al-Faḍl b. al-‘Abbās. His head was bound in a cloth and his
feet were dragging as he came to my house. ‘Ubaydullāh told this tradition
to ‘Abdullāh b. al-‘Abbās who told him that the other man was ‘Ali
(T. but that ‘Ā’ishā could not bring herself to speak well of him though
she was able to do so).

Then the apostle’s illness worsened and he suffered much pain. He
said, ‘Four seven skins of water from different wells over me so that I may
go out to the men and instruct them.’ We made him sit down in a tab
belonging to Hafsah’s d. ‘Umar and we poured water over him until he cried,
‘Enough, enough!’

Al-Zubair said that Ayyūb b. Bashir told him that the apostle went out
with his head bound up and sat in the pulpit. The first thing he uttered
was a prayer over the men of Uṣūd asking God’s forgiveness for them and
praying for them a long time; then he said, ‘God has given one of his
servants the choice between this world and that which is with God and he
has chosen the latter.’ Abū Bakr perceived that he meant himself and he
wept, saying, ‘Nay, we and our children will be your ransom.’ He replied,
‘Cently, Abū Bakr,’ adding, ‘See to these doors that open on to the mosque
and shut them except one from Abū Bakr’s house, for I know no one who is
a better friend to me than he’ (919).

‘Abdullāh-Rajmah b. ‘Abdullāh told me from one of the family of Sa‘id
b. al-Mu‘allā that the apostle said in his speech that day, ‘If I were able
to choose a friend on earth I would choose Abū Bakr, but comrade-ship
and brotherhood in the faith remain until God unites us in His presence.’
Muhammad b. ‘Abī’ard b. al-Zubayr told me from ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr
and other learned men that the apostle found the people tarrying in joining the
expedition of Usāma b. Zayd while he was suffering, so he went out with
his head bound up until he sat in the pulpit. Now people had criticized the
leadership of Usāma, saying, ‘He has put a young man in command of
the best of the emigrants and the helpers.’ After praising God as is His due he
said, ‘O men, dispatch Usāma’s force, for though you criticize his leadership
as you criticized the leadership of his father before him, he is just as worthy
of the command as his father was.’ Then he came down and the people
hurried on with their preparations. The apostle’s pain became severe and

1 I.1.'s tradition from ‘K‘ishā continues.
Usâma and his army went out as far as al-Jurf, about a stage from Medina, and encamped there and men gathered to him. When the apostle became seriously ill Usâma and his men stayed there to see what God would decide about the apostle.

Zuhri said that 'Abdullah b. Ka'b b. Malik told him that the apostle said on the day that he asked God's forgiveness for the men of Uthmân, 'O Muhâjiyin, behave kindly to the Asnâr, for these men increase but they in the nature of things cannot grow more numerous. They were my constant comfort and support. So treat these men well and forgive those of them who are my remiss.' Then he came down and entered his house and his pain increased until he was exhausted. Then some of his wives gathered to him, Umm 'Abdullâh and Maymûna and some of the wives of the Muslims, among them Asmâ' d. Umayya while his uncle 'Abbâs was with him, and they agreed to force him to take medicine. 'Abbâs said, 'Let me force him,' but they did it. When he recovered he asked who had treated him thus. When they told him it was his uncle he said, 'This is a medicine which women have brought from that country,' and he pointed in the direction of Abyssinia. When he asked why they had done that his uncle said, 'We were afraid that you would get pleurisy;' he replied, 'That is a disease which God would not afflict me with. Let no one stop in the house until they have been forced to take this medicine, except my uncle.' Maymûna was forced to take it although she was fasting because of the apostle's oath, as a punishment for what they had done to him.

(T. Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me from 'Urwâ b. al-Zubayr that 'A'isha told him that when they said that were afraid that he would get pleurisy he said, 'That is something which comes from the devil, and God would not let it have power over me.')

Sa'id b. 'Ubayd b. al-Sabbâq from Muhammad b. Usâma from his father told me that when the apostle's illness became severe he and the men came down to Medina and he went in to the apostle who was unable to speak. He began to lift his hand towards heaven and then bring it down upon him, from which he knew that he was blessing him.

Ibn Shihâb al-Zuhri told me from 'Ubayd b. 'Abdallah b. 'Uthma from 'A'isha that she used to hear the apostle say, 'God never takes a prophet to Himself without giving him the choice.' When he was at the point of death the last word I heard the apostle saying was, 'Nay, rather the Exalted Companion of paradise.' I said (to myself), 'Then by God he is not choosing us!' And I knew that that was what he used to tell us, namely that a prophet does not die without being given the choice.

Al-Zuhri said, Hamza b. 'Abdubah b. 'Umâr told me that 'A'isha said: 'When the prophet became seriously ill he ordered the people to tell Abû Bakr to superintend the prayers.' 'A'isha told him that Abû Bakr was a delicate man with a weak voice who wept much when he read the Qur'an. He repeated his order nevertheless, and I repeated my objection. He said.

Cf. Sûra 4. 71.

“You are like Joseph's companions; tell him to preside at prayers.” My only reason for saying what I did was that I wanted Abû Bakr to be spared this task, because I knew that people would never like a man who occupied the apostle's place, and would blame him for every misfortune that occurred, and I wanted Abû Bakr to be spared this.”

Ibn Shihâb said, 'Abdullah b. Abû Bakr b. 'Abdullâh b. 'Ar-Râhâmân b. al-Hârith b. Hishâm told me from his father from 'Abdullah b. Zama'a b. al-Aswâq b. al-Mu'tâb b. Asad that when the apostle was seriously ill and I with a number of Muslims was with him Bîlâl called him to prayer, and I told them to order someone to preside at prayers. So I went out and there was 'Umar with the people, but Abû Bakr was not there. I told 'Umar to get up and lead the prayers, so he did so, and when he shouted Allah Akbar the apostle heard his voice, for he had a powerful voice, and he asked where Abû Bakr was, saying twice over, 'God and the Muslims forbid that.' So I was sent to Abû Bakr and he came after 'Umar had finished that prayer and presided. 'Umar asked me what on earth I had done, saying, 'When you told me to take the prayers I thought that the apostle had given you orders to that effect; but for that I would not have done so.' I replied that he had not ordered me to do so, but when I could not see Abû Bakr I thought that he was most worthy of those present to preside at prayers.

Al-Zuhri said that Anas b. Malik told him that on the Monday (T. the day) on which God took His apostle he went out to the people as they were praying the morning prayer. The curtain was lifted and the door opened and out came the apostle and stood at 'A'isha's door. The Muslims were almost seduced from their prayers for joy at seeing him, and he motioned to them (T. with his hand) that they should continue their prayers. The apostle smiled with joy when he marked their men in prayer, and I never saw him with a nobler expression than he had that day. Then he went back and the people went away thinking that the apostle had recovered from his illness. Abû Bakr returned to his wife in al-Sunh.

Muhammad b. Ibrâhîm b. al-Hârith told me from al-Qâsim b. Muhammad that when the apostle heard 'Umar saying Allah Akbar in the prayer he asked where Abû Bakr was, 'God and the Muslims forbid this.' Had it not been for what 'Umar said when he died, the Muslims would not have doubted that the apostle had appointed Abû Bakr his successor; but he said when he died, 'If I appoint a successor, one better than I did so; and if I leave them (to elect my successor) one better than I did so.' So the people knew that the apostle had not appointed a successor and 'Umar was not suspected of hostility towards Abû Bakr.

Abû Bakr b. 'Abdullah b. Abû Mulaika told me that when the Monday came the apostle went out to morning prayer with his head wrapped up while Abû Bakr was leading the prayers. When the apostle went out the people's attention wavered, and Abû Bakr knew that the people would not

Abû Bakr appointed 'Umar to succeed him; the prophet made no appointment.
behave thus unless the apostle had come, so he withdrew from his place; but the apostle pushed him in the back, saying, 'Lead the men in prayer,' and the apostle sat at his side praying in a sitting posture on the right of Abū Bakr. When he had ended prayer he turned to the men and spoke to them with a loud voice which could be heard outside the mosque: 'O men, the fire is kindled, and rebellions come like the darkness of the night. By God, you can lay nothing to my charge. I allow only what the Quran allows and forbid only what the Quran forbids.'

When he had ended these words Abū Bakr said to him: 'O prophet of God, I see that this morning you enjoy the favour and goodness of God as we desire; today is the day of Bint Khārijah. May I go to her?' The apostle agreed and went indoors and Abū Bakr went to his wife in al-Suṣ al-Lū%

Al-Zuhri said, and 'Abdullāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik from 'Abdullāh b. 'Abbās told me: That day 'Abdulwād from the apostle and the men asked him how the apostle was and he replied that thanks be to God he had recovered. 'Abbās took him by the hand and said, 'All three nights hence you will be a slave. I swear by God that I recognized death in the apostle's face as I used to recognize it in the faces of the sons of 'Abdu'l-Muqtadī. So let us go to the apostle; if authority is to be with us, we shall know it, and if it is to be with others we will request him to enjoin the people to treat us well.' 'All answered: 'By God, I will not. If it is withheld from us come after him will give it to us.' The apostle died with the heat of noon that day.

Ya&qub b. Uṯāma from al-Zuhri from 'Urwa from 'Aisha said: The apostle came back to me from the mosque that day and lay in my bosom. A man of Abū Bakr's family came in to me with a toothpick in his hand and the apostle looked at it in such a way that I knew he wanted it, and when I asked him if he wanted me to give it him he said Yes; so I took it and chewed it for him to soften it and gave it to him. He rubbed his teeth with it more energetically than I had ever seen him rub before; then he laid it down. I found him heavy in my bosom and as I looked into his face, his eyes were fixed and he was saying, 'Nay, the most Exalted Companion is of paradise.' I said, 'You were given the choice and you have chosen, by Him Who sent you with the truth.' And so the apostle was taken.

Yahyā b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr from his father told me that he heard 'Aisha say: The apostle died in my bosom during my turn: I had wronged none in regard to him. It was due to my ignorance and extreme youth that the apostle died in my arms. Then I laid his head on a pillow and got up beating my breast and slapping my face along with the other women.

Al-Zuhri said, and Sa'id b. al-Muṣayyib from Abū Hurayra told me: When the apostle was dead 'Umar got up and said: 'Some of the disaffected will allege that the apostle is dead, but by God he is not dead; he has gone to his Lord as Moses b. 'Imrān went and was hidden from his people for forty days, returning to them after it was said that he had died. By God, the apostle will return as Moses returned and will cut off the hands and feet of men who allege that the apostle is dead.' When Abū Bakr heard what was happening he came to the door of the mosque as 'Umar was speaking to the people. He paid no attention but went in to 'Aisha's house to the apostle, who was lying covered by a mantle of Yamani cloth. He went and uncovered his face and kissed him, saying: 'You are dearer than my father and mother. You have tasted the death which God had decreed: a second death will never overtake you.' Then he replaced the mantle on the apostle's face and went out. 'Umar was still speaking and he said, 'Gently, 'Umar, be quiet.' But 'Umar refused and went on talking, and when Abū Bakr saw that he would not be silent he went forward to the people who, when they heard his words, came to him and left 'Umar. Giving thanks and praise to God he said: 'O men, if anyone worships Muhammad, Muhammad is dead: if anyone worships God, God is alive, immortal.' Then he recited this verse: 'Muhammad is nothing but an apostle. Apostles have passed away before him. Can it be that if he were to die or be killed you would turn back on your heels? He who turns back does no harm to God and God will reward the grateful.' By God, it was as though the people did not know that this verse (T. concerning the apostle) had come down until Abū Bakr recited it that day. The people took it from him and it was (constantly) in their mouths. 'Umar said, 'By God, when I heard Abū Bakr recite these words I was dumbfounded so that my legs would not bear me and I fell to the ground knowing that the apostle was indeed dead.'

THE MEETING IN THE HALL OF B. SĀ'IDA

When the apostle was taken this clan of the Ḥanīf gathered round Sa'd b. 'Uḥayrā in the hall of B. Sā'ida, and 'Ali and al-Zubayr b. al-'Awām and Ṭalha b. 'Abdullāh separated themselves in Fāṭima's house while the rest of the Muhājirin gathered round Abū Bakr accompanied by Usyayd b. Ḥuṣayn with the B. 'Abdu'l-Asbaḥ. Then someone came to Abū Bakr and 'Umar telling them that this clan of the Ḥanīf had gathered round Sa'd in the hall of B. Sā'ida. 'If you want to have command of the people, then take it before their action becomes serious.' Now the apostle was still in his house, the burial arrangements not having been completed, and his family had locked the door of the house. 'Umar said, 'I said to Abū Bakr, Let us go to these our brothers of the Ḥanīf to see what they are doing.'

In connexion with these events 'Abdullāh b. 'Abdulwād b. 'Abdullāh told me from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri from 'Abdullāh b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Utba b. Mas'ūd from his father that he was waiting for 'Abdul-rāḥmān b. 'Aṣim in his station in Minā while he was with 'Umar in the last pilgrimage which 'Umar performed. When he returned he found me waiting, for I was teaching him to read the Quran. 'Abdul-rāḥmān said to me:

1 Sura 3. 138.
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I wish you could have seen a man who came to the commander of the faithful and said, 'O commander of the faithful, would you like a man who said, By God, if 'Umar were dead I would hail So-and-so. Really given to Abū Bakr was a hasty mistake and was ratified.' 'Umar was angry and said, 'God willing, I shall get up among the men tonight and warn them against those who want to usurp power over them,' I said, 'Don't do it, commander of the faithful, for the festival brings together the riff-raff and the lowest of the people; they are the ones who will be in the majority in your proximity (T.' your assembly) when you stand among the people. And I am afraid lest you should get up and say something which they will repeat everywhere, not understanding what you say or interpreting it aright; so wait until you come to Medina, for it is the home of the sunna and you can confer privately with the lawyers and the nobles of the people. (T. you will come to the home of the hijra and the sunna and you can confer privately with the apostle's companions both muhājirīn and ansār.)' You can say what you will and the lawyers (T. they) will understand what you say and interpret it properly.' 'Umar replied, 'By God, if He will I will do so as soon as I get to Medina.'

We came to Medina at the end of Dhīl-Hijja and on the Friday I returned quickly when the sun had set and found Sa'd b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl sitting by the support of the pulpit and I sat opposite him knee to knee. Immediately 'Umar came out and when I saw him coming I said to Sa'd, 'He will say something tonight on this pulpit which he has never said since he was made caliph.' Sa'd was annoyed and asked, 'What do you suppose that he is going to say that he has never said before?' 'Umar sat in the pulpit, and when the muezzins were silent he praised God as was fitting and said: 'I am about to say to you today something which God has willed that I should say and I do not know whether it is my last utterance. He who understands and heeds it let him take it with him whithersoever he goes; and as for him who fears that he will not heed it, he may not deny that I said it. God sent Muhammad and sent down the scripture to him. Part of what he sent down was the passage on stoning: we read it, we were taught it, and we heed it. The anisst stoned (adulterers) and we stoned them and we killed them after him. I fear that in time to come men will say that they find no mention of stoning in God's book and thereby go astray by neglecting an ordinance which God has sent down. Verily stoning in the book of God is a penalty laid on married men and women who commit adultery, if proof stands or pregnancy is clear or confession is made. Then we read in what we read from God's book: 'Do not desire to have ancestors other than your own for it is infidelity so to do.'"

The difference between the two reports of what I. S. said is interesting. Ziyād makes the lawyer and the shura the ultimate authority while the S. has nothing to say about them and regards the prophet's companions as the real authorities. If the tradition is genuine T.'s version must be authentic because there can hardly have been lawyers in 'Umar's day. However, it is possible that at that time Dīd did not exist in its later meaning.

2 This citation, which is on the face of it has nothing to do with adultery, shows that the

Did not the apostle say, 'Do not praise me extravagantly as Jesus son of Mary was praised and say The servant and the apostle of God?' I have heard that someone said, 'If 'Umar were dead I would hail So-and-so.' Don't let a man deceive himself by saying that the acceptance of Abū Bakr was an unpremeditated affair which was ratified. Admittedly it was that, but God averted the evil of it. There is none among you to whom people would devote themselves as they did to Abū Bakr. He who accepts a man as ruler without consulting the Muslims, such acceptance has no validity for either of them: they are in danger of being killed. What happened was that when God took away His apostle the Ansār opposed us and gathered with their chiefs in the hall of B. Sa'da; and 'Ali and al-Zubayr and their companions withdrew from us; while the Muhājirin gathered to Abū Bakr.

I told Abū Bakr that we should go to our brothers the Ansār, so we went off to go to them when two honest fellows met us and told us of the conclusion the people had come to. They asked us where we were going, and when we told them they said that there was no need for us to approach them and we must make our own decision. I said, 'By God, we will go to them,' and we found them in the hall of B. Sa'da. In the middle of them was a man wrapped up. In answer to my inquiries they said that he was Sa'd b. Ubadh and that he was ill. When we sat down their speaker pronounced the shahāda and praised God as was fitting and then continued: 'We are God's Helpers and the squadron of Islam. You, O Muhājirin, are a family of ours and a company of your people have come to settle.' ('Umar) said, 'And lo, they were trying to cut us off from our origin and wrest authority from us.' When he had finished I wanted to
that by which He guided His apostle, and if you hold fast to that God will
guide you as He guided him. God has placed your affairs in the hands of
the best one among you, the companion of the apostle, the second of the
two when they were in the cave,' so arise and swear fealty to him.'
Thereupon the people swore fealty to Abū Bakr as a body after the pledge
in the hall.

Abū Bakr said after praising God: ‘I have been given authority over you
but I am not the best of you. If I do well, help me, and if I do ill, then put
me right. Truth consists in loyalty and falsehood in treachery. The weak
among you shall be strong in my eyes until I secure his right if God will;
and the strong among you shall be weak in my eyes until I wrest the right
from him. If a people refrain from fighting in the way of God, God will
smite them with disgrace. Wickedness is never widespread in a people
but God brings calamity upon them all. Obey me as long as I obey God
and His apostle, and if I disobey them you owe me no obedience. Arise
to prayer. God have mercy on you.’

Husayn b. ‘Abdullāh told me from ‘Ikrima from Ibn ‘Abbās who said:
‘When ‘Umar was caliph I was walking with him while he was intent on
business of his. We were alone and he had a whip in his hand, and as he
talked to himself he switched the side of his legs with his whip. As he
turned to me he asked me if I knew what induced him to speak as he did
when the apostle died. I said that only he could know that, and he went on:
‘It was because I used to read “thus we have made you a middle people
that you may be witnesses against men and that the apostle may be a
witness against you,” and by God I thought that the apostle would remain
among his people until he could witness against them as to the last things
they did. That was what induced me to say what I did.’

THE BURIAL PREPARATIONS

When fealty had been sworn to Abū Bakr men came to prepare the apostle
for burial on the Tuesday. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abbās and Husayn b. ‘Abdullāh
and others of our companions told me that ‘Ali and ‘Abbās and his sons
al-Fadl and Qutham, and Usāma b. Zayd, and Shuqrān freedman of the
apostle were those who took charge of the washing of him; and that Aus
by our share in the apostle,’ Aus was one of the apostle’s companions who
had been at Badr. ‘Ali gave him permission to enter and he came in and
sat down and was present at the washing of the apostle. ‘Ali drew him
on to his breast and ‘Abbās and al-Fadl and Qutham turned him over
along with him. Usāma and Shuqrān poured the water over him, while
‘Ali washed him, having drawn him towards his breast. He still wore his
shirt with which he rubbed him from the outside without touching the
apostle's body with his hand while he said, 'Dearer than my father and my mother, how sweet you are alive and dead!' The apostle's body did not present the appearance of an ordinary corpse.

Yahyā b. 'Abdāb b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr from his father 'Abdāb from 'Ā'ishah: When they wanted to wash the apostle's corpse rose. They did not know whether they were to strip his clothes or to wash them with his clothes on. As they disputed God cast a deep sleep upon them, so that every man's chin was sunk on his chest. Then a voice came from the direction of the house, none knowing who it was: 'Wash the apostle with his clothes on.' So they got up and went to the apostle and washed him with his shirt on, pouring water on the shirt, and rubbing him with the shirt between him and them (T. 'Ā'ishah used to say, 'Had I known at the beginning of my affair what I knew at the end of it none but his wives would have washed him').

Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Ā'ishah b. [a] from his father from his grandfather 'Abdāb b. al-Husayn, and al-Zuhārī from 'Abdāb b. al-I ḥasayn, said that when the apostle had been washed he was wrapped in three garments, two of silk made and a striped mantle wrapped the one over the other.

Husayn b. 'Abdūllāh told me from 'Ivrīm b. Ibn 'Abdūllāh Abū Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ used to open the ground as the Meccans dig, and Abū Tālib Zayd b. Sahl used to dig graves for the Medinans and to make a niche in them and when they wanted to bury the apostle al-'Abbās called two men and told one to go to Abū Ubaydah and the other to Abū Tālib saying, 'O God, choose for (T. thy) the apostle.' The one sent to Abū Tālib found his man and brought him and he dug the grave with the niche for the apostle.3

When the preparations for burial had been completed on the Tuesday he was laid upon his bed in his house. The Muslimas had disputed over the place of burial. Some were in favour of burying him in his mosque, while others wanted to bury him with his companions. Abū Bakr said, 'I heard the apostle say, 'No prophet dies but he is buried where he died';' so the bed on which he died was taken up and they made a grave beneath it. Then the people came to visit the apostle praying over by him companies: first came the men, then the women, then the children (T. then the slaves). No man acted as imām in the prayers over the apostle. The apostle was buried in the middle of the night of the Wednesday.

'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr told me from his wife Fāṭima d. (T. Muḥammad b.), Umārā from 'Amr b. Abī l-Rahmān and Sa'd b. Zūrarah that 'Ā'ishah said: We knew nothing about the burial of the apostle until we heard the sound of the pickaxes in the middle of the Wednesday night. Ibn Idrīṣ said: Fāṭima told me this tradition.

Those who descended into the grave were 'All and al-Faḍl and Qutb.
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He was the light and the brilliance we followed.
He was sight and hearing second only to God.
The day they laid him in the grave
And cast the earth upon him
Would that God had not left one of us
And neither man nor woman had survived him!
The Banūl-Najār were utterly abused,
But it was a thing decreed by God,
The booty was divided to the exclusion of all the people
And they scattered it openly and uselessly among themselves.1

Hassān also said:

I swear that no man is more careful than I
In swearing an oath true and without falsehood.
By God, no woman has conceived and given birth
To one like the apostle the prophet and guide of his people;
Nor has God created among his creatures
One more faithful to his sojourner or his promise
Than he who was the source of our light,
Blessed in his deeds, just, and upright.
Your wives stripped the tents in mourning
And did not strike the pegs behind the curtains.
Like nuns they put on garments of hair
Certain of misery after happiness.
O best of men, I was as it were in a river
Without which I have become lonely in my thirst (921).

1 Apparently 'the people' are the Angūr and 'they' are the Quraysh. The connexion of this line with the preceding is obscure. This and the following poem come via I.1.

IBN HISHĀM'S NOTES

10. What I have just written about the prophet's genealogy back to Adam and about Idris and others I was told by Zayd b. 'Abdullāh al-Bakrī on the authority of Muhammad b. Ishaq.


God willing I shall begin this book with Ismā‘īl, son of Ibrāhīm and mention those of his offspring who were the ancestors of God's apostle one by one with what is known about them, taking no account of Ismā‘īl's other children, for the sake of brevity, confining myself to the prophet's biography and omitting some of the things which I.ī. has recorded in this book in which there is no mention of the apostle and about which the Qurān says nothing and which are not relevant to anything in this book or an explanation of it or evidence for it; poems which he quotes that no authority on poetry whom I have met knows of; things which it is disgraceful to discuss; matters which would distress certain people: and such reports as al-Bakrī told me he could not accept as trustworthy—all these things I have omitted. But God willing I shall give a full account of everything so far as I am known and trustworthy tradition is available.

11. Some say Midād. Juthum was the son of Qahtān from whom all the people of the Yaman are descended, the son of 'Abīr b. Shālikh b. Arfaḥshād b. Sām b. Nā'i.

12. The Arabs say Hājar and Ajar, changing the ahkan into ạ as in the verb haraqa and aruqa 'to pour out.' Hājar was an Egyptian. 'Abdullāh b. Wāḥib from 'Abdullāh b. Lahi’a on the authority of 'Umar client of Ghufra told me that the apostle said: 'Show piety in dealing with the protected peoples, those of the settled lands, the black, the crinkly haired, for they have a noble ancestor and marriage ties (with us).' The said 'Umar explained that by ancestry the prophet referred to the fact that the prophet Ismā‘īl's mother came from them, and the marriage tie was contracted when the apostle took one of them as concubine.

Ibn Lahi’a said: Ismā‘īl's mother Hāgar, the mother of the Arabs,' came from a town in Egypt facing Farama;2 and Ibrāhīm's mother Māria, the prophet's concubine whom the Muqawiqs gave him, came from Ḥafīn in the province of Anṣānā.

13. All the Arabs are descended from Ismā‘īl and Qahtān. Some of the people of the Yaman claim that Qahtān was a son of Ismā‘īl and so according to them Ismā‘īl is the father of all the Arabs.

1 The text (both W. and C.) has 'came from Umm al-‘Arab,' but I have followed the reading of W.'s MS. D. Yāq.: 1, 356, who agrees with W. and C. adds: Others say Umm al-‘Arin; and it is said that she came from a town called Yāq near Umm Dunayn.'

2 Said to be the ancient Pelusium.

3 In the Ṣafī‘ on the east bank of the Nile.
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Abū Muhiriz Khalaf al-A‘Jmar and Abū 'Ubayda quoted to me the following verse of 'Abbās b. Mirdās who belonged to B. Sulaym b. Mansūr b. 'Ikrima b. Khaṣafa b. Qays b. 'Aylān b. Mudar b. Nizar b. Ma‘add b. 'Adnān in which he boasted of his descent from 'Akk:

And 'Akk b. 'Adnān who made a mock of Ghassān
Until they were driven out completely.

Ghassān is the name of the water got from the dam at Mārib in the Yaman which was drunk by the descendants of Māzin b. al-Aṣd b. al-Ghuth and they were named after it. Others say that Ghassān is the name of water at al-Mushattai near al-Jufa, and those who drink of it and take their name from it are the tribes descended from Māzin b. al-Aṣd b. al-Ghuth b. Nabl b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba’ b. Yashhub b. Ya’rub b. Qabtān. Among the verses of 'Issān b. Thābit b. Anšārī—Anšārī being the tribes of Aus and Khazraj, the two sons of Hāritha b. Tha‘labā b. 'Amr b. 'Amr b. Hāritha b. Imru‘ul-Qays b. Tha‘labā b. Māzin b. al-Aṣd b. al-Ghuth—Is this:

If you ask us about we are a noble people.
Al-Aṣd is our forefather and Ghassān our water.

The Yamanites and some of the 'Akk who live in Khurāsan report their descent from 'Akk b. 'Adnān b. 'Abdallah b. al-Aṣd b. al-Ghuth. Others say 'Udānāl in the place of 'Adnān.

15. The Yamanites say Qud‘a’ was the son of Mālik b. Ḥimyar. 'Amr b. Murra al-Juḥant—Juḥanta b. Zayd b. Layth b. Sūd b. Aslam b. al-‘Ijāf b. Qud‘a’—said:

Sons of the noble renowned shaykh we are, Qud‘a’s son of Mālik son of Ḥimyar.
Our descent is famous and undisputed,
It is engraved on stone beneath the pulpit.

16. The name is also written Qanāq.


Ilm Hisnām’s Notes

HOW 'AMR B. 'AMIR LEFT THE YAMAN AND THE STORY OF THE DAM OF MĀRĪB

The cause of 'Amr's migration from the Yaman as it was told me by Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī is as follows: 'Amr saw a rat burrowing in the dam at Mārib where they used to hold back the water and then direct it where it was most needed. He perceived that the dam could not last and he determined to leave the Yaman. He proposed to deceive his people in this wise. He ordered his youngest son to get up and hit him in retaliation for his rough treatment; and when he did so 'Amr said publicly that he would not go on living in a land where the youngest son could slap his father’s face. He offered his goods for sale and the principal men of the Yaman took advantage, as they thought, of his rage, and bought his property, and he went off with his sons and grandchildren. The Azdites said that they would not remain if 'Amr left the country so they sold their property and went with him. They travelled until they came to the land of the 'Akk tribe which they penetrated, desiring to find settlements. 'Akk took up arms against them, but the fighting was indecisive. It was of this that 'Abbās b. Mirdās composed the verse on p. 6. After this they moved on and went their several ways in the lands.

The family of Jafna b. 'Amr b. 'Amir settled in Syria; Aus and Khazraj in Yathrib; Khuzā‘a in Marr; Az al-Sārāt in Al-Sārāt and 'Uumān in 'Uma‘n.

Then God sent a torrent against the dam and destroyed it. Concerning this event God revealed to his prophet Muhammad: ‘Saba’ in their dwelling-place had a sign: two gardens one to the right and another to the left; (they were commanded) Eat from what your Lord has furnished and be grateful to Him. It is a goodly land and a forgiving Lord. But they turned away and We sent against them the torrent of al-'Arim.’ This latter word means ‘da’ma’; its singular is ‘arima according to what Abū 'Ubayda told me.


Herein is a moral for him who looks for it.
The dams (that were breached) destroyed Mārib.
(Himyar had built them of marble for them.
When the floods rose high they stood fast.
When their water was sent out in channels
It watered the crops and the vines!
Then they became wanderers unable
To give drink to their tender babes.

1 Marr, called Marr al-Zaharān (and Marr Zahara), is a day’s journey from Mecca.
2 Said to be a mountain overlooking ‘Amzi. See further Yaqūt, Mu‘jam
3 Sūr 41:14.
4 This poem occurs in several rival forms in Hamdān’s Idrīs, viii, ed. D. H. Müller in S.B.W.A., Vienna, 1881, vol. xvii, p. 103. Yaqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, iv, 387, and the MS’s of Ibn Hisnām’s Life are considerably different. I have followed the text of the Cairo edition which agrees with Wüstenfeld’s text. A better text with full critical notes is Gedichte von Abū Bayrān Maymūn Ibn Qays al-Assāh . . . ed. Rudolf Geyer (Gibb Memorial Trustee), London, 1928, p. 34.
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From Saba’ who dwelt in Mārib when
They built dams against its torrent.

This verse occurs in a poem of his, but it is also attributed to al-Nābighah al-Ja’dī whose name was Qays b. ‘Abdullah, one of B. Ja’dī b. Ka’b b. Rabī’ b. ‘Amir b. ‘Sa’ā’ā b. Mu‘āwiyah b. Bakr b. Hāwāzin. But this is a long story which I am compelled to cut short for the reasons I have already given.1

(Previously a soothsayer Shāfi’ī, a Kalbī the Sadaqī had come to Tubba’ and lived with him and when he wished to bid him farewell Tubba’ asked him whether he had anything of importance to communicate, and in the customary rhymes of saq2 he told him in reply to the question whether any king would fight with Tubba’, ‘No, but the king of Ghassān had a son whose kingdom would be surpassed by a man of great piety, helped by the Almighty, described in the psalms; his people would be favoured by revelation, he would dispel darkness by light, Ahmād the prophet. How blessed his people when he comes, one of the sons of Lu’ayy of B. Qasayy! ’Tubba’ sent for a copy of the psalms, examined them, and found the description of the prophet.

Ibn Ishaq gleaned and assembled the following traditions from what ‘Abdī b. Juba’r told him from ‘Abdīb and some learned Yamanī traditionists: A Khakhdhīh king was in Yaman in the territory of the Tubba’s of Himyar called Rābi’ b. Naṣr. Before him there had reigned in the Yaman ‘Tubba’ī, Zayd b. Saḥl.3 With him came Shams Yūr’īsh b. Yāsir Yūnīm b. ‘Amr Dhū’l-Adhīrī his cousin and Shamīr Yūr’īsh who raised China and built Samarqand and discomfited al-Ḥira.4 He was he who said:

I am Shams Abū Karīb al-Yamanī,
I imported horses from Yaman and Syria
That I might send the slaves who rebelled against us
In ‘Athm and Yām beyond China.4
We rule in their land by a just law
That no creature can transgress.)


20. According to Khalaf al-Abhar his name was al-Nu’mān b. al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir.

21. Some say al-Rūjīsh.

22. The order should be Yashhub b. Ya’rub b. Qaḥṭān.

23. Of him it was said:
Would that it were my lot to get from Abū Karīb The exclusion of his evil by the good he has!


25. ‘The poem in which this line occurs is a later invention and therefore we have not recorded it.

26. ‘The rhyming words are not inflected.

27. In Bahraíin according to what a scholar told me.

28. Another reading is Ḭbahbī ṭabābī.

29. Nakhmās is a Himyarī word meaning ‘head’.

30. Ṭabahdād means a long trench such as a ditch or a brook and so on. The plural is ṭabahdātī. Dhū’l-Rumma whose name was Ghālān b. ‘Uqba, one of B. ‘Adiy b. Abū Manṣūr b. Udd b. Ṭabikha b. Ḫiyā b. Mālik uses the word in one of his odes:

From the ‘Iraqī land which an ṭabahdāt waters
Between the desert and the palm.

Here the word means a canal. The mark of a sword or a knife in the skin is called ṭabahdāt and so is the weapon from the cut of a whip.

31. His mother was al-Dhī’ī b. and his name was Rābī’a b. ‘Abdū Yālī b. Sālim b. Mālik b. Ḫiyāt b. Yushām b. Qasīy.

32. Zubayd b. Salama b. Māzin b. Munabbī b. Sa’īb b. Sa’ād al-‘Ashūra b. Madāḥijj; others say Zubayd b. Munabbī b. Sa’īb b. Sa’ād al-‘Ashūrā; or Zubayd b. Sa’īb; and Murād is Yūhābī b. Madāḥijj. Abū ‘Ubayda told me the following: ‘Umar b. al-Khaqāb wrote to Salāmīn b. Rābī’a b. al-Bahlī—Bahlī being the son of ‘Iraqī b. Sa’ād b. Qayl b. ‘Aylīn—when he was in Armenia ordering him to show preference to those who possessed pure Arab horses, as against those who owned mixed breeds, when distributing spoils. Accordingly he mustered the cavalry and as he passed by ‘Amr b. Ma’dī Karīb’s horse he said: ‘This horse of yours is of mixed breed.’ ‘Amr was furious and said: ‘A mongrel knows a mongrel like himself!’ Qays sprang at him and threatened him, whereupon ‘Amr recited the verse just quoted.

This is what Sāṭīh the soothsayer meant when he said (v.t.):
The Ethiopians on your land shall bear
Ruling from Abyan to Jarārah everywhere.

And what Shiqq the soothsayer meant when he said:
The blacks on your land shall bear,
Fluck your little ones from your care,
Ruling from Abyan to Najrān everywhere.
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33. The expression 'iya'da'd means 'make to coincide' and munadda'a means 'agreement'. The Arabs say wad'atuka 'a'da kahtildi'am, meaning 'I agree with you in that'.

'a'da in poetry means 'coincidence'; i.e. the repetition of the same rhyming word with the same form, as in the lines of 'Abd-al-'Ajīj whose full name was 'Abdullāh b. Ru'ba', one of the B. Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm b. Mūrr b. Udd b. Tālībhā b. Yīsā b. Mūdār b. Nīzār.

In the current of the water-wheel set free (mursal)
The stream rises in the stream set free (mursal).

34. The first of the sacred months is al-Muḥarram.

35. i.e. he defeated it in it.

36. ḡaṭī is a document. Cf. Sūrā 38. 15 'Bring us our written fate quickly'. [This comment is omitted in C, but it certainly belongs to the text because A.Dh. in his commentary explicitly refers to it.]


38. 'Abū 'Ubaydā the grammarian quoted to me the verses of Dirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. al-Ṭurāf:

Thaqīf fled to their Lāt temple
Returning frustrated utterly hopeless.

Cf. Sūra 3. 122.

39. Al-Wāqiqi added:

If you are going to abandon them and our place of prayer, then something (we do not understand) seemeth best to Thee.

This is as far as the genuine text goes.

40. This is as far as the genuine text goes. Tamātām means 'barbarians'.

41. The words 'not the conquerors' do not come from I. I.

42. Abādāl means 'flocks'; so far as we know the Arabs do not use the noun in the singular. As to al-sijjil Yūnus the grammarian and 'Abū 'Ubaydā told me that among the Arabs it means strong and hard. Ru'ba' b. al-'Ajīj said:

They were written as the owners of the elephant were smitten.

Stones of sijjil fell upon them

And birds, Abādāl, sought with them.

These words occur in one of his rajāz poems. Some commentators say that sijjil is really two Persian words which the Arabs have made into one, namely sān and jīl; sān means stone and jīl means clay, and so a pebble made of stone and clay. 'Asf means leaves (or shoots) of herbage which have not been cut; its singular is 'asfa. 'Abū 'Ubaydā told me it is also called 'udāfā and 'adāfā. He quoted to me the lines of 'Aļqama b. 'Abada, one of B. Rabi'a b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm:

It waters torrents whose herbage droops.

The bed of the stream is aised by the rush of water.

Ibn Hishām's Notes

These words occur in one of his odes. The rajāz poet says:

And they were made as blades of corn that have been devoured.

An explanation of the idiom employed here is to be found in works on grammar.

The words Itayf Qurayyāh mean 'their assembling the party to go to Syria for trade'. They had two expeditions; one in winter and one in summer. 'Abū Zayd al-Ansārī told me that the Arabs use the first and fourth forms of 'alaf in the same sense and he quoted to me the words of Dhu'l-Rummā:

Of the sand-dwellers are the tawny-backed white-bellied (gazelles)
In whose colouring the rays of the sun become clearly seen.

This man was Sa'd b. Aus b. Thābit. Cf. Yāqūt. 4. p. 235.

Maṭrūd b. Ka'b al-Khuṣa'ī said:

Who are generous when the stars fail to bring rain
And who set out upon their accustomed way.

I shall mention this and other verses of his later on if God will. Itayf is also used of a man who has a thousand camels, cattle, or sheep, or other possessions. In one of his odes al-Kumayt b. Zayd, one of B. Sa'd b. Khuzayma b. Mūdara b. Yīsā b. Muḍār b. Nīzār b. Ma'add said:

In a year of which the owner of a thousand camels says
This makes the man who longs for milk walk on foot.

Itayf is also used when a people become a thousand in number. In one of his odes al-Kumayt b. Zayd said:

The family of Musayyiqā on the morrow they meet

The Banū Sa'd b. Dabba were a thousand strong.

Itayf also means the joining of one thing to another so that it adheres and sticks to it. It also means to complete the thousand.


43. This ode is also attributed to Umayyā b. Abū'l-Sālt.

44. To this ode is also attributed to Umayyā b. Abū'l-Sālt.

45. Abū Zayd al-Ansārī quoted me his words 'Upon the passes', &c., which occur in an ode of Abū Qays which I shall refer to later, God willing. The Benson Abā Yakūnī applies to Abrahā.

46. These lines of his occur in an ode on the Battle of Badr which I shall refer to later, God willing.

47. The lines are ascribed to Umayyā b. Abū'l-Sālt b. Abū Rabi'a al-Thaqīfī.

48. Abū Anzaradu—his name was Hammām b. Ghālīb, one of B. Mijāshi b. Dāriān b. Mālik b. Ḥāginā b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm—eulogizing Sulaymān b. Abū'l-Mālik b. Marwān and satirizing al-Hajjāj 41 b. Yūsuf and mentioning the elephant and his army, said:

When al-Hajjāj's presumption led him to excess
He said 'I will mount to the skies',

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As Noah's son said 'I will climb
A lofty mountain to escape the waters.'
God smote him' in his body as he smote
In defence of His holy Temple
The armies leading the elephant until
He turned them to dust haughtily as they were.
May you be preserved as the temple was when
The leader of the foreign polytheists brought his elephant!

'Abdullah b. Qays al-Rugayyat, one of B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayn b. Ghalib mentioning Abrahah the split-must and his elephant, said:
Split-nose bringing his elephant drew near
But retreated, his army overthrown;
Birds with pebbles hovered over them
So that they were as though they had been stoned.
Whosoever shall attack it will withdraw
Defeated and covered with shame.

49. Abu Ubayya told me that when Sayf b. Dhū Yazan entered his presence he bowed his head and the king said: 'Does this fool come in to me by a high door and then bow his head?' When Sayf was told of this he said: "I did this only because of my anxiety, for everything presses on me!"

50. Khalil b. Qurra al-Sadūq quoted to me the last of these verses as coming from an ode of Aḥṣā'ī of B. Qays b. Thalūba, but other authorities on poetry deny that he wrote it.


52. These lines which Ibn Iḥṣāq reported are genuine except the last verse which belongs to al-Nābiḍa al-Jaʿāl whose name was Ḥishāb b. 'Abdallah b. Qays, one of B. Jaʿāl b. Ka'b b. Rabi'a b. Ṭaur b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa b. Mūṣīla b. Ḍakr b. Ḥuwainī.

53. i.e. one of the sons of Imrān b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, or as others say, 'Ady b. the 'Ibad of al-Hūlū.

54. Abu Zayd al-Anṣārī quoted to me the verse 'The day that the barbarians, &c' as from al-Mufaddal al-Dabbī.

This is what Satīh meant when he said that Ibrāhīm b. Dhū Yazān would come against them from Aden and not leave one of them in the Yaman; and it is what Ṣiqāq meant by his words:
'A young man neither remiss nor base
Coming against them from Dhū Yazan's house.'

55. When Wahbi died, Chosroes appointed his son al-Marwān b. the Yaman. When Marwān b. the Yaman died, Chosroes appointed his son al-Taymiya b. the Yaman, and when he died he appointed his son

afterwards deposing him and appointing Bādhān. This man continued in office until God sent Muhammad the prophet.

I was told on the authority of al-Zuhri that he said that Chosroes wrote to Bādhān the following letter:
'I have been told that a man of the Quraysh has come forth in Mecca asserting that he is a prophet. Go to him and invite him to withdraw.
If he withdraws, well and good, if not, send his head to me.'

Bādhān sent Chosroes' letter to the apostle of God, who replied, 'God has promised that Chosroes will be killed on such-and-such a date.' Now when Bādhān got this letter he waited to see what would happen, saying that if he were a prophet, what he said would come to pass. God killed Chosroes on the day which the prophet had named. He was killed by his son Shīrāwiyah. Khalil b. Ḥiṣaqq al-Shaytānī said:

And Chosroes, when his sons cut him in pieces
With swords as the butcher cuts up joints,
The faces were hatching an evil day for him.

It came, for every child must come to the birth.

Al-Zuhri said: When the news reached Bādhān, he sent word to the apostle of God that he and the Persians had accepted Islam. His messengers said to the apostle of God, 'To whom do we belong?' He replied, 'You are of us and related to us, the people of the house.'

I have been told that al-Zuhri said, It was then the apostle of God said, 'Salman is of us, the people of the house.'

This is what Satīh meant when he said: 'A pure prophet to whom revelation will come on high', and what Ṣiqāq meant when he said: (his kingdom) would be ended by an apostle who would bring truth and justice from people of religion and virtue. Dominion shall rest among his people until the Day of Separation.

56. Dhīnār should be spelt Dhînār according to what Yūnus told me.

97. THE STORY OF THE KING OF AL-HADB

Khalil b. Qurra b. Khalil b. al-Sadūq on the authority of jamād, or of one of the learned genealogists in al-Kūfa, told me that al-Nūmān b. al-Mundhir b. Shīrāz was descended from Sittirūn, king of al-Hāḍ, a great fortress built like a town on the bank of the Euphrates, which is the river to which 'Ady b. Zayd refers in his verses:

When the master of al-Hāḍ built it
When the Tigisis and Khādbīs were brought to it
He constructed it of marble and plastered it with gypsum,
Birds nested in its roof.
Yet the fates did not respect it.
Its lordship departed, its gate is forsaken.

4. On p. 6 bāyān for mān here.
5. According to Neidke, Giebhl d. Porper w. Ancher, p. 32, al-Hāḍ was in ruins by 365 and so Shīrāz (11) cannot have been its destroyer. The point is made by the Cairo editors of Ibn Ḥiṣaqq.
6. i.e. the income arising from the land they watered.
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He it is to whom Abū Dūwād al-Iyādī refers in his line:

I saw that death had descended from al-Hadr,
Upon al-Sātirīn lord of its people.

This verse occurs in one of his odes, but it is also attributed to Khalaf al-Ahmar; others say to Hammâd the reciter.

Now Charroes Sâbûr Dûhlâl-Altâf1 had attacked Sâtirîn, king of al-Hadr, and besieged the town for two years. One day the latter's daughter, looking down from the castle, had seen Sâbûr in his silk brocade with his golden crown inlaid with topazes, rubies, and pearls on his head, a fine figure of a man, and she sent secretly to ask him if he would marry her if she opened the gate to him. He agreed to do so. Night came and Sâtirîn became drunk, for he never went to bed sober. She took the keys of the castle from beneath his head and sent them with one of her freedmen who opened the gate and Sâbûr came in and killed Sâtirîn and gave al-Hadr to the soldiery and destroyed it. He took away the girl and married her.

At night as she was sleeping upon her bed she began to tosa about restlessly and could not sleep, so he called for a lamp and the bed was searched and a myrtle leaf was found in it. Sâbûr asked if that was the cause of her waking, and when she said that it was, he asked how her father had brought her up. She answered that he had given her a bed of brocade, clothed her in silk, fed her on marrow, and given her wine to drink. 'If this is the way you reward your father you will soon betray me,' he said, and ordered that her hair should be tied to a horse's tail; the horse galloped away with her until she was killed. Here are some lines of 'Abî B. Qays of Thâ'labâ:

Have you thought of al-Hadr when its people prospered,
But does prosperity ever endure?
For two years Shabharî kept his armies there
Smiling it with axes.
When he prayed to his Lord
He turned to him and took no vengeance.

Here are some lines of 'Adîb b. Zayd on the subject:

Fate descended on al-Hadr from above,
A grievous disaster.
A spoilt darling did not protect her father
When her watchman gave up hope because of her treachery
When she made his evening cup of unmixed wine
(The wine destroys the mind of the drinker).
She betrayed her people for a night of love,
Thinking that the prince would marry her.

1 He of the shoulders.
2 A poor sense. Evidently Abû Dharr was not satisfied as he adds to his gloss the phrase which refers difficulties to the divine omniscience.

3 This line has given much trouble to commentators. The first word can be read as ra's, meaning 'watcher', and would then refer to the girl looking down from the wall. Lâbhabhû, the reading adopted above, is taken from the variant given by the Cairo editors in place of the lâbhabbû of their text.âtûdû, Murûjû-l-Dhâbah, iv. 86, has lâbhabbû. However, liyânâbû, 'to her own destruction', is the reading first given by Abû Dharr to 'her own destruction' yields a good sense.

But the bride's lot was that at the time of dawn
Her looks ran red with blood.
Al-Hadr was destroyed and given up to plunder.
'The clothes-racks of her chamber did not escape the fire

58. Also Iyâd, as the following verse from one of the poems of al-Hâdîth b. Da'ût al-Iyâdī shows, (It is also attributed to Abû Dûwâd al-Iyâdī whose name was Jâriyâ b. al-Îyâdī)

Young men handsome in face
Of Iyâd b. Nisâr b. Ma'add.

The mother of Mudâr and Iyâd was Sa'udâ d. 'Îbîr b. 'Ashân. The mother of Rabî'â and Anmâr was Shu'aybâ, another of his daughters; others say it was a third daughter named Junûn.


60. Their mother was a Jurumûnî.

61. Khândîf was the daughter of 'Îmrân b. al-Îhâf b. Qudâ'â.

62. His name was 'Abdulâh b. 'Amîr; others say 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Sa'îr.'

63. A certain learned person told me that 'Amîr b. Luhaṣî went from Mecca to Syria on a certain matter, and when he reached Mebab in the Bahâdîlî (the Words were there at the time, the sons of 'Îlâmân; or as some say of 'Îlmîq b. Lâwâd b. Sâm b. Nîb—he saw the people worshipping idols, and asked what they were. They replied that they were idols which they were worshipping, and when they prayed for rain they got it and when they asked for help they received it. He asked them to spare him an idol to take away to the land of the Arabs and they gave him one called Hubâl. So he took it to Mecca and set it up and ordered the people to serve it and to venerate it.

64. I shall say more about the poem from which this line is taken later on, God willing. Kâbî is Ibn Wâbra b. Taghlih b. 'Anṣâr b. 'Îmrân b. al-Îhâf b. Qudâ'â.

65. The name is also spelt An'am. 'îtâyyî is Ibn Uqâd b. Mâlik. And Mâlik is Mâdhîb b. Uqâd; others say 'îtâyyî is the son of Uqâd b. Zayd b. Kahtân b. Saba'.

66. Said Mâlik b. Nâmâl al-Hâmûnî:

Allah brings well-being and misfortune in the world.
Yu'ûn can neither hurt nor heal.


4 It is noteworthy that even the name of this prolific putative author of tradition is uncertain.
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69. I shall have more to say about this later on, God willing.


71. These two verses were composed by Abū Khirāsh al-Hudhull whose name was Khuwaylid b. Murra, and are taken from a longer poem. Guardians means those in charge of the affairs of the Ka'bah. Cf. the lines of Ru'ba b. al-'Ajiyy in one of his sa'āz poems which I shall say more about later on God willing:

Nay, by the lord of the birds who rest safely
In the victims' enclosure and the overseer's house.

72. Al-Kumāy b. Zayd, one of B. Aṣr b. Khuzayma b. Mudrikā, said in one of his odes:

Tribes swore they would not flee
Turning their backs on Manṣūr.

The apostle of God sent Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarib—others say 'Aly b. Abū Tālib—with orders to destroy it.

73. The name is also spelt Dhul-Khulussa. A certain Arab said:

If you, Dhul-Khulussa, were the avenger of blood
As I, and your father had been slain,
You would not forbid the killing of enemies!

His father had been killed and he wanted to take vengeance: but first he went to Dhul-Khulussa to speak to him. When the apostle had been a while he returned with permission to attribute them to Imru'l-Qays b. Ḥaṣi al-Khaldi. The apostle of God dispatched Jibrīl b. 'Abdullah al-Bajajī to destroy the idol.

74. I was told by a traditionist that the apostle of God sent 'Alī b. Abū Tālib to destroy it, and he found there two swords called al-Rastib and al-Muthāmah. When he brought them to the apostle of God he gave them back to him. They are in fact the two swords which 'Alī had.

75. I have given an account of it in the preceding pages.

76. The second half of the verse was uttered by a man of B. Sa'id. It is said that al-Musta'waqāb b. Rabī'a b. Ka'b b. Sa'id lived 330 years. He, who lived longer than any man of Mu'ādh, said:

I am weary of life and its length.
I have lived for hundreds of years.

Ibn Histām's Notes

A century was followed by two more.
From countless months I have added to my years.
What remains is as what went before.
Days pass and nights follow them.

However, some people ascribe these verses to Zubayr b. Janab al-Kalbi.

77. This is really a verse of al-Awsād b. Ya'fur al-Nahshali, Nahshali being the son of Darīm b. Malik b. Ḥaṣaṣṣa b. Malik b. Zayd Manṭurr b. Tamīm. Abū Muhāriz Khalaf al-Alayn quoted the verse to me in the form:

The people of al-Khawārmaq and al-Sa'dir and Bāriq
And the temple Dhul-Shārafruit of Sinād.2

78. It is said that anything she gives birth to after that belongs to her sons and not their daughters.

79. All this information according to the Bedouins is wrong, except so far as concerns the Ḥāmid; there Ibn Ishaq is right. Among the Arabs the Bāhira is the she-camel whose ear is slit and who is not ridden, whose hair is not shorn and whose milk is only drunk by the guest or given in alms, or left to their gods. The Sā'ībā is a she-camel which a man vows that he will set free if he recovers from his sickness or if he gains an object which he needs; and when he has freed a she-camel or a camel for one of his gods, then it runs free and pastures, no profit being made from it. The Wāṣlla means a ewe whose mother has twins at every birth. Its owner gives the ewes to his gods and keeps the males for himself. If her mother gives birth to a male lamb with her, they say Wāṣlat (she has joined) her brother, and her brother is freed with her, no profit being made from him. I was given this information by Yūnus b. Ḥabīb the grammarian and others, each contributing his part thereto.

80. The poet says:

Round the Wāṣlla in Shurayf is a three-year-old camel,
And whose backs are taboo and those who are set free.1

Tamīm b. Uḥayy b. Muqbil, one of B. 'Amir b. Sa'da'a, said:

Therein is the rumbling of the young onager stallion
Like the grumbling of the Dhiyā'ī camel in the midst of the Bāhima.

This verse belongs to one of his odes and the plural of Bahtra is Bahārīr and Buhur. The plural of Wāṣlla is Wāṣlāt and Wāṣlā. The plural of Multṭāma is Sawā'ib and Suṣyāb, and the plural of multitude of Hamid is Hāwāimī.

81. And the Khuzai say we are the sons of 'Amr b. Rabī'a b. Hārītha b. 'Amr b. 'Abd b. Ḥaṣaṣṣa b. Imru'u'l-Qays b. Ta'laba b. Mūṣim b. al-Asd b. al-Ghaouth, and Khindis is their mother, according to what Abū Ubayyā and other learned traditionists told me. Others say Khuzai are the sons of

1 These verses (with unimportant variants) are in K. al-Mu'assamar, ed. Goldziher, Leiden, 1899, No. X and p. 7.
2 One's confidence in Ibn Histām is not strengthened by this quotation. However, it is to be noted that he does not claim that this notorious forger's version is to be preferred.
3 These lines contain all three terms.
braces and the like; and qurrābā means trade and profit. The poet means that fat and milk used to make them independent of this. Maḥbī means pure milk.

Abū Jīlā al-Yaḥṣūbī, Yaḥṣūbī being Ibn Bākī b. Wāʾil, said:

Brethren have slandered us

In our early days and of late.

84. Al-Salt too was a son of al-Nadr according to Abū 'Amir al-Madāni; the mother of all three was d. Šād b. Šāhī al-Adwānī. Adwānī was the son of Amr b. Qays b. Ḫayl. Kuthayrīr b. Abū al-Rahmānīn, namely Kuthayrīr of 'Azza one of B. Mūlah b. 'Amr of Khuzāʿī. Abū said:

Is not my father al-Salt or are not my brethren
The best known to the nobles of the Banū al-Nadr?

You can see the same Yamani warp in us and them,
The same Ḥadrami sandals of peculiar design.

If you are not of the Banū Nādhr then leave
The green arak trees at the ends of the valleys

Of those who are related to al-Salt b. al-Nadr of Khuzāʿī are B. Mūlah b. 'Amr the tribe of Kuthayrīr of 'Azza.

85. He was not the eldest son of Muḥādīn.

86. Janḍalā was the d. Fīrār, and the mother of Yarbūṭ b. Ḫanḍāla b. Mālik b. Yazd Manāt b. Ṭāmīm. Her mother being Laylā d. Šād. Šād b. Āṭīya b. al-Ḳaṭṭāfī, the latter's name being Ḫuliṭaytā b. Bāḍr b. Salamā b. 'Aṭīya b. Kūlayyī b. Yarbūṭ b. Ḫanḍāla said:

When I was angry with the sons of Jandala

In my defence threw stones which were like rocks.2

87. A third son was Qays whose mother was Salmā d. Kāf b. 'Amr al-Khuzāʾī. She was the mother of the two sons just mentioned.

88. Some say that al-Hārith was a son of Luʾayyī. They are the Jusamīn b. al-Hārith among Ḥuzzān b. Rabīʾ. Šād b. Āṭīya said:

Sons of Jusamīn, you belong not to Ḥuzzān. Relate yourselves to the nobles of Luʾayyī b. Ghālib. Give not your daughters to the tribe of Ḥuzzān,

Nor to Shuṣayya:1 they are bad dwellings for strange women.


1 qurrābā. Like all words of this kind, which originally meant some form of physical violence, the original meaning is 'to crush the bones'. The name Qurrāsh is probably taken from the dogon. Cf. Kūlāb, &c.

2 There is a play on the word jandala, large stone. For the idiom see Lammen, L'Arabie occidentale, 173 n. 2.

3 Two clans of the 'Anaza; see Cairo edition, p. 109.
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al-Hâf b. Qudâ'a. Also Khuzayma. They are the ‘A’dâilâ among Shaybân b. Tha'laba. ‘A'dâ'îa was a Yamanite woman, the mother of B. ‘Abî b. Khuzayma b. Lu'ayy.


85. I have heard that one of his sons came to the apostle of God, claiming descent from Šâma. The apostle said 'The poet? ' and one of his companions said: 'I think, apostle of God, you mean the saying

'Many a cup hast thou split, O b. Lu'ayy,
For fear of death which otherwise would not have been split.'

He answered, 'Yes.'

85. This is what Abu 'Ubayda quoted to me from the poem.¹

91. Abû 'Ubayda recited these verses to me as from: ‘Amir b. al-Khaṣṣaf, i.e. Khaṣṣaf b. Qays b. 'Aylân, adding a line

His spear bereaved women of their sons.

He also told me that Ḥâshim said to ‘Amir: 'Compose a good verse about me and I will pay you for it.' Thereupon ‘Amir composed the first verse which did not please Ḥâshim; he added the second which likewise failed to please him, and with the third; but when he added the fourth, 'As he slew the guilty and the innocent', he was satisfied and rewarded him.

This is what al-Kumayy b. Zayd meant when he said:

Ḥâshim of Murra who destroyed kings
Whether they had wronged him or not.

This verse occurs in one of his odes. ‘Amir's words 'Day of al-Ubâbî' have not Abû 'Ubayda's authority.

92. Zuhayr was one of B. Muzayna b. Ullân b. Tabikha b. al-Ya'â b. Muđâr. Others say he was the son of Abû Sulman b. Ghaṭafân, or an ally of Ghaṭafân.


And Shâhîa came out against us with
A crowd of homeless rams they thought were horned
We did not say to Bâriq, 'You have done wrong."
Nor did we say, 'Give us satisfaction.'

They got the name Bâriq because they went about in quest of herbage.²


They were called Jâdam because ‘Amir b. ‘Adî b. Ju’ţumâ married d. al-Ḥârith b. Muṣâq b. Ju’ţumâ. Jâdum being lords of the Ka'ba, and built a wall for the Ka'ba and so was called al-Jâdum, while the name in the phœnix attached itself to his offspring.

95. Nu'm b. Kâlib was the mother of Sa'd and Su'ayd sons of Sa'd b. ‘Amir b. Huṣây b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy. Her mother was Fatîma d. Sa'd b. Sa'd.

96. The name is also written Huṣây b. Sa'd.


Other children of 'Abdu Manâf were Abû ‘Adî, ‘Uthâ, ‘Uqâb, ‘Uyayr, and Umm al-Qahtân, Umm Sulaymân. The mother of Abû ‘Adî was Rayâ, a woman of Thaqîf; the mother of the rest of the girls was ‘Aṭââ d. Mûra b. Hâlî, mother of Ḥâshim b. ‘Abdu Manâf; her mother was Ṣâfiya d. Hâuza b. ‘Amir b. Sa’d b. Ṣâ'îa b. al-Muṣâq. ‘Uqâb, her mother was d. ‘A’idh b. Sulam d. Sa’d b. ‘Ashîrâ d. Madhîjîh.


The Children of ‘Abdul-Muṣṭâlîf b. Ḥâshim


The mother of al-‘Abbâs and Dîrâr was Ṣâfiya d. Ṣâ'îa b. al-Muṣâq, Dîrâr, and Abû Laḥab (whose name was ‘Abdul-l-Uzzâ). ‘Ṣâfiya, Umm Ḥalîm al-Baydî, ‘Aṭââ, Ummayya, Arwâ, and Barza.

The mother of Ḥamza, al-Muṣâq, and Ḥantîf (who was nicknamed al-Chaydâq because of his great liberality and his wealth) and ‘Ṣâfiya, was Ḥâlî d. Wâqîd b. Abû Manâf b. Zuhra b. Kuṣâf b. Mârta b. Ka'b b. Lu’ayy.

The mother of Ḥamza, al-Muṣâq, and Ḥantîf (who was nicknamed al-Chaydâq because of his great liberality and his wealth) and ‘Ṣâfiya, was Ḥâlî d. Wâqîd b. Abû Manâf b. Zuhra b. Kuṣâf b. Mârta b. Ka'b b. Lu’ayy.

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Thus the apostle of God was the most noble of the sons of Adam in respect of this descent both from his father's and his mother's side.

98. Others spell the name Miṣād.

99. Abū 'Ubaydah told me that Bakra is the name of the valley of Mecca because it is thickly populated1 and quoted to me the verse:

- When great heat overtakes him who waters his camels with yours,
- Leave him alone until his camels are rounded up.
- i.e. leave him until he gets his camels together, i.e. until he brings them to the water and they crowd upon it. Bakra is the place of the temple and the mosque. These lines are from 'Aminah b. Ka‘b b. 'Amr b. Sa‘īd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tanām.

100. The words 'his sons are ours' are not from I I.

101. This is as far as the genuine poetry goes. Some learned authorities told me that these verses are the first poetry spoken among the Arabs and that they were found inscribed on stone in the Yaman. I was not told who their author was.

102. Others say Ḥubaysiya b. Salāl.

103. Ṣafwān was the son of Jannāb b. Ṣijdā b. 'Uṯrād b. 'Auf b. Ka‘b b. Sa‘īd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tanām.

104. The name is sometimes written Shuddākh.

105. A poet has said:

- By my life Qaysiy was called 'uniter'.
- Because Allah united the tribes of Fihr by him.

106. These verses are attributed to Zuhaib b. Jannāb al-Kalb.

107. One of the authorities on poetry in the Hijaz gave me the line 'A people in Mecca,' &c. [The point of this comment is that the line exists in another form which violates one of the canons of poetry.]

1 Tāhakkā, 'they came together in crowds'.

108. The meaning of fajār is 'gift', as in the lines of Abū Khirāsh al-Hudhail:

- Iamīl b. Ma‘mar has tarred my guests
- By killing a generous man to whom widows resort.

109. This speech and the preceding one from a tradition of 'All about the digging of Zarnam are say and not poetry in my opinion.

110. A poet has said:

- God send rain to the wells whose site I know
- Jurāb and Malkūm and Badhdhar and al-Gharm.

111. He was the father of Abū Jahl b. Hudhayfa.

112. He means 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib. I shall mention this ode later if God will. [See p. 112 W.]

113. 'Āidh was b. 'Irāsan b. Makhzūm.

114. Another reading is 'man or beast'. [This is T.’s reading.] Inserted in this story is a rejas poem which no authority on poetry regards as genuine.

115. 'Marādī' are mentioned in the siwa of Moses, 'We made foster-mothers unlawful for him'. [The point is that rukhār in the text means 'children at the breast' whereas we should expect 'foster-mothers'. Therefore either we must suppose that dhimār is to be mentally supplied or we must take the word literally: where there are babies at the breast there must needs be women to suckle them.]


117. The mother of 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib was Salma d. 'Amr, the Najjarīt, and this is the maternal relationship which I.I. mentions in linking the apostle with them.

118. I have never met any authority on poetry who knows these verses, but since they are quoted on the authority of Muhammad b. Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyib I have included them here.

119. Al-Musayyib was the son of Ḥazm b. Abū Wahb b. 'Amr b. 'Āidh b. 'Irāsan b. Makhzūm.

120. 'Thy mother was a pure pearl of Khuzain's' refers to Abū Lahab whose mother was Lubnā d. Hājur the Khuzainīte. The words 'In the path of his forefathers' come from a source other than I. I.

121. 'Āidh b. 'Irāsan b. Makhzūm.

122. Lihb belong to Aṣz Shantū'a.

123. It was like the mark of a cupping-glass.

124. When the apostle was 14 or 15 years old according to what Abū 'Ubaydah the grammarian told me on the authority of Abū 'Amr al-'All a sacrilegious.

For 'ajāfa the reading in aṣh'at al-Hudhayfa in fajār'a, ‘was painted at the state’ a. For the full text of the lament see note 837
war broke out between the Quraysh and their allies the Kinān and Qays `Aylān. The cause of it was that 'Urwa al-Rahbāl b. Udb b. Ja'far b. Kilāb b. Rabi'a b. 'Amir b. Ṣa'ā'a b. Mu'āwiyah b. Bakr b. Hawāzin had given safe conduct to a caravan of al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir. Al-Barrād b. Qays, one of B. Ḍāmra b. Bakr b. 'Abdu Manāf b. Kinān, said to him, 'Did you give it safe conduct against Kinān? to which he replied, 'Yes, and against everybody else.' So 'Urwa al-Rahbāl went out with the caravan and al-Barrād also went out with the object of taking him off his guard. When he was in Tuyman 1 Dhu 'Tālīl in the high ground 'Urwa failed to post a guard and al-Barrād leapt upon him and killed him in the sacred month: that is why the war was called sacrilegious. Al-Barrād composed the following lines about it:

Many a calamity which has displaced men before me
I have met with determination, O Banū Bakr.¹
I destroyed thereby the houses of the Banū Kilāb
And I reduced the clients to their proper place.
I lifted my hand against him in Dhu 'Tālīl
And he fell dizzy like a sown down place.

Labīd b. Rabi'a b. Mālik b. Ja'far b. Kilāb said:
Tell the Banū Kilāb and 'Amir if you meet them
Great events have those who can deal with them.²
Tell the Banū Numayr if you meet them
And the uncles of the slain, Banū Hilāl,
That the traveler al-Rahbāl is dead
Lying by Tuyman Dhu 'Tālīl.

A messenger came to Quraysh saying that al-Barrād had killed 'Urwa while they were in 'Uqāf in the sacred month, and they rode off without the knowledge of Hawāzin. When the latter heard of it they pursued them and overtook them before they reached the sacred territory, and they fought till nightfall. When they entered the sacred territory Hawāzin gave up the fight. Sporadic encounters took place on the following day, but the people had no commander-in-chief, each tribe being commanded by its head. The apostle was present at some of these encounters, his uncles having taken him with them. He used to say that he picked up the arrows which the enemy had shot and gave them to his uncles to shoot.

125. The story of the struggle is too long to be mentioned here. I cannot allow it to interrupt the prophet's biography.

The life occurs in a different form in al-Iṣa'ī of Fārád. Cf. Yaq. iii. 579 and Ash. 725

¹ The text, metre, and translation in Brochelmann's edition (p. 57 Arabic and p. 62 German) are at fault here. There is a play on the word masūd: rendered 'client' in the first goven; hence it means 'masters'. Masūd is one of those elusory terms whose meaning can be determined only by the context. Originally it meant a relative pure and simple without differentiating between a tribe of a man or by a tribe in alliance. Already in the poetry of the Sassanids masūd is lower than the fjāli and of equal, the pure-blooded tribe. Cf. 188, 18 hūdā bi-'aṣār bi-ṣulmān. In the Qurān masūd means 'lord' and also 'helper'. After the Arab conquests the word meant 'client', 'free slave'.

² On the use of 'Aqīl cf. the excellent article with map by Mūsa al-Jawzi in the Majālis of the Arab Academy of Damascus, 1931, iii. 377 f, where L.H. is cited from Shfālī's Le-ğhāram bi-ikhbārīl-bālādī l-ḥaram it saying that it lay between Nablās and 'Ṭūf.

126. At the age of 23 the apostle married Khadija d. Khurayrīd b. Asad b. 'Abdul-'Izz b. Quṭayb b. Kilāb b. Mus'ab b. Sa'd b. Lu'ay' b. Gāsāb as more than one learned person told me from Abu 'Amr of Medina.

127. The apostle gave her as a dowry twenty she-camels. She was the first woman that the apostle married, and he took no other wife during her lifetime. May God he pleased with her!

128. His sons came in the order: al-Qāsīm, al-Tāyīb, and al-Ṭāhir; and his daughters in the order: Ruqayya, Zaynab, Umm Kulthum, and Fāṭima. [Commentators point out that these are not names but epithets applied to the one son 'Abdullah.]

129. Bishārīm's mother was Māriya the Copt. 'Abdullāh b. Wāḥib from I. Lahi'a told me that Māriya was the prophet's concubine. The Muqawqis presented her to him from Hafn in the province of Anṣār.

130. Quraysh cut his hand off. They allege that the people who stole the treasure deposited it with Duwayk. [One can see from I. L.'s words in T. how I. H. abbreviated his author's account.]

131. 'Ā'idh b. 'Uthmān b. Makhrām.

132. According to another account, 'we are not going astray'.

133. Another reading is 'our pelendus were not covered'. The Ka'ba at the time of the apostle was 18 cubits high. It was covered with white Egyptian cloth, later with Yamanī stuff. The first to cover it with brocade was al-Ḥajjāb b. Yūsuf.

134. Abū 'Uhayda the grammarian told me that B. 'Amir b. Ṣa'ā'a b. Mu'āwiyah b. Bakr b. Hawāzin entered into this with him, and he quoted to the lines of 'Amr b. Ma'dikāri:

O 'Abbas, if our horses had been in good fettle
In Tābāthi you would not have vied with the Huns in my absence.

Tābāthi is a place in their country and shādīr means fat and well formed. By Huns he means B. 'Amir b. Ṣa'ā'a; and by 'Abbas he means 'Abbas b. Mirdas al-Sulami who had raided B. Zubayd in Tābāthi. He quoted me to the verse of Laqīt b. Zurārā al-Dātimi about the battle of Ḏalāla.

Speed, O my horse, the Banū 'Abā are a great people' among the Huns because B. 'Abā were allies of B. 'Amir b. Ṣa'ā'a at the battle of Ḏalāla. This battle was between B. Ḥangāla b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm and B. 'Amir b. Ṣa'ā'a. The victory went to B. 'Amir, and Laqīt was killed, and Ṣā'ib b. Zurārā b. 'Udb was taken prisoner. 'Amr b. 'Amr b. 'Udb b. Zayd b. 'Abdullāh b. Dātim b. Mālik b. Ḥangāla fled, and Ṣā'īr said to al-Farsadqa in reference to him:

'Tis as though you had not seen Laqīt and Ṣā'ib
And 'Amr b. 'Amr when they cried, Help, O Dātim!

Then they met at the battle of Dhu Najāb when Ḏalāla had the better of

¹ The variant billa is noteworthy; cf. Nasa. 666. 17.
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B. 'Amir and Ḥassān b. Muʿāwiyah al-Kindi was slain. He was known as Ibn Kabsha. Yazid b. al-Ṣaʿāq al-Kilābī was taken prisoner and al-Ṭufayl b. Mālik b. Jaʿfar b. Killāb the father of 'Amir b. al-Ṭufayl fled. About him al-Farazdaq said:

Of them was Ṭufayl b. Mālik who delivered On his horse Qurnul a man swift to flee, We smote the head of Ibn Khawwayd, Adding to the owls that haunt a man's grave

To this Jarir replied:

We dyed the crown of Ibn Kabsha. When the cavalry met he encountered a man who shattered his skull. The story of the battles of Jabala and Dhū Najib is too long to be dealt with here for the reasons given when the Sacrelegious War was discussed. 135. Ṭahāq means rebellion and folly, as in the line of Ruʾba b. al-ʿAjīb:

When fever makes the vicious camel mad. [Cf. Dīwān xli. 4.]

This verse occurs in one of his rajaz poems. Ṭahāq also means seeking a thing until you get near it whether you take it or not. The same poet, describing wild asses, says:

Their tails flick and they shudder when they fear they will be overtaken.
The word is also used as a masanif. 'I have borne (rāhibatu) a crime or hardship which you have laid upon me as a heavy burden.' It is used in the Qur'an in the same sense: 'We feared that he would press hardly upon them in rebellion and unbelief' (18. 70): also, 'Do not treat me harshly for what I have done' (18. 72).

136. Al-Ghayrāb was of B. Murra b. ʿAbdu Manāṣ b. Khānāna, brothers of Mudālij b. Murra. She was the mother of the Ghayrābīl whom Abū Ṭālib mentions in his lines:

Foolish are the minds of the people who exchanged us For the Banū Khalaf and the Ghayrābīl.

Ghayrābīl is the name given to her sons among B. Suhm b. ʿAmr b. Ḥusayn.

This is raj, not poetry.

138. Another version is 'A man will cry in eloquent language, saying, There is no God but Allah.'

An authority on poetry recited to me the following lines:

I was amazed at the jinn and their dumbfounding, As they saddled their beasts with their cloths, Making for Mecca, seeking guidance. Believing jinn are not like impure jinn.

A reference to the ancient belief that owls came forth from the skulls of the slain and remained by their graves. The text in Naq. 386, 387 superior.

2 This is the meaning given to mīzād by A. De. (cf. Naq. 835. 4). The rendering given by Well is rightly rejected by the Arabic commentators, though the alteration of管网 'meeting' to dinja 'charmous' seems to be due to someone who gave the more usual meaning of 'loud-voiced' or 'eloquent' to mīzād.

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139. Yastafihān means 'they asked for help.' It also means 'they arbitrated' as in the verse of the Qur'an: 'Our Lord judge between us and our people rightly, thou being the best of judges' (7. 87).


Noble sons of Qayla! None who mingled with them Found faith with their company; Generous, heroes, rejoicing in hospitality, Following the traditions of their fathers as a duty.

141. 'Urzand' means trembling from cold, and shuddering fits; if accompanied by sweating it is the sweat of fever.

142. There is a story about ʿUthmān which I cannot repeat for reasons given above. [See Shuaybī.]

143. These verses really belong to an ode of Umayya b. Abū ʿAlī-Salt, except for the first two, the fifth, and the last verse. The second half of the first verse does not come via ʿI.


145. Another reading is: 'Piety preserves, not pride.' The words 'facing the Ru'ba' are from a traditionist.

146. The first two verses of this poem are attributed to Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt and the last verse occurs in one of his odes. The words 'vain idols' have not I. I.'s authority.

147. The Arabs say tahanmūth and tahanntuf meaning the Ḥanīfte religion, substituting f for th, just as they say jadath and jadaf meaning a grave. Ruʾba b. al-ʿAjīb said:

If my stones were with the other gravestones (ajādīf), meaning ajādīth.

This verse belongs to a rajaz poem of his, and the verse of Abū Ṭālib to an ode by him which I will mention, please God, in the proper place. Abū ʿUbayda told me that the Arabs say fumma instead of thumma.

148. Qaṭī here means a hollow pearl. In one whom I have confidence told me that Gabriel came to the apostle and said, 'Give Khadija greetings from her Lord.' The apostle said, 'O Khadija, Gabriel proclaims peace to you from your Lord.' She replied, 'God is peace, from Him comes peace, and peace be upon Gabriel.'

149. Sajā means 'to be quiet.' Umayya b. Abū ʿAlī-Salt the Ṭaḥqafī (Dīwān xviii) said:

When he came by night my friend was asleep And the night was quiet in blackest gloom
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You can say of the eye when its glance is fixed it is a'sha.

Jarr al-Din said:

They shot you as they went with quiet eyes
Slaying you from between the howlshah curtains.

"A'sha means 'poor'.

Abu Kha'ib al-Hudhali said:

The destitute went to his house in winter
A poor man clad in two garments finding his way by the barking of the dogs.

The plural is 'a'sha and 'mula'id. 'A'sha also means one who has a large family
and one who is afraid; and in the Quran 'That is more likely that you will not
be unjust' (4. 3).

Abu Talib said:

In a just balance he gives full weight of barley.
He is in himself an unerring witness. (See further 175. 17.)

"A'sha also means a tiresome, wearisome thing; you can say, 'this thing has
exhausted me' 'danil, i.e. oppressed and wearied me.

al-Farahad said

You see the most prominent chiefs of Quraysh
Whenever a great misfortune occurs.

250. Some add 'a'talib'.


Hanun b. Hizam b. Khuraylid had come from Syria with a party of slaves among whom was Zayd, then a young man. His aunt, who by that
time was the apostle's wife, came to see him and invited him to come to anyone of the young slaves she liked. She chose Zayd and took him away with her.

When the apostle saw him he asked her to give him to him. She
did so and freed him and adopted him as his son. This was before revelation
came to him.

His father Haritha was exceeding sorrowful at his loss and mourned him
in the following verse:

I wept over Zayd, not knowing what had happened--

Whether he could hope to see him again or whether he was dead.

By God I do not know, even though I ask,

Whether he lies dead on hill or plain.

Would that I knew if thou wouldst ever return!

All that I ask of the world is that thou return to me.

Sunrise reminds me of him; the sunset brings his memory before me.

When the winds blow they stir up thoughts of him.

1 The word murtadah means the man who at nightlimi,lates the barking of dogs so that
if an encampment is near the dogs will wake up his challenge and he can find his way to food
and warmth from the direction their barking gives him. The two ragged garments are the
gown and the waistband, the indispensable minimum.

2 Cf. al-Khasa'i, ed. Bayrudi, p. 3a.

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Long will I grieve and fear for him!
I shall use the best camels in securing the land
Nor weary of searching though the camels tire,
So long as I live till death comes to me.

For all must die, though hope deceives men.

Then he came to him while he was with the apostle, who told Zayd that he
could stay with him or if he preferred go away with his father. He replied
that he would certainly stay with him, and he remained with the apostle until
God made him His prophet, when he believed in him, prayed with him, and
became a Muslim. When God revealed 'name them after their fathers'
(Sura 33. 5) he said, 'I am Zayd b. Haritha.'

152. Abu Bakr's name was 'Abdullah. He was called 'Ashiq because of his
fine handsome face.

153. The words 'at his invitation' are not from I.I. 'ahama 'hold back'
means talaabuth 'delay', as in the line of Ru'ba b. al-A'jis:

Wadhab took her away and delayed not ('ahama).

154. This letter was of B. Tamam; others say of Khuzay'a.

155. Al-Qasr was his nickname; it is said of them

Those who challenged the Quraish at shooting played them fair

They were a tribe of recham.

156. 'Ariz b. Wa'il was the brother of Bakr b. Rabii' b. Nizar.

157. The reason he was called al-Nasham was because the apostle said
'I heard his singing in Paradise.' His nasam means his voice.

158. He had been born a slave among al-Aas; he was a black and Abu Bakr
bought him from them.

159. Of Hunayna.

260. His name was Mihsham b. 'Utba b. Rabii', b. Lu'ayy.

261. Bahila bought him and sold him to al-Khastab b. Nufayr who adopted
him; but when God revealed, 'Call them after their fathers' names,' he said,
'I am Wajib b. Abdullah,' according to what Abu 'Amr al-Madani said.

262. 'Ammir was an 'Ansi from Madhibi.

263. Namir was the son of Qasit b. Hishb b. Afsa b. Jadila b. Asad b. Rabii'
b. Nizar; some say of Afsa b. Du'mil b. Jadila. It is said that Shu'ayb was
the freedman of Abdullah b. Jusfin b. 'Amir b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. 'Atayn. It is
also said that he was a Greek. One of those who maintain that he was from
al-Namir b. Qasit said that he was a prisoner in Byzantine territory and was
bought from them. There is a tradition of the prophet which runs: 'Shu'ayb
is the first of the Greeks' (cf. to accept Islam).

264. Shada means 'distinguish between truth and falsehood'. Abu Dhu'ayb
al-Hudhail whose name was Khuwaylid b. Khālid, describing wild asses and their mates, said:

It was as though they were a bundle of gaming arrows
And a shuffler thereof dealing out the arrows and proclaiming what he produced.

i.e. distinguishing the arrows and making their shares clear. [The allusion is to the game of nasyir which was popular among the ancient Arabs. See Mufālī. 853, 17.]

Ru'ba al-'Ajīj said:

You are the clement and the avenging prince
Declaring the truth and driving away the wrongdoer.

165. Abū Sufyān's name was Ṣakhir.


167. I have left out two verses in which he violently insulted him.

168. A variant reading is 'his root is in copious water'.

169. 'Anid means 'obstructive opponent' as in the line of Ru'ba b. al-'Ajīj:

We were smiting the head of the obstinate ('ummad).

170. ḍaba'na means 'he had an angry expression' as in the words of al-'Ajīj:

Firm in jaw, angry in visage, a biter, describing a forbidding face.

171. The singular of ʿaṭa'īn is ʿaṭa. You say 'aḍḍuha, meaning 'they divided it' as in the line of Ru'ba:

The religion of God is not divided.

172. This is as much of the ode as seems to me to be genuine; many competent authorities on verse deny the authenticity of most of it.

A man I can trust told me that in a year of drought the people of Medina came to the apostle and complained of their trouble. He mounted the pulpit and prayed for rain. Hardly had the rain begun than the people living in exposed districts came to complain that they were inundated. The apostle said: 'O God, turn us back, not on us!' Thereupon the clouds moved away from the town itself and encircled it like a crown. The apostle said, 'If Abū Ṭālib could but have seen this day how he would have rejoiced!' One of his companions said, 'I suppose you refer to his line:

A noble man for whose sake the clouds drop rain,
The support of orphans and the defence of widows,

and he said 'Quite so.'

The expression 'its bushes' is not from 1.1.

173. He was called al-Ākhūnas because he withdrew (khanasta) with the people at the battle of Badr. Of course his name was Ubayy; he came from B. Ilāj b. Abū Sa'leh b. 'Auf b. 'Uqba

174. The words 'allied themselves with treacherous people against us' refer to B. Bākr b. 'Abdu Manṣūr b. Kūrās. These are the Arabs whom Abū Ṭālib mentions in his verse above. [See p. 127, n. 4.]

175. III relates Abū Qays here to B. Wāqīf, whereas in the story of the elephant he is related to Khaṭma. The reason is that the Arabs often relate a brother of his grandfather if he happens to be better known.

Abū 'Ubayda told me that al-Ḥākam b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī was of the sons of Nu'ayla, brother of Ghifār b. Mulayl. Nu'ayla was the son of Mulayl b. Damr b. Bākr b. 'Abdu Manṣūr. They had said that 'Uba was the son of Ghanwān al-Sulami, he being of the sons of Māzin b. Maṣār; Sulaym was I. Maṣūr. Abū Qays was of B. Wā'il; Wā'il, Wāqīf, and Khaṭma are brothers of al-Aus.

176. The line 'tis as water poured at random,' and the verse 'if you buy spears', &c., and 'men's Lord has chosen a religion' and 'his cavalry was in the plains' were quoted to me by Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī and others. As to his words 'Know you not what happened in the war of Dāhiš?' Abū 'Ubayda told me that Dāhiš was a horse belonging to Qays b. Zuhayr b. Jadhīma b. Rawāḥa b. Rubā'ī b. al-Hārith b. Māzin b. Qutay'a b. 'Abīs b. Baghiḍ b. Rayth b. Ghatafān which he raced against a mare of Hudhayfa b. Badr b. 'Amr b. Zayd b. Ju'ayyā b. Lauḍān b. Thahā'a b. 'Adiy b. Fazārā b. Dhubyān b. Baghiḍ b. Rayth b. Ghatafān called al-Ghabrā'. Hudhayfa hid some of his men in ambush and ordered them to hit Dāhiš in the face if they saw him taking the lead. This is precisely what happened, and so Ghabrā' came in first. When the rider of Dāhiš came in he told Qays what had happened, and his brother Mālik b. Zuhayr got up and slapped al-Ghabrā' in the face, whereupon Hamal b. Badr got up and slapped Mālik's face. Afterwards Abū 'U Juyaydī al-'Abī fell in with 'Auf b. Hudhayfa and killed him; then a man of the B. Fazārī met Mālik and killed him, and Hamal, Hudhayfa's brother, said:

We have killed Mālik in revenge for 'Auf
If you try to get more than your due from us you will be sorry

Al-Rabi' b. Ziyād al-'Abī said:

After Mālik b. Zuhayr has been killed,
Can women hope for carnal delights?!

Thus war broke out between 'Abs and Fazārā, and Hudhayfa b. Badr and his brother Hamal were killed. Qays b. Zuhayr was grieved and composed an elegy on him:

How many a knight who is no knight is called (to war)
But at al-Habīb there was a true knight.
So weep for Hudhayfa; you will not mourn his like
Until tribes not yet born shall have perished.

He also said:

The young man Hamal b. Badr did wrong,
And injustice is an evil food.

i.e. War will break out and then sexual relations will be taboo.
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Al-Harith b. Zuhayr the brother of Qays said:

I left at al-Haba'a without pride
Hudhayfa's body 'mid the broken spears.

Some say that Qays raced the horses Dahi'a and al-Ghabra', while Hudhayfa raced al-Khaatbar and al-Hanafa'; but the first account is the sounder. I cannot go into the story further because it interrupts the apostle's biography. As to the words 'war of Hāthib' the reference is to Hāthib b. al-Hārith b. Qays b. Haysha b. al-Hārith b. Umayya b. Mu'āwiya b. Malik b. 'Auf b. 'Amr b. 'Auf b. Malik b. al-Aus who had killed a Jew under the protection of al-Khazraj. So Yazid b. al-Hārith b. Qays b. Malik b. Aḥmar b. Hāritha b. Thā'labā b. Kā'b b. al-Khazraj b. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj known as Ibn Fusham from his mother Fusham, a woman of al-Qayn b. Jar, went out by night with a number of B. Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj and killed Hāthib. Thus war broke out between al-Aus and al-Khazraj and was waged bitterly until victory went to al-Khazraj. Suwayd b. Šāmir b. Khalid b. Āriyya b. Ḥārū b. Ḥabīr b. 'Amm b. 'Auf b. Malik b. al-Aus was killed by al-Muṣjadhirī b. Dhīyād al-Balawi whose name was 'Abdullah, an ally of B. 'Auf b. al-Khazraj. Al-Muṣjadhirī went out with the apostle to the battle of Ubud and al-Hārith b. Suwayd went out with him. Al-Hārith took al-Muṣjadhirī off his guard and killed him in revenge for his father. (I shall mention the story in its proper place if God will.) I cannot go into the details of the war which followed for the reasons which have been given already.

177. A learned traditionist told me that the worst treatment that the apostle met from Quraysh was one day when he went out and everyone that met him, free or slave, called him a liar and insulted him. He returned to his house and wrapped himself up because of the violence of the shock. Then God revealed to him, 'O thou that art unwrapped, Rass and warn!' (Surah 74).

178. Others put 'Alqama and Kalada in reverse order.

179. He it is who according to my information said, 'I will send down something like what God has sent down.'

180. ḍōbā'īm nasfah means 'committing suicide' according to what Abū 'Ubayda told me. Dūdil-Rumma said:

O thou that destroyest thyself
In longing for that which fate has taken from thee.

The plural is bābā'īn and bāakhā'a. The Arabic say 'I have impressed (bakhā'a) my advice upon him, i.e. I have laboured so to do.

181. Su'id means 'the ground'; pl. μ'ad. Dūdil-Rumma, describing a little gazelle, said:

In the morning it leapt daily over the ground
As though wine coursed through the very bones of its head.

Su'id also means 'the way', as you find in the tradition 'Beware of sitting by the wayside' meaning the road. The word jūrur means 'barren land', pl. ajīrās. You can say tāma jūrur, 'a barren year', and sinuma ajīrās, i.e. yours in

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which no rain falls, and drought, desolation, and hardship result. The same poet describing camels wrote:

Their bellies contain naught but disease and barrenness.
They are nothing but inflated bones.

182. Rasūm is the book in which their story was inscribed (ruqīma), pl. ruqūm. Al-'Aṣiṣāi said:

The place of the inscribed volume (muraqqa'īm).

183. Shatari means 'exaggeration and going beyond what is right'. Ašā'ī of B. Qays b. Thā'labā said:

They will not cease, nothing will halt the wicked.
But a turban in which the oil and the wick perish.
[i.e. a deadly wound. Dimān, ed. R. Geyer, xlvii. 1. 1, beginning hal not la as here].

184. Tarāmara means 'to incline' from sār. Iṣrul-Qays b. Ḥujr said:

I am a chief; if I return a king
'Twill be in such a way as to make the guide appear to be going astray.

Ahni'Zaḥī al-Kulaybī describing a district said:

The coarse salt herbage is not what we want.
To do without water for five days makes the camels thin.

Taqārid al-ḥālāt i-šimālī means passing them and leaving them on the left. Dūdil-Rumma said:

'To howards which passed by the sand-duunes of Mushāfi',
'To the left while on their right are the horsemen.'

[A.Dh. says that fasādīs means sandhills.]

Fasāda means 'space', pl. fīṣā, as the poet says

You clothed your people with the shame and desolation
Until they became outlaws and foresook the space where their dwelling was.

185. Wāsīd means 'a door'. 'Ubayd b. Wāḥib al-'Abī said:

In a desert land its door wide open to me
In which my merits are not unknown.

Wāsīd also means 'courtyard'. Plurals wasādī, wasād, wasādān, and wasād and usād.

186. His name was Alexander. He built Alexandria and it was named after him.

187. Yarnāl means 'water which bursts forth from the earth'. The plural is yarmāt. Ibn Harma, whose name was 'Irāḥīm b. 'Alī al-Fīhrī, said:

If you shed a tear in every dwelling
Their source would dry, but your tears would be a spring (yarnāl).
Kuaf means ‘portions of punishment’. The singular is kisfa, like sidra; it is also the singular of kisf. Qabil is that which is opposite before the eyes; compare God’s saying, ‘Punishment will come to them straight in their faces’, i.e. visibly (Sūra 18: 53).

Abū ‘Ubayda quoted to me the lines of A’ishah of the Banū Qays:

I will befriend you until you do the same again,
Like the cry of the woman in travail, whom her midwife helps.1

She is thus called because she faces her and receives her child. Qabil with the plural qabil means ‘gathering’, as in the Quran, ‘We will gather them everything in groups’ (Sūra 6: 111). The plural is like sabal and sawr and quran, all of the fa‘il form. Qabil also occurs in a proverb: ‘He does not know the corner from the goer’, i.e. he does not know how to distinguish what is coming forward from what is going back. Al-Kumayt b. Zayd said, ‘Affairs were so divided in their view that they could not tell the corner from the goer.’ It is said that by this word qabil is meant ‘a thread’. What is twisted towards the forearm is the qabil, and what is twisted towards the ends of the fingers is the dabir, so called because it comes forward and goes back, as I have explained. It is said that the thread of the spindle when it is twisted towards the knee is the qabil, and when it is twisted towards the thigh it is the dabir. Qabil also is used of a man’s tribe. Zuhairf means ‘gold’. Musukhraf means ‘adorned with gold’ Al-Ajaj said: ‘A ruined house, whose outlines you would think was a book, gilded and illuminated - You can call any ornamented thing musukhraf.

188. Naʃfa’an means ‘we will seize and drag’, as the poet said:

A people, who when they hear a cry for help,
You see them briding their mares or taking hold of their forelocks.

The nādī means ‘the meeting place in which people gather together and settle their affairs’ as in the book of God, ‘And commit not wickedness in your assembly’. Another form of the word is naddī. ‘Abīd b. al-‘Abrās said:

Look to your own affairs, for I belong to the Banū Asad,
A people of assemblies, generosity, and meetings.

And in the book of God, ‘and the best as a company’ (19: 74). The plural is anṣiya. ‘Let him call his gang’ is like the expression ‘ask the city’ (12: 82), meaning, of course, the people of the city.

Salama b. Jandal, one of B. Sa‘d b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm said:

There were two days, one a day of conference and meetings, And a day given up to a foray against the enemy.

And Al-Kumayt b. Zayd said:

No verbose prattlers in the assembly
And none silent under duress.2

1 See A. D. H. But cf. Geyer’s Dictum of al-‘Aqā (Gibb Memorial Series), 124, where the reading is qabil (not qabil) and where the unknown exponent (cf. pp. xviii) shows that the context demands an oath: ‘I will not befriend you’; tabī‘a, he says, means ta‘lanfū.
2 Inasmuch as amāre is both transitive and intransitive it would be possible to translate by ‘not silencing others by violence.

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Nādī means ‘those sitting together’ and zabāniya means ‘rough, violent people’, and in this context ‘the guardians of hell’. In reference to this world it means ‘the troops who act as a man’s bodyguard’, and the singular is zabāni.

Ibn al-Zubair’s said in reference to them:

Lavish in hospitality, thrusting in battle;
Zabāniya, violent, coarse are their minds.

He means ‘violent’. Šakhr b. Abdullah al-Hudhali, the ‘erring Šakhr’, said:

And of Kabir is a number of dare-devils.


190. ‘Uthmān b. Maq‘ūn was in charge of them according to the information a traditionist gave me.

191. Humayna.

192. Mu‘awiyah belonged to Daus.


194. Shammās’s name was ‘Uthmān. He was called Shammās for the reason that a dowry came to Mecca in pagan times, a man so handsome as to excite general admiration. ‘Uth b. Rabī’sa, who was the maternal uncle of Shammās, said, ‘I will bring you a Shammās no more handsome than he; and he fetched his sister’s son ‘Uthmān b. ‘Uthmān, and so he was called Shammās according to what I. Shi‘ah and others said.


198. Sa‘d b. Khālil was from the Yamān.

199. Another reading is al-bur ‘great wealth’, and tāwī ‘you may pasture at will’. Dabīr in Abyssinian means ‘mountain’.

200. A traditionist told me that his son added, ‘May God reward him well’, to which he replied, ‘May God not reward him well’ [presumably because he was not a Muslim].

201. And, it is said, al-Nujjār b. al-‘Hārith.

202. Tabbat means ‘be lost’ and tabūb means ‘lose’.

Hāḥib b. Khudār al-Khāribī, one of B. Ḥillis b. Ṭāmīr b. Ṣa‘ī‘a’s, said:

O Tib, we are among a people
Whose glory has departed in death and destruction (tabāb).

1 Kabir was a clan of Hudhayl. Cf. Kosegarten 10: a. 3 
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203. *Jid* means 'neck', as in the verse of 'Ašā of B. Qays:

The day that Qutayla showed us a lovely neck
Which necklaces adorned

[Dinās, p. 140. 6 (with unimportant variants)]. The plural is *ajājd*. *Masad* is fibre crushed like cotton, and rope is twisted from it. Al-Nābiha al-
Dhuhaylīd whose name was Ziyād b. 'Amr b. Mu'āwiyah said:

Many a fat young mare has a tooth
Which has a sound like the waterwheel and the rope.\(^1\)
The singular is *masada*.

204. The words 'his religion we loathe and hate' are not from I.I.

205. *Humaza* is one who insults a man publicly. He shuts his eyes upon him and winks at him. Ḥassān b. Thabit said:

I hit into you with a rhyme that burnt like fire
And you grovelled in humiliation.\(^4\)

**Plural humazāt.** *Humaza* is one who insults a man secretly. RuMa b. al-
Ja'jāj said:

In the shadow of him who oppresses, despises, and slanders me.

Plural *humaza*.

206. *Affāk* means 'liar'. Cf. 'Lo, it is of their lying that they say God has begotten. Verily they tell a lie' (Sūra 37. 151). RuMa said:

Not of a man who uttered a lying speech.

207. The *ḥabab* of Gēhenna is everything that is kindled in it. Abū Dhu'ayb al-
Hadhalī whose name was Khūwaylid b. Khālid said:

Quench, do not kindle, and do not feed the flame
Of war lest its horrors hasten on you.

Another reading is 'And do not be the fire-stick' [the equivalent of our poker.

*Diwān* xxx, C. 6]. As the poet says:

I stirred up my fire for him and he saw the blaze.

Unless I had stirred it he would have missed the way.

208. *Muhl* means molten bronze or lead or any other metal, according to what Abū Uba'aydah told me. We were told that al-
Haṣan b. Abūl-
Haṣan al-
Bāṣrī said: 'Abdullāh b. Mu'ā'[id was put in charge of the treasury of Kūfah by 'Umar. One day he ordered silver to be melted down, and it began to change its colour, so he ordered everyone who was near the door to come

\(^1\) The *ajājd* are seen as a symbol of love and affection, often depicted in the art of the time. The phrase " Many a fat young mare has a tooth Which has a sound like the waterwheel and the rope."

\(^4\) The poet Thabit is known for his humility and his ability to handle criticism with grace. His line "I hit into you with a rhyme that burnt like fire And you grovelled in humiliation." reflects his response to such attacks.

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in and look at it, saying, "The nearest thing to *muhl* which you will ever see is this."

The poet said:

My Lord will give him molten metal to swallow at a draught.
It will shrivel the faces while it is molten in his belly.

It is said that *muhl* also means pus. I have been told that Abū Bakr was when he was at the point of death ordered that two old garments should be washed and that he should be wrapped in them. 'Aśā said to him, "My dear father, Allah has so enriched you that you do not need them, so buy a shroud." He answered: "It will be only an hour until it becomes pus."

The poet said:

He mingled loathsome pus from it with water
Then he drank death draught after draught.\(^3\)

209. I. Umm Mukātūn was one of B. 'Amr b. Lu'ayy whose name was 'Abdullāh, or, according to some, 'Amr.

210. *Nubri* means 'plunder'. I have omitted the last verse.

211. They were all confederates and were called Abābih because they had made an alliance in a valley called al-
Abābis below Mecca.

212. A traditionist told me that the apostle said to Abū Ṭalīb, O uncle, Allah my Lord has given worms power over the Quraysh document. They have left every name of God in it and destroyed the injustice, boycott, and malice. He said, 'Did your Lord tell you of this?' and when he said that He had, he was amazed because none had come to see him. Immediately he went and told Quraysh what Muhammad had said and enjoined them to look to their document. 'If it is as my nephew says, then end your boycott and your course of action; if he is lying I hand him over to you.' The people were satisfied with this offer and bound themselves accordingly. On inspection they found that the apostle was right; but this increased their malice. Thereupon a number of Quraysh took steps, which have just been recorded, to destroy the boycott.

213. The word 'both' (in v. 2) is not from I.I. As to the words 'you protected God's apostle from them' the point is this: When the apostle departed from al-
Ijāf' having failed to convert its people, he went to Hiira'. Then he sent to al-
Akhbas b. Shariq to ask his protection. He replied that he was a *hulil siftage could not be performed on it. A friend was not needed to understand it. The poet said, "He mingled loathsome pus from it with water Then he drank death draught after draught."

\(^3\) The *hulil* is often rendered 'shally', was a refuge protected by a solemn covenant and oath, so that the *fār* was often a *hulil*. A fugitive, though admitted to a tribe, could not set in the name of the tribe and give a protection which would be upheld by every other member. Thus al-
Akhbas's reply was perfectly correct.
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prayed there. Then he went to his house. That is what Ḥassān is referring to. [This is an abbreviation of I.I.'s account in T. 1203.]

214. Ḥishām was one of Suhām or Sukhām.

215. Or himū.

216. **AL-ʿΑḤĀ OF THE BANU QAYS B. THAʿLĀBA**

Khālid b. Qurra b. Khālid al-Ṣaadāf and other shaykhs of Bakr b. Wa'll from scholars told me that al-ʿĀḥā of B. Qays b. Thaʿlāba b. ʿUkāba b. Ṣaʿb b. ʿAll b. Bakr b. Wāl went to the apostle desiring to accept Islam and composed the following poem in praise of the apostle:1

Did your sore eyes not close the night
You lay sleepless as though a snake had bitten you?
'Twas not for desire of women, for before this
You had forgotten the society of Mahdad.
But I see that Time the deceiver
Destroys again what my hands have repaired.
Youth, maturity, and wealth I've lost.
In God's name, how this 'Time does change!
Ever since I was young have I sought wealth
In all four stages of man's growth.
I made full use of the swift ruminant camels
Racing across the land between al-Nuṣayr and ʿAṣkhād.
If you ask about me (and **many an importunate**
Asia about ʿĀḥā) whither he has gone
O you who ask me whither they are going,
I tell you they have a meeting with the people of Medina.
She urges forward her swift hindlegs,
Folding back her forelegs but not as though hobbled,
In the noonday's savage heat she's frisky.
When you'd think the chameleon would sink his head.2
I swore I would not spare her fatigue
Or footsoreness till we met Muhammad.
When she kneels at the door of Ḥishām's son
She may rest and partake of his bounteous.
A prophet who sees what you cannot see,
Whose reputation has reached the lowlands and the hills.
His gifts and presents are not interminable:
If he gives today it does not stop him giving tomorrow.
I adjure thee, did you not hear the counsel of Muhammad
The prophet of God when he counselled and witnessed!
If you do not travel with provision of piety
And after death meet one who has taken such provision
You will regret that you are not like him

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Ibn Hishām's Notes

With preparation such as he has made.
Beware of the bodies of animals—touch them not,
Bleed them not with an iron arrow.
Do not venerate standing stones
Nor worship idols, but worship God.
Come not near a free woman—she is unlawful to you.
Marry or remain celibate.
Wrong not your kinsman
Nor the prisoner in bonds.
Glorify God night and morning.
Praise God and not Satan.
Mock not the poor man in his need,
Nor think that wealth can make a man immortal.3

When he was near Mecca or actually in it one of the heathen Qunaysh met him and he told him that he was making for the apostle of God to adopt Islam. He said to him, 'O ʿAbū Buṣīr, he prohibits fornication!' Al-ʿĀḥā replied, 'But that's something I've no desire for.' 'Ah, but he forbids wine!' 'Now that's something that I still take pleasure in. I will go away and drink long and deeply for a year and then return and accept Islam.' So he went away and died in the year, so that he did not return to the apostle.

217. Some say Irīsha.

218. *Yahdisina ilayhi* means 'incline to' and *ilhad* is 'inclining away from the truth', Ruʿba b. al-ʿAjīb said:

When every heretic (mulhid) followed al-Ḍahhāk.

**Al-Ḍahhāk the Khairātīte.**

219. The owner of Mulhūb was 'Aʿuf b. al-ʿAwās b. Jaʿfar b. Kīlab who died in Mulhūb. When he says 'at al-Riḍā' is the house of another great man he means Shurayh b. al-ʿAwās who died in al-Riḍā'. By Kauṭār he means kathīr, for the former is derived from the latter. Al-Kumayt b. Zayd said in praise of Hishām b. 'Abdull-Malik b. Mawwān:

You are kathīr, O Ibn Marwān, good;
And your father, the son of noble women, was great (kauṭār).

Umayyā b. ʿAbū ʿĀlid al-Hudhali describing a wild ass said:

He protects his females when they run
And stray in clouds of dust as though covered with a cloth.

By kauṭār he means a cloud of dust which he likens to horsecloths because of its density.


221. The following description of the apostle comes from 'Umar, freedman of Qhīṣa from Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad b. ʿAli b. ʿAbū ʿTālib, ʿAli used to

It will be observed that Ibn Ḥishām knows nothing about this poem which, especially in its later verses, falls below the high standard of Arabic verse. For enlightened Arab criticism see Tā ʿAlī al-Juwaynī, *Fi Al-Adab al-ʿArabī*, p. 248.

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1 See Gedichte von Abū Bāṣīr Mawāmin b. Qays al-ʿĀḥā . . ., ed. Rudolf Geyer (Gibb Memorial Series), London, 1928, pp. 101 f. I have transposed verses 7 and 8 in the text of the Sūra, as the order of the Sūra is obviously right. The text will repay collation.

2 This creature is said to face the sun throughout its daily course, and at noon it would (and should) peer up at the sky.
say when he described the apostle: 'He was neither too tall nor unduly short but of normal height; his hair was not too curly nor lank, but definitely curly; his face was not fat nor round; it was white tinged with red; his eyes were black, fringed with long lashes; he was firmly knit and broad Shouldered; the hair on his body was fine, thick on hands and feet. When he walked he picked his feet up smartly as though he were going down hill, when he turned he turned his whole body; between his shoulders was the seal of prophecy, he being the seal of all the prophets. He was the most generous of men, the boldest, most veracious, most faithful to his undertaking; the gentlest, with easy manners, the noblest in social intercourse. Those who saw him for the first time were overcome with awe; those who knew him well loved him. Neither before nor after him have I seen his like. God bless and preserve him.'


223. I have omitted a verse which is obscure.

224. Abu 'Ubayda told me that the woman who stood up in defence of Dihār was Umun Janil; and since others say it was Umun Ghaylān, it may well be that both played their part with the other women who were there. When Umar came to power Umun Janil came to him, for she thought that he was to become the Prophet. When her genealogy had been given she knew her story and said to him, 'I am not his bride except in Islam. He is now in active service. I know how much he owes you.' So he made her a gift as though she were a traveller. The narrator says: I. H. said, Dihār had met Umar at the battle of Badr when he began to beat him with the flat of his sword saying, 'Be off with you, I. al-Khaṭṭāb, I will not kill you.' Umar remembered this in his favour after he had become a Muslim. [This is a passage which W. relegated to his critical notes, but C. prints it without comment. The expression 'The narrator (nāmi) said' is unique in the Sira and therefore to be suspected; on the other hand, the story rings true.]

225. 'Abid b. al-Abras said:

News came to me from Tamīm that they
Were ignignant and wrathful at the slaying of 'Amir.

See Dīwān of Abīd, ed. Sir Charles Lyall, 1913, p. 16. Considerable uncertainty about the word dha'irāt prevails. [Commentators, ancient and modern, differ. The reading of the Dīwān and Ṭ. tughaltdābī seems preferable to C.'s ta' asābū]. W. has tasʿalā 'ābdī, 'found it hard to bear'.

226. Rabī'ī b. 'Abbad is the correct form.

227. Al-Nabigha said:

As though you were a camel of the Banū Uqaysh
With an old skin rattling behind your legs
(to scare it into movement).


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230. Others say 'Amīr b. al-Azaq; 'Amr b. al-Aṣwād. He had no son called Ghannām.
232. Dhakhwān was an emigrant and a helper.
233. They were called Qawāqil because whenever anyone asked for their protection they used to say as they handed him an arrow, 'Walk where you like in Yathrib with it.' Qawāqil means a way of walking.
234. Tawiyhān can be spelt Tawiyhān like mayyāt and mayt.
235. Zafar's name was Ka'b b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khaẓaj b. 'Amr b. Mālik b. al-Aus.
236. The two verses beginning 'we're it not' and the last line were quoted to me by a man of the Ḥarb or a man of Khuzay'ā.
237. 'Amīr b. Ayyāb al-Andārī said:

To us belongs the man who was the first to pray
Facing the Rāhīmān's Ka'bā between the sacred sites.

meaning al-barā' b. Ma'rūr.
238. Ḥānī can be read ḥudān, meaning sanctity; i.e. what is sacred to you is sacred to me and your 'blood' is my blood.
239. He was Ghannām b. 'Auf, brother of Sālim b. 'Auf b. 'Amīr b. 'Auf.
240. Though some say the last name should be b. Khunays.
241. The learned number among them Abū'l-Haythām b. al-Tawīyān, but they do not include Rīfā'ī.

Ka'b b. Mālik mentions them in the poem which Abū Zayd al-Andārī quoted to me:

Tell Ubayd that his opinion was false.
He died on the morning of the gully1 and death is inevitable.
May God refuse what your soul desires.
He sees and hears as He watches the affairs of men.
Tell Abū Sufyān that there appeared to us
A shining light of God's guidance in Ahmad.
Don't be too eager in gathering what you want,
But gather whatever you can.
Beware! Know that when the tribe gave their allegiance2
They refused to allow you to break our covenant.
Both al-Barā' and Ibn 'Amīr refused,
As did also As'ad and Rāfī'.
Sa'd b. Sa'di refused and Mundhir
Would cut off your nose if you attempted it.

1 i.e. where fealty was sworn; v.t.
2 Or, 'when they followed one after the other'. This is one of the forger's favourite words.
Ibn Rabi' if you got his word
Would not surrender him. Let none hope for that.
Likewise Ibn Rawāh would not give him up to you.
He would rather drink deadly poison than perjure himself
In loyalty to him. And al-Quāqīl b. Sāmit
Is far from doing what you propose.
Abū Ḥaytham also was faithful.
Bound by his word.
You cannot hope to get Ibn Ḥujayr's help.
Why don't you abandon your foolish error?
Sa'd the brother of 'Amr b. 'Aufl is utterly opposed to your suggestion.
These are stars which will bring you ill fortune
When they rise in the darkness of the night.

Thus Ka'b mentions Abū'l-Haytham among them, but he passes over Rifa'a.

242. Sa'dīl was a woman of Khuzā'a named Umām Ubayy b. Mālik b. al-

243. The name is also written I. Uṣayb

244. The man who took pity on him was Abūl-Bakhtārī b. Hāšām.

244a. For ḥāṣār ḥariyyan some say ḥāṣā ḥariyyan.

245. The name is sometimes spelt Za'araṣī.

246. I.I. relates it to B. 'Amr b. 'Aufl, but he was of B. Ghanm b. al-
Sālim. It often happens that when a man lives among a tribe he is supposed to be
related to them.

247. Or Umāyya b. al-Bark.


250. The genealogy of Ghazīya should be Ghazīya b. 'Amr b. 'Adīya b Khānsāl.

251. Some say Wāṭīf.

252. Some spell the name Jabbār.

253. Ṣayfī was J. Aswād b. 'Abhād b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. Sawād. Sawād had no son called Ghanm.

254. 'Uṣayb was the son of al-Hārith b. Labād b. Tha'labā.

255. The Aus referred to above was J. Abbad b. 'Adīya b. Ka'b b. 'Amr b. Udham b. Sa'd. (For Udham W. has Udāy.)

256. His ancestor Ghanm b. 'Aufl was the brother of Sālim b. 'Aufl b. 'Amr b. 'Aufl.

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257. al-Hublā was Sālim b. Ghanm b. 'Aufl and he got the name from his big belly. [See S. in loc.]


259. al-Mundhir was the son of 'Amr b. Khānāsh.

260. This verse really comes from an ode of Abū Du‘ūd al-‘Idārī. The word ḥiṣā means 'painful distress'. Some manuscripts add 'in another context
"need" is the meaning; the word also means "sin".'

261. The word qull means 'one', as in the line of Labād b. Rabi'a:

'The fate of every freeborn man is one
However many they be.'

(Dinaw, Chālīdī, 19.)

262. Others say Ǧumayrā.

263. The words 'anywhere but to Yathrib' and 'when friendship is lacking'
are not from I.I. By ṣalū its means ṣalū when seen as in the word of Allahs
(Sūra 34. 30) 'idh the sinners are stationed before their Lord', Abū Najīm
al-‘Iṣhrī said:

'Then may God reward him for us when He awards
The gardens of Eden in highest heaven.

264. One I can trust told me that the apostle said when he was in Medina: 'Who
will bring me 'Ayyāb and Hishām?' Al-Walīd b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughira
volunteered to do so and came to Mecca secretly. He met a woman carrying
some food and asked her where she was going. She said that she was going
to two prisoners, and he followed her so that he could learn where they were.
He found that they were in a house which had no roof, and when night fell
he climbed the wall; then he took a stone and put it under their fetters and
cut them through with a stroke of his sword. For this reason his sword was
called 'the stone-cutter'. Then he mounted them on his camel and led them
away. He stumbled and cut his toe and said:

'You are naught but a toe that bled.
This has happened to you in the way of Allah.'

Then he took them to the apostle in Medina [W. ascribes this passage to
I.I. himself]


266. It was mentioned to me that Abū 'Uthmān al-Nahdi said that he had
heard that when Ṣuhāy b wanted to emigrate the unbelieving Quraysh said,
'You came to us a penniless beggar and have acquired wealth among us,
and then you think that you can go off with your money. By God, that shall
not be!' However, Ṣuhāy b was so eager to be off that he made his money
over to them, and when the apostle heard of it he exclaimed twice: 'Ṣuhāy has
made a profit!'
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267. Or Ḥusayn.

268. Ṣālim was the former slave of Thubaytah d. Ya'ār b. Zayd b. 'Ubayd b. Zayd b. Malik b. 'Auf b. 'Amr b. 'Auf b. Malik b. al-Aus. When he freed him he was attached to Abū Ḥudhayfa, who adopted him. Others call him Sālim, freedman of Abū Ḥudhayfa; and it is said that Thubaytah was the wife of the latter and that she freed him and so he got the name of Abū Ḥudhayfa's freedman.


270. A learned traditionist told me that al-Hasan b. Abū'l-Hasan al-Baṣrī said that when they came to the cave at night Abū Bakr went in and searched it to see if it harboured wild beasts or snakes, guarding the apostle with his own life.

271. I have heard more than one learned traditionist say 'She of the two girdles', the explanation being that she wanted to fasten on the bag she wore her girdle in two, using one piece as a rope and the other as her girdle.

272. Umar Ma‘bad belonged to B. Kā‘b of Khuzā‘a. The words 'who rested in the two tents' and 'they came with good intent and went off at nightfall' do not come from I.I. [However, T. (140-1) who often ignores I.I.'s verses quotes these lines with a few variations as does I.S. 156. 17.]

273. Others say 'Abdullah b. Urayqīt

274. 'Abdu'l-Rahmān was I. al-Ḥārith b. Malik b. Ju‘shum.

275. Others say Lift, as in the line of Ma‘qil b. Khuwaylid al-Hudalī: A stranger from the people of Lift drawing milk For a clan between Athla and Nihām.

276. Or Miṣr.

277. Or al-'Adwa‘yin.

278. Or al-‘Abābīr or al-‘Ithiā‘ās which means al-‘Abābih.

279. Or al-Qāha.

280. Or al-Ghā‘ir.

281. This is no rajaz but bald prose. [Few will be found to dispute this statement?]

282. I asked more than one authority on poetry about this rajaz and all they would say was that they had heard that 'Ali composed it, but it was not known whether he had or not.

Ibn Hishām's Notes

283. The mufārah is one burdened with debt and a large family as the poet says:

If you never return what has been left in your care
And take charge of more property the trust-money will make you a pauper.

284. Another version is 'in beneficent loyalty'. Ṭāriq means 'to destroy' or 'ruin'.

285. Jā‘far at that time was absent in Abyssinia.

286. I have heard more than one learned person say that Abū Dharr was Junuk b. Junā‘a.

287. Some say ‘Uwaymir was the son of ‘Amīr or of Zayd

288. I. Jurajj mentioned that ‘At‘ā said to him: 'I heard ‘Ubayd b. Ṣam‘yar al-Laythi: The prophet and his companions had conferred about a clapper for summoning to prayer and while ‘Umar was intending to buy two pieces of wood for the clapper he heard in his sleep a voice saying, 'Don't make a clapper but call to prayer'. So he went to the apostle to tell him of what he had seen and the prophet himself had actually had a revelation of it. ‘Umar had hardly got back to his house when Bilāl was calling. When he told the apostle of this he said, 'Revelation got before you!'"


290. There is a variant farfudhīn for farfudhānū.

291. The line beginning 'Go where you will' and the following verse are the work of ʿUthmān al-Taghīḥī who was Ṣuraym b. Ma‘shār.

292. Or Luṣayt.

293. Or I. ʿAdyī.

294. Or Ḵāzār b. Ḵāzār.

295. Alhumas means 'painful'. Describing camels Dḥ’tl-Rumma said:

We urge on the tall camels
While the painful heat of noon smites them in the face. [Dīwān lxxvi. 16.]

291. al-Mujadhīdīr had killed Suwayd b. Sā‘īn in one of the engagements between Aus and Khazraj, and at Ḫudud al-Ḥārīth sought to take al-Mujadhdhar unaware to kill him in revenge for his father. It was only this man that he killed. I have heard more than one learned traditionist say this. The proof that he did not kill Qays b. Zayd is that I.I. does not mention him among those that died at Ḫudud.

292. Mu‘attib b. Qushayr and Tha‘labāb and al-Ḥārīth, the two sons of Ḥāfīq b. B. Umayya b. Zayd, were at Badr and were not hypocrites, according

1 Hirschfield included this poem in Ḥasan’s Dīwān. Cf. No. xix and H.’s note on p. 41
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to what a trustworthy traditionist told me. I. H. himself includes Tha‘labā
and al-Mu‘ādh among the B. Umayyā who were at Madīr.

308. i.e. ‘Amr b. Mālik b. al-Aws.

309. ‘A‘um means ‘open to the enemy and abandoned’, plural ‘awdī. Al-
Nabīgha al-Dhuhaylī said:

‘When you meet them you don’t find a house exposed to attack.
The guest is not forbidden and nothing is neglected.
‘A‘um also means a man’s wife, and also the pudenda.

310. Adrakak means ‘Go back by the way you came’, as in the words of the
poet:

He went back and retraced his steps
And he who was there blamed unjustly.

311. Ladh means ‘a blow with the clenched fist’. Tamīm b. Ubayy b. Muqbil said:

The heart pounded beneath its arteries
Like the thump of a stone which a boy throws into soft ground.

Ghayb means ‘low ground’. Abbar are the arteries of the heart.

312. Sā‘ida b. Ju‘ayya al-Hudaili said:

They said, We saw people standing round him.
There was no doubt that a man had been killed there.

Rāy means ‘suspicion’, as in the line of Khalīd b. Zuhayr al-
Hudaili:

As though I suspected him.

He was the son of the brother of Abū Dhū‘ayb al-Hudaili.

313. ‘Amihā means ‘bewildered’. The Arabs say a man is ‘amīh and ‘amih.
Rūba b. al-A‘jāj described a country said:

The blindest guidance is from the ignorant in perplexity.

Plural of ‘istīh is ‘ummah, and plural of ‘amih is ‘amihān; fem. ‘amīha and
‘amīhā.

314. Sayyid means ‘rā‘a from ‘alā, sayyid, like sayyid from sāda, sayyida
and sayyid from mātir, sayyida. Plural sayyid. ‘Alqama b. Abada, one of
B. Rabī‘a b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, said:

When the clouds poured down on them
They were like birds creeping about in terror of the thunder
and the light:

Do not think me an inexperienced wight.
May rains refresh you wherever they fall.

315. ‘Anbāt means ‘the like things’; singular ‘anbāt. Labīd b. Rabī‘a said:

Praise God who has no rival.
In His hands is good: what He wills He does.

Jahra means ‘so that we can see clearly with nothing to conceal Him
from us’. Abū‘l-‘At‘ā‘ar al-Rumānī, named Qutayba, said:

Making plainly visible the midst of the waters which was covered with
sand.

Here yahar means ‘bringing the water to light and clearing away from it
the sand and other matter which was hiding it’.

316. ‘A‘um means something which fell on their trees in the early morning
and they used to gather it; it is sweet like honey. They both ate and drank of
al-A‘thā of B. Qays b. Tha‘labā said:

If they were given manna and quails to eat on the ground
A man would never see good food among them!

Salat are birds, singular salāt; another name for them is sā‘īna. Honey,
too, is called sāla. Khalīd b. Zuhayr al-Hudaili said:

He swore to them, By God it’s true,
You’re sweeter than honey fresh from the comb.

Hitha means ‘Remove our sins from us’.

317. The tradition appears in a slightly different form with hinta for hint
and shā‘ir for shā‘ir.

318. Fīsāt is wheat. Umayyā b. Abū‘l-Salt al-Thaqafi said:

On large dishes like cisterns there were
Pieces like silver among the pure wheat.

Wadhītih means pieces of silver and fīsāt is flour; singular sūma.

319. ‘Ilā amīnā means ‘except reciting’ because the umān is one who
can recite but cannot write. He says that they do not know how to write but
they can read a book. I. H. said on the authority of Abū‘l-‘Abdā and Yūnus
that they interpreted what God says to refer to the Arabs. Abū‘l-‘Abdā
told me about that. Yūnus b. Habīb the grammarians and Abū‘l-‘Ubayda
told me that the Arabs say tammā in the sense of ‘he recited’ and in the Quran
we find ‘We never sent an apostle or a prophet before thee but when he
recited Satan cast something (something) into his recitations’ (Sūra 32. 51).
[As the sequel shows this could mean: ‘when he desired something Satan cast
something into his desire.’] Abū‘l-‘Ubayda the grammarians quoted to me:

He recited God’s book at the beginning of the night
And at the end of it death claimed him.

and also:

He recited God’s book at night alone
As David recited the psalms at his ease.

The singular of amīnā is umminā; amāni also means a man’s desires for
wealth and other things. [There is no real distinction between reading and
reciting. Right down to the Middle Ages it was a matter of surprise if a
man was able to read a text without forming the words with his lips and so
reciting it.]
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311. Safaka means 'pour out'. The Arabs say 'he shed his blood' and 'he poured out wine'. The poet says:

Whenever a guest comes into our land
We shed the blood of the victims in the dusty earth.

By hal is meant clay mingled with sand which the Arabs call sabha. The word occurs in a hadith; when Pharaoh said 'I believe that there is no God but He in whom the children of Israel believe' Gabriel took some river mud and smeared and threw it in his face. Hal is like ham'a.

312. Ru'a bi-skhudabun means 'they admitted it and bore it'. A'sha of B. Qays b. Tha'laba said:

I will befrend you until you do the same again
Like the cry of the woman in travail whose the midwife helps.[This line has been quoted on W. 199, q.v.] Yassara'ath means 'made her sit down to bring forth'.

313. Shaf'un means 'shoots', singular shaf'atun. The Arabs say gad asbih'a al-zar'a, 'the seed has sprouted' when it has put forth its shoots. Asara means 'strengthened'. That which preceded it is like mothers. [Because he has explained 'shoots' by fir'idh which could mean 'chicks'.] Ibru'al-Qays b. Hulayr al-Kindi said:

On a slope whose herbage equalled the lote trees
The track of conquering and defeated armies.

Humayd b. Malik b. al-Ar'arat one of B. Rabia b. Malik said:

Seed produce and clover whose herbage is matted and strong.
Saha without himsa is plural of sakh, the stem of a plant

314. Saha'dun means the middle (of the path), as in the lines of Hassan b Thabit:

Alas for the prophet's helpers and family
After he was concealed in the middle of the gravel

315. Shatra means 'towards', 'Amr b. Abnar al-Bahlil (Bahlil) was the son of Ya'fur b. Su'd b. Qays b. Aylun) describing his camel, said:

She takes us towards Jam' tucking her tail between her legs, her tail nearly reaches her girth.
Qays b. Khushaylid al-Hudhali, also describing his camel, said:

The sluggish (i.e. untrained) camel has an all-pervading disease
One looks at her with a tired eye.

Na'a'in is his camel; she had a disease and he looked at her with a tired eye.
The word occurs in Sura 67: 4.

316. Rabban'iyun are the learned, the lawyers, and the chieft. The singular is rabbiin. A poet said:

Were I living as a monk in a cell
Her voice would have enticed me forth and the most learned of them too!

Lane, 32 b, c, indicates that 'engirdled' is a possible meaning.

Ibn Hibbani's Notes

Qay means a monk's cell; a'fami is the dialect of Tamim, jutami being the dialect of Qays. Jaraf said:

There's no union when Hind departs. Had she stayed
She would have entertained me and the cassocked one within his cell.

i.e. the monk's cell. Rabban' is derived from rabb which means 'master'. In God's book you find 'He gave his master wine to drink' (12. 41), where rabb means 'master'.

317. Abu Qays b. al-Aslat said:

I was pained at the loss of a doughty defender.
A permanent grief afflicted me.
Though you killed him, a
Sharp sword has bitten into 'Amr's head.
The story of Bu'ath is too long to go into here for the reasons which I have given above. Sula is the same as nasim from samah, 'he sharpened it'

318. The dog of the night are the hours, the singular being fiyus. Al-Mutanabkhi al-Hudhali whose name was Malik b. Uwaysur said bewailing the loss of his son Uthayla:

Sweet and bitter was his nature like the shuffling of gaming arrows
At any hour the night demanded he stood ready shod.
Lubab b. Rabia's describing a wild ass said:

Throughout the day he is as excited as though he were a misguided fellow
Whom a boon-companion had given wine among the wine sellers.

According to what Yunus told me you can say inan with alif maghira [S. points out that inan is used in the Quran.]

319. Tanasa means to rub off and make level so that eye, nose, mouth, and everything that made up the face is no more to be seen; similarly 'We blot out their eyes' (Sura 54: 37), the effaced of eye with no gap between his eyelids; and you can say 'I erased the writing and the mark' so that nothing can be seen of it Al-Akhthal whose name was al-Ghauth b. Hubayra b. al-Hal al-Tashlibi describing a camel he had tried hardly, said:

We gave her the hard task of going to every distant well whose mark was obliterated.
Where you can see the chameleons writhing in the heat. (Akhthal 7. 3)

Sura in the singular is suwra, which means a mark to indicate a road or a waterhole. He says that it was rubbed off and made level with the ground so that there was nothing showing above the soil.

320. Al-Yih among the Arabs means whatever is worshipped other than God. Taghith means everything that leads away from the truth; plural jihb and jawalghit. I was told that Abu Najih said that jihb means sorcery and taghith Satan.

321. This paragraph is what I. I. said: what follows continues the preceding jadiah.
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322. *Ayyūna* means 'when', as in the line of Qay'a b. al-Ḫudāidiya al-Khuza'ī:

With a secret that we shared I came
To ask her when who was away would return.

*Marsūla* means 'end' and the plural is *mursāmin*. Al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadî said:

And those who found the door which others missed
The haven of the principles of Islam. (*Agp.* xv. 125. 26.)

The *mursa* of a ship is where it comes to rest. *Haṣāyan 'anḥā* comes in a sentence in which the order is inverted. He says: 'They will ask you about it as though you would favoure them,' i.e. tell them what you will not tell anyone else. *Al-haṣāy* means 'the kind, the considerate', and in God's book *'Verily He is gracious to me'* (19. 48). The plural is *ahṣāy*. *Aṭšâ* of B. Qays b. Tha'laba said:

If you ask about me, many a one asks about Aṭšâ,
Where has he gone? Good friends that they are.

*Haṣāy* also means *al-mustafa*, the one who exceeds all bounds in asking questions.

323. *Yudhâbîna* means they imitate their speech, the speech of the infidels. If you say something and someone says the same thing he copies (*yudhâbî*) you

324. *Zakîr* means 'help'. The Arabs say *taṣâbharâ 'alayhi*, i.e. they helped one another against him. *Zakîr* the poet said:

O namesake of the prophet, you were a support to religion
And a help to the imam.

The plural is *muhârâ*.

325. *Al-ṣamâd* means one on whom one depends and in whom one takes refuge. Hind d. Ma'bad b. Nâdâl mourning 'Amr b. Mas'ūd and Khalîd b. Nâdâl her two uncles the Asadites (they were killed by al-Ne'mân b. al-Mundhir al-Lakhmî and he built the two standing stones which are in Kufr over them) said:

One came early to tell me of the death of the two best of Asad,
'Amr b. Mas'ūd and the dependable chief (al-ṣamâd).

[The meaning of this word is most obscure and commentators on the Qur'ân differ widely. The Ghârîyim were two standing stones which were smeared with the blood of the victims sacrificed there. See W. R. Smith, *RS.* 157, 201, 210 and the literature cited there. For the present-day survival of the rite see Freya Stark, *A Winter in Arabia*, London, 1940, 153.]

126. Others say Kurz.

327. I have heard that the chiefs of Najrân used to inherit books from their predecessors. Whenever one chief died and authority passed to his successor he would seal those books with the seals that were before his time and not break them. The chief, contemporary with the prophet, went out walking and stumbled and his son said: 'May so-and-so stumble', meaning the prophet, and his father said to him: 'Don't say that, for he is a prophet and his name is in the deposits', meaning the books. As soon as he was dead his son ran and broke the seals and found in the books the mention of the prophet, so he became a good Muslim and went on pilgrimage. It was he who said:

To you she runs with loosened girth,
Her foil 'is clear soon comes to birth.
The Christians' faith she scorcs its worth.

*Wadâ* means a camel's girth. Hishâm b. 'Urwa said that the 'Irâqîs added the second line; but Abû 'Ubayda quoted it in its place.

328. *Kafila* means 'he took her to himself'.

329. *Agâmlahâ* means their arrows by which they cast lots for her. Zachariah's lot came out and he took her according to what al-Hasan b. Abî-l-Hasan al-Baqî said.

330. *Al-akhâmah* is one who is born blind. Ru'ba b. al-'Ajjâj said:

I cried out and it withdrew as a blind man does.

Plural *kunub* Harroju means 'I cried out at the lion and threatened it'.

331. Abû 'Ubayda said *nabatâlî* means 'let us invoke a curse'. Aṭšâ of B. Qays said:

Don't sit down when you have kindled the fire of war
Praying for protection from its evil when it comes and cursing loudly.
[C. reads 'we', &c., but the context (see *Dawâm* vi. 52) shows that W. is right.] He means 'We will invoke a curse'. The Arabs say God *bahala* someone, i.e. 'May he curse him'; and 'on him be the bahâla of God' or *buṭhâ*, i.e. the curse. *Tahâtulâ* also means to be earnest in prayer. [It would seem more natural to adopt this meaning here in spite of I.H.]

332. There is a variant reading *mâlun* for *nahâlun*

333. *Muzâhâm* is the name of a fort.

334. The second verse has not I.I.'s authority.

335. By his *iqâq* he means his *iqâq* (might).

336. Shânâ and Ṭaff are two mountains in Mecca.

337. He left Sa'd b. 'Ubâda in charge of Medina.

338. *This was the first of his raids.*

339. I. Abû 'Amîr b. al-'Ahrî from Abî 'Amîr al-Mudâni told me that Mikran b. Ṭâfâ b. al-Akhlyaf, one of B. Ma‘âs b. 'Amîr b. Lu‘ayy b. Ghâlib b. Fhîr, was in command of them.

340. Most authorities on poetry deny that this ode is from Abû Bakr.
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341. I have omitted one verse. Most authorities on poetry deny that I. Ziba' al was the author of this tale.

342. Most authorities on poetry deny that Sa'd wrote this verse.

343. Most authorities deny that this is Hamza's verse.

344. Most authorities deny that Abū Jahl was the author.

345. He put al-Sa'ib b. 'Uthmān b. Mas'ūd in charge of Medina.

346. He put Abū Salama 'Abdullāh-Asad in charge of Medina.

347. Some traditionists say that this took place after Hamza was sent.

348. He left Zayd b. Hämiha in charge of Medina.

349. His name was 'Abdullāh b. 'Abbād or according to others Mālik b. 'Abbād, one of al-Saadīf. Sa'dīf's name was 'Amr b. Mālik, one of al-Sa'um b. Ashra b. Kindi or Kindr.

350. It was the first booty taken by the Muslims, and 'Amr b. al-Hadrami was the first man that the Muslims killed, while 'Uthmān b. 'Abdullāh and al-Hakam b. Kayṣān were their first prisoners.

351. The verses come from 'Abdullāh b. Jāḥish.

352. Or Hämiha.

353. Fawā'if elsewhere means 'a determined man', but here a 'sword'. 'A[y]hāb means 'without intelligence', and it can be applied to a buck or the male ostrich. Al-Khalīl said that it means a man too weak to exact vengeance. [Lexicographers vacillate between 'ayhāb and ghayhāb. Most of this useful note is lacking in W.]

354. On Monday 8th and left 'Amr (or 'Abdullāh) b. Umm Maktum brother of B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy to preside over prayers. Later he sent back Abū Luhābā from al-Rauja to take command in Medina.

355. It was white.

356. The Anṣara's flag was with Sa'd b. Mu'adh.

357. Dhātu'l-Jaysh.

358. The word Žābāya is not from I.I.

359. Said to be Abū Bakr.

360. The old man's name was Sufyān al-Ḍamār.

361. The last two lines come from more than one ṭawi.

362. Al-Ḥañzāliya was the mother of Abū Jahl; her name was Amālī b. Mokharrib. One of B. Nasahal b. Dārim b. Mālik b. Ḥanṣala b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamim.

363. Getting it ready.

364. Saḥr is the lungs together with the parts above the navel adjoining the windpipe; what is below the navel is called qābīh, as in the prophet's saying related to me by Abū 'Ubayda: I saw 'Amr b. Luḥayy dragging his guts (qābīh) in hell fire.

365. According to some Sawdā'. Sawdā of the Anṣār was another man.

366. Another reading is mustanṣūl.

367. Others read la'āyiimmānaθū, 'I will strike his jaw with my sword'.

368. al-nari is not from I.I. It means a camel whose milk is drawn with difficulty.

369. Abūl-Bakhtari was al-Āṣ b. Ḥishām b. al-Ḫārith b. Asad.

370. By 'milk' he meant 'I shall redeem myself from my captors with camels' worth in milk'.

371. A learned traditionist told me that 'Ali said: 'Turbans are the crowns of the Arabs. The mark of the angels at Badr was white turbans flowing freely behind them except Gabriel who wore a yellow turban.'

372. The war-cry of the apostle's companions that day was 'One! One!'

373. Ḥarāja means 'quickly matted growth'. There is a tradition that 'Umar asked a Badā' what the word meant and he said that it was a kind of growth which could not be penetrated.

374. Ḥaθātha means 'to clutches and hold someone'. Dābi b. al-Ḫārith al-Rafjūmi said:

Because of the love between me and you
I've become like one who holds water in his hand.

Others said that he said: 'Is it a disgrace for a man to be killed by you?' Then he asked for tidings of the battle.

375. Abū 'Ubayda and others of those learned in the war told me that 'Umar said to Sa'd b. al-Āṣ when he passed him: ' Methinks you've something on your mind. You are thinking that I killed your father. Had I killed him I should not apologize to you for having done so. As a matter of fact I killed my maternal uncle al-Āṣ b. Ḥishām b. al-Mughira. I passed by your father as he was tearing up the ground as an ox does with his horn and I turned to one side. It was his cousin 'Ali who went for him and killed him.'

376. Ḥālā b. Ṭulayḥa and Thābir b. Ḥaqram al-Anṣārī.

377. Abū Bakr called his son 'Abdullāh-Rahman who was at that time among the polytheists saying, 'Where is my property you rascal? He replied:

Save weapons and horses nothing is left
But a sword to slay a senseless old doter!

378. His name was Ṣudayy b. 'Ajlān
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379. Said to have been "Adly b. Abūl-Zaghba".

380. Al-makā' means the nobles and chiefs.

381. The name of this place is not mentioned by I.I.

382. It is said that 'All killed him. Al-Zuhri and other traditionists told me so.

383. Ḥamīt means a rixq.

384. Abū 'Aziz was the standard-bearer of the polytheists at Badr after al-Nadr, and when his brother Mu'āāb said these words to Abūl-Yasir who had captured him he said, 'Brother, is this the sort of advice you give me?' Mu'āāb answered, 'He is now my brother in your place.' His mother asked what was the most that was paid to redeem a Qurashi, and when she was told that it was 4,000 dirhams she sent the money and redeemed him.

385. Abū Sufyān's name was al-Mughira.

386. Here is an example of faulty rhyming known as ṣīned which is often found in their verse. We call it ḱīfā'. I have omitted some better known lines that occur in I.I.'s narrative.

387. Some authorities on poetry deny that these lines are Ibn Dukhahum's.

388. I shall mention the tradition about that stand later, God willing.

389. Some authorities on poetry deny the authenticity of these lines.

390. 'Amr's mother was d. Abū 'Amr and the sister of Abū Mu'āāb b. Abū 'Amr.

391. 'All had captured him.

392. Khirāsh b. al-Ṣimma, one of B. Ḥarām, had captured him.

393. It was Abū Khaythama.

394. Another reading is a shirt of fire.

395. Abū Sufyān's sworn friend who is referred to here was 'Uqba b. Abūl-Hārith b. al-Hadrānī. As for 'Amir b. al-Hadrānī, he was slain at Badr.

396. I.I. has named the man in his account as Nāfi' b. Abū Qays.

397. Abū 'Ubayda told me that when Abūl-'Āṣ came from Syria with the property of the polytheists he was asked if he would like to become a Muslim and take the property because it belonged to polytheists. He answered: 'It would be a bad beginning to my Islam if I were to betray my trust.' Abūl-Wārīth b. Sa'īd al-Tarmūrī from Dā'ūd b. Abū Hind from 'Amir b. Shu'ayb told me the same thing as Abū 'Ubayda about Abūl-'Āṣ.


Ibn Hibān's Notes

399. The ransom of the polytheists was fixed at 4,000 dirhams per man, though some got off with 1,000. Those who had nothing the apostle released freely.

400. Rūf'ā b. Ṣalā', one of B. Zurayqī, captured him

401. Nakara means 'returned'. Aus b. Ḥājur, one of B. Usayd b. 'Amr b. Tamīm, said:

You turned on your heels the day you came
Leading away the spoils of a large army.

[In W.'s text this line reads:

You turned on your heels then you came (on)
Hoping for the spoils &c.]

402. Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī quoted to me the line 'When he came to them noble of race'.


404. The Names of the Horses of the Muslims at Badr

A learned person told me that at Badr the Muslims had the following horses:
Abūl-Salāb belonging to Marthad . . . ; al-Ganwet; Ḥa'āja belonging to al-Miqādīd b. Amr al-Bahrānī (others say its name was Sabba); al-Ya'sūb belonging to al-Zubayr b. al-Awāmī. The polytheists had one hundred horses.

405. Mūkā' means whistling and tāsiyya means clapping
'Antara b. 'Amr b. Shaddād al-'Abāf said:

Many an equal have I left on the ground
His blood whistling in his throat like a camel's breath,

meaning the sound of the blood rushing out of the wound like whistling.

Al-Tirmidhī b. Ḥakim al-Tāfi'ī said:

When it is frightened it stamps its feet and stands listening
In a safe distant refuge of the two mountains of Ibnā Shamām.

He is speaking of the mountain goat which when frightened stamps on the rock with its feet, and then stands still and listens. Its stamping on the rock makes a noise like clapping. Mūṣād means a safe refuge. Ibnā Shamām are two mountains. (No. 47, line 28, in Krenkow's edition.)

406. Ankal means fetters, singular nīkāl. Ru'ba b. al-'Ajāj said:

My fetters will keep you from wanting any other fetters.

407. Tukhwawafa is an alteration of the word that I.I. wrote which I have not recorded. (A.Dh. writes: 'the word tukhwawafa is written ta, kā, waw, with fatḥa. It is said that tukhawawafu was written originally and that I.I. corrected it because it is the wrong way to speak of God.' This seems probable because elsewhere in this section I.I. ventures to put words into the mouth of God when explaining the meaning of this tāra. W. reads yatuqawafu (or the corresponding passive); C.'s reading seems preferable.)
406. The explanation of this passage has already been given.

409. *Janabū biltām* means 'they inclined to peace'. *Al-ju'nāh* is 'declining'. Labid b. Rabī'a said:

The bending of the polisher over his hands
Stooing to find the rust on the arrow-heads

He means the polisher who bends over his work. *Naqab* means 'rust' on a sword; *sallāt* means polishing a sword. *Salm* also means 'peace'; and in the book of God 'He not weak and call to peace when you have the upper hand'. It is also read as *silm* with the same meaning. Zuhayr b. Abū Sulaim said:

You said if we can possibly attain peace
By money and good words we will make peace. 2

I was told that al-Ḥasan b. Abū-l-Ḥasan b. al-Ṭalārī said that 'and if they incline to *salm*' meant Islam; and in the book of God 'O you who believe enter into *silm* all of you' can be read as 'into *salm*' which is Islam. Umayya b. Abū-l-Ṣalt said:

They did not come back to *salm* when God's apostles
Warned them, and they were not supporters of it.

The Arabs call a long bucket a *salm*. Taraf b. al-'Abd, one of B. Qays b. Thalīha, describing a she-camel of his, said:

Her two forelegs are splashed as though
She was borne down by the weight of two buckets.

There is a variant reading *dāljā*. 3


411. Anass was an Abyssinian and Abū Kabsha a Persian


413. Abū Hudhayfah's name was Mihsham; and Sālim a freed slave of Thubaytā d. Ya'ār b. Zayd b. 'Ubayd b. Zayd b. Mālik b. 'Auf b. 'Amr b. 'Auf b. Mālik b. 'Auss. She set him free and was attached to Abū Hudhayfah, who adopted him as a son. It is said that Thubaytā d. Ya'ār was the wife of Abū Hudhayfah and she freed Sālim. Others say he was Abū Hudhayfah's freedman.

414. Mīlāj.

415. Abū Makhshī was a Țwīy, his name being Suwayd b. Makhshī.

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416. Abū Bakr's name was 'Amr, a Lakhmīt; his freedman Sa'd was a Kalbīt.

417. Others say Ḥusayn b. Ṭa'āb b. Dharr.

418. Al-Qāra is their nickname as in the line

Those who compete in archery with the Qāra will have been fair to them.

They were great bowmen.

419. He was called Dhīl al-Shimālīyān because he was ambidextrous; his name was 'Umayr.

420. Khābšah belonged to B. Tamīm and has descendants in Kufa; others say that he belonged to Khuzā'ī.

421. His real name was 'Abdullāh; he was nicknamed 'Atīq because he was so handsome.

422. He too was born a slave among the Asd. He was a black whom Abū Bakr bought from them.

423. Al-Namī was the son of Qasīt b. Ḥinb b. Afṣū b. Jadīl b. Asad b. Rabī'a b. Nizār; others say Afṣū b. Du'mī b. Jadīl b. Asad b. Rabī'a b. Nizār. It is said that Ṣūhayyāb was the freedman of 'Abdullāh b. Ju'dān b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Ṭayy and that he was a Rūmi. Those who say that he belonged to al-Namī maintain that he was merely a prisoner among the Byzantines and that he was bought from them (i.e. ransomed). However, there is a tradition that the prophet said 'Ṣūhayyāb is the first-fruits of Byzantinum'.

424. Shammās's name was 'Uthmān; he was called Shammās for the reason that a Shammās came to Mecca in pagan times, a man so handsome as to excite general admiration. 'Uthmā b. Rabī'a, who was the maternal uncle of Shammās, said, 'I will bring you a Shammās who is more handsome than he', and he brought his nephew 'Uthmān b. 'Uthmān. Thus he was called Shammās according to what Ibn Shīhāb and others told me. [This a repetition of what I. H. has already said on W., p. 212.]

425. The latter was an 'Ansār of Madhhabīj.

426. Milḥā was from 'Ādī b. 'Adnān.

427. Abū Khāliq was of B. Ij'īl b. Lajaymān b. Sa'b b. 'All b. Ṭakr b. Wā'il.

428. 'Anas b. Wā'il was of Qasīt b. Ḥinb b. Afṣū b. Jadīl b. Asad b. Rabī'a b. Nizār; others say Afṣū was of Du'mī b. Jadīl.

429. Sa'd b. Khaza' came from the Yaman.

432. Aslam was the son of Ḥarīa b. 'Ady.

433. Others say 'Aṭṭār b. al-Tayyāhān.

434. 'Abdullāh b. Sahl was the brother of D. Za’ūr. Others say he belonged to Ghassān.

435. Ẓāfār was b. al-Khażān b. 'Amr b. Mālik b. al-Aus.

436. Ubayd was called Muharrir because he bound four prisoners together at Badr. It was he who captured 'Aqīl b. Abū Tulib.

437. Others say his name was Mas'ūd b. 'Abdu Sa'd.

438. ʿUmāy r b. Maʻād is correct.

439. The latter was his mother's name.

440. He sent them back from al-Rauḥā. Ḥālīb was b. 'Amr b. Ubayd b. ʿUmāy r, and Abū Lubābā's name was Bashīr.

441. He was b. Thābit b. al-Nuˈmān b. Umayya b. Imru'ul-Qays b. Thaʿlabā.

442. He was Abū Dāyīyāt's brother, and it is said that his name was Abū ʿAbdullāh. It is said that it was Imru'ul-Qays who was called al-Burāk b. Thaʿlabā.

443. Others say Thābit was b. 'Amr b. Thaʿlabā.


446. 'Arḍāja was b. Ka'b b. al-Nabīh b. Ka'b b. Hārīth b. Ghanm.

447. Tamīm was the freedman of Sa'd b. Khaythama.

448. Others say Julius, but I regard that as wrong.

449. Others say Qays was b. 'Abdullāh b. ʿUmāy r.

450. Fushām was his mother, wife of al-Qayn b. Jass.


453. Zayd was b. al-Murayy.

454. Sālim b. Qaḥm b. 'Auf got the name of Ḥublā from his big belly.

455. Others say 'Amr b. Sa'am. He was of Balār of Qaḥm.'

456. Ma'bād was b. 'Ubāda b. Qaḥm b. al-Muqa ḍamm; and it is said that 'Ubāda was b. Qaḥm b. al-Qūdūm.

457. 'Āmir b. al-'Uqayr; others say 'Asim b. al-'Uqayr.

458. This is Qaḥm b. 'Auf, brother of Sālim b. 'Auf b. 'Amr b. 'Auf b. al-Khażān, and Qaḥm b. Sālim preceded him according to I.I.
486. Ḥāritha b. al-Nu'mān was the son of Na'ī b. Zayd.
487. Or 'Abīd.
488. She was d. ‘Ubayd b. Ḥaṭṭāba b. ‘Ubayd b. Ḥaṭṭāba b. Ghafl b. Mālik b. al-Najjār. It is said that Riḍā was b. al-Ḥārith b. Sawād.
489. Or Nuṣyāmān.
490. Abū'lu-‘Umrānī was the freedman of al-Ḥārith b. Riḍā.
492. They are the B. Maghāla d. ‘Aun b. ‘Abdu Manār b. ‘Amr b. Mālik b. Khānāna b. Khazayma. Others say that they are of B. Zurayq. Maghāla was the mother of ‘Adīb b. ‘Amr b. Mālik b. al-Najjār and the B. ‘Adīb trace their descent from her.
493. Abū Shaykh was ‘Ubayy b. Thābit, brother of Ḥasan b. Thābit.
494. Others say Sawwād.
495. Others say Abū'lu-Awar was al-Ḥārith b. Zālim.
498. Brother of Sa’d b. Abū Waqqās according to I.H.
499. Zayd b. Ḥāritha killed him; others say Ḥamza, ‘Ali, and Zayd killed him between them.
503. Ḥamza and ‘Ali shared in the killing of him.
505. ‘Amr b. Yāsir killed him.
506. Ḥamza and ‘Ali killed him.
507. Abū'lu-Rakhtār was al-‘Ās b. Ḥāshim.

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508. Others say ‘al-Ahīl; it is said that his name was al-Nāḍr b. al-Ḥārith b. Akhūna b. Kaīla b. ‘Abdu Manāf.
509. Būbūl killed Zayd, who was an ally of B. ‘Abdu'l-Dār from B. Māzin. Others say that al-Miqdād killed him.
510. ‘Ali, or according to others Abū'lu-‘Rahmān b. ‘Aun, killed him.
511. He was one of B. ‘Amr b. Ṭaḥmān, a stout warrior whom ‘Amār b. Yāsir killed.
512. Abū Dujāna killed him.
513. Khārīja b. Zayd killed him, though others say ‘All did. Šarmala was of Asd.
514. ‘Ali killed him.
515. Ḥamza killed him.
516. ‘Ali, or according to others ‘Amār, killed him.
517. ‘Sa’d b. al-Rabi’ killed him.
518. Ma’n b. ‘Adīy, an ally of B. ‘Ubayd, killed him.
519. ‘Ali killed him.
520. Al-Sā'im b. Abū’l-Sā'im was a partner of the apostle; and there is a tradition that the Prophet said that he was an excellent partner who was never illtempered or obstinate. According to our information he became an excellent Muslim, but God knows the truth. Ibn Shihab al-Zuhrī mentioned from ‘Ubaydullah b. Uthā from Ibn ‘Abbās that al-Sā'im b. Abū’l-Sā'im b. ‘Abīd b. Abdullah b. ‘Umar b. Makhām was one of the Quraysh who wore fealty to the apostle, and on the day of al-Jīrāna he gave him his share of the booty of Hunayn. Someone other than Ibn Ishāq said that al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awjam killed him. (This explanation of jushāri is in accordance with the Lišah under ṣhara.)
521. Others say Ḥājjīz. ‘Ali killed Ḥājjīz.
522. al-Nu’mān b. Mālik killed him in single combat.
524. ‘Ali killed him.
525. Ḥamza killed him with the help of Sa’d b. Abū Waqqās.
526. ‘Ali, or al-Nu’mān b. Mālik, or Abū Dujāna killed him.
527. Abū'l-Yasār killed him.
528. Others say it was Mu’ād b. ‘Afrā’ and Khārīja b. Zayd and Khubayb b. Isāf jointly.
529. ‘Ali killed him, or according to others al-Hussayn b. al-Ḥārith and ‘Udām b. Māṣūn together.
530. Others say ‘Ukkashah b. Miṣyān died so.
534. He was al-Hārith b. Ā'idh b. 'Uthmān.

535. There is a variant reading for backs, namely 'heels'. Khalid was from Khuza'a; according to others an 'Uqayli.'

536. One name is missing from I.I.'s list to make up the total number he gives. Among the prisoners he does not mention are the following:

From B. Ḥāshim b. 'Abdu Manaf: Utba, an ally of theirs from B. Fihr.

1 This remark is interesting for more than one reason. Abū Dharr says of the Ḥāshimite list: 'He does not mention al-Abbas b. 'Abdu-Muttalib with the other two because he had

From B. al-Muṭṭalib: 'Abqīl b. 'Amr, an ally, and his brother Tamim, and his son.

From B. 'Abdu Shamsa: Khalid b. Asid b. Abū'L-Iy; and Abūl-Arab Yassir, freedman of al-'Āṣ b. Umayya.

From B. Naufal: Nabhān, one of their freedmen.


From B. 'Abdul-Dar: 'Aqīl, an ally of theirs from the Yamān.

From B. Tāyim b. Murra: Masūfī b. Ḣādī b. Ṣakhr b. Āmir b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Tāyim; and Jābir b. al-Zubayr, an ally.

From B. Makhzūm: Qays al-Malikī.

From B. Jumāh: 'Amr b. Uqbah b. Khālid; and Abū Ruhmān b. 'Abdullāh an ally; and an ally of theirs whose name escapes me; and two freedmen of Umayya b. Khālid, one of them Nufās, and Abū Rāfī a slave of Umayya b. Khālid.

From B. Sulaim: Aslam freedman of Nuhayb b. al-Hajjāj.


From B. al-Hārith b. Fihr: Shāfī and Shafī, two allies of theirs from the Yamān.

537. Most authorities on poetry refuse to accept it and its counterblast as authentic.

538. We have changed two words in I.I.'s version of this ode, namely, 'boastful' at the end of line 20 and 'kindly' at the beginning of line 23, because he casts aspersions on the prophet in them.

The following verses which I.I. attributes to 'Abi b. Abū Ta'bīb are not accepted by any authority on poetry, n.e. in the counterblast. We have included them only because they mention that 'Abi b. Abū Ta'bīb was killed in the battle of Ḥisbun allāh. Though I.I. does not mention him among the slain as these verses do.

539. Others say the author was al-Asā'ib b. Zuhayr b. al-Nabhān one of the B. Umayr b. 'Amir b. Tamim an ally of B. Naufal b. 'Abdu Manaf.

540. We have omitted three verses of Ḥassān's poem because they are obscene.

541. We have left out one verse which is obscene.

542. Some say that 'Abdullāh b. al-Hārith al-Sulaim was the composer.

543. The fifth verse comes from Abū Zayd al-Asā'ib.
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544. Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī quoted to me the verse about Abū Jahil.

545. The last line is not from I.I.

546. Some authorities on poetry deny that these verses are 'Ubayda's.

547. When 'Ubayda's foot was smitten he said, 'By God, if Abū Ṭalib had lived to see this day he would know that I have a better right than he to say:

You lie, by God's house,
Muhammad shall not be maltreated,
Before we have used our swords and bows in his defence
We will not betray him until we be dead around him,
And be unmindful of our children and wives."

These two verses are in the ode of Abū Ṭalib which we have already quoted (p. 174).

548. Some authorities on poetry deny that Dirār was the author of these lines.

549. Some authorities on poetry deny Ḥārith's authorship of these lines, and the second line is not from I.I.

550. Abū 'Ubayda, the grammarian, quoted to me the last line, saying that (Shaddād) had become a Muslim and then apostatized, thus:

The apostle tells us that we shall live again
But what sort of life have corpses and writhers?

551. We have omitted two verses in which he spoke disparagingly of the apostle's companions. Another learned authority on poetry recited to me the penultimate verse and also the line beginning 'givers of hundreds' and the following line.

552. This ode has been handed down in a confused state which cannot be considered satisfactory. Abū Muḥris Khalaf al-Ālmar and another person quoted it to me, one quoting what the other left out.

553. He was a polytheist.

554. (which are the most authentic of the poetry about the men of Badr).

555. Abū Muḥris Khalaf al-Ālmar recited to me the line, 'We left the way and they overtook us as swift as the tides of the sea', thus: 'The line, 'no lion from his lair', is not from I.I.

556. I have dropped the ode of Abū Usāma rhyming in L because it only mentions Badr in the first and second verses, in order to keep the narrative within bounds.

557. Some authorities on poetry deny that Hind was the author

558. Some authorities on poetry deny that Hind wrote this.

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559. The last line was cited to me by some authorities on poetry.

560. One tradition of this poetry separates the line, 'no lion of the jungle', &c., from the two preceding verses.

561. Most authorities on poetry deny that Hind said this.

562. It is said (though only God knows the truth) that when the apostle heard this poetry he said, 'If I had heard this before he was killed I would have spared him.'

563. He put in charge of Medina Sibā' b. 'Urfaṣa al-Ghifāri or Ibn Umm Maktūm.

564. He put Bashir b. 'Abdul-Mundhir who was Abū Lubāba in charge of Medina.

565. It was called the raid of al-Sawf because most of the provisions which the raiders threw away was samā'ī, i.e. parched corn, and the Muslims seized a great deal of it. This is what Abū 'Ubayda told me.

566. He put 'Uthmān b. 'Affān in charge of Medina.

567. He put I. Umm Maktūm in charge of Medina.

568. 'Abdūllāh b. Ja'far b. al-Miswar b. Makhrama from Abū 'Aun said, 'The affair of the B. Qaynuqā arose thus: An Arab woman brought some goods and sold them in the market of the B. Qaynuqā'. She sat down by a goldsmith, and the people tried to get her to uncover her face but she refused. The goldsmith took hold of the end of her skirt and fastened it to her back so when she got up she was immodestly exposed, and they laughed at her. She uttered a loud cry and one of the Muslims leapt upon the goldsmith and killed him. He was a Jew, and the Jews fell upon the Muslim and killed him, whereupon the Muslim's family called on the Muslims for help against the Jews. The Muslims were enraged, and bad feeling sprang up between the two parties.'

569. This was called ḍhātá'il-fudāl.

570. He besieged them for fifteen nights and put Bashir b. 'Abdul-Mundhir in charge of Medina.

571. Furūt belonged to B. 'Il, an ally of B. Saḥm.

572. Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdul-Muṭtalib wrote a counterblast which we shall mention together with the verses of Ḥassān in their proper place, God willing. [See p. 449.]

573. The words 'tabba' and ʿawra ṣūkhṭūhim do not come from I.I.

574. Most authorities on poetry deny Ḥassān's authorship. The first two words are not from I.I.

575. Her name was Māyūmā d. 'Abdūllāh. Most authorities on poetry deny that she wrote these verses and that Ka'b composed the counterblast to them.
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576. Another version is: 'Will you give me your wives as a pledge?' He answered: 'How can we give our wives to you as a pledge when you are the most amorous, highly-scented man in Medina?' He retorted, 'Then will you give your sons as a pledge?'

577. These verses occur in an ode of his on the battle with B. Naḍir which I shall mention in its proper place, God willing. [See p. 441.]

578. I shall mention the killing of Sallām in its proper place, God willing. The word 'deadly' does not come from I.I.

579. Or Subaynā. His full name was Muhayyiyā b. As'ad b. Qayyāma b. 'Āmir b. 'Ady b. Ma'mūs a b. Ḥāritha b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj b. 'Amr b. Mālik b. al-Aus.

580. Abū 'Ubayda told me on the authority of Abū 'Amr, the Medinan, when the apostle got the better of the B. Qurayza he seized about four hundred men from the Jews who had been allies of Aus against Khazraj, and ordered that they should be beheaded. Accordingly Khazraj began to cut off their heads with great satisfaction. The apostle saw that the faces of Khazraj showed their pleasure, but there was no such indication on the part of Aus, and he suspected that that was because of the alliance that had existed between them and the B. Qurayza. When there were only twelve of them left he gave them over to Aus, assigning one Jew to every two of Aus, saying, 'Let so-and-so strike him and so-and-so finish him off.' One of those who was so handed over to them was Kāb b. Yahūdāh, who was an important man among them. He gave him to Muhayyiyā and Abū Burda b. Niyār (it was Abū Burda to whom the apostle had given permission to sacrifice a young goat on the feast of Aḍhā). He said, 'Let Muhayyiyā strike him and Abū Burda finish him off.' So Muhayyiyā fetched him a blow, which did not cut in properly, and Abū Burda dispatched him and gave him the finishing stroke. Ḥuwayyiyā, who was still an unbeliever, said to his brother, Muhayyiyā, 'Did you kill Kāb b. Yahūdāh?', and when he said he did, he said, 'By God, much of the flesh on your belly comes from his wealth; you are a miserable fellow, Muhayyiyā.' He replied, 'If the one who ordered me to kill him had ordered me to kill you, I would have done so.' He was amazed at this remark and went away astounded. They say that he used to wake up in the night astonished at his brother's words, until in the morning he said, 'By God, this is indeed a religion.' Then he came to the prophet and accepted Islam. Muhayyiyā then spoke the lines which we have written above.

581. Others say Ruqayya.

582. A tradition told me that the apostle said: 'Yes, many of mine being slaughtered, they are the of my companions and will be all as if you don not what I saw my sword that I or the same, or will be killed.'

583. He put I. Umm Maktūm in charge of the public prayers.

584. For kullāb some say kilāb. [A small hook or peg on the hilt of the sword is meant.]

585. The apostle allowed Samurah b. Jundub al-Fazari and Rāśi b. Khadij brother of B. Ḥarīthah to go to battle, although they were but fifteen years of age and he had sent them back at first. But he was told that Rāśi was a good archer so he let him go and after having given him permission he was told that Samurah could throw Rāśi in wrestling so he let him go too. The following he turned back: Usāma b. Zayd; 'Abdullah b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭab; Zayd b. Thābit, one of B. Mālik b. al-Najjar; al-Bara' b. 'Āzib, one of B. Ḥarīthah; Amr b. Ḥazm, one of B. Mālik b. al-Najjar; Usāf b. Zuhayr, one of B. Ḥarīthah. He let them fight at the Trench when they were fifteen years of age.

586. The companions' war-cry that day was 'Kill, Kill!'

587. More than one traditionist has told me that Al-Subayr b. al-'Awām said, 'I was annoyed when I asked the apostle for the sword and he refused me and gave it to Abū Dujāna. I thought, 'I am the son of Ṣafiyah, his aunt, and belong to Quraysh, and I went and asked him for it before this man, yet he gave it to him and left me. By God, I will see what he is doing.' So I followed him. The man drew out his red turban and wrapped his head in it. The Anṣār said, 'Abū Dujāna has donned the turban of death.' This is what they used to say when he put it on. As he went forth he was saying:

Among the palms of that mountain side,
In solemn words my comrade cried,
Behind the ranks I'll never hide,
With God's own sword their ranks divide.

There is a reading kabāl for hayyāl.


589. A kind of bird inclining to black in colour.

590. I have heard that Wāsīlah was always being punished for drinking wine until he was struck off the pension list. 'Umar used to say: 'I knew that God would not leave the slave of Ḥamza unpunished.'

591. Maslama b. 'Alqama b. Mazin told me: When the fighting was fierce on the day of Uhud the apostle sat under the flag of the Anṣār and sent a message to 'Ali to tell him to bring the flag forward, which he did, saying, 'I am Abūl-Qasām or 'Abul-Fuṣam according to 1.I. Abū Sa'd b. Abū Talha, who was in charge of the standard of the polytheists, called to him, 'Would you like to meet my challenge, Abūl-Qasām?' When 'Ali accepted the challenge they fought between the ranks and exchanged two blows until 'Ali smote him and laid him on the ground. Then he left him without dispatching him. When his companions asked why he did not finish him off he said: 'He exposed his person to me (as a sign of abject surrender) and he was killed. I knew that God would certainly kill him.'

It is said that Abū Sa'd went out between the ranks and cried, 'I will break in pieces anyone who fights me,' and none went out against him. Then he cried: 'O you companions of Muhammad, you allow that your
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dead are in paradise and our dead are in hell. By al-Lat you lie. If you know that was true one of you would come out to me.' So 'Ali went forth and after challenging a couple of blows 'Ali smote him and killed him.

592. Some say that he heard a cry for help. You find this expression in the hadith: 'The best man is he who takes hold of his horse's bridle; whenever he hears a cry of fear he flies towards it.' Al-Tirmidhi b. Ḥakam al-Tani (Tirmidhi means 'a tall man') said:

I am of the family of Malik, glorious clansman
Whenever the timorous cry for help.

593. Hāṣan b. Thābit, according to Ibn Hishām, answered him thus:

You mention the proud stallions of Ḥashim's line
And there you lie not but speak the truth.
Are you pleased that you killed Ḥanẓa
The noble one whom you yourself call noble?
Did they not kill 'Amr and 'Utba
And his son and Shayba and al-Ḥajjāj and Ibn Ḥabīb
The day that al-ʿĀṣ challenged 'Ali who frightened him
With a blow of his sword dripping with blood?

594. The words 'or jackals' do not come from I.I. [This is an interesting note from I.H., because it indicates that he knows that the text of the poem has been tampered with. In this case we are able to recover the true text from Tāhā, which reads: 'haenas and jackals would havecrunched his bones', with fararan for gargaran. The alteration consists of one dot; but one would have expected that I.H., knowing the true text, would have followed it.]

595. al-Ḥārith answered Abū Suʿfān thus because he suspected that he was hinting at him when he said 'my horse remained but a stone's throw off', for he had fled on the day of Rādā.

596. The one who cried aloud was the spirit of the 'ill, i.e. Satan.

597. The last verse is ascribed to Abū Khirīṣ al-Ḥudlāh. Khaṣaf al-ʿĀṣmar quoted it to me as his with the reading 'her hands', meaning his wife's, with no connexion with Uhud. The verses are also ascribed to Maʿṣūm b. Khawālij al-Ḥudlāh.

598. Ubayy b. ʿAbdullāh-Rahmān b. Abū Saʿīd al-Khurṣīdī from his father from Abū Saʿīd al-Khurṣīdī said that ʿUtba b. Abū Waqqāṣ petted the apostle that day and broke that right lower incisor and wounded his lower lip, and that ʿAbdullāh b. Shāhāb al-Zuhārī wounded him in the forehead, and that Ibn Qaṭīa wounded him in the chestbone. Two rings from his helmet were forced into his cheek, and the apostle fell in a hole where Abū ʿAmir had made so that the Muslims might fall into it unaware. 'All took hold of the apostle's hand and Taḥṣīl b. ʿUbaydullāh lifted him until he stood upright. Malik b. Śinān, the father of Abū Saʿīd al-Khurṣīdī, sucked the blood from the apostle's face. Then he swallowed it. The apostle said, 'He whose blood mingleth with mine will not be touched by the fire of hell.' ʿAbdullāh-ʿĀṣī b. Muhammad al-Darawārdī said that the prophet said, 'He who wishes
to see a martyr walking on the face of the earth, let him look at Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbaydullāh.'

ʿAbdullāh ʿĀṣī from ʿIsāḥ b. Yāḥyā b. Ṭalḥa from ʿIsā b. Ṭalḥa from ʿAṣmah from Abū Bakr said that Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrah pulled out one of the rings from the apostle's face and his front tooth fell out. He pulled out another ring and the more incisor fell out. So Abū ʿUbaydah was short of his two front teeth.

599. We have omitted two obscene verses.

600. ʿUmar's mother, Nusayba d. of Kaʿb al-Muzāhiya, fought on the day of Uhud.

Saʿīd b. Abū Sāyid al-ʿAnṣārī said that Umm Saʿīd d. of Saʿīd b. Abī ʿAbdullāh said to use: 'I went in to see Umm ʿUmarā and said, 'O aunt, tell me your story,' and she answered: 'I went out at the beginning of the day to see what the men were doing, carrying a skin with water in it, and I came up to the apostle who was with his companions while the battle was in their favour. When the Muslims were defeated, I betook myself to the apostle and stood up joining in the fight and protecting him with my sword and shooting with my bow until I suffered many wounds.' Umm Saʿīd said, 'I saw on her shoulder a deep gash and asked who was responsible for it. She said, 'Ibn Qaṭīa, God curse him! When the men fell back from the apostle he came forward saying 'Lead me to Muhammad; let me not survive if he does.' Musāb b. ʿUmār and I and some men who held their ground with the apostle blocked his path. It was he who gave me this wound, but I struck him several times for that. However, the enemy of God was wearing two coats of mail!';

601. A learned traditionist told me that ʿAbdullāh-Rahmān b. ʿAṣif was injured in the mouth and his teeth were broken so he had twenty wounds or more, one of them in his foot so that he became lame.

602. Ṣaʿīd b. Abū Sāyid al-ʿAnṣārī said: 'Ṣaʿīd b. Abū Sāyid al-ʿAnṣārī said: 'I went in to see Umm ʿUmarā and said, 'O aunt, tell me your story.'

603. Tāda da'a means 'he began to roll off his horse'.

604. ʿUrā means 'tribe'.

605. Khalīl b. al-Walid was commanding the cavalry.

606. I heard on the authority of Ḳiṣīm from Ṭābāqīs that the apostle did not reach the step cut in the glen. ʿUmar, the client of Ghufrān, said that the prophet prayed the noon prayer on the day of Uhud sitting, because of the wounds he had suffered; and the Muslims prayed sitting behind him.

607. A traditionist in whom I have confidence told me that al-Ḥārith killed al-Mujāhidūn al-Mujāhidūn but did not kill Qays. An indication of the same fact is that Ibn Isḥāq does not mention him among those who were slain at Uhud. The reason that he killed al-Mujāhidūn was because he had killed his father Suwayd in one of the skirmishes between Aus and Khazraj. We have mentioned that in an earlier passage of this book. While the apostle was with a number of his companions, suddenly al-Ḥārith appeared from one of the gardens of Medina wearing two blood-stained garments. The apostle
ordered 'Uthmān to cut his head off. Others say it was one of the Anṣār who did so. v.s.p. 242

608 We have omitted three obscene verses


610. This is only one of the verses he composed; others also wrote rhyming in d and dḥ which I have omitted because of their obscenity. [T. gives them. I commend I.H.’s reticence.]

611. I. Qamīṣ’s name was ‘Abdullāh.

612. Abū Bakr al-Zubayrī told me that a man went into Abū Bakr while Sa‘īd’s little daughter was in his arms and he was kissing her. The man said to him, ‘Who is this?’ and he replied it is the daughter of a better man than I, Sa‘īd b. al-Rahf, who was one of the chiefs on the day of al-Aqṣāba who was present at Badr and found martyrdom at Uhud.

613. When the apostle stood over Hāmza’s body he said, ‘I have never been so hurt before. Never have I been more angry.’ Then he said: ‘Gabriel came to me and told me that Hāmza was written among the people of the seven heavens: “Hāmza b. ‘Abdul-Muṭṭalib, the son of God and the lion of his apostle.” ’ The apostle and Hāmza and Abu Sa‘īd b. ‘Abdul-’Aṣl Āṣāf were foster-brothers whom a freedwoman of Abū Lahab had fostered.

614. On that day he forbade lamentations. Abū ‘Ubaydah told me that when the apostle heard their weeping he said: ‘God have mercy on the Anṣār; for it has long been their custom to provide consolation. Tell the women to go away.’ (I read ‘alimat with C. for W.’s ‘alimūt or ‘alimta.)

615. Jalāl may mean little or much; here it means ‘little’, as in the verse of Imru’ul-Qays

Now that the Harūn Asād have killed their chief
Everything else is of no account.

and in the verse of al-Hārith b. Wa‘ās al-Jamī‘ it means ‘much’;

If I pardon I shall pardon a great crime.
If I punish I shall weaken my own bone.

616. The apostle’s sword used to be called Dhūl-Faqr. A traditionist told me that I. Abū Najīb said: ‘Someone called out on the day of Uhud:

There is no sword but Dhūl-Faqr
And no hero but ‘Ali.’

A traditionist also told me that the apostle said to ‘Ali: ‘The polytheists will not inflict another defeat like this on us before God gives us the victory.’

617. He put I. Umm Makrām in charge of Medina.

618. Abū ‘Ubaydah told us that when Abū Sufyān went away on the day of Uhud he wanted to go back to Medina to exterminate the rest of the prophet’s companions. Șafwān b. Uraysa said to them: ‘Do not do it, for the enemy are infuriated and we fear that they may fight as they did not fight before; so return, and they did return. When the prophet who was in Hārād-ul-Asad heard that they had decided to return he said: ‘Stones have been marked for them.’ Had they been met with them that morning they would have been like yesterday that is past.

Abū ‘Ubaydah said: ‘On that journey of his before he returned to Medina, the apostle seized Mu‘āwiya b. al-Mughira, who was the grandfather of ‘Abdul-Mālik b. Marwān, the father of his mother ‘Ā’ishah, and Abū Āṣūr al-Jumāh. The apostle had taken him prisoner at Badr and then released him. He asked the apostle to forgive him, but he said: ‘You shall not stroke your cheeks in Mecca after this and say ‘I have deceived Muhammad twice.’ Strike off his head, Zubayr,’ and he did so.

I have heard that Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab said that the apostle said to him: ‘The believer should not be bitten twice by the same snake. Cut off his head, O ‘Āṣim b. ‘Abdul-Muṭṭalib, and he did so.

It is said Zayd b. Hāritha and ‘Amr b. Yāsir killed Mu‘āwiya b. al-Mughira after Hārādul-’Asad. He had taken refuge with ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān, who asked the apostle to give him sanctuary, and he did so on the condition that if he was found after three days he should be killed. He stayed there more than three days and hid himself. The prophet sent the two of them and said, ‘You will find him in such-and-such a place.’ They found him there and killed him.

619. Tulunāwī means ‘you chose positions and sites for them.’ Al-Kumayy b. Zayd said:

Would that I before him
Had chosen a place to sleep in.

620. A traditionist from al-Asd said: The two parties said ‘We do not wish that we had not thought as we did because God took us in hand.’

621. Musawwarānīn means ‘plainly marked’. We have heard that al-Hāsīn b. Abīl-Hasan al-’Aṣāf said: ‘They had marked the tails and forelock of their horses with white wool.’ As for Ibn Ishaq he said: ‘Their distinguishing mark on the day of Badr was white turban, which I have recorded in the story of Badr. Șind means ‘distinguishing mark’. In the book of God you read: ‘Their mark is on their faces (it is) the result of prostration’ (48, 29), i.e. their distinguishing mark. ‘And stones of clay massed, marked’ (11, 84), i.e. ‘plainly marked’. We have heard that al-Hasan said ‘A mark upon them? It was not a mark of the stones of this world, but of the stones of punishment’ Ru‘ba b. al-’Ajjāj said:

Proud steeds now meet their match in me.
They cannot keep up with me though marked out (as the finest)
Their eyes look up helplessly as they gallop full speed.

Adhāmān with dhāl means ‘run fast’ and ajdāmān with dāl means ‘give up’. These verses occur in a raufs poem of his. Musawwara also means ‘at pasture’, and in the book of God ‘and horses at pasture’ (11, 12) and ‘trees
on which you send beasts to pasture' (16. 10). The Arabs say sawdawma and aitma when a man pastures his horses and camels. Al-Kumayt said:

He was a gentle shepherd and we lost him.
The loss of the pastor is the loss of the pasture.

The word mujil means 'gently leading, kind to the flock'.

622. Yakbitahum means 'afflict them to the utmost and prevent them from attaining their desires'. Dhu‘l-Rummah said:

While I forget past sorrow I shall not forget our perplexity,
Poised between pleasure and frustration.

The word also means 'that he may throw them on their faces'.

623. Ribāb, singular ribbi, and al-ribab is applied to the sons of ‘Abdu Man‘at b. Ud b. ‘Abdikha b. Ilyas and to Dhaba because they gathered together and made alliances; by this they mean multitudes. Singular of ribba is ribba and ribab which mean large numbers of sticks and arrows and such-like and they compare them to them. Umayya b. Abü‘l-Salt said:

Round their leaders are swarms, myriads,
Clad in mailed armour.

Ribba also means the cloth in which arrows are wrapped. Sanaawar means armour, and dirur are the nails in coats of mail. God says: 'We carried him on a thing of planks and nails' (54. 13). Abü‘l-Akhsar al-Himmānī of Tamim said:

Nails on the ends of a straightened shaft.

624. Hass means rooting out. You can say hasatsu something when you exterminate it by the sword or such-like. Jarir said:

The swords exterminated them as when
A flame rose high among felled trees.

And Ru‘bah b. al-A‘ajjā said in a rajā‘ poem:

When we complained of a year that blasted (by cold)
Devouring the dry after the green

625. al-Sakan was l. Raff b. Imru‘ul-Qays, or al-Sakn.

626. Others say ‘Atīk b. al-Tayyāhan.

627. Qays was b. Zayd b. Ḍubay‘a and Mālik was b. Ama b. Ḍubay‘a.

628. Abū Ḥayya was b. ‘Amr b. Ṭābit.

629. And, it is said, Suwāybiq b. al-‘Alīr h. Ḥāšib b. Ḥaysha.

630. ‘Amr b. Qays was b. Zayd b. Sawa‘d.

631. Ais was the brother of Ḥassān b. Ṭābit.

632. Anas b. al-Na‘ir was the uncle of Anas b. Mālik, the apostle’s servant.

633. Abū Sa‘īd’s name was Ši‘nān, or as others say Sa‘id.

634. ‘Ubayd belonged to B. Ḥabīb.

635. We have been told of five others whom I. I. does not mention, namely:


Thus bringing the total to 70.

636. It is said that ‘Ali killed him.

637. It is said that ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Amr killed Kilāth.

638. ‘Ali, Sa‘īd b. Abū Waqqās and Abū Dujāna have also been claimed as his slayer.

639. It is said that ‘Abdullāh b. Mus‘ād killed ‘Ubayda.

640. ‘A‘idh was b. ‘Imrān b. Makkānūm.

641. Abū ‘Abdullāh quoted these lines to me as from Ka‘b b. Mālik and the verse of Hubayra, ‘many a night when the host warms his hands,’ etc., is credited to Jarīr’s sister of ‘Amr Dhu‘l-Kalb al-Hudhali in some verses of hers about some other fight. [Cf. Dirā‘ān al-Hudhhalīn, ed. Kosegarten, p. 243. 1]

642. Ka‘b had said, ‘Our fighting is on behalf of our stock,’ and the apostle asked, ‘Would it do to say our fighting is on behalf of our religion?’ Ka‘b said ‘Yes,’ and the apostle said: ‘Then it is better,’ and so Ka‘b phrased it thus.

643. Abū ‘Abdullāh quoted me the words ‘an example to be talked of’ and the verses preceding and the words ‘Among Qurāsh,’ etc., as from a source other than I. I.

644. Some authorities on poetry deny that Dirīr was the author. Ka‘b’s words ‘fight-giving straight way’ were quoted by Abū ‘Abdullāh al-Anṣārī.

645. Some authorities on poetry deny the authenticity of these last two poems. The words maddll‘il-al-hababti and waṣayyin yajūnina are not from I. I.

646. Ka‘b b. Mālik answered him according to I. H.:

Tell Fīrūr in spite of the distance between us
(For they have true news of us today)
That we were steadfast while death’s standards fluttered
That more on the floor of Yathrib’s valley.
We stood firm against them, for steadfastness is our nature:
When noontime flees we rise to the occasion
’Tis our wont to go forward firmly
Of old we did so and gained the first place
647. Some authorities on poetry deny Ḥassān's authorship. The verses 'Who in the winter', 'Who leapt to their brides', and 'By one who suffered time's misfortunes' are not from I.I.

648. Abū Zayd quoted me the poem from the words 'Advancing and encouraging us' to the end.

649. Abū Zayd recited it to me as from Ka'b b. Mālik.

650. Abū Zayd quoted me the words 'you have not won' and 'of Him who grants the best favours'.

651. Some authorities on poetry deny Dirār's authorship.

652. An authority on poetry told me that 'Ali did not utter these words, and I have never met anyone who recognized them as 'Ali's. They were spoken by an unknown Muslim. The phrase 'as night' has not I.I.'s authority.

653. The words 'all of us' and 'they would have a morning draught' have not I.I.'s authority.

654. An authority on poetry quoted to me her words 'In sorrow and tears,' &c.

655. An authority on poetry quoted to me her line 'Some from whom I sought vengeance,' &c. Some authorities deny that Hind uttered it, and only God knows the truth.

656. Abū Ubayyī quoted me the verse of al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿĪsā al-Sulami in praise of ʿAli in which he mentioned his killing Ṭāhā b. Abū Ṭālāh b. ʿAbdullāh ʿUzzā, the standard-bearer of the polytheists, on the day of Ḥudaydah:

By God, what a fine protector of women is Fāṭima's son
Whose paternal and maternal uncles were noble!
You quickly dealt him a deadly thrust
Which left Ṭāhā with his forehead cleaving to the dust;
You attacked them like a hero and made them retreat
At the mountain foot, where they fell one after another.

657. Ḥabīl means 'bereaved'.

658. They sold them to Quraysh for two prisoners of Hudhayl who were in Mecca.

659. al-Ḥarīth b. Ṭāhir was the maternal uncle of Abū Ibāḍ. The latter was one of B. ʿUsayy b. Ṭāhir b. Tāmīn; others say one of B. Ṭuṣṣ b. Ṭayy b. ʿAbdullāh b. Dārīm of B. Tāmīn.

660. Ḥubayyā remained imprisoned until the sacred months had passed and then they killed him.

661. al-adād means one who makes mischief with violent opposition, plural ʿadād, as in God's book: 'that you may warn thereby a contumacious people' (xx. 97). Al-Muḥallīl b. Ṭabībī al-Taḡhīlī whose name was Imrūʾul-Qays (others say ʿAdī b. Ṭabībī) [S. shows conclusively that it was ʿAdī] said:

Beneath the stones lies one a menace to his enemies, a boon to his friends,
A doughty adversary, great in argument.

Others report 'with an argument that silences his opponents', mithlād here means al-ṣalād as in the line of al-Ṭirimimānī Ḥākim describing the chameleon:

He looks down on tree stumps as though
He were an adversary who had overcome his contumacious rivals.

[Dīnār, ed. Krenkow, 141, l. 15.]

662. Yathal ʿawāfu means 'selling himself'. Sharaq means 'they sold'. Yazīd b. Ṭabībī b. Mufarrigh al-Himyari said:

And I sold Burd. Would that I had died
Before I sold him.

Burd was a slave whom he sold. Shārāl also means 'he bought', as in the poet's words

I said to her, Grieve not, Umm Mālik, over your sons
Though a mean fellow has bought them.

663. Some authorities on poetry deny his authorship.

664. For ṭuṣṣ there is a variant ṭuṣṭ. We have omitted the rest of the poem because he used obscene language.

665. This poem resembles the preceding. Some authorities on poetry deny that Ḥassān composed it. I have omitted some words of Ḥassān about the affair of Ḥubayyā for reasons I have given.

666. Some authorities on poetry deny his authorship.

667. Anas was al-ʿAr̄ajm al-Sulami, maternal uncle of Muḥīm b. ʿAdī b. Naufāl b. ʿAbdū Manṣūf. When he says 'Udās expelled he means
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 transmitting authority by Abū Zayd. 

Most authorities on poetry deny Hassan's authorship. A variant in the last line is yujiadda. So C W. has tuyjadda.

The Anṣār were al-Mundhir b. Muhammad b. 'Uqba b. Ubayya b. al-Julāh.

666. Of B. Kilāb. Abū 'Amr al-Madani said that they were of B. Sulaym.

667. Ḥakam b. Sa'd was of al-Qays b. Jarr; Ummūl-Banīn was d. 'Amr b. 'Amr b. Rabi'a b. 'Amr b. Ṣa'īda' and the mother of Abū Barā'.

668. The last verse was quoted to me by Abū Zayd. He quoted to me the following as from Ka'b b. Milik pouring scorn on B. Ja'far b. Kilāb. You abandoned your protégé to B. Sulaym. In your impotence and profligacy fearing to fight. Had there been a covenant with 'Uqayl, That agreement would have stood firm. Or with al-Qurāṭ— They would not have betrayed him. They have ever kept their faith although you have not been loyal.

The Qurāt are a tribe of Ḥāzān. There is another reading 'with Nufayl' for 'with Uqayl' and this is correct because al-Qurāt are near to Nufayl.

670. He left I. Umm Maktūm in charge of Medina.

671. This was in Rabī'ī′-l-awwal. He besieged them for six nights and the prohibition of wine came down.

672. Lina are of different kinds. Pomes neither fruitful nor bearing good dates according to what Abū 'Ubayda told me. (This explanation, which is also told by some writers, is only at the orphograph 'u' which is not represented in the same diacritic and forms of date as in in līna.)

The saddle-frames above it looked like a bird's nest. On the thick-trunked palm as its sides oscillated.

673. Anjihtum means 'You drove them fast and wearied them in running. Tamīn b. 'Ubay b. Mūṣil, one of B. 'Amr b. Ṣa'i'aa, said: Protectors with swords newly polished From riders when they urged their steeds at a gallop i.e. 'running'. Abū Zayd al-Tā'ī whose name was Ḥarmala b. al-Mundhir said: Their girths tightened like Indian lances Because of the length of the run (ṣawjīf) through land bare of pasture.

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Sināf means 'girth', Waqf means 'throb of the heart and the liver', i.e. the beat. Qays b. al-Khaṭṭān al-Zubayr said:

Though they brought what they knew, Our livers palpitate behind them.


684. 'Amr b. Buhtha was of Ghatafan. The words 'in a distant place' are not from I.I.

685. Some of our traditions tell me that some anonymous Muslims recited the verses. I have never met anyone who knew them as 'Abī's.


689. He put Abū Dharr al-Ghiṭṭār in charge of Medina, or according to others 'Uthman b. 'Affān. It was called Dhiḥāl-Riṣāq because they patched their flags there. Others say because there was a tree of that name there. Cf. W. R. Smith, Religion of the Semites. 185.

698. 'Abdullāh-Wāriṭh b. Sa'id al-Tanānī, surnamed Abū 'Ubayda, told us from Yuan b. 'Ubayd from al-Hasan b. Abūl-Hasan from Jābir b. 'Abdullāh concerning the prayer of fear: the apostle prayed two bows with one section, then he ended with the invocation of peace, while the other section were facing the enemy. Then they came and they prayed two other bows with them, ending with the invocation of peace. 'Abdullāh-Wāriṭh from Ayyūb from Abūl-Zubayr from Jābir; The apostle ranged us in two ranks and bowed with us all. Then the apostle prostrated himself and the front rank prostrated. When they raised their heads those next to them prostrated themselves. Then the front rank went back and the rear rank advanced until they occupied their place. Then the prophet bowed with them all; then he prostrated and those next him did likewise. When they raised their heads those behind prostrated themselves. The prophet bowed with them all and each one of them prostrated twice. 'Abdullāh-Wāriṭh b. Sa'id al-Tanānī from Ayyūb from Nāfi' from Ibn 'Umar said: The imam stands and one section stands with him while another section are near the enemy. The imam bows and prostrates with them. Then they withdraw and become those nearest the enemy. The others advance and the imam performs one bow and one prostration with them. Then each section prays with one bow. They have one bow with the imam and one by themselves.

689. It was plated with silver.

690. The two men were 'Ammār b. Yasir and 'Abdād b. Bishr.

691. Another reading is unfidhaha.

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693. Abū Zayd quoted it to me as from Ka'b b. Mālik.

694. We have omitted the remaining verses because the rhyme is faulty. Abū Zayd quoted to me the line ‘that young gazelle’, &c., and the following verse as coming from Ḥassān in connection with the line ‘You can say goodbye to Syria’, &c. He also quoted his line ‘Take Abū Sufyān a message’.


696. Luṭūdî means ‘concealing something in flight’. Ḥassān b. Thabit said:

Quraysh fled from us to hide themselves
So that they stood not firm, their minds unstable

This is a verse which we have mentioned in the poetry about Badr (p. 626).

697. He put I. Umm Maktūm in charge of Medina.

698. A traditionist whom I trust told me that Mu‘āṭṭib was not one of the disaffected; his argument was that he was at Badr.

699. Or ‘Amr b. ‘Abd b. Abū Qays [apparently a later attempt to remove the then-prevalent name of Wulûd].

700. It is said that Salmān the Persian advised the apostle to make it. A traditionist told me that on this day the Mulâṣṣirs claimed that Salmān belonged to them, while the Anāṣir said that he was their man; but the apostle said, ‘Salmān belongs to us, the people of the house.’

701. Most authorities on poetry doubt ‘Ali’s authorship.

702. Far‘ûd is a young hyena. At the battle of the Trench and B. Qurayy the cry of the apostle’s companions was Hā Mīm [the letters prefixed to sūra 49, 41, 43, 45, and 46] ‘They will not be helped!’

703. It is said that the man who shot Sa‘d was Khaṭā‘a b. ‘Āṣim b. Hībān.

704. Marājil is a kind of Yaman cloth

705. He left I. Umm Maktūm in charge of Medina.

706. Others say ‘Anni.

707. God sent down concerning Abū Lubābâ according to what Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna from Ismā‘îl b. Abū Khālid from ‘Abdullâh b. Abî Qattâdâ said, ‘O ye who believe, do not betray God and the apostle and be false to your engagements while you know what you are doing (8. 27).

708. He remained tied to a stump for six nights. His wife used to come to him at every time of prayer and unite him for prayer. Then he would return and tie himself to the stump according to what a traditionist told me, and the verse which came down about his repentance is the word of God: ‘And others who confess their sins have mingled good actions with bad; it may be that God will forgive them: God is forgiving, merciful’ (9. 103).

709. A traditionist whom I trust told me that ‘Ali cried as they were besieging B. Qurayy, ‘O squadron of the Faith’; and he and al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awâm advanced and he said, ‘Either I will taste what Ḥamzâ tasted or I will conquer their fort.’ They said, ‘O Muhammad, we will submit to the judgement of Sa‘d b. Mu‘âdh.’

710. Ḫuqqaṭiyâ means a kind of brocade.

711. This was the woman who threw the millstone on Khalîl b. Suwâyd and killed him.

712. Qoḥa is the receiving of the bucket of the camel drawing water. Zubayr b. Abû Sulmâ said qoḥa is:

Whenever his hands get hold of the bottom of the bucket
He sings as he stands pouring out the water.

Another reading is waqṭahîma yatalakqâ, meaning ‘the receiver of the bucket takes hold of it’. The nāḍîh is the camel that draws the water to irrigate Cî. Sharîf Dhuṭân Zubayr, Cairo, 1944, p. 40. [Here I.H. is explaining the variant qoḥa for fâṭâ.]

713. Ḥaqîr means ‘sides’, singular qîr. Qîr, plural Ḥaqîr, has the same meaning. Al-Faruqadât said:

What wealth did God open to them
As the horses rolled on their sides

[i.e. to get to their feet]. Ḥaqîr and Ḥaqîr are variant readings.

714. Ṣalaṭīhôm means ‘they injured you with talk, burned and distressed you’. The Beduin say ‘an eloquent (sâlîq) speaker and ḥaṭṭûb mîlâtq and mîlâtq.’ A‘shâ of B. Qays b. Thâ‘laba said:

Among them is glory, tolerance, and nobility,
Among them is the sharp eloquent orator.

715. Qoḥā mabbâha means ‘died’; nabb means ‘breath’, according to what Abû Ubaydâ told me; its plural is mabbâh. Dhu‘l-Rumma said:

The night that the Ḥaṭîthâs fled
After Haubar died (qoḥâ mabbâha) in the cavalry charge.

Haubor was one of B. al-Ḥarîth b. Ka‘b. He means ‘abād b. Haubor. Nabb also means ‘vow’. Jarîr b. al-Khatâfî said:

In Ṭîkha we fought the kings, and our cavalry
Went on the night of Bistām to fulfill their vow.

He means the vow they had sworn to kill him and they did kill him. Bistām was Bistām b. Qays b. Ma‘ṣūd al-Shaybâni, who was Ibn Dhu‘l-Jadîdayn. Abû Ubaydâ told me that he was the knight of Râfî‘a b. Nîzâr. Ṭîkha is a place on the Basra road. Nabb also means ‘wagers’, i.e. ‘bet’. Al-Faruqadât said:

When Kaḥî bet against people which of us
Is more generous and liberal?
Another meaning is 'weeping'. 

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Nabî also means 'necessity and need'. You can say 'They have nothing I want.' Malik b. Buwaryra al-Yarbi'I said:

They have nothing I want except that I
Seek the red-eyed camels of Shudun that you want

Nabî also means 'a gentle rapid gait'.

716. Suhaaym slave of B. al-Hashâs who are of B. Asad b. Khazayma said:

The chiefs lay dead on the ground
And Tamim's women hastened to the forts

Sawdâ'i also means 'horns'. Al-Nabigha al-Ja'dâ'i said:

(Death smote the) chiefs of my tribe so that I was alone
Like the horn of a bull whose other horn is broken off

Abu Durâd al-Iyâdâ said:

The blackness of their horns scared us.
Their feet as it were sprinkled with pitch and tar

Sawdâ'i also means the weaver's implement according to what Abu 'Ubayd told me, and he quoted me the line of Darsyd b. al-Šumma al-Jushami, Justim b. Mu'âwiya b. Bakr b. Hawkein:

I looked at him as the spears went through him
As the sawdâ'i go through the outstretched web.

Sawdâ'i also means the protuberances on the feet of cocks like little horns. It also means 'roots'. He told me that the Arabs say, 'May God cut off his sâwâdâ, i.e. his root'.

717. The metaphorical meaning of this tradition is (explained in) the words of 'Aisha: 'The apostle said, The grave has a hold on people; if anyone were to escape from it it would be Sa'd b. Mu'âath'.

718. She was Kubaysa d. Râfî b. Mu'âwiya b. 'Ubayd b. Thâlaba b. 'Abdu l-Abjar, who was Khudra b. 'Auf b. al-Hasbâ, who was a Khudra.

719. You can say rahm gharbin and sahum gharbin with or without idâfa.

It is not known whence the arrow comes or who shot it.

720. He was 'Uthmân b. Umâyya b. Munâbîbî b. 'Ubayd b. al-Šabbaq.

721. I have heard from al-Zuhri that they gave the apostle 10,000 dirhams for his body

1. The poet is speaking of mountain goats.

2. W's med-syllable makes no sense and violates the metre. It is one of his very few mistakes

3. Perhaps the sense here is merely 'they offered to give'.

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722. A trustworthy person told me that he was told on the authority of al-Zuhri that that day 'All killed 'Amr b. 'Abdu Wudâ and his son 'Hasî. Others say 'Amr b. 'Abd. [Presumably the name of the heathen deity has been dropped.]

723. One whom I can trust told me from 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Yahyâ b. 'Abbâd b. 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr: When Ka'b said, 'Quraysh came to contend with their Lord', &c., the apostle said: 'God thanks you, Ka'b, for saying that.'

724. Abu Zayd quoted to me verses 8 and 20; and v. 11 with the variant 'as though to the top of Quds al-Mashriq'.

725. The verses 'We kept every one ... courser' and the following verse and the third and fourth and the verse 'Haughty as an angry lion' and the following verse are from Abu Zayd.

726. Some authorities on poetry deny his authorship. The words 'Amr to dismount' are not from I.l.

727. Some authorities on poetry deny Hassan's authorship.

728. These verses are credited to Rabî'a b. Umâya al-Dilli, whose last verse runs:

You brought the Khazraj to his knees
And so I saw my desire on him.

The verses are also credited to Abu Usâma al-Jushami.

729. Or his leg.

730. Another reading is sâhutu, 'annula'.

731. He left I. Umm Maktûm in charge of Medina.

732. More than one tradition asserted that Waqds b. Muhriz al-Mudili was also killed that day.

733. Sa'd's horse was Lâhiq; Miqdad's was Ba'zaja or Sabha; 'Ukasha's was Dhu'l-Lumma; Abu Qasi'a's was Hasra; 'Abbad's was Lamnal; Usayd's was Massân; and Abu 'Ayyash's was Julwa.

734. He left I. Umm Maktûm in charge of Medina.

735. When Hassan said this Sa'd b. Zayd was enraged against him and swore that he would never speak to him again. He said: 'He has actually attributed my horses and my horsesmen to Miqdad! Hassan excused himself, saying, 'That was not my intention, I swear. But al-Miqdad's name suited the rhyme'. Hassan composed other verses to placate Sa'd:

If you seek the stoutest warrior
Or an able man, go to Sa'd,
Sa'd b. Zayd the dauntless.

But Sa'd would not accept the apology and it availed him naught.

736. Abu Zayd quoted me the line 'We feed the guest'.
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737. He put Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī or Numayya b. 'Abdullāh al-Laythī in charge of Madīna.

738. The war-cry of the Muslims on the day of B. Muṣṭafīq was ‘O victorious one, slay, slay!

739. It is said that when the apostle departed from the raid with Juwayriya and was at Dhūlāl-Jaysh he entrusted her to one of the Anṣār and went forward to Madīna. Her father al-Ḥārith came bringing his daughter’s ransom. When he was in al-’Aqiq he looked at the camels he had brought as her ransom and admired two of them greatly, so he hid them in one of the passes of al-’Aqiq. Then he came to the prophet and told him that he had brought his daughter’s ransom. He said: ‘Where are the two camels which you have hidden in al-’Aqiq in such-and-such a pass?’ Al-Ḥārith exclaimed: ‘I bear witness that there is no God but Allah and that you, Muhammad, are the apostle of Allah; for none could have known of this but God.’ He and his two sons who were with him and some of his men accepted Islam and he sent for the two camels and brought them and all of them over to the prophet. His daughter was handed over to him and became an excellent Muslim. The apostle asked her father to let him marry her and when he agreed he gave her 400 dirhams as dowry.

740. She was Umūm Rūmān, Zaynab d. Abū Duhmān, one of B. Fīrsī b. Ghanam b.'Malik b. Kinānā.

741. Others say it was ‘Abdullāh b. Ubayy and his companions. The one who had the greater share therein was ‘Abdullāh, as I. has shown above. [Presumably I. has note ended at this point.]

742. In the tradition ḫbrahu and ṣbrahu occur, but the Qurān has ḫbrahu with kurr. ‘Let not those who possess dignity among you’ yūtālī means ‘be severe’, as in the line of Imrūl-Qays al-Khādi.

Many a troublesome opponent have I repelled for love of you,

One who advised and reproved me without ceasing (mu'allī)

(Mu'all. v. 41). It is said that the Quranic words mean ‘Let not those who possess dignity take an oath’, which according to what we have heard is what al-Jāhān Abūl-Ḥasan al-Bāṣrī said. And in God’s book ʿIhāṣān who foresaw their wives (yūtāla) is from ṣafā and ṣafya means an oath. Ḥasan b. Ṣābit said:

I swear that no man is more careful than I
In swearing an oath true and free from falsehood.

I shall mention this verse in its context later (v. d. W. p. 1046, 1. 2). The meaning of an yūtāla in this case is an ʿaṣṣ yūtāla, and in God’s book we read: ‘God makes it plain to you an ṣahāla, meaning an ṣāḥāla, he holds back the sky lest (an) it should fall on the earth, meaning an ʿaṣṣ.’ I. Mufarrīgh al-Ḥimyarī said:

May I never frighten the camels at dawn.
May I not be called Yadda.

If, fearing death, I make my shame public
While the fates watch me lest I should turn aside.

i.e. ʿāshā while.

Ibn Ḥishām’s Notes

743. Another version is ‘... after God has guided you to Islam’. 744. The verse ‘a noble woman’ and the one after, and ‘His rank’ are on the authority of Abū Zayd. Abū Usayfa told me that a woman praised Ḥassān’s daughter in ʿA’ishah’s presence, saying:

‘Chaste, keeping to her house, above suspicion,
Never thinking of reviling innocent women;

and ʿA’ishah said, ‘But her father did?’

745. Ḥassān and his two companions.

746. He put Numayya b. ‘Abdullāh in charge of Medīna.

747. Others say Rusr.

748. Ṣafā b. Ḥāritha.

749. For yahmāshānūka some say yamāshānūka.

750. In saying this ʿUrwa meant that al-Mughīra before he became a Muslim had killed thirteen men of B. Malik of Thaqīf. The two clans of Thaqīf fought, the B. Malik the family of the slain, and the allies the family of al-Mughīra, and ʿUrwa paid the bloodwit for the thirteen men and that settled the affair.

751. Ṣūqīd from Ṣmāllī b. Abū Khālid from al-Sha’bī mentioned that the first one to pledge the apostle was Abū Sinān al-ʿAṣadī. One whom I trust from one who told him with a chain of witnesses going back to Abū Mulayka and I. Abū Ṣumr, told me that the apostle made a pledge on behalf of Abūl-ʿUthmān, striking one of his hands on the other.

752. Muʾāṣā means ‘bound’. ʿĀshā of B. Qays b. Thā’labā said:

‘Twas as though the thread kept the beads from scattering
On either side of Umūm Ghasāl’s graceful neck.

753. I have heard that Muḥājirid said, ‘This passage came down concerning al-Walid b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra and Sulamūn b. Ḥīṣām and ʿAyyūs b. Abū Rabīʿa and Abū Jandāb b. Suḥayl, and others like them.’

754. The proof of al-Zuhair’s assertion that the apostle went to al-Hudayhiya with 1,400 men is in the words of Jābir b. ‘Abdullāh: ‘Then in the year of the conquest of Mecca two years afterwards the apostle marched with 10,000.’

755. Abū Bāṣrā was of Thaqīf.

756. Abū Usayn was an Ḥaḍārī.

757. The singular of ʿiḥṣām is ʿiḥṣa which means a cord or rope. al-ʿAšā b. Qays said:

To Imrūl-Qays we make long journeys
And we take ropes from every tribe. (Dīnār iv. 20.)

758. Abū Usayf told us that some who were with the apostle when he came to Medīna said to him, ‘Did you not say that you would enter Mecca safely?’
770. "The Life of Muhammad"

He answered, 'Certainly, but did I say that it would be this year?' They said
No, and he went on: 'It is in accordance with what Gabriel said to me.'

759. He put Numayla b. `Abdullah in charge of Medina and gave the standard
to `Ali. It was white.

760. The war-cry of the companions at Khaybar was 'O victorious one, stay
alone!'

761. Ābu Zayd quoted the lines thus:

Khaybar knows that I am Ka'b
And that when war breaks out
I advance against terrors, bold and dour.
I carry a sharp sword that glitters like lightning
In the hand of a warrior sans reproach.
We will crush you till the strong is humbled.

Marjāb was from Ḥimyar.

762. It was white.

763. Judhām is the brother of Laḥum.

764. Pursat mean 'the eyelids were uncovered from the eyes as an animal's
(lobes) are uncovered when one looks at its teeth'. He means 'they uncovered
the eyelids from the covers of the eyesight' meaning the Anṣār. [The Jews
must be referred to here.]

765. Ābū b. al-Hādhāb: I. Uḥayy b. Suḥaym b. Ghiyāra of B. Sa'd b. Layth,
an ally of B. Asad and the son of their sister.

766. Al-Aswad the shepherd was one of the people of Khaybar.

767. Another reading is 'the spoil of Muhammad', &c.

768. Ābū Zayd quoted these verses to me from Ka'b b. Mālik and he quoted:

What stopped him was the behaviour of his horse.
But for that he would not have been remiss

769. A rhapsodist quoted to me his words 'when I charged' and 'perished
in the feeding place'.

Ka'b b. Mālik said, according to Ibn Hishām on the authority of Ābū
Zayd:

We came down to Khaybar and its drinking places
With every strong warrior whose veins showed in his hand.

Brave in dangers, no weaklings.
Bold against the enemy in every battle,
Generous with food every winter,
Smiting with the blade of an Indian sword.
They think death praiseworthy if they get the martyrdom
They hope for from God and victory through Ahmad.
They protect and defend Muhammad's protégé.
They fight for him with hand and tongue.

770. On the day of Khaybar the apostle decided which were Arab horses and
which were of mixed blood.

771. He was called 'Ubayy al-Sihāb' because he bought the horses. He was
'Ubayy b. Aus, one of B. Ijiṣrā'īl b. al-Ḥarrāb b. al-Khāzraj b. Amr b. Mālik
b. Aus.

772. (Loads refer to) wheat, barley, dates, and datestones, &c. He distribu-
ted them according to their needs. [This useful explanatory note from I.H. is not in W.'s text and there is no mention of the reading in his critical
notes in vol. iii. C. notes that it is missing in W., but does not state what
manuscripts contain it. Datestones were pounded up and used for camel
food.] The need of B. 'Abdul-Muṭṭalib was greater and so he gave them
more.

773. Some say 'Aza b. Mālik and his brother Murrān or Marwān b. Mālik.
[This latter divergence shows clearly that the tradition rested on manu-
scripts which could not be read with certainty.]

774. According to Mālik b. Amr he said Kabbār Kabbār! [There is no
difference in the meaning.]

775. Of Aslam.

776. Some say 'to Qaṭāda'.

777. The word khatar means 'share'. You can say akhṭara li fīdān khatāren,
'someone gave me a share'.

778. Suḥyān b. Umayya from al-Ajlān from al-Sha'bī said that Ja'fār b.
Abū Ṭalib came to the apostle the day he conquered Khaybar. The apostle
kissed his forehead and taking hold of him said: 'I don't know which gives
me the greater pleasure—the conquest of Khaybar or the arrival of Ja'far.'

779. Others say her name was Ḥumaynās.

780. He put 'Uwayf b. al-Ajdāḥ b. Dīhī in charge of Medina. This is also
called the 'Pilgrimage of Retaliation' because they prevented him from pil-
grimage in Dhul-Qa'da in the holy month in A.H. 6; and the apostle retali-
ated and entered Mecca in the very month in which they had shut him out, in
A.H. 7. We have heard that I. 'Abbās said: 'God revealed concerning that,
"And forbidden things are subject to retaliation"' (2. 199).

781. The words 'We will fight you about its interpretation' to the end of the
verses were spoken by 'Ammār b. Yasir about another battle. The proof
of this is that I. Rawḥaḥ referred only to the polytheists. They did not believe
it, the revelation and only those who did would fight for an interpretation of
it. [Says the occasion was the battle of Siṣṭān, and this certainly gives point
to the verses which are to be found in the K. Siṣṭān.]
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782. She had entrusted her sister Umm al-Fadl with her affairs; she, being married to al-'Abbās, confided the matter to him, and he married her to the apostle in Mecca and gave her as dowry on the apostle's behalf 400 dirhams.

783. God sent down to him—so Abū 'Ubayda told me—'God has fulfilled the vision in reality to His apostle. "You shall enter the sacred mosque if God will in safety with heads shaved (and hair) shorn, not fearing'. He knows what you do not know, and He has wrought besides that a victory near by' (48. 27), i.e. Khaibar.

784. Some authorities on poetry quoted the verses to me thus:

You are the apostle and he who is deprived of his gifts
And the sight of him has no real worth.
May God confirm the good things He gave you
Among the apostles, and the victory as they were helped.
I perceived goodness in you by a natural gift.
An intuition which is contrary to what they think of you,
meaning the polytheists.

785. Another reading is:

We urged on our horses from the thickets of Qurṭubah.

[This is the reading of T. 1212, i. 9 and Yāqūt, iv, 55, i. 22, who says that Qurṭubah is in the Wadī-il-Qurṭubah. I.1.'s reading is given in Yāqūt, iv. 571.] The words 'We arranged their bridles' are not from I.1.

786. Others say 'Ubaida b. Malik.

787. A traditionist whom I trust told me that Jāfar took the flag in his right hand and it was cut off; then he held it in his left hand and that was cut off; then he held it to his breast with his arms until he was slain. He was 33 years old. For that God rewarded him with a pair of wings in Paradise with which he flew whither he would. It is said that a Greek gave him a blow which cut him asunder.

788. Another reading is 40 skins (manṭal) in.

789. The words I. al-Irāsh are not from I.1. The third verse is from Khālid b. Quarra: others say Malik b. Râfîla.

790. Al-Zuhri according to our information said that the Muslims made Khālid their chief and God helped them, and he was in charge of them until he came back to the prophet.


792. The poem is ascribed to Ḥabib b. 'Abdallah al-Alam al-Hudhali, and the verse 'I remembered the ancient blood-feud' is from Abū 'Ubayda, also the words 'wide-nosed' and 'strong, lean-banked'.

Ibn Hishām's Notes

793. The words 'except Nāfi' and 'to the slopes of Raḍwān' are not from I.1. Concerning him Hassan b. Thabit said:

God curse the tribe we left deprived of their best men
With none but Nāfi to call them together.
O Naufal, testicles of a donkey who died last night.
When have you ever been successful, you enemy of baggage!

[The last insult means 'you never equip yourself for a foray', or, perhaps, 'you thief'.

794. Another reading is 'Help us, God guide you, with strong aid'; and 'We provided the mother and you are the son'.

795. Another reading is the 'worst enemy'.

796. By the words 'By men who had not drawn their swords' he means Quraysh, and by 'the son of Umm Mujālid' he means Ikrīm b. Abū Jahal.

797. He met him in al-Juhfa migrating with his family; before that he had lived in Mecca in charge of the watering with the goodwill of the apostle, according to what al-Zuhri told me.

798. Another reading is 'And one whom I had driven out led me to the truth'.

799. It was called greenish-black because of the large amount of steel in it. Al-Hārith b. Hilâzâ al-Yashkur said:

Then Jūrây, I mean Ibn Umm Qatām,
With his greenish-black horsemen
meaning the squadron; and Hassan b. Thabit said:

When he saw Bād's valley walls
Swarming with the black-mailed squadrons of Khazraj
in his poem on Badr [v. 253].

800. Said to be 'Umar.

801. He was of Khaza'a.

802. An authority on poetry quoted me his saying 'like a pillar' which is credited to al-Ri'sh al-Hudhali. On the day of Mecca, Ḥunayn, and al-Tā'lif the battle-cry of the muhaqiqs was 'O Banū 'Abdu'l-Rahmān'; of the Khazraj, 'O Banū 'Abdullāh'; of the Ass, 'O Banū 'Ubaydudullāh'.

803. Afterwards he became a Muslim and 'Umar gave him a governorship and so did 'Uthmān after him.

804. Al-'Abbās had put Fitma and Umm Kulthūm, the two daughters of the apostle, on a camel to take them from Mecca to Medina and al-Huwairith goaded the beast so that it threw them to the ground.

805. They were al-Hārith b. Hishām and Zuhayr b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughira.

1 W. leaves this sentence under I.1.'s name
He told me that Fadlá b. 'Umayr b. al-Mu‘awwab al-Laythi wanted to kill the prophet as he was going round the temple in the year of the conquest. When he drew near, the apostle asked him what he was muttering. He replied that he was only mentioning the name of God. The prophet laughed and said, ‘Ask God’s forgiveness,’ and he put his hand on his chest and his heart became at rest. Fadlá used to say, ‘As soon as he took his hand from my chest none of God’s creatures was dearer to me than he; so I went back to my people. I passed by a woman with whom I used to have converse, and when she asked me to join her I refused.’ He used to say,

She said, Come and talk! and I said,
God and Islam make it unlawful.
If you had seen Muhammad and his victorious entry
The day the idols were smashed,
You would have seen God’s religion shining plainly
And darkness covering the face of idolatry.

808. A traditionist of Quraysh told me that Šafwán said to ‘Umayr, ‘Confound you, get away and do not speak to me, for you are a liar,’ because of what he himself had done. We have mentioned the latter in the end of the account of the battle of Badr.

809. Some authorities on poetry deny his authorship of this poem.

810. Another version is ‘And kinship’s cords were severed from you.’

811. Ḥassan said this on the day of the occupation. For ‘ayba some recite ‘atba. Al-Zuhri is reported to have said: ‘When the apostle saw the women flapping their veils at the horses he looked at Abū Bakr with a smile.’

812. This is part of a longer ode of his

813. ‘Abbas b. Mīrād b. al-Sulamī said:

With us on the day Muhammad entered Mecca
Were a thousand marked men—the valleys flowed with them
They had helped the apostle and been present at his battles,
Their mark on the day of battle being to the fore.
In a strait place their feet were firm.
They split the enemies’ heads like colocynthis.
Their hooves had traversed Najd beforehand
Till at last black ‘Alīs became subject to them.
God gave him the mastery of it.
The judgment of the sword and victorious fortune subdued it to us
One old in authority, proud in mien,
Seeking the bounds of glory, exceeding generous

**ABBAS B. MIRĀD B. AL-SULAMĪ BECOMES A MUSLIM**

According to what an authority on poetry told me the father of ‘Abbas had an idol which he used to worship. It was a stone called Īūmari. One day

1 i.e. with a distinguishing tunic or emblem; or the word might mean ‘released’ or ‘set free’.
Mirdas said to his son, 'Worship Damari, for it can both help and hurt you.' When Abbas was by Damari he heard a voice saying from within it:

Say to all the tribes of Sulaym,
Damari is dead and the people of the mosque do live.
He of Quraysh who has inherited prophecy and guidance
After the Son of Mary is the rightly guided one.
Damari is dead though once he was worshipped
Before scripture came to the prophet Muhammad.

At that Abbas burned Damari and joining the prophet became a Muslim.

Ja'da b. Abdullah al-Khuzayti on the day Mecca was entered said:

O Ka'b b. Amr, hear a claim that is true
Of death decreed on him on the day of battle,
Decreed for him from everywhere,
That he should die by night weaponless.
We are they whose horses closed up Ghazal,
And Fajr and Fajju Tilaah we closed up.
We brandished our spears behind the Muslims
In a great army supported by our horses.

Bujayd b. Imran al-Khuzayti said:

God created the clouds to help us,
Heave of low-lying clouds one above another,
Our migration is in our country where we have
A book which comes from the best of dictators and writers.
For our sake Mecca's sanctuary was professed
That we might get revenge with our sharp swords.

814. Abbas b. Mirdas said concerning this:

Sent you have made Khalid chief of the army
And promised him he has become chief indeed
In an army guided by God whose commander you are
Be which wemites the wicked with every right.

These two verses belong to an ode of his about the battle of Hunayn which I shall mention later, God willing. [See p. 683.]

815. A traditionist who had it from Ibrahim b. Ja'far al-Mahmudi told me that the apostle said 'In a dream I swallowed a mess of dates mixed with butter and enjoyed the taste of it; but some of it stuck in my gutter when I was trying to swallow it and 'Ali thrust in his hand and pulled it out.' Abu Bakr said: 'This is one of the poetry you sent out. You will hear tidings which you will like and dislike, and you will send 'Ali to put matters right.' He told me that one of the men escaped and came to the apostle to tell him the news. The apostle asked if anyone opposed Khalid, and he replied that a man of medium height had done so but Khalid drove him away. Another man tall and of clumsy figure argued with him until the dispute became hot. 'Umar said that the first was his son 'Abdullah and the other was Sallam, a client of Abu Hudhayfa.

816. Abu Amr al-Madani said: When Khalid came to them they said, 'We have changed our religion, we have changed our religion.'

817. The word Buur and 'remained with the marriage-makers' are not from I.I.

818. Most authorities on poetry deny the authenticity of the last two lines.

819. More than one authority on poetry recited the first line to me.

820. The words 'Take to Havazin' to the end of the poem deal with this battle. What goes before has reference to something else. They are quite distinct, but I.I. has made them into one poem.

821. Abu Sulayman's son was named Ja'far, his own name being al-Mughirah. Some people count Qutham b. al-Abbas among them and omit Abu Sulayman's son.

822. Kalada b. al-Hamal

823. Nasir, b. Thabit lampooning Kalada said:

I saw a black man afar off and he scared me.
'Twas Abu Hamal leaping on Umm Hamal.
'Twas as though that with which he kept upon her belly
Was the foreleg of a camel sired by a mighty stallion!

Abu Zayd quoted these two verses to us, and said that in them he lampooned Sulayman b. Umawa who was half-brother to Kalada on his mother's side. (This passage is not in W.)

824. These two verses were not spoken by Malik and were about another battle.

825. Or 'the smell of death.'

826. As authority on the oral tradition of poetry quoted to me the second hemistich in the form:

And his cavalry has the best claim to constancy.

827. Ghuylin is b. Salama al-Thaqafi, and 'Urwa is b. Mas'ud al-Thaqafi.

828. Some say I. Ladi's.

829. The name of the man who killed Durayd was 'Abdullah b. Qasay' h. Ubban b. Thabit b. Zabdi.

830. These verses of Malik have nothing to do with this battle. You can see that from the words of Durayd at the beginning of this account, 'What of Ka'b and Kilab.' to which they replied, 'Not one of them is here.' Now Ja'far was the son of Kilab, and in these verses Malik says 'Ja'far and B. Hild would have returned.' I have heard that cavalry came up while Malik and his party were at the
pass and when he asked his men what they could see they said that they saw a
force who lay their lances between the ears of their long-armed steeds.
He said that they were B. Sulaym and they had nothing to fear from them.
When they came near they took the road at the bottom of the wadi. Next
came men with no distinguishing mark carrying their lances at the side.
He said that there was nothing to fear: they were Aus and Khaeraj.
When they came to the bottom of the pass they took the same road as B. Sulaym.
Then they said that they saw a horseman long of thigh carrying his lance on
his shoulder, his head wrapped in a red cloth. That is al-Zubayr b. al-
\'Awwâm, the said, 'I swear by all-Làt that he will fight you, so stand firm.'
When al-Zubayr came to the foot of the pass he saw them and for them
and kept thrusting at them until he drove them from it.

331. An authority on poetry whom I do not suspect told me that Abú
\'Amir al-\'Ashârì met ten polytheists, all brothers, on the day of Ayâzâs.
One of them attacked and Abú \'Amir fell upon him calling him to Islam,
saying, 'O God, testify against him,' and he killed him. They began to
attack him one by one until he killed nine of them and then he began to
fight the tenth calling on God as before. The man cried, 'O God, do not
testify against me,' and Abú \'Amir let him go and he escaped and afterwards
became a good Muslim. When the apostle saw him he said, 'This is the
survivor of Abú \'Amir's onslaught.' Two brothers shot Abú \'Amir, al-\'Alî,
and Ausâ sons of al-\'Hârîth of B. Jusham b. Mu\'âsâwiya; one of them hit
his heart and the other his knee and so he died. Abû Mussâ assumed com-
mand and attacked and killed the pair of them. One of the B. Jusham lament-
ting them said:

The killing of al-\'Alî and Ausâ was a calamity,

They could not be touched while life was in them.

They were the ones who killed Abú \'Amir

Who was a sharp sword with wavy marks.

They left him on the battlefield

As though wrapped in a crimson robe.

You have not seen their like among men,

Less likely to stumble or better shots.

332. God sent down concerning the day of Hûnayn: 'God gave you victory
in many places and on the day of Hûnayn when you exerted in your multi-
tude' to the words 'That is the reward of the unbelievers' (9. 25).

333. One of the thristadists said about it:

When your prophet's uncle and friends arose

'They cried, Help, O squadron of the faith!

Where are those who answered their Lord

On the day of al-\'Urayd and the homage of al-Ri\'ây?

334. The words 'covered with dust' are not from I.F.

335. Khalaf al-\'Almâr quoted to me the words 'And cried Stop!'.

336. An authority on poetry recited to me 'we were his right wing', &c.,
but he knew nothing of the verse beginning 'we carried his banner'. After

337. Abû \'Ubayd told me that Zuhayr b. al-\'Ajlân al-\'Udhâlî was taken
prisoner at Hûnayn and handcuffed. Jamil b. Ma\'mar al-\'Junubî said he
and said, 'Are you the man who has been acting offensively against us?',
and he struck off his head. Abû Khâlid, who was his nephew, said in
lamenting him:

Jamil b. Ma\'mar has half-starved my guests

By killing a generous man to whom widows resorted.

The belt of his sword was long, no short one when he brandished it.

And the cord was loose upon him.1

So generous he would almost give away his girdle

When the cold north winds were fierce.

To his tent the poor man went in winter

And the poor night traveller in his worn-out rags

Who goes half-frozen when the night winds blow

Driving him to seek refuge.

What ails the people of the camp that they did not separate

When the eloquent chief had gone?

I swear if you had met him when he was not bound

Huyayn would have visited you at the mountain foot.

If you had faced him when you met him

And fought him if you are a fighter

Jamil would have met the most ignominious end;

But a man whose hands are bound cannot defend himself.2

We were not as we used to be at home, O Umm Thâbit,

But chains were round our necks.

The young man like the old man does naught but what is right

And the women blamers have nothing to say.

Sincere brethren have become as though

One had poured on them the dust of the grave.

But don't think that I have forgotten the nights in Mecca

When we could not be held back from what we took in hand, in

When men were men and the country was famous

And doors were not shut in our faces.

338. It is said that his name was Abû Thawâb Ziyâd b. Thawâb. Khalaf
al-\'Almâr quoted me the words 'Red blood flowed because of our rage' and
the last verse as not from I.F.

339. Some say 17 days.

340. The apostle shot at them with catapults. One I can trust told me that
the apostle was the first to use a catapult in Islam when he fired at the men
of Tâ'dif.

341. It is said that the mother of Dâ\'ud was Maymûna d. Abû Sufyân who
was married to Abû Murra b. \'Urwa b. Mas\'ûd, and she bore to him
Dâ\'ud.

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1 A frequent cliche for a tall man.
2 S. misses the point here.
The Life of Muhammad

842. I. I. gave the names of those slaves who came.

843. The word yarhib is not from I. I.

844. Others say I. Hubāb.

845. Another tradition is 'had we shared our salt with', &c

846. Zayd b. Aslam from his father said that 'Āqil b. Abū Bakr went in to his wife Fātima d. Shayba b. Rabīʿa on the day of Ḥunayn with his sword dripping with blood. She said, 'I see that you have been fighting, and what plunder have you got from the polytheists?' He said 'Take this needle to make your clothes with' and handed it to her. Then he heard the apostle's crier ordering men to return anything they had taken even to a needle and thread; so he came back and said 'I'm afraid you have lost your needle' and took it and threw it into the common stock.

847. Nuṣayr b. al-Ḥārith b. Kafada, and it may be that his name was al-Ḥārith also.

848. His name was 'Adly b. Qays.

849. Yūnus al-Nawrī quoted me the verse with the word 'Mirdas in place of 'my father'. [This is T.'s reading. Another reading of I. I. is 'my father and my grandfather'.]

850. A traditionist told me that 'Abbās b. Mirdas came to the apostle who said to him, 'So you are the one who said:

> My spoil and that of 'Ubayd my horse
> Is shared by al-Aqra' and 'Uyana.

Abū Bakr said, 'Between 'Uyana and al-Aqra.' The apostle said, 'It's the same thing.' Abū Bakr said, 'I testify that you are as God said, 'We have not taught him poetry and that is not fitting for him'.' (Sūra 26. 60).

A traditionist in whom I have confidence from al-Zuhri—'Ubaydullah b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Uthma b. 'Aḥsāb—said: The apostle accepted the homage of Quraysh and others and gave them on the day of al-Jārāna some of the spoil of Ḥunayn, thus:

B. Malḵūmān: Zuhayr b. Abū 'Umayya b. al-Muqhirā; al-Ḥārith b. Ḥishām b. al-Muqhirā and Khālid his brother; Ḥishām b. al-Walīd b. al-Muqhirā; Sufyān b. 'Abdu'l-ʿAṣad b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr; and al-Śīb b. 'Aṭīb b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr.
B. Ṣaḥm: 'Adiy b. Qays b. Ḥishāya.

851. When the apostle made these gifts to Quraysh and the Bedouin tribes and gave nothing to the Ansār, Iṣṣān b. Ḥabīt reproached him in the following verse:

> Anxieties increased and tears flowed copiously
> While I wept continuously
> In longing for Shammā' the lovely, the tender,
> Without impurity or weakness.

Speak no more of Shammā' since her love has waned,
(When love has grown cold there is no joy in meeting),
And come to the apostle and say, O thou most trusted
By believers from all mankind.
Why were Sulaym invited—mere outsiders,
Before a people who gave you shelter and help?
God called them Helpers because they helped true religion
While repeated wars broke out
And they vied in running in the way of God, enduring hardship,
Showing neither cowardice nor alarm.
And when men gathered against us for your sake
And we had but our swords and lances as a refuge
We fought them, sparing none
And abandoned nothing revealed in the sūras.
Those who love war do not shun our assembly
And when its fire blazed we were the kinders.
As we repelled the hypocrites at Badr their hopes unrealized
And through us victory was sent down.1
We were your army at the mountain slope of Utabd
When Muḍjar insolently gathered their adherents,
We were not remiss or cowardly,
And they did not find us stumbling though all others were.

852. I have heard that Zayd b. Aslam said that when the apostle appointed 'Anṣār as governor in Mecca his allowance was a dhirām a day. He got up

1 Or perhaps 'Concerning us the verse about "victory" was sent down'.
and addressed the people in these words: 'God make hungry the liver of a man who is hungry on a dirham a day! The apostle has allowed me a dirham every day and I have no need of any one.'

853. The apostle arrived in Medina on 24th Dhul-Qa’dā according to what ‘Amr al-Madani alleged.

854. Another version is Al-Ma’mūr (the one under orders). The words 'Tell me plainly' are not from Ibn Ishāq. An authority on poetry quoted me the lines thus:

Who will give Bujayr a message from me:
Do you accept what I said at the mountain foot?
You have drunk with Al-Ma’mūn a full cup
And he has added a second draught of the same.
You have gone against true guidance and followed him.
Who you to, to what has he led you?
To a religion your parents knew naught of
And your brother has taught to do with.
If you don't accept what I say I shall not grieve
Nor say if you stumble God help you!

He sent this to Bujayr, and when he received it he did not like to hide it from the apostle so he recited it to him. When he heard the words 'Al-Ma’mūn has given you a full cup' he said, 'That is true and he is the liar! I am Al-Ma’mūn'; and when he heard the words 'A religion your parents knew naught of' he said, 'Certainly, his father and mother did not follow it.'

855. Or Al-Ma’mūr

856. Kā’b composed this ode after he came to the apostle at Medina. His verses 'The vulture crawls over her' and 'One getsite is she' and 'She lets a talk' and 'When he springs on his adversary' and 'Albeit ever in his wadi' are not on the authority of I.I.

857. It is said that the apostle said to him when he recited to him 'Su’ād is gone', 'Why didn’t you speak well of the Anṣār, for they deserve such mention?' So Kā’b spoke these words in an ode of his. I was told that 'All b. Zayd b. Judhān said that Kā’b recited 'Su’ād has gone' to the apostle in the mosque.

858. A trustworthy person told me on the authority of Muhammad b. Ṭalḥa b. Abdūl-Rahmān from Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Abdullāh b. Ḥārīthah from his father from his grandfather: The apostle heard that the hypocrites were assembling in the house of Suwaylim the Jew (his house was by Jāṣūm) keeping men back from the apostle in the raid on Tabuk. So the prophet sent Ṭalḥa b. Ubayyūdah with a number of his friends to them with orders to burn Suwaylim’s house down on them. Ṭalḥa did so, and al-Dāhīkāh b. Khalīfah threw himself from the top of the house and broke his leg, and his friends rushed out and escaped. Al-Dāhīkāh said concerning that:

By God’s temple Muhammad’s fire
Almost burnt Dāhīkāh and Ibn Ubayyūq

859. A trustworthy person told me that ‘Uthmān spent on the raiding force a thousand dinars. The apostle said, ‘O God, be pleased with ‘Uthmān for I am pleased with him.’


861. Abū Khayr Ahmad (his name was Mālik b. Qays) said:

When I saw men hypocritical in religion
I undertook that which is more chaste and nobler.
And I pledged my fealty to Muhammad.
And did no sin or wrong.
I left the dyed one in the hut.
Where dates had ripened and camels were full of milk.
When the hypocrite doubted my soul
Flowed gently to the religion following wherever it led

862. I have heard that al-Zuhri said: When the apostle passed by al-Hijr he covered his face with his cloak and urged his camel on saying, 'Do not go among the houses of those who sinned unless you are riding fast for fear that you may meet with the fate that befell them.'

863. Others say I. Lūṣayb. [Ṭ. also has this reading, so that an early scribe is probably at fault.]

864. Some say Makhshiy.

865. He was called Dāhūl-Bījādayn because when he broke away to Islam his people tried to stop him and so persecuted him that they left him with only one garment upon him. (The bījād is a coarse rough wrapper.) He fled from them to the apostle, and when he came near he rent his bījād into two parts, girding his middle with one and wrapping himself in the other. Then he came to the apostle and was called 'He of the two garments'. Bījād also means a cloak of black hair, as in the words of IMUM‘UL-QAYS:

And when at first its misty shroud bore down on Abān’s top
He stood like an ancient man in a grey-streaked mantle wrapped

866. Or 'than their eyesight'.

867. Bi-fatirān is the same as bi-fatārān

868. Latubbahayna is not from I.I. [This is a most interesting note. Obviously I.H. is querying only the one word, and in Ṭ., we have ala’biyyān which must be right. The doggerel is in the familiar 'I'm the king of the castle' mould which seems to have been frequently used by women when uttering taunts. The translation is no worse than the original!]

Ibn Hishām’s Notes

I had gone to the top of Suwaylim’s house
And I crawled away on one whole leg and my elbow.
My salams to you, I’ll never do the like again
I’m afraid. He whom fire surrounds is burned
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869. II means self (treaty or oath). Aus b. Hajār, one of B. Usayyid b. 'Amr b. Tamīm, said:

Were it not for Banū Mālik who respect a treaty,
For Mālik are an honourable people who respect treaties.

This verse occurs in an ode of his. Plural alad. The poet says:

There is no treaty whatever between me and you,
So do not relax your effort.

Dhimmā means 'adh (compact). Al-Ajdā' b. Mālik al-Hamdānī, who was
the father of Mārūq b. al-Ajdā' the lawyer, said:

There is an agreement binding on us
That you should not overstep our boundary near or far

This is one of three verses of his. Plural Dhimmān.

870. Walīja means dhabīl (friend), plural wālījā'ī from wālīja, valīja, he entered; and in God's book 'until a camel goes through the eye of a needle' (v. 38). He says they have not chosen a friend other than him, concealing feelings towards him other than they show, like the disaffected do displaying faith to those who believe 'and when they go apart to their devils they say:

with you' (v. 13). The poet says:

Know that you have been made a friend
To whom they bring undiluted death.

871. Auda'ā' khalilakum means 'hurried among your lines'. Idā' is a way
of moving, faster than walking. Al-Ajdā' b. Mālik al-Hamdānī said:

My gallant horse will catch a wild bull for you
By outrunning it at a pace between a gallop and a trot

[Perhaps the wild bull itself is addressed.]

872. Some ascribe the poem to his son 'Abdull-Rahmān.

873. The last hemistich is not from I.I.

874. The words 'and he has given us a name' are not from I.I.

875. Abū Zayd al-Ansāri quoted to me the verses 'They were kings, &c.,' and 'In Yathrib they had built forts' and 'Dark laws, spirited' as from him.

876. Abū 'Ubaydā told me that that was in the year 9 and that it was called
the year of the deputations.

877. (Not Ḥabbāb but) al-Ḥutāt. The apostle established brotherhood
between him and Mu'āwiya b. Abū Sufyān. The apostle did this between a number of his companions, e.g. between Abū Bakr and 'Umar; 'Utbān and 'Abdull-Rahmān b. 'Auf; 'Albāh b. 'Ubaydullāh and al-Zubayr b. al-
'Awwām; Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī and al-Miqdād b. 'Amr al-Bahrahī; and
in the presence of Mu'āwiya during his caliphate and by virtue of this

Ibn Hislam's Notes

brotherhood Mu'āwiya took what he left as his heir. Al-Farazdaq said to
Mu'āwiya:

Your father and my uncle, O Mu'āwiya, left an inheritance
So that his next of kin might inherit it.
But how come you to devour the estate of al-Ḥutāt?
When the solid estate of Ḥarib was melting in your hand?

878. And 'Uṯūrīd b. Ḥābīb, one of B. Dārim b. Mālik b. Ḥanzala b. Mālik
b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm; and al-Agra' b. Ḥābīb, one of B. Dārim b. Mālik;
and al-Ḥutāt b. Yazīd of the same; and al-Zibīrīnā b. Ṣadr, one of B. Bahdālā
b. 'Auf b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm; and 'Amr b. al-
Ahtām, one of B. Minqār b. 'Ubayd b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm; and Qays b. 'Āṣim, one of B. Minqār.

879. Another version is:

From us kings are born and we take the fourth
And from every land submissively, so we are obeyed.

One of the B. Tamīm recited it to me, but most authorities on poetry deny
al-Zibīrīnā's authorship.

880. Abū Zayd quoted the verse thus:

Everyone whose heart is devout
Approves it and the thing they have begun.

An authority on poetry among B. Tamīm told me that when al-Zīl
came with the deputation to the apostle he got up and said:

We have come to you that men may know our superiority
Whenever they gather at the fairs
That we are the foremost in every field
And that none in al-Ḥijāz are like Dārim.

That we put champions to flight in their arrogance
And smite the heads of the proud and powerful.
Ours is the fourth part in every raid
In Najd or in foreign lands.

Then Ḥassān got up and answered him saying:

Is glory sought but ancient lordship and generosity,
The dignity of kings and the bearing of great burdens?
We helped and sheltered the prophet Muhammad
Whether Ma'ād liked it or not
In a unique tribe whose root and wealth
Is in Jibiyatu-Ījālān among the foreigners.
We helped him when he dwelt among us
Against every wrongful aggressor.
We put our sons and daughters before him
And we were pleased to forgo the spoils for his sake.¹

¹ At Hunayn
894. Abū 'Ubayda recited the verse to me thus:
I gave you an order on the day of Dhū Ṣā'īd.
I ordered you to fear God, to come to Him and accept His promise,
But you were like a little donkey
Whose last beguiled him away.
He did not know the rest of the poem. [Five more verses are given by T. (1733 f.).]

895. The word bīhāfri is on Abū 'Ubayda’s authority

896. Al-Ash‘ath was a son of ‘the eater of bitter herbs’ on his mother’s side. The eaters were al-Ḥārith b. ‘Amr b. Ḥujr b. ‘Amr b. Mu‘awiya b. al-Ḥārith b. Mu‘awiya b. Thaur b. Murātī b. Mu‘awiya b. Kindi or Kinda. He was given this name because ‘Amr b. al-Habūla al-Ghassānī raided them when al-Ḥārith was away and plundered and took captives. Among the latter was Umm Unās d. ‘Auf b. Muḥallam al-Shaybānī, wife of al-Ḥārith b. ‘Amr. On the way she said to ‘Amr: ‘Methinks I see a black man with blubber lips like those of a camel eating bitter herbs who has seized thy neck,’ meaning al-Ḥārith. So he was called ‘the eater of bitter herbs’. Murūr are plants. Then al-Ḥārith followed him with B. Bakr b. Wā‘il, overtook him and killed him and delivered his wife, and what he had seized. Al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilīzā al-Yashurtī said to ‘Amr b. al-Mundhir who was ‘Amr b. Hind al-Lakhmī:

We forced you, lord of Ghassān, to pay for (killing) Mundhir
While the blood that was shed could not be measured,
because al-Ḥārith al-A‘raj al-Ghassānī had killed his father al-Mundhir. The verse occurs in an ode of his. This story is too long for me to relate as I have avoided prolixity. Some say the eater of bitter herbs was Ḥujr b. ‘Amr b. Mu‘awiya who is the subject of this story, and got the name because he and his companions ate this herb on this raid.

897. THE COMING OF THE DEPUTATION OF HAMDĀN

According to what a trustworthy authority told me from ‘Amr b. ‘Abdullah b. Udhayna al-‘Abīḍī from Abū Iḥāṣāq al-Su‘ābī: a deputation from Hamdān among whom were Mālik b. Namaṭ, and Abū Thaur Dhū‘l-Mish‘ār, and Mālik b. Ayā‘, and Di‘ārām b. Mālik al-Salmānī, and ‘Amīra b. Mālik al-Ḫārīfī came and met the apostle on his return from Tabūk, wearing robes of Yaman cloth, and turbans of Aden, with wooden saddles on Mahri and Arhabī camels. Mālik b. Namaṭ and another man were the rajūs singers of the people, one of them saying:

Hamdān has the best of princes and of subjects;
It has no equal in the universe.
High is its position, and from it come
Warriors and chiefs with goydi wealth therein.

1 A.D. is wrong in saying that this word (ḏāḥī) means ‘what kings take from their subjects’. See Lane.
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While the other responded:

- Carnels halteder with ropes of palm
- Pass through land knowing water’s balm.
- The dust of summer does no harm.

This Malik stood before the apostle and said, ‘O apostle of God, the choicest of Hamān’s settled and nomad folk have come to you on fine swift caravans, linked by the cords of Islam. No blame so far as God is concerned attaches to them from the district of Khurīf and Yam and Shākir the camel and horse folk. They have answered the apostle’s call and have withdrawn from the goddesses and sacrificial stones. Their word will not be broken while stands mount Lala’ and while the young hart runs on Sula.’

The apostle wrote a letter for them: ‘To the district of Khurīf and the people of the high country and the sand hills with their envoy Dhi‘l-Mash‘ar Malik b. Namāt and those of his people who are Muslims. Theirs is the high ground and the low ground so long as they perform prayer and pay alms; they may eat its fodder and pasture on its herbage. For this they have God’s promise and the guarantee of His apostle and their witnesses are the emigrants and the helpers.’

Malik b. Namāt said concerning this:

I remembered the apostle in the darkness of the night
When we were above Bahshān and Sallād
While the camels tired with sunken eyes
Carried their riders on a far-stretching road.
Strong, long-striding camels
Carried us along like well-fed ostriches.
I swear by the Lord of the camels that run to Minā
Returning with riders from a lofty height
That the apostle of God is held true among us,
An apostle who comes with guidance from the Lord of the throne.
No camel has ever carried one more fierce
Against his enemies than Muhammad,
Nor more generous to one who comes asking for kindness,
Nor more effective with the edge of his sharp sword.


900. The apostle had sent some of his companions as messengers carrying letters to the kings inviting them to Islam. One in whom I have confidence on the authority of Abū Bakr al-Hudaybiyā and said: “It reached me that the apostle went out one day after his ‘umrah from which he had been excluded on the day of al-Hudaybiyā and said “God has sent me as a mercy to all men, so do not hang back from me as the disciples hung back from Jesus son of Mary.” ‘They asked how they hung back and he said: ‘He called them to that to which I have called you. Those who were sent on a near mission were satisfied and content; those who were sent on a distant mission showed their displeasure and took it as a burden, and Jesus complained of that to God. Every one of them the next morning became able to speak the language of the people to whom they were sent.”


1 have given the genealogy of Salīt and Thawmān and Haudhā and al-Mundhir.

901. Another version is ‘the colour of gold’.

902. Some say the names were Quṣr b. Abīh Ḍafirī and Ḥayyān b. Milla.

903. Or al-ʿAjaf.

904. The words ‘with no hope of an easy release’ and ‘circumstances her release’ are not from I.1.

905. Or b. Rāzim.

906. ‘Abdullah b. Unays said about that:

I left Ibn Thawr like a young camel
Surrounded by mourning women cutting their shirts into strips
When the women were behind me and behind him
I fetched him a stroke with a sharp Indian sword
Which could bite into the heads of armoured men
As a flame burns up the tinder.
I said to him as the sword bit into his head:
I am Ibn Unays, no mean horsemanship;
I am the son of one who never removed his cooking-pot,
No regard he—wide was the space before his door.
I said to him, ‘Take that with the blow of a noble man
Who turns to the religion of the prophet Muhammad.’
Whenever the prophet gave thought to an unbeliever
I got to him first with tongue and hand.

907. About that al-Farradāq said:

Ibn Ḥābis in the presence of the apostle took the high place
Of one who is resolved on gaining glory.

3 As will be seen in the text T. arranges the list of the messengers in a different order. Why I.H. should have disturbed I.1’s account and put it in his own name is obscure. As has been explained in a footnote to W. 97a, the expression bi šahhābī ʿalayya may mean ‘do not differ in your response to me’.
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For him (Muhammad) released the prisoners in his ropes Whose necks were encircled by halters. He spared the mothers who feared for their sons
The high price of ransom or the division of the captives into shares These verses are in one of his odes. 'Adî b. Jundub was of B. al-'Anbar. Al-'Anbar was b. 'Amr b. Tamîm.

908. According to Abu ' Ubayda the name was al-Ḫuraqa.

909. Abu 'Amr b. al-'Ali' read this passage with a slight orthographical addition.

910. Mukaytîl.

911. Muhâllîm in all this story is not on I. I.'s authority. He was Muhâllîm b. Jâţhâmîm b. Qays al-Laythi. Muhâllîm, according to what Ziyâd told us from I. I.

912. And he set forth for Dûnâtul'-Jandal

913. THE SENDING OF 'AMR B. UMAYYA AL-ḌAMRĪ TO KILL ABû SÝFÝân B. ŪRÂH AND WHAT HE DID ON THE WAY

Among the missions and expeditions which the apostle sent out which Ibn Išâq does not record is the mission of 'Ammar b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī, whom the apostle sent to Mecca—according to what a trustworthy traditionist told me—after the killing of Khubayb b. 'Adî and his companions, ordering him to kill Abû Sûfîyân b. Ūrâh. With him he sent Jabbâr b. Ŝâkhr al-Anâshîr. When they reached Mecca they tied their two camels in one of the narrow passes of Yâjaj and entered the town by night. Jabbâr suggested to 'Ammar that they should circumambulate the temple and pray two rak'as, to which 'Ammar replied that at night the inhabitants were wont to sit in their courtyards. 'God willing they won't be,' he replied. 'Ammar said: We went round the temple and prayed and then came away making for Abû Sûfîyân. As we were walking in the town a man looked at me and recognized me and cried, 'It's Abû Sûfîyân. By God, he has come only for some evil purpose.' I told my companion to run and we went out quickly and got up a mountain, and they came out in pursuit of us and did not desist until we had got to its top. We came back and went into a cave in the mountain and passed the night there, having piled rocks in front of it. In the morning came a man of Quraysh leading a horse, cutting grass for it, drawing near to us as we were in the cave. I said, 'If he sees us he will give the alarm and we shall be taken and killed.' Now I had a dagger with me which I had got ready for Abû Sûfîyân, and I stabbed him in the chest and he gave a cry which reached the ears of the Meccans, so I went back and entered the cave. The men came running to him as he was at the last gasp and asked who had stabbed him and he said 'Amr b. Umayya, and died on the spot without having revealed where we were. They carried him away. When night fell I told my companion that we must get away, so we left Mecca making for Medina. We passed by some guards who were watching the corpse of Khubayb b. 'Adî when one of them said, 'By God, I have never seen before tonight anything more like the gait of 'Amr b. Umayya; were it not that he is in Medina I should have said that it was he.' When he came in face of the guards they ran to it and took it and carried it away, and the two of them hurried off, while they (the guards) came behind him, until he came to a hollow in the cliff at the ravine of Yâjaj where he threw the guards into the hollow and God hid him from them while they could do nothing. I said to my companion, 'Escape! Escape! until you get to your camel and mount it while I occupy the men so that they cannot hinder you'; for the Anasî could hardly walk.

I went on until I came out at Dâjânî, then I betook me to a mountain and entered a cave. While I was there suddenly an old man of B. al-Dîl, a one-eyed man, came in with a young sheep and asked who I was. I told him I was of B. Bakr and he said he was too. I said 'Welcome,' and as he stretched himself out he lifted his voice and said:

I won't be a Muslim as long as I live
Nor heed to their religion give.

I said to myself 'You will soon know!' I gave him time until when he was asleep I took my bow and inserted the end of it in his sound eye and bore it down upon it until it reached the bone. Then I hurried off until I came to al-Ajî, then Râkhîbîs until I dropped down to al-Nâjî where there were two polytheists of Quraysh who had been sent as spies to Medina. I called on them to surrender but they refused, so I shot one and killed him and the other surrendered. I bound him tightly and took him to Medina.

914. ZAYD B. HÂRÎTHA'S EXPEDITION TO MADAYN

This is recorded by 'Abdullah b. Hasan b. Hasan from his mother Fâtîma d. al-Ḫusayn b. 'Ali. Zayd was accompanied by Dûmaya, a client of 'Ali's, and a brother of his. They took several captives from the people of Minâ which is on the shore, a mixed lot among them. They were sold as slaves and families were separated. The apostle arrived as they were weeping and inquired the reason. When he was told he said, 'Sell them only in lots', meaning the mothers with the children.

915. I have heard that when he went on the little pilgrimage he uttered the cry 'Labâbâka' in the vale of Mecca. He was the first to enter Mecca with the cry. Quraysh seized him and exclaimed at his audacity. They were about to strike off his head when one of them said, 'Let him alone, for you have need of al-Yâmâma for your food' so they let him go his way.

1 This statement implies that the MS. which I. H. had contained no account of these happenings, but the extract from Tob. 1427 f. which I have restored to the text gives a graphic description on the authority of I. I. S. also points out that I. H. is in error in saying that I. I. does not report the story.

2 A mountain near Mecca.

3 A place on the Mecca road. The same is also given to a wadi in the Hijaz.

4 A pass between the two harams.

5 In 'Umayyâ country about two nights' journey from Medina.
Concerning this al-Hanafi said: 

It was our man who said publicly in Mecca in the sacred months 'Abbaykā' despite Abū Sufyān. I was told that when he became a Muslim he said to the apostle: 'Your face used to be the most hateful to me, but now it is the most beloved.' He spoke similarly about (his) religion and country. Then he went on the little pilgrimage, and when he came to Mecca they said, 'Have you changed your religion, Thumāma?' 'No,' he said, 'but I follow the best religion, the religion of Muhammad; and by God not a grain of corn will reach you from al-Yamāma until the apostle gives permission.' He went back to al-Yamāma and prevented them from sending anything to Mecca. Then the people wrote to the apostle: 'You order that ties of kinship should be observed, yet you sever those with us; you have killed the fathers with the sword and the children with hunger.' So the apostle wrote to him to let the carriage of food go on.

916. Abū 'Amr al-Mudání said: The apostle sent 'All to the Yamān and sent Khalid b. al-Walid with another force and ordered that when the forces met 'All was to be in supreme command. I.L. mentioned the sending of Khalid in his account, but he did not reckon it among the missions and expeditions so that the number of them in his account ought to be 39.

917. This is the last mission which the apostle dispatched.

The Apostle's Wives

They were nine: `Aishā d. Abū Bakr; Ka'fā d. 'Umar; Umm Habibah d. Abū Sufyān; Umm Salama d. Abū Unayzah b. Al-Mughira; Sauda d. Zama's b. Qays; Zaynab d. Ja'far; Ri'āb; Maymūna d. Al-Hārith b. Hāzam; Juwayriya b. Al-Hārith b. Abū 'Amr; and Ṣafiyya b. Huyay b. Abī Shābī according to what is more than one traditionist has told me.

He married thirteen women: Khādijah b. Khuwaylid, his first wife whom her father Khuwaylid b. Asad, or according to others her brother 'Amr, married to him. The apostle gave her as dowry twenty shekels. She bore all the apostle's children except Isrá'il. She had been previously married to Abū Hāli d. Malik, one of B. Usayyid b. 'Amr, a son of B. 'Abdul-Dār to whom she bore Hind b. Abū Hāli and Zaynab. Before that she had been married to 'Ubayy b. Abī Hālifah b. 'Umar b. Makhzum to whom she bore 'Abdulrahman and Jannāt.

He married `Aishah in Mecca who, she was a child of seven and lived with her in Medina when she was nine or ten. She was the only virgin that he married. Her father, Abū Bakr, married her to him and the apostle gave her four hundred dirhams.

He married Sauda d. Zama's b. Qays b. 'Abdul Shama b. 'Abdul Wudd b. Najār b. Malik b. Ḥisāb b. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy. Safi b. 'Amir, or according to others Abū Majh b. 'Amr, married her to him, and the apostle gave her four hundred dirhams.

Ibn Ḥajar contradicts this tradition saying that Safi, and Abū Hālifah were absent in Abyssinia at this time. Before that she had been married to al-Sakrān b. Ḥim b. 'Abdul Shama.

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Ibn Hishām's Notes

He married `Aziz b. Ja'far b. Rabi' b. Al-Qa'ad. Her brother Abū Aḥmad married her to him and the apostle gave her four hundred dirhams. She had been previously married to Zayd b. Ḥāritha, the freed slave of the apostle, and it was about her that God sent down: 'So when Zayd had done as he wished in divorcing her We married her to you.'

He married Umma Salama d. Abū Umayya b. Al-Mughirah b. Al-Makhzumah. She bore him the child Hind. Her daughter Salama b. Abū Salama married her to him and the apostle gave her a bed stuffed with palm-leaves, a bowl, a dish, and a handmāl. She had been married to Abū Salama b. 'Abdul-Asad whose name was 'Abdulrahman b. Ḥudhāfa b. Al-Qa'ad. She had been married to Umma Salama whose name was Ramlah b. Abū Sufyān. Khalid b. Sa'id b. Al-Asmar married her to him when they were both in Abyssinia and the Negus gave her on behalf of the apostle four hundred dinars. It was he who arranged the marriage for the apostle. She had been married to Ubayy b. Abū 'Amr b. Ja'far b. Al-Qa'ad.

He married Juwayriya d. Al-Hārith b. Abū Ḥirār b. Al-Qa'ad who was among the captives of B. Muṣṭaliq b. Khuzaymah. She had fallen to the lot of Thibāb b. Qays b. Al-Shāmmah b. Al-Anṣārī and he wrote a contract of redemption which he brought to the apostle asking his help. He asked her if she would like something better than that and when she asked what could he be said, 'Shall I rid you of the contract and marry you myself?' She said Yes, and so he married her. This tradition was given us by Zayd b. 'Abdulrahman b. Al-Qa'ad from Muhammad b. Ṣa'īd b. Abī Bakr b. Al-Muṣṭaliq b. Al-Qa'ad from 'Urwa from 'A'ishah.

It is said that when the apostle came back from the raid on B. Al-Muṣṭaliq with Juwayriya and was in the midst of the army he gave Juwayriya to one of the Ansār and ordered him to guard her. When the apostle reached Medina her father Al-Hārith came to him with his daughter's ransom. When he was in Al-Qa'ad he had looked at the camels which he had brought for the ransom and admired two of them greatly, so he hid them in one of the passes of Al-Qa'ad. Then he came to the prophet saying, 'Here my daughter's ransom.' The apostle said: 'But where are the two camels which you hid in Al-Qa'ad in such-and-such a pass?' Al-Hārith said, 'I testify that there is no God but Allah and that you are the apostle of God, for by God none could have known of that but God most High'; so he became a Muslim, as did two of his sons who were with him and some of his people. He sent and fetched the two camels and handed them over to the prophet and his daughter Juwayriya was given back to him. She became an excellent Muslim. The apostle asked her father to let him marry her and he agreed and the apostle gave her four hundred dirhams. She had been previously married to a cousin of hers called 'Abdulrahman. It is said that the apostle bought her from Thibāb b. Qays, freed her, married her, and gave her four hundred dirhams.

He married Ṣafiyya b. Huyay b. Abī Bakr whom he had captured at Khaybar.
and chosen for himself. The apostle made a feast of gruel and dates: there was no meat or fat! She had been married to Khāṇa b. al-Rabbī b. Abū-Imām Ya'qūb. He married Maymūna d. al-Hārith b. Ḥazīn b. Ḥabīr b. Ḥuzam b. Ruyayya b. 'Abdullāh b. Hilāl b. 'Āmir b. Sa'ā'a. Al-'Abbās b. 'Abdul-l-Muṭṭalib married her to him and gave her on the apostle's behalf four hundred dirhams. She had been married to Abū Ruhm b. 'Abdul-'Uzzā b. Abū Qays b. 'Abdul Wudd b. Nāsr b. Mālik b. Hišā b. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy. It is said that it was she who gave herself to the prophet because his offer of marriage came to her when she was on her camel. She said, 'The camel and what is on it belongs to God and His apostle.' So God sent down: 'And a believing woman if she gives herself to the prophet.  It is said that the one who gave herself to the prophet was Zaynab d. Jahsh, or Umm Sharik Ghażālī d. Jabir b. Wābah b. Munāqīd b. 'Amr b. Ma'ī b. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy. Others say it was a woman of B. Sāma b. Lu'ayy and the apostle postposed the matter. He married Zaynab d. Khuzayma b. al-Hārith b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Āmir b. 'Abdu Manāf b. Hilāl b. 'Āmir b. Sa'ā'a who was called 'Mother of the Poor' because of her kindness to them and her pity for them. Qabīṣa b. 'Amr al-Hilāl married her to him and the apostle gave her four hundred dirhams. She had been married to 'Ubayda b. al-Hārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abdu Manāf b. Jahsh b. al-Hārith who was her cousin.

The apostle consummated his marriage with eleven women, two of whom died before him, namely Khadija and Zaynab. He died leaving the nine we have mentioned. With two he had no marital relations, namely Asmā' d. al-Nu'mān, the Kudītī woman, whom he married and found to be suffering from leprosy and so returned to her people with a suitable gift; and 'Amra d. Ya'īd the Kudītī woman who was recently an unbeliever. When she came to the apostle she said, 'I seek God's protection against you,' and he replied that one who did that was inviolable so he sent her back to her people. Others say that the one who said this was a Kudītī woman, a cousin of Asmā' d. al-Nu'mān, and that the apostle summoned her and she said, 'We are a people to whom others come; we come to none!' so he returned her to her people. There were six Quraysh women among the prophet's wives, namely, Khadija, A'isha, ʿAṣima, Umm Ḥabība, Umm Salama, and Sauda.

The Arab women and others were seven, namely, Zaynab d. Jahsh, Maymūna, Zaynab d. Khuzayma, Jawwāryya, Asmā', and 'Amra. The non-Arab woman was ʿAṣima d. Ḥuyayya b. Akhtab b. al-Nadīr.

979. Another tradition is 'except Abū Bakr's door'.

981. Abū 'Ubayda and other traditionists told me that when the apostle was dead most of the Meccans meditated withdrawing from Islam and made up their minds to do so. 'Atāb b. Asid went in such fear of them that he hid himself. Then Suhayl b. 'Amr arose and after giving thanks to God mentioned the death of the apostle and said, 'That will increase Islam in force. If

anyone troubles us we will cut off his head.' Thereupon the people abandoned their intention and 'Atāb reappeared once more. This is the strand which the apostle meant when he said to 'Umar: 'It may well be that he will take a stand for which you cannot blame him' [c.f. p. 312].

982. Ḥassā b. Thābit said, mourning the apostle, according to what Ibn Hishām told us on the authority of Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī:

In Ṭayba there is still the impress and luminous abode of the apostle, Though elsewhere traces disappear and perish. The marks of the sacred building that holds The pulpit which the guide used to ascend will never be obliterated. Plain are the traces and lasting the marks And his house with its mosque and place of prayer. There are the rooms where God's light Used to come down brilliant and bright, Memorials for ever indestructible.

If part decay, part is ever renewed. I know the marks of the apostle and his well-known place And the grave whose digger hid him in the dust. There I stood weeping the apostle, My very eyelids ran with tears. Reminding me of his favours, Mesthins my soul Cannot recount them and halfs bewildered. Ahmad's loss exhausted my soul with pain While it recounted the apostle's favours. Yet has it failed to recapture a tithe of what he did But my soul can only report what it feels. Long did I stand crying bitterly Over the mound of the grave where Ahmad lies. Be blessed, O grave of the apostle, and be blessed. The land in which the righteous guided one lived, And blessed the niche that holds the good one Surmounted by a building of broad stones! Hands poured dust upon him, eyes their tears, And the lucky stars sat at the sight. They hid kindness, knowledge, and mercy The night they laid him unpillowed in the dust And went away in sorrow without their prophet, Their arms and backs devoid of strength. They mourn him whose day the heavens mourn— The earth too—yet men grieve more. Can any day the dead is mourned Equal the mourning of the day Muhammad died? On which the seal of revelation was taken from them Which had been a source of light everywhere.

2 He died in 215.

2 Ṭayba is one of the names of Mekka. The opening lines are a conscious adaptation of the old Arabian marāb. ̣

3 So C. reading ḫuṣf for W.'s ḫim.
The Life of Muhammad

He led to the Compassionate those who imitated him, Delivering from the terror of shame and guiding aright, Their imam guiding them to the truth with vigour. A truthful teacher, to obey him was felicity, Pardoning their lapses, accepting their excuses. And if they did well God is most generous in recompense, If misfortune befall too heavy for them to bear From him came the easing of their difficulty And while they enjoyed God's favour, Having a guide by which the clear path could be sought, It pained him that they should go astray from guidance. He was anxious that they should go on the right path. He sympathised with them one and all In his kindness he smoothed their path. But while they enjoyed that light Suddenly death's arrow hit it mark And sent the praised one back to God. While the very angels wept and praised him. The holy land became desolate At the loss of the revelation it once knew. Deserts uninhabited save the grave in which our lost one descended Whom Balāt and Gharqād and his mosque mourned. In those places desolate, now he is gone, Are places of prayer devoted to him, And at the great stoning place there dwellings and open spaces, Encampment, and birthplace are desolate. O eye, weep the apostle of God copiously, May I never find you with your tears dried? Why do you not weep the kindly one Whose bounteous robe covered all men? Be generous with your tears and cries At the loss of him whose equal will he'er he found. Those gone by never lost one like Muhammad And one like him will not be mourned till Resurrection Day More gentle and faithful to obligation after obligation; More prone to give without thought of any return; More lavish with wealth newly gained and inherited When a generous man would grudge giving what had long been his. More noble in reputation when claims are examined; More noble in princely Meccan ancestry; More inaccessible in height and established in eminence Founded on enduring supports, Firmer in root and branch and wood Which rain nourished making it full of life.

Ibn Hishām's Notes

A glorious Lord brought him up as a boy And he became perfect in most virtuous deeds. To his knowledge the Muslims resorted; No knowledge was withheld and no opinion was gainsaid. I say, and none can find fault with me But one lost to all sense, I shall never cease to praise him. It may be for so doing I shall be for ever in Paradise With the chosen one for whose support in that I hope And to attain to that day I devote all my efforts.

Husain also said:

What ails thine eye that it cannot sleep As though its ducts were painted with the kohl of one suffering from ophthalmia In grief for the guided one who lies dead? O beast that ever walked the earth, leave us not! Alas, would that my face might protect thee from the dust, That I had been buried before thee in Bağtū'll-Gharqād! Dearer than father and mother is he whose death I saw On that Monday—the truly guided prophet. When he died I lost my wits distressed, Would that I had never been born! Am I to go on living in Medina without you? Would that I had been given snake poison to drink; Or that God's decree would reach us soon, Tonight or at least tomorrow; That our hour might come and we might meet the good, The pure in nature, the man of noble descent! O blessed firstborn of Āmina. Whom that chaste one bore on the happiest of days! He shed a light on all creatures. He who is guided to the blessed light is rightly guided O Lord, unite us with our prophet in a garden That turns away the eyes of the envious, In the garden of Paradise. Inscribe it for us, O Lord of Majesty, Loftiness, and Power. By God as long as I live I shall not hear of the dead But I shall weep for the prophet Muhammad. Alas for the prophet's Helpers and kin After he has been hidden in the midst of the grave. He was an end to the Ants', Theirs were black as amanu. We gave him his ancestors, his grave is with us, His overflowing goodness to us is undeniable. We are ungrateful and guided us his Helpers by him In every hour that he was present.

1 Or 'not preferring one to another'.
2 Another reading is 'the unseen angels' (jinn) and yahmāda. But perhaps jafn should be read here for hash. 'The eyes of the angels', &c
3 Bağtū lay between the mosque and the market of Medina, while Gharqād was its cemetery. A.Dh. renders 'plant and box-trees'.
4 Lit. 'valley ancestry'. The valley-dwellers of Quraysh were regarded as the aristocracy.

† By way of the mother of 'Abdūl-Muṭṭalib, Salmā d. 'Amr b. Lābīb b. Hallās b. B. Najīr.
The Life of Muhammad

God and those who surround His throne and good men
Bless the blessed Ahmad. 1

922. The last half of the first verse has not L.I. 's authority.

1 It is worth noting that the verse

The Christians and Jews of Yathrib rejoiced
When he was laid in his grave

included in H. ' s Dīwān (cxxxiii) without comment is not to be found in any MS. of L.I.,
or in it in C. or W. or Subayl ' s text. It may well be considered as a later addition. W. (iii. pp. 196-97) held that L.I. 's text of Yabna ' s poem was superior to the Dīwān which has
been published several times since his day but never with the care it deserves. W. ' s judgement still stands.

ADDENDA

p. 28, n. 7. I have discussed the significance of this story in the The Islamic Quarterly, 1954., pp. 9 f.

p. 30, l. 12. For the text of Sabaeans inscriptions recently discovered in Su'ud Arabia see G. Rychmann in Museum, lix. 1953., pp. 267-217; and for an historical commentary on the same ib., pp. 319-42. Professor Sidney Smith, 'Events in Arabia in the 6th century A.D.', in B.S.O.A.S., 1954, pp. 435-68, has discussed all that Greek, Syrian, Sabaeans, and Arabic authorities report. So far as the Arabic writers are concerned, his verdict is that their account 'is not incompatible with the known facts'.

p. 65, n. 3. 'The Meccan edition of al-Azraqi (ii. 176 and 179) throws no light on the confusion.'

p. 88, l. 14. I have adopted the reading of C. against W. in spite of the introduction to the verse.

p. 100, l. 13 from end. The last three verses are reminiscent of the Qurān, as are the lines beginning 'I submit myself' on p. 102, l. 28.

p. 180, pen. Perhaps what 'Umar said was ' (The birds) must be ostriches' (ālam), and the prophet immediately turned on the word by saying am ' alām.

p. 181. I have shown in Al-Andalus, xviii, 1953, pp. 323-36, that the Masjid
al-Aqṣā was not at Jerusalem but at al-Jīrānā, a place within the sacred area of Mecca.

p. 191, l. 11. For 'protection' read 'neighbourliness'.

p. 226, l. 6 from end. Dhu Kashr is correct. See Yaquṭ, iv. 276 ult. W. has Dhu Kashd.

p. 223, l. 16 and 18. The host has only a limited control over his ally (hālī),
who is his equal, but the sojourner (jūr) is his dependant and he is responsible for his acts because he has authority over him. Cf. 723.

p. 238, l. 11. Azraqi, ii. 118, who says that Ibn 'Abbās was frequently seen to
visit Sīra as he repeated this poem, apparently knew no more than seven lines
corresponding roughly to 1-3 and 6-9 in L.I.'s version and to No. XIX in Hirschfeld's edition of the Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit. L.I. in his note
No. 291 says that lines 12 and 13 were not composed by Sīra but by a
certain Taghibībī called Sūrāyīm b. Ma'shar. He accepts lines 4-5 and 10-12
without comment. Azraqi's version is complete in itself. It falls into the pattern of Anṣārī propaganda; it shows how the Medinians welcomed Muhammad when Quraysh (Hirschfeld's 'Mecca' violates the scansion)
spurned him, and how they devoted their lives and their wealth to his service.
Thus the history of this poem illustrates what has been said on pp. xxvi f.
about Anṣārī propaganda and about poems fathered on Ḥassān.

p. 384, l. 7 from end. W. has 'Abdullah b. Ɗayf. Authorities differ.
Addenda

p. 198, n. 1. Cf. the proverb adhalu min haydatti-l-balad 'more forlorn than an (ostrich)'s egg'. The ostrich was supposed to leave its eggs in the sand of the desert and never return to them.

p. 377, n. 4. The change of harna into ya is certified by b. al-Sikkit in R. al-Qubtab wa'l-Hadath, 54-56. Among his examples are Yathrib and Asbahiyyah vadevit and adhurji.

p. 597, 1. 8. This was the occasion of the night journey with which Muhammed's ascent to heaven is associated. See the note on p. 181 above.

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