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'r-Malik ibn Hishām the Grammarian said:

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

Muhammad was the son of 'Abdullah, b. 'Abdu'r-Muṭṭalib (whose name was Shayba), b. Hāshim (whose name was 'Amr), b. 'Abdu Manāf (whose name was al-Muṭṭaqa), b. Qusayy (whose name was Zayd), b. Kilāb, b. Murra, b. Ka'b, b. Lu'ayy, b. Ghālib, b. Fihr, b. Malik, b. al-Naḍr, b. Kinānā, b. Khuzayma, b. Mudriqa (whose name was 'Amr), b. Iyās, b. Muqarrab, b. Nisāb, b. Ma'add, b. 'Adnān, b. Udd (or Udād), b. Muqawwam, b. Nāfūr, b. Tayyab, b. Ya'rūb, b. Yāshrub, b. Nābit, b. Ismā'īl, b. Ibrahim, the friend of the Compassionate, b. Tāriq (who is 'Azar), b. Nāfūr, b. Sārūgh, b. Ra'am, b. Fālikh, b. 'Aybar, b. Shālikh, b. Arafkhshadīh, b. Sām, b. Nāfūr, b. Lamīkh, b. Māṭuṣhalkāh, b. Akhnuktk, 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. Yard, b. Mahilī, b. Qaynan, b. Yāṣīlah, b. Shīth, b. Adam (19).*

THE LINE OF ISMĀ'IL

Ismā'īl b. Ibrahim begat twelve sons: Nābit the eldest, Qaynwar, Adhbul, Mahshā', Misma', Māshī, Dimmā, Adhr, Ṭaymā', Yafrūr, Nabish, Qaydhumā. Their mother was Ra'la d. Muṣād b. 'Amr al-Jurfum (11). Jurhum was the son of Yafrūr b. 'Aybar b. Shālikh, and [Yaqrūn was] Qaḥtān b. 'Aybar b. Shālikh. According to report Ismā'īl lived 130 years,

1 The formula of blessing which follows every mention of the prophet is omitted hereafter. Capital B. stands for 'Sons of'; b. for 'son of'; d. for 'daughter of'.
2 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's a lie' is 'they allege' (wa 'ammi').
3 These words are added by C. as the context demands.
* L.H.'s additions to the text are numbered 10 and onwards.
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'll-Rahman b. 'Abdullah b. Ka'b b. Malik al-Ansari, 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 Ismail, was of their stock (13).


From 'Adnun the tribes descended from Ismail b. split off. Adnun had two sons, Ma'add and 'Akk (14). Ma'add had four sons: Nizar, Qud'a (he being his first born he was called Abū Quḍā'a), Qunus, and Iyād. Qud'a went to the Yaman to Ḥimyar 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 Yashuq b. Ya'rub b. Qaṣṭān (15). Of Qunus b. Ma'add according to the genealogists of Ma'add, none has survived. Al-Nu'man b. al-Mundhir king of al-Hira belonged to their tribe. Al-Zuhri told me that this Nu'man belonged to the Qunus b. Ma'add (16).

Ya'qub b. 'Uthma b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas told me that a shaykh of the Ansār of B. Zurayq told him that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, when he was given the sword of al-Nu'man b. al-Mundhir, sent for Jubbayr b. Mu'jam b. 'Adīy b. Naufal b. 'Abdu Manāf b. Qusayy (he being the best genealogist of the Qunays and indeed of all the Arabs and claimed to have been taught by Abū Bakr who was the greatest genealogist of the Arabs) and girded it on him. When he asked who al-Nu'man was, Jubbayr 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'a b. Naṣr. Only God knows the truth (17).

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 lava plains I swear
The Ethiopians on your land shall bear
Ruling from Abyan to Jurash 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? Ibrāhīm b. Dhū Yazan, who would come against them from Aila 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 Ghālib b. Flīr b. Malik b. al-Nadhr. His dominion would last to the end of time. Has time an end? asked the king. Yes, replied Saṭṭāh, the day on which the first and the last shall be assembled, the righteous for happiness, 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 Saṭṭāh 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.
The Life of Muhammad

Perceiving that they agreed one with the other and that the difference was a mere choice of words, the king asked Shiqq for his interpretation:

By the men of the plains I swear
The blacks on your land shall bear
Pluck your little ones from your care
Ruling from Ahyan to Najran 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 Dhū 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 (amā) 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. Khurrazdāh who let them settle in al-Ḥira.


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

The Life of Muhammad

Or have you remembered youth?
And what a memory of youth and its times you have!
It was a young man's war
Such as gives him experience.
So ask 'Imrān or Asad,
When headlong with the morning star came
Abū Karīb with his great squadrons
Clad in long mail, of pungent smell.
They said, Whom shall we make for,
The Banū Auf or the Najjār?
Surely the Banū-l-Najjār,
For we seek revenge for our dead.
Then our swords swung 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 Ansār claim that the Tubba' was enraged only against
this tribe of the Jews who were living among them and that 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 fateful 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 'Usfān and
Ma'add 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 Hudhayl 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

---

3 Variant ghāshn 'at early dawn'.
3 Reading muṣūfītān.
4 W.'s text is preceded by another verse. Tab. has preserved the full text which I have
inserted at the end of this section in the context assigned to it by Tab.
5 Authorities differ as to the site of the 'Usfān. Amaj is the name of a town within reach
of Medina and also of a wadi running from the Ḥarrā of the Banū Salaym to the sea.

---

A reminiscence of Sūra 33.33 and 35.5.
A mountain above Mecca. 'Urn could mean 'wild birds'.
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 Abraham the Abyssinian mentioned on
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 Yaman 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‘labā b. Abū Mālik al-Qurashi told me that he heard Ibrāhīm b. Mūhammad b. Jāhīb b. Umayyāda narrate that when 'Tubba' drew near to the Yaman the Ḥimyarītes 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 was used to settle matters in dispute among them by consuming the guilty and letting the innocent go scatheless.  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 whence 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 Ḥimyarītes accepted the king's religion. Such was the origin of Judaism in the Yaman.

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 Ḥimyarītes 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 Ḥimyarītes accepted their religion. But God knows which report is correct.

Now Rā'im was one of the temples which they venerated and where they offered sacrifices and received oracles when they were polytheists. The two rabbis told 'Tubba' that it was merely a shayṭān 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—

1 For an account of a modern ordeal of a similar though simpler character among the Arabs of Sinai see Austin Kennedy, Bedouin Justice, Cambridge, 1925, pp. 107ff.
2 Perhaps 'phylacteries' are meant.
And left those men an example to the discerning.
Dhūl-Qarnayn before me was a Muslim
Conquered kings throned 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 Bīlqīs my father’s sister
Ruled them until the hoopoe came to her.)

THE REIGN OF HIS SON ḤĀSSĀN IBN TĪBĀN AND HOW ‘AMR KILLED HIS BROTHER

When his son Ḥāssān b. Tībān As‘ād Abū Kārib 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 Ḥimyari and
Yamanite tribes were unwilling to go farther 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 Dhū Ru‘yān the
Ḥimyariite. He forbade him to do this, but he would not heed, so Dhū
Ru‘yān wrote the following verses:

Oh who would buy sleeplessness for sleep?
Happy is he who passes the night in peace;
Though Ḥimyar have been treacherous,
God will hold Dhū Ru‘yān 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 Ḥāssān and
returned to the Yaman with his men. One of the Ḥimyarisites was moved to
say:

In former generations
What eyes have seen
The like of Ḥāssān 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 while all of you are lords.

1 The poem is spurious; it is not difficult to see how I. ʿIbbān persuasively himself
incorporate such an obvious forgery in a serious historical work. At this point Ṭab. intro-
duces a long passage from L. I. A much longer story via ‘Uthmān b. ʿAṣīr is given by Aṣr. I. 79.
2 Ṭab. 915. Hassan vainly appeals to his brother thus:
Do not hasten my death, O ‘Amr,
Take the kingdom without using force.

The words ‘labābī labābī’ mean ‘no matter’ in the Ḥimyarite language (28).
When ‘Amr b. Tībān 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 seers
about his trouble. One of them said: ‘No man has ever killed his brother or
kinsman 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 Ḥāssān, till finally he came to
Dhū Ru‘yān 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 Ḥimyarite kingdom fell
into disorder and the people split up into parties.

HOW LAKHNĪ‘A DĪHĀ SHANĀṬĪR SEIZED THE THRONE OF THE YAMAN

A Ḥimyar who had no connexion with the royal house called Lakhnī‘a
Yanūf Dīhā Shanāṭīr arose and killed off their leading men and put the
royal family to open shame. Of this man a certain Ḥimyarite recited:

Ḥimyar 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.

Lakhnī‘a 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. (Ṭ. Then he would release
him and he would appear before the guards and the people utterly dis-
graced.) One day he sent for Zur‘a Dīhā Nuwās son of Tībān As‘ād
brother of Ḥāssān. He was a little boy when Ḥāssān 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 Lakhnī‘a. As soon
as they were alone he attacked him and Dīhā Nuwās rushed upon him and
stabbèd him to death. He then cut off his head and put it in the window

1 Ṭab. 916 f. contains a long poem ascribed to ‘Amr.
2 Nīḥād, Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber, 173, notes that the name Lakhnī‘a occurs in inscrip-
tions and that shanāṭīr means ‘fingers’.
The Reign of Dhū Nuwās

They made him king and all the tribes of Ḥimyar 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-Thāmir. 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 Faymiyūn had settled there and converted the people to his religion.

The Beginning of Christianity in Najrān

Al-Mughira b. Abū Labīd, a freedman of al-Akhnas, on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih the Yamani told me that the origin of Christianity in Najrān was due to a man named Faymiyūn 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 Sāliḥ perceived what manner of man he was and felt a violent affection for him, so that unperceived by Faymiyūn he used to follow him from place to place, until one Sunday he went as his wont was out into the desert followed by Sāliḥ. Sāliḥ chose a hiding-place and sat down where he could see him, not wanting him to know where he was. As Faymiyūn stood to pray a tinnīn, a seven-horned snake, came towards him and when Faymiyūn saw it he cursed it and it died. Seeing the snake but not knowing what had happened to it and fearing for Faymiyūn’s safety, Sāliḥ could not contain himself and cried out: ‘Faymiyūn, a tinnīn 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 Sāliḥ knew that he had seen him. So he said to him: ‘Faymiyūn, 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 Sāliḥ 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 Faymiyūn 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 Faymiyūn saying that he wanted him to do some work for him in his house and would he come and look at it, and they would agree on a price. Arrived at the house Faymiyūn asked what he wanted done, and after giving details the man suddenly whipped off the covering from the boy and said: ‘O Faymiyūn, one of God’s creatures is in the state you see. So pray for him.’ Faymiyūn did so and the boy got entirely healed. Knowing that he had been recognized he left the village followed by Sāliḥ, 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 is he 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 Sāliḥ 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 worshipping a great palm-tree there. Every year they had a festival when they hung on the tree any fine garment they could find and women’s jewels. Then they rallied out and devoted the day to it. Faymiyūn was sold to one noble and Sāliḥ to another. Now it happened that when Faymiyūn was praying earnestly at night in a house which his master had assigned to him the whole house was filled with light so that it shone as it were without a lamp. His master was amazed at the sight, and asked him about his religion. Faymiyūn told him and said that they were in error; as for the palm-tree it could neither help nor hurt; and if he were to curse the tree in the name

1 The Arabic text is in some disorder here, but the citation from al-Aghānī 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 'I'. 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. Ruckmann in 1952 discovered an inscription at Qara. His name is written Yaf’s ar. The Sabesan date = A.D. 318.
3 Lit. ‘remnants of the people of ‘Isa’s religion.’ Nöldeke takes this to mean upholders of an uncorrupted Christianity; but this is not necessarily the meaning.
4 Or ‘sick’.
5 T. gives the words of Faymiyūn’s prayer: ‘O God, thy enemy has attacked the health of one of thy servants to ruin it. Restore him to health and protect him from him.’
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 rak'as, 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 Najrân adopted his religion and he instructed them in the law of 'Isa b. Maryam. Afterwards they suffered the misfortunes1 which befell their co-religionists in every land. This was the origin of Christianity in Najrân in the land of the Arabs. Such is the report of Wâb b. Munabbih on the authority of the people of Najrân.

23 ABDULLAH IBN AL-THÂMIR AND THOSE WHO PERISHED IN THE TRENCH

Yazid b. Ziyâd told me on the authority of Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazi, and a man of Najrân also told me, that according to his people they used to worship idols. Najrân 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 Najrân in his art. When Fay'miyân came there—they did not call him by the name that Wâb b. Munabbih gives him but simply said a man came there—he put up a tent between Najrân and the place where the sorcerer was. Now the people of Najrân used to send their young men to that sorcerer to be taught sorcery and al-Thâmîr sent his son 'Abdullah 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 Muslim2 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-Thâmîr had no idea that his son 'Abdullah was not visiting the sorcerer along with the other young men. 'Abdullah 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 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 'Abdullah b. al-Thâmîr entered Najrân 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 Najrân 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 unhurt. Then he had him thrown into deep water in Najrân from which no one had ever emerged alive, but he came out safely.

Having thus got the better of him 'Abdullah 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 'Abdullah, 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 Najrân accepted the religion of 'Abdullah b. al-Thâmîr according to the Gospel and the law which 'Isa b. Maryam brought. Afterwards they were overtaken by the misfortunes3 which befell their co-religionists. Such is the origin of Christianity in Najrân. But God knows best (what the facts are).

Such is the report of Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazi and one of the men of Najrân about 'Abdullah b. al-Thâmîr, but God knows best what happened.

Dhu Nuwâs 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.4 Concerning Dhu Nuwâs and that army of his God revealed to his apostle

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 (39).1

---

1 Or 'innovations' (addáth), so Nohl., sp. cit., 392, v.s.
2 The Qur'an teaches that pure Christianity was Islam, cf. Sûra 3. 45 et passim.
3 Lit. 'Son of my brother'.
4 Sûra 85. 4.
OF DAUS DHÚ THA'LÁBÁN AND THE BEGINNING OF THE
ABYSSINIAN DOMINATION AND THE HISTORY OF
ARYÁT WHO BECAME VICEROY OF THE YAMAN

A man of Saba' called Daus Dhú Tha'lában escaped on a horse, and taking
to the desert eluded them. He pressed on until he reached the Byzantine
court, where he asked the emperor to aid him against Dhú Nuwás 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 Aryáṯ;
(Ṭ. 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 Abraha ‘Split-face’. Aryáṯ crossed
the sea with Daus Dhú Tha'lában and landed in the Yaman. Dhú Nuwás
with the Himyarites and such of the Yamani tribes as were under his com-
mand came out against him, and after an engagement Dhú Nuwás and his
force was put to flight. Seeing that his cause was lost Dhú Nuwás turned
his horse seawards beating 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. Aryáṯ entered the Yaman and took possession of it. (Ṭ. He
1 Another tradition in Ṭ. says that 'Abdullah was killed by an earlier king. Aṣṣ. i. 8; gives a somewhat different version from the rīwáya Ibn Sāj. For an account of their
2414.
2 Ṭab. 925. 9 says that there was a Yamani report that a man of Najran called Jabbi
b. Fayd also escaped.
3 Ṭab. 927. 13 contains an account of the disordered state of the Yamani army and their
feeble opposition.

19
The Life of Muhammad

carried out the Negus’s orders, and sent a third of the women and children
to him. He stayed on in the country and reduced it to subjection.)

One of the Yamanis remembering how Daus had brought the Abyssinis-
ians upon them said:

Not like Daus and not like the things he carried in his saddle bag.

And this saying has become proverbial in the Yaman until this day.

Dhú Jadan the Himyarī (Ṭ recording their humiliation after their former
glory and Aryáṯ’s destruction of their castles Sīlīḥn, Baynūn, and Ghumdān
unique in their splendour) recited:

Gently! Tears cannot recall what is sped.
Fret not thyself for those who are dead,
After Baynūn no stones nor trace remain,
And after Sīlīḥn shall men build such houses again?

Baynūn, Sīlīḥn, and Ghumdān are Yamani castles which Aryáṯ destroyed
and none like them existed.

He continued:

Peace, confound you! You can’t turn me from my purpose
Thy scolding dries my spittle!
To the music of singers in times past ’twas fine
When we drank our fill of purest noblest wine.
Drinking freely of wine brings me no shame
If my behaviour no boon-companion would blame.
For death no man can hold back
Though he drink the perfumed potions of the quack.
Nor monk in his secluded cell on high
Where the vulture round his nest doth fly.
You have heard of Ghumdān’s towers:
From the mountain top it lowers
Well carpentered, with stones for stay,
Plastered with clean, damp, slippery clay;
Oil lamps within it show
At even like the lightning’s glow,
Beside its wall the palm-trees fine
With ripening fruit in clusters shine.
This once-new castle is ashes today,
The flames have eaten its beauty away,
Dhú Nuwás humbled gave up his castle great
And warned his people of their coming fate.

With reference to that, Ibn al-Dhi’ba al-Thaqafī said (31):

By thy life there’s no escape for a man when death and old age seize
him.
By thy life a man has nowhere to flee—no asylum
Could there be after Ḥimyar's tribes were destroyed one morn by calamity's stroke, A thousand thousand with spearmen (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.

'Amr b. Ma'di Karib al-Zubaydī said concerning a dispute which he had with Qays b. Makshīḥ al-Murādī when he heard that he had threatened him, and bringing to memory the lost glory of Ḥimyar:

Do you threaten me as though you were Dhu Ru'ayn Or Dhu Nuwas 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 'Ad Exceeding fierce, overcoming tyrants, Yet his people perished And he became a wanderer among men (32).

How Abraha Seized Power in the Yaman and Killed Arayat

Arayat held sway in the Yaman for some years and then Abraha the Abyssinian (T. who was in his army) disputed his authority, and the Abyssinians split into two parties each claiming supporters. When war was about to begin, Abraha sent to Arayat asking him to avert the danger of intercine war and inviting him to settle the dispute by personal combat, the winner to be the sole commander of the army. Arayat agreed and Abraha went forth to meet him. He was a short fat man holding the Christian faith; and Arayat advanced against him spear in hand; he was a big, tall, handsome man. Abraha had a young man called 'Atawda at his back to defend him against attack from the rear. Arayat raised his spear striking at Abraha'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-Ashram (split-face). Thereupon 'Atawda coming out from behind Abraha attacked Arayat and killed him, and Arayat's army joined Abraha, and the Abyssinians in the Yaman accepted him as their chief. (T. Then 'Atawda cried: 'Atawda you see, of an evil company; parentless in nobility', meaning that Abraha's slave had killed Arayat. Al-Ashram 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.) Abraha paid blood-money for killing Arayat. (T. 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 amir and killed him without any order from me?' Then he swore an oath that he would not leave Abraha alone until he had trodden his land and cut off his forelock. So Abraha 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, Arayat 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 shaved the whole of my head and I 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 Abraha remained in the Yaman. (T. When Abraha perceived that the Negus was reconciled and had made him viceregent of the Yaman, he sent to Abū Murra b. Dhu Yazan and took away from him his wife Rayhānā d. 'Alqama b. Malik b. Zayd b. Kahlān. Abū Murra who is Dhu Jādan had a son by her—Ma'di Karib. Afterwards she bore to Abraha a son Maṣrūq and a daughter Bāṣhā, Abū Murra took to flight. His slave 'Atawda went on exercising his right in Yaman until a man of Ḥimyar of Khat'am attacked and killed him; and when the news reached Abraha, who was a lenient 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 'Atawda 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 'Atawda.)

The History of the Elephant and the Story of the Intercalators

Then Abraha built the cathedral in San'ā', 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. 'Ady b. 'Āmir b. Th'labah b. al-Ḥārith b. Malik b. Kinnān b. Khazayma b. Mudrīka b. Ilīyā b. Mudar. The intercalators are those who used to adjust the months for the Arabs in the time of ignorance. They

1 A slightly longer account is given in Azr. i. 86.
The Life of Muhammad

would make one of the holy months profane, and make one of the profane months holy to balance (of a sacred month) it. 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 sacred the next year, that they may make up the number of the months which God has made sacred (33).’  

The first to impose this system of intercalation on the Arabs was al-Qaliammas who was Hudhayfah b. ‘Abd b. Fugaym b. ‘Adiy b. ‘Amir b. Tha’labah b. al-Harith b. Mālik b. Kināna b. Khuzayma; his son ‘Abdābd followed him; then his descendants Qala’, Umayya, ‘Auf, and Abū Thumāmah Junāda b. ‘Auf who was the last of them, for he was overtaken by Islam. When the Arabs had finished pilgrimage, it was used to be their practice to gather round him and he would declare the four sacred months Rajab, Dhul-Qa‘da, Dhul-Hijjah, and al-Muharram. If he wanted to free a period he would free al-Muharram and they would declare it free and ban Ṣafar in its place so as to make up the number of the four sacred months. When they wanted to return from Mecca, he got up and said: ‘O God, I have made one of the Ṣafars free for them, the first Ṣafar, and I have postponed the other till next year.’  

About this ‘Umayr b. Qays Jadhil‘i-Tī‘ān, one of the B. Firās b. Ghamm b. Tha‘labah b. Mālik b. Kināna, boasting of this determining of the months, improvised:

Ma‘add 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 champ the bit?

Are we not Ma‘add’s calendar-makers, making profane months sacred?

(34).

The Kinānites went forth until he came to the cathedral and defiled 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 went some Arabs who had come to seek his bounty, among them Muhammad b. Khuzayma b. Khuzāba al-Dhaqāwī, al-Sulami, 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.

1 Sunan. 9. 37.
2 If by this time a sacred month was due, raiding and blood-revenge would be taboo; hence the need to declare the month profane.

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.’ Therupon Muhammad got up and went to Abraha and said, ‘O King, this is a festival of ours in which we eat only the loins 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 Muṣṣur 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 Kināna the people of the lowland knowing what he had come for sent a man of Hudhayl called ‘Urwa b. Ḥayyāl b. al-Milāsī 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. Kināna 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 Ka‘ba, God’s holy house.  

A member of one of the ruling families in the Yemen, Dhu‘ Nafir 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 Dhu‘ Nafir 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 Dhu‘ Nafir 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 on his road to Mecca until in the country of Khath‘am he was opposed by Nufayl b. Ḥabib al-Khath‘amī with their two tribes of the tribes of Khath‘am, Shahran and Nāhis, who obey you.’ So Abraha let him go.  

He continued with him as a guide until they reached Ṭa‘if when Mas‘ūd b. Mu‘attib b. Mālik b. Ka‘b b. ‘Amr b. Sa‘d b. ‘Auf b. Thaqīf came out to him with the men of Ṭa‘if. Thaqīf’s name was Qasīy b. al-Nabī b. Munabbih b. Ṭa‘if. 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.

1 ‘The camels are thin because they are always overmined to supply the wants of guests. Schulthess, Umayya, 15, reads fatadees, ‘might be slaughtered’.
When on the march Irāq’s wide plain
Is theirs—moreover they read and write (36).

He also said:
If you ask me who I am, Lubayna, and of my line
I will tell you the certain truth.
We belong to al-Nabī the father of Qasīy
To Mansūr son of Yaqūm (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-Lāt—is not the one you seek. You want only the temple in Mecca, and
we will send you with this man to guide you there. He therefore pressed on
leaving them unmolested.

As to al-Lāt it was a temple of theirs in al-Tā‘if which they used to
venerate as theKa‘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-Mughammas Abū Righāl died there and the Arabs
stoned his grave. This is the grave which people in al-Mughammas still
stone.5

Arrived here, Abraha sent an Abyssinian called al-Awsad b. Mafṣūdī
with some cavalry as far as Mecca and the latter sent off to him the plunder
of the people of Tihāma, the Quraysh and others, among it two hundred
camels belonging to ‘Abdul‘u-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, who at that time was
the leading shaykh of Quraysh. At first Quraysh, Kaināna, and Hudhayl
and others were in the holy place meditated battle, but seeing that
they had not the power to offer resistance they gave up the idea.

Abraha sent Ḥunāţa 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 Ḥunāţa was told that ‘Abdul‘u-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. ‘Abd Manār
b. Qusayy was the leading notable, so he went to him and delivered Abraha’s
message. ‘Abdul‘u-Muṭṭalib replied: ‘God knows that we do not wish to
fight him for we have not the power to do so. This is Allāh’s sanctuary
and the temple of His friend Abraham—or words to that effect—if He
defends it against him it is His temple and His sanctuary; and if He
lets him have it by God we cannot defend it’ Ḥunāţa replied that he
must come with him to Abraha, for he was ordered to bring him back
with him.

So accompanied by one of his sons ‘Abdul‘u-Muṭṭalib came to the camp

1 Also written al-Mughammas, a place ‘two thirds of a parasang’ (roughly two miles)
from Mecca.
2 The practice survives to this day.
3 Other authorities write Maṣqūd. Mafṣūd means ‘shag-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 them in their trouble. Dhu‘ Nafr replied: ‘What use is a man held
a prisoner in the hands 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 commend 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.’ So Dhu‘ Nafr sent to Unays saying, ‘The king has
taken two hundred camels belonging to ‘Abdul‘u-Muṭṭalib, lord of Quraysh
and master of the Meccans’ 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
34 do so and repeated these words to the king, adding that ‘Abdul‘u-Muṭṭalib
wished to see him and talk to him about a pressing matter. Abraha agreed
to see him. Now ‘Abdul‘u-Muṭṭalib was a most impressive, handsome, and
dignified man, and when Abraha 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 ‘Abdul‘u-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. Abraha 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?’ ‘Abdul‘u-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.’) T. 939

Some learned people allege that when ‘Abdul‘u-Muṭṭalib went to Abraha
when he sent Ḥunāţa to him, there accompanied him Yav‘mur b. Nutafitha
of B. Bakr, and Khuwaylid b. Wathila, then chief of Hudhayl. They
offered to give Abraha 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 Abraha restored to ‘Abdul‘u-Muṭṭalib the camels which he had
taken.

When they left him, ‘Abdul‘u-Muṭṭalib went back to Quraysh 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. ‘Abdul‘u-Muṭṭalib took hold of the
metal knocker of the Ka‘ba, and a number of Quraysh stood with him praying

1 C. has ‘ir, ‘caravan’. 
to God and imploring his help against Abraha and his army. As he was holding the knocker of the temple door, 'Abdu'l-Mu'ttalib said:

35 O God, a man protects his dwelling so protect Thy dwellings.1
Let not their cross and their craft tomorrow overcome Thy craft (39).

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

O God, humiliate al-Aswad b. Mafṣūd
Who took a hundred camels wearing their collars;
Between Hīra' and Thābir 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 (49).

'Abdu'l-Mu'ttalib then let go the knocker of the door of the Ka'ba and went off with his Qurašyah 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. Ḥābid 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 scarified 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 Mecca it knelt down.

Then God sent upon them birds from the sea like swallows and 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. Ḥābid 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-Asrām is the conquered not the conqueror (41).

1 Hīla, the plural of hilla, means a collection of houses and also the people who live therein. For rabbatu al-Shahrārātī, Milah, has hilla in 'his neighbour', and for ghaddan 'tomorrow' ahdun, which could be rendered 'hostile' here. For glihān, glihān, glihān has Kābatān. 2 mūdīh is said by S. and Abū Dharr to mean strength and power; but it really means 'guile', 'strategy 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 Qur'ān saying of God: Khiyuna l-muḥbirin, 3. 47. 1 has preserved four lines of no poetic merit which I.H. preferred to excise.

Nufayl also said:

Our greetings, Rudayna!
You rejoice our eyes this morning!
[Your fuel-seeker came to us last night,
But we had naught to give him.]
If you had seen, but you will not see, Rudayna,
What we saw on al-Muḥāṣṣab's side1
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 Śan'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 campfollowers remained in Mecca and became workers and shepherds for the population.)

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

When God sent Muhammad he specially recounted to the Qurašyah 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 guide 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.'3

And again: 'For the uniting of Qurašyah, their uniting the caravans to 37

1 A place between Mecca and Minā in the valley of Mecca. See Yaqūt.
2 Possibly ḫayna is a poetical form of ḫayyān, 'between us'. The line is based on Sūra 57. 23.
3 Sūra 102.
4 Sūra 91. A good discussion of this difficult passage will be found in Lane's Lexicon, p. 796 and c. There are three rival readings: ilf (adopted by our author), ilif, and ilf. 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-Albānī the point of this is that the four sons of 'Abdul Manāf were given freedom to travel by the Byzantines, Persian, Abyssinians, and Hijārīs 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 the attack of their enemies.' On this theme they composed many poems. Thus 'Abdullah b. al-Zibra'ī b. 'Adiy b. Qays b. 'Adiy b. Sa'd b. Sahm b. 'Amr b. Huiyay b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghailib b. Fihr said:

Withdraw from the vale of Mecca for
From old its sanctuary has not been violated.
When it was sanctified, Sirius had 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 Jurhum were (in Mecca) before them.
God has set it above all creatures.

The words 'nor did their sick recover after their return' refer to Abrah whom they carried with them when he was smitten, until he died in San'ā'.
Abū Qays b. al-Aslat al-Anṣārī al-Khaṭṭārī, Ṣayfī by name (43) said:

His work was it on the day of the Abyssinian elephant.
Whenever they urged it forward it held its ground,
(They drove) their hooks 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.

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

1 Asr. l. 92 reports from I.I. that envows from the tribes went to congratulate Ṣayf b. Dāh Yaman on his restoration to kingship. He singled out Quraysh for special treatment.
2 I prefer the reading ḥabīb (W.) to the ṣalīm of C.

The Life of Muhammad

God sent a wind bringing pebbles from above them
And they huddled together like lambs.¹
Their priests urged them to endure,
But they bleated like sheep (44).

Abū Qays b. al-Aslat also said:

Rise and pray to your Lord and stroke
The corners of this temple between the mountains.²
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,² peking 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).³

Ṭālīb b. Abū Ṭālīb b. Abū l-Muṭṭalib said:

Know you not what happened in the war of Dāḥiṣ?⁴
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).⁴

Abū al-Šāh b. Abū Rabī'ā al-Thaqāfī referring to the elephant and to the Ḥanāfī religion being that of Abraham said (47):

The signs of our Lord are illuminating.²
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-Mughammas until
It sank to the ground as though it were hamstrung.⁵

¹ With some hesitation I read this line: faḥyifūhum . . . al-qarām. W. reads yahyifūhum; C. inserts no vowels to the form I have read as indicated. Both W. and C. read al-qarām which means 'small bodies'. Abū Dharr (Bustamī, 21) read al-qarām, which he explained by niḥārāt al-qarām. The line that follows seems to require a reference to sheep here.
² The term abdūlāhī refers to the mountains of Mecca.
³ i.e. the angels.
⁴ Or, 'from the Abyssinians'. See n. 2, p. 28. These lines occur again in W., p. 160.
⁵ Dāḥiṣ is the name of a horse. Foul play during a race led to a long and bloody feud between the tribes of 'Abi and Dhuḥayl. See Nicholson, L.H. A. 61-64.
⁶ Or, 'property'.
⁷ Reading thubībatu' with C.
⁸ Ḫūdān, Ḣabīq, Ḥaywilūn, Cairo, 1945/1964, vii. 198, reads wajīlim, but the received text is better. I owe this explanation of Ḫūdān to my colleague Dr. el-Ṭayeb. Commentators and translators have missed the point.
The Life of Muhammad

Its trunk curled ring-wise; it lay motionless as; A boulder flung down from Kahkab’a rocks. Round it Kinda’s kings, warriors, Mighty hawks in war. They abandoned it and departed headlong All of them; the shank of each one of them was broken. In God’s sight at the Resurrection every religion But that of the banif is doomed to perdition (48).

When Abraha died his son Yaksitum became king of the Abyssinians, (T. Himyar 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 Yaksitum b. Abraha died his brother Masriq 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 Abu 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’mân b. al-Mundhir, who was Chosroes’ governor at al-Hira and the surrounding country of Iraq. When he complained of the Abyssinians, al-Nu’mân 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 settled 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 drachmai sterling and invested him in a fine robe. Sayf went out with the silver and began to scatter it among the people; (T. Boys and slaves of both sexes scrambled 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 curiosity. 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. Masriq 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 bestride a horse; again they waited. He asked the same question and they said he was bestride a mule. Said Wahriz: ‘An ass’s filly! 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.’ He then 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 Masriq 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.

1 i.e. ‘black’.

1 His eyes were half closed from age.
The Life of Muhammad

Sayf b. Dhū Yazan al-Ḫimyarī said:

44 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 Masrūq 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-Šalt b. Abū Rabī‘a al-Ṭhaqaﬁ (51) said:

Let those seek vengeance who are like Ibn Dhū Yazan
Who spent long years at sea because of his enemies,
When the time for his journey came he went to Caesār
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 they 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 Ghundān'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).

45 'Adīy b. Zayd al-Ḫirī, one of B. Tamīm, said:

What is there after Ṣan‘ā‘ 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 musk.
Protected by mountains against the attacks of enemies,¹
Its lofty heights unscaleable.

¹ *Kala‘* here I take to mean a resourceful foe. The Cairo editors prefer to find a reference
to God.
THE END OF THE PERSIAN AUTHORITY IN THE YAMAN

Wahriz and the Persians dwelt in the Yaman, and the Abnâ' who are in the Yaman today are descended from the survivors of that Persian army. The period of Abyssinian domination from the entry of Aryāt to the death of Masrūq ibn Aḥbra has the hands of the Persians and the expulsion of the Abyssinians was seventy-two years. The successive princes were four, Aryāt, Aḥbra, Yākāʾūm, and Masrūq (55).

It is said that on a rock in the Yaman there was an inscription dating from olden times:

To whom belongs the kingdom of Dhimār?
To Ḫimyar the righteous.
To whom belongs the kingdom of Dhimār?
To the evil Abyssinians.
To whom belongs the kingdom of Dhimār?
To the free Persians.
To whom belongs the kingdom of Dhimār?
To Quraysh the merchants (56).

Dhimār means the Yaman or Ṣanʿā'.
Al-ʾAšā'ī of B. Qays b. Thaʿlabā said when the words of Sāḥib and his companion were fulfilled:

'No woman has ever seen, as she saw, the truth like the truth of al-Dhi'bi when he prophesied.' The Arabs called him al-Dhi'bi because he was the son of Rabī'ā b. Masʿūd b. Māzīn b. Dhi'ī (57).

THE DESCENDANTS OF NIZĀR B. MA'ADD

Nizār b. Ma'add begat three sons: Muḍār, Rabi'a', and Anmār (58).
Anmār was the father of Khatḥām and Baṭil. Jarīr b. 'Abdullāh al-Bajallī who was chief of the Baṭil (of whom someone said: 'But for Jarīr, Baṭil would have perished. A fine man and a poor tribe') said when he was appealing against al-Furāʾīṣa al-Kalbī to al-Aqra'ī b. Ḥābis al-Taṃimī b. 'Īqāl b. Muqāṣī b. Dārīm b. Mālik b. Ḥanzāla b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt

O Aqra'ī b. Ḥābis, O Aqra',
If thy brother is overthrown thou wilt be overthrown.

and said:
Ye two sons of Nizār help your brother.
My father I wed is your father.
A brother who is your ally will not be worsted this day.

1 Legend says that the woman in question was able to see people a three days' journey distant.

1 But see Ťahāri.
2 This word is explained in the Muḥaddīsīyāt, 763, by Ḥarwālīa, a quick, sooting, halftoasting gait. The story there is told at greater length.
3 A story similar to these two will be found in Ibn al-Kalbī's K. al-Aṣūrī, ed. Ahmad Zāhī Pasha, Cairo, 1924, p. 58. These terms are explained in the next chapter.
The Life of Muhammad

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 'Arafa 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, Kināna and Qaraysh 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 owwest 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.

The people of Noah 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 Wudd and Suwa’ and Yaghûth and Ya’uq and Nasr.” 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. Mudirika b. Ilyas b. Muqdar. They adopted Suwa‘ and they had him in Ruḥat; and Kalb b. Wabra of Qudâ‘a’s who adopted Wudd in Dûmatu’l-Jandal.

Kâ‘b b. Malik al-‘Ansârī said:

We forsook al-Lât and al-‘Uzzâ and Wudd.

We stripped off their necklaces and earrings (64).

An’um of Ṭayyî and the people of Jurash of Maḥbîb adopted Yaghûth in Jurash (65).

Khaywân, a clan of Hamdân, adopted Ya’uq in the land of Hamdân in the Yaman (66).

Dhîl’-Xâlî of Ḥimyar adopted Nasr in the Ḥimyar country.

Khaullân had an idol called ‘Ammanâs in the Khaullân country. Accord-
of 'Amra b. 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. Sa'd b. Zūrār that she said, 'I heard A'īsha say, "We always heard that Īsāf and Nā'īla were a man and a woman of Jurham who copulated in the Ka'ba so God transformed them into two stones." But God alone knows if this is the truth.'

Abū Ta'lib said:

Where the pilgrims make their camels kneel
Where the waters flow from Isāf and Nā'īla.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 gods into one God? That is indeed a strange proceeding!'

Now along with the Ka'ba the Arabs had adopted Ṭawāghīt, 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. Kīnāna had al-'Uzza in Nakha, its guardians and overseers were the B. Shaybān of Sulaīm, allies of the B. Hāšim (70). An Arab poet said:

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

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

[Arz. i. 74: 'Amr b. Lu'ayy put al-'Uzza in Nakha, and when they had finished their hajj and the circumambulation of the Ka'ba they continued to be under taboo until they came to al-'Uzza and had gone round it; there they abandoned the pilgrim taboo and stayed a day beside it. It belonged to Khuzā'a. All Quraysh and B. Kīnāna used to venerate al-'Uzza along with Khuzā'a, and all Muḍar. Her sādīns who used to guard (hajāb) her were B. Shaybān of Sulaīm, allies of B. Hāšim. Cf. I.H. 839.]

Al-Lāt belonged to Thaqīf in Ta'if, her overseers and guardians being B. Mu'attib3 of Thaqīf.

Manāt was worshipped by al-Aus and al-Khazraj and such of the people...

of Yathrib as followed their religion by the sea-shore in the direction of al-Mushallal in Qudayd (72).1

[Arz. i. 73: 'Amr b. Lu'ayy set up Manāt on the sea-shore near Qudayd. Azd and Ghassān went on pilgrimage to it and revered it. They had made the compass of the Ka'ba and hastened from 'Arafāt and completed the rites at Mīnā they did not shave their hair until they got to Manāt to whom they would cry Labbayki. Those who did so did not go round between al-Safāt and al-Marwa to the place of the two idols Nahīk Mūjāwīd al-Rīh and Mū'tim al-Ṭayr. This clan of the Ansār used to begin the ceremony by hammering Manāt, and when they went on the great or little pilgrimage they would not go under the shelter of a roof until they had completed it. When a man was under taboo as a pilgrim (abrama) he would not enter his house; if he needed something in it he would climb the wall behind his house so that the door should not cover his head. When God brought Islam and destroyed the doings of paganism He sent down concerning that: 'Piety does not consist in entering your houses from the rear but in fearing God' (2. 185). Manāt belonged to al-Aus and al-Khazraj and Ghassān of al-Azd and such of the population of Yathrib and Syria who followed their religion. Manāt was on the sea-shore in the neighbourhood of al-Mushallal in Qudayd.]

Dhī'l-Kalāsa belonged to Daus, Khāṭh'am, and Bājila and the Arabs in their area in Tabāla (73).2 [Arz. i. 73: 'Amr b. Lu'ayy set up al-Khalāqa in the lower part of Mecca. They used to put necklaces on it, and bring gifts of barley and wheat. They poured milk on it, sacrificed to it, and hung ostrich eggs on it. 'Amr set up an image on al-Safā called Nahīk Mūjāwīd al-Rīh, and one on al-Marwa called Mū'tim al-Ṭayr.]

Fala belonged to Ṭa'īyī and those hard by in the two mountains of Ṭa'īyī, Salmā and Aja (74). Ḥimyar and the Yamanites had a temple in Ṣan'a' called Ri'am (75). Ṭa'īyī was a temple of B. Rabī'a b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Rayd Manāt b. Tamim. Al-Mustaghfir b. Rabī'a b. Ka'b b. Sa'd when he destroyed it in the time of Islam said:

I smashed Ṭa'īyī so completely that I left it a black ruin in a hollow (76).

Dhī'l-Ka'abāt belonged to Bakr and Taghlib the two sons of Wā'il and lyād in Sindād.3 Of it A'shā of B. Qays b. Tha'laba said:

Between al-Khawwānīq and al-Sadīr and Bāriq
And the temple Dhī'l-Ka'abāt4 of Sindād (77).
The Life of Muhammad

THE BA'HIRA, SÂ'IBA, WA'SILA, AND HÂMÎ

The Ba'hirâ is the filly of the Sa'îba; the Sa'îba is the she camel which gives birth to ten fillies without an intervening colt. She is set 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 Ba'hirâ, the filly of the Sa'îba. 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 wasalat. Any ewes which give 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 Hâmî is a stallion who is the sire of ten successive fillies without an intervening colt. His back is taboo and he is not ridden; his hair is not shorn and he is left to run among the camels to mount them. Beyond that no use is made of him (79).

58 When God sent his apostle Muhammad he revealed to him: ‘God has not made Ba'hirâ, or Sa'îba or Wa'sila or Hâmî, 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.’ 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).

59 CONTINUATION OF THE GENEALOGIES

Khuzâ'a say: We are the sons of ‘Amr b. ‘Amir from the Yaman (81).

60 Mudrikâ b. al-Ya’ had two sons, Khuzayma and Hudhayl, their mother being a woman of Quḍâ’s. Khuzayma had four sons: Kinânâ, Asad, Asad, and al-Hûn. Kinânâ’s mother was ‘Uwâna d. Sa’îd b. Qays b. ‘Aylan b. Mu’dâr (82).

1 Sûra 5, 112. 2 Sûra 6, 140. 3 Sûra 10, 60. 4 Sûra 6, 144-5. 5 Carrying on from p. 50 of W.’s text.

The Life of Muhammad

Kinânâ had four sons: al-Nadr, Mâlik, ‘Abdu Manât, and Mâlik. Nadr’s mother was Barra d. Murr b. Udd b. ‘Âlîkha b. al-Ya’i’s b. Mu’dâr; the other sons were by another woman (83).

It is said that Quraysh got their name from their gathering together after 61 they had been separated, for gathering together may be expressed by tâqarush.1

Al-Nadr b. Kinânâ had two sons, Mâlik and Yakhud. Mâlik’s mother was ‘Âtika d. ‘Adwân b. ‘Amr b. Qays b. ‘Aylan, but I do not know whether she was Yakhud’s mother or not (84).

Mâlik b. al-Nadr begat Fîhr b. Mâlik, his mother being Jandalâ d. al-Hârith b. Mudâd b. al-Jurhumâ (85). [T. There was war between Fihr and Hassân b. ‘Abdu Ka’dâ l b. Mathîb Dhû Ḥurath al-Ḥimyâr who had come from the Yaman with the tribesmen meaning to take back to Yaman the stones of the Ka’ba so as to divert the pilgrimage to the Yaman. He got as far as Nakhla, raided cattle, and closed the roads, but he was afraid to enter Mecca. When Quraysh, Kinânâ, Khuzayma, Asad, and Juddhâm and other unknown elements of Mu’dar perceived this they marched against them under the leadership of Fihr b. Mâlik. A sharp engagement followed in which Êimyâr were defeated and Hassân was taken prisoner by Fihr’s son al-Hârith. Among those killed in battle was his grandson Qays b. Ghâlib b. Fîhr. Hassân remained a prisoner for two years until he paid his ransom. He was then released and died on the way to the Yaman.] Fihr begat four sons: Ghâlib, Mu’dârîb, al-Hârith, and Asad, their mother being Laylâ b. Sa’d b. Hudhayl b. Mudrikâ (86).

Ghâlib b. Fîhr had two sons, Lu’ayy and Taym, their mother being Sâmâ d. ‘Amr al-Khu’dâ’. Taym were called the Ba’lîl-Adram (87).

Lu’ayy b. Ghâlib had four sons: Ka’b, ‘Âmir, Sâmâ, and ‘Aul; the mother of the first three was Mawîya d. Ka’b b. al-Qayn b. Isâr of Qu’dâ’s (88).

The Story of Sâmâ

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

1 The text is at fault somewhat. I.I.’s comment follows naturally on what has gone before, but has nothing to do with what he is last reported as having written. The significant words are ‘al-Nadr is Quraysh’; but these are attributed to I.I. and neither W. nor C. make any mention of a variant reading qâlatu mu’ta Lâhâ. We can at least be certain that what I.I. had to tell us about the origin of ‘Quraysh’ is not to be found in the Sûra as it stands, though Tab. makes another attempt in his quotation from the lost passages of I.I. They were named after Quraysh b. Badr b. Yakhud b. al-Hârith b. Yakhud b. al-Nadr b. Kinânâ who was called Quraysh because he put to shame the B. al-Nadr. Whenever they appeared the Arabs said, ‘The shame of Quraysh has come.’ T. goes on (1104) to give the right explanation that the name means ‘shark’. Doubtless it is a totem name like so many of the old tribal names in Arabia.
her head to graze and a snake seized her by the lip and forced her downwards until she fell on her side. Then the snake bit Sāma so that he died. The story goes that when Sāma felt death upon him he said:

Eyes, weep for Sāma b. Lu’ayy.
The clinging snake has clung to Sāma’s leg.\footnote{1}
Never have I seen such a victim of a camel
As Sāma b. Lu’ayy when they came upon him.
Send word to ‘Amir and Ka‘b,
That my soul yearneth for them.

Though my home be in ‘Umayn
I am a Ghālibī, 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 prostrate\footnote{2}
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 Ghaṭafān b. Sa‘d b. Qays b. ‘Ay lán when he was left behind and his tribesmen went on without him. Tha’labā b. Sa‘d (he being his brother according to the kindred reckoning of B. Dubyān, Tha’labā b. Sa‘d b. Dubyān b. Baghiḍ b. Rayh b. Ghaṭafān and ‘AUF b. Sa‘d b. Dubyān b. Baghiḍ b. Rayh b. Ghaṭafān) 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. Dubyān. It was Tha’labā, 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.\footnote{3}

Muhammad b. Ja‘far b. al-Zubayr, or it may have been Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Abdullāh b. Husayn, told me that ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb 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 Ghaṭafān he is

\footnote{1} So C, following al-Aghām. \footnote{2} The plodding beast that trots on through the night without uttering a sound. \footnote{3} Reading murrāh ‘ought not to be left’ of the majority of inferior texts. However, the latter is supported by Miṣaḥif, p. 101.

Nurra b. ‘AUF b. Sa‘d b. Dubyān b. Baghiḍ b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafān. If this genealogy is mentioned to them they themselves say, ‘We do not deny or contest it; it is our most prized genealogy.’

Al-Hārīth b. Zālim b. Jadhīmā b. Yarbū’—one of B. Murra b. ‘AUF—when he fled from al-Nu‘mān b. al-Mundhir and clave to Quraysh said:

My tribe is not Tha’labā b. Sa‘d
Nor Fazzār the long-haired.
My tribe if you must ask is the Banū Lu’ayy.
In Mecca they taught Muḍār to fight.
We were foolish in following the Banū Baghiḍ
And leaving our next-of-kin and family.
’Twas the folly of the water-seeker who, his fill drunk,
Throws away the water and goes after a mirage.
‘Od’s life if I had my way I should be with them
And not be found seeking pasture from place to place.
Rawāḥa the Qurayshite mounted me on his camel
And sought no reward for it (90).

Al-Husayn b. al-Hurām al-Murr, one of B. Saḥm b. Murra, said, 65 refuting al-Hārīth b. Zālim and claiming to belong to Ghaṭafān:

Lo, you are not of us and we have nought to do with you.
We repudiate relationship with Lu’ayy b. Ghālib.
We dwell on the proud heights of al-Ḥiṣār while you
Are in the verdant\footnote{1} plain between the two mountains,
meaning Quraysh. Afterwards al-Husayn repented of what he had said and recognized the truth of the words of al-Hārīth b. Zālim. He claimed to belong to Quraysh and, accusing himself of falsehood, he said:

I repent of what I said before:
I realize that it was the speech of a liar.
Would that my tongue were in two,
Half of it dumb and the other half singing your praise.\footnote{2}
Our father a Kināṭi, in Mecca is his grave,
In the verdant\footnote{1} plain of al-Baḍā’ between the mountains.
We own a fourth of the sanctuary as an inheritance
And a fourth of the plains by the house of Ibn Ḥāṭib,
meaning that the B. Lu’ayy were four: Ka‘b, ‘Amir, Sāma, and ‘AUF.
A person whom I cannot suspect told me that ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said to men of B. Murra: ‘If you wish to return to your kindred do so,’\footnote{3}
The tribe were nobles among Ghaṭafān; they were their chiefs and

\footnote{1} Or ‘contested’. \footnote{2} Lit. ‘in the course of the stars’. \footnote{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 Spranger, Bei Leben d. Muhammad, III, cap. E.
leaders. Of them were Harim b. Sinān b. Abū Ḥāritha b. Murra b. Nushba; Khārija b. Sinān b. Abū Ḥāritha; al-Jafirī b. "Auf; al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Ḥumān; and Ḥishām b. Ḥarmala of whom someone has said:

Ḥishām b. Ḥarmala revived his father
On the day of al-Ḥabībīt and the day of al-Yā'malāth
You could see the kings slain beside him
As he slew the guilty and the innocent (91).\footnote{He brought him to life as it were by taking revenge on his slayers.}

They were a people of a lively reputation among Ghaṭafān and Qays, and they retained their relationship with them. Among them the practice of Basā' obtained.\footnote{Two famous battles.}

According to reports Basā' 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. Zuhayr b. Abū Sulām said with reference to B. Murra (92):

Think! If they are not in al-Marurāt in their dwellings
Then they will be in Nakhl,\footnote{A place where I have enjoyed their fellowship.}
If they are in neither then they will be at large during the Basā'.

He means that they will be travelling during the holy period.

al-A'shā of B. Qays b. Tha'laba said:\footnote{If they are in neither then they will be at large during the Basā'}. Is your woman guest to be taboo to us
While our woman guest and her husband are open to you?


Murra b. Ka'b had three sons: Killāb, Taym, and Yaqūza. Killāb's mother was Hind d. Surayr b. Tha'laba b. al-Ḥarīth b. Fihr b. Mālik b. Naḍr b. Kinānā b. Khuzayma; Yaqūza's mother was al-Bāriqīya, a woman of Bāriq 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 Killāb (93).


Of Sa'd b. Sayay the poet says:

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

While 'Abdul-'Mūṭalib 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, Isāf and Nā'ilā, at the slaughter-place of Quraysh. Jurhum had filled it in at the time they left Mecca. It is the well of Isma'il 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-Safā praying to God and imploring Sād for Isma'il; 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 the while he drank, and she made him a small hole.\footnote{The narrative is continued on p. 91.}

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-'Mūṭalib dug Zamzam, according to what Ziyād b. 'Abdullah al-Bakkaṭī told me on the authority of Muhammad b. Iṣḥāq al-Muṭalibī, is that when Isma'il the son of Abraham died, his son Nābil was in charge of the temple as long as God willed, then it was in charge of Muḍāji b. 'Amr al-Jurhumī (98). The sons of Isma'il and the sons of Nābil were with their grandfather Muḍāji b. 'Amr and their maternal uncles of Jurhum—Jurhum and Qatā'a who were cousins being at that time the people of Mecca. They had come forth from the Yaman and travelled together and Muḍāji was over Jurhum and
Samayda', one of their men, over Qatūra'. 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. Mu'ād b. 'Amr with the men of Jurhum settled in the upper part of Mecca in Qu'ayqīnān and went no farther. Samayda' with Qatūra' settled in the lower part of Mecca in Ayyād the lower part of Mecca, and went no farther. Mu'ād used to take a tithe from those who entered Mecca from above, while Samayda' did the same to those who entered from below. Each kept to his own people, neither entering the other's territory.

Then Jurhum and Qatūra' quarrelled and contended for the supremacy in Mecca; at that time Mu'ād with him had the sons of Ishmael and Nābit, and he had the oversight of the temple as against Samayda'. They went out to fight each other, Mu'ād from Qu'ayqīnā and his horsemen making for Samayda' equipped with spears, leather shields, swords and quivers, rattling as they charged. It is said that Qu'ayqīnā was so named for that reason. Samayda' went out from Ayyād with horse and foot, and it is said Ayyād got its name from the fine horses (jāīd) that formed Samayda's cavalry. The two parties met in Fāḍīl, and after a severe battle Samayda' was killed and Qatūra' humiliated. It is said that the name Fāḍīl was given for this reason. Then the people clamoured for peace and went on until they reached al-Matābih, a ravine above Mecca; there they made peace and surrendered authority to Mu'ād. 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 Matābih. 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 Mu'ād and Samayda' was the first open wrong committed in Mecca, at least so some allege.

Then God multiplied the offspring of Ishmael in Mecca and their uncle from Jurhum were rulers of the temple and judges in Mecca. The sons of Ishmael did not dispute their authority because of their ties of kindred and their respect for the sanctuaries 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 Khuza'a get possession of the temple and expel Jurhum

Afterwards Jurhum behaved high-handedly in Mecca and made laws 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 to the Ka'ba so that their authority weakened. When B. Bakr b. 'Abdu Manāf b. Kināna and Ghubshān of Khuza'a perceived that, they came together to do battle and drive them out of Mecca. War was declared and in the fighting B. Bakr and Ghubshān got the upper hand and expelled them from Mecca. Now in the time of paganism Mecca did not tolerate injustice and wrong within its borders and if anyone did wrong therein it expelled him; therefore it was called 'the Scorcher', and any king who came to profane its sanctity died on the spot. It is said that it was called Bakka because it used to break the necks of tyrants when they introduced innovations therein (99).

'Amr b. al-Ḥārīrī b. Mu'ād al-Jurhumī brought out the two gazelles of the Ka'ba and the corner-stone and buried them in the well Zamzam, going away with the men of Jurhum to the Yaman. They were bitterly grieved at losing the kingship of Mecca, and the above-named 'Amr said:

Many a woman crying bitterly,
Her eyes swollen with weeping, said
'Tis as though between al-Hajān and al-Saffī there was
No friend and none to beguile the night's long hours in Mecca.
I said to her, while my heart within me palpitated
As though a bird fluttered between my ribs:
'Of a surety we were its people,
And grievous misfortunes have brought us to nought;
We were the lords of the temple after Nābit,
We used to go round the temple
Our prosperity plain to see.
We were in charge of the temple after Nābit in glory
And the man of plenty did not count with us.
We reigned in power, how great was our rule!
No other tribe there could boast.
Did you not marry a daughter to the best man I know?"
His sons are ours, we being brothers by marriage.'
If the world turned against us
The world ever brings painful changes.
God drove us out by force; thus, O men,
Does destiny pursue its way.
I say when the carefree sleep, and I do not sleep,
'Lord of the throne, let not Suhayl and 'Amir perish!' I was forced to look upon faces I do not like:
The tribes of Himyar and Yuhābīr.
We became a legend after having been in prosperity.
That is what the passing years did to us.

---

1 al-Nāsra.
2 A mountain above Mecca.
3 From the verb bakka, he broke.
4 I.e. Ishmael.
5 al-malḥ presumably refers to the divine King.
The Life of Muhammad

The tears 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 (100).

'Amr b. al-Hārith, remembering Bakr and Hubshān and the townspeople 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 beasts 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 Khuzā'a in Their Custody of the Temple

Then Hubshān of Khuzā'a controlled the temple instead of B. Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt, the man who was controlling it before. 'Amr b. al-Hārith al-Hubshān. Quraysh at that time were in scattered settlements, and tenant-dispersed among their people, B. Kināna. So Khuzā'a possessed the temple, passing it on from son to son until the last of them, Ḥulayl b. Ḥabashiyah b. Sālid b. Ka'b b. 'Amr al-Khuzā'ī (102).

The Marriage of Qūsāyy b. Kilāb with Hūbāb, Daughter of Ḥulayl

Qūsāyy b. Kilāb asked Ḥulayl b. Hubshān for his daughter Hūbāb. Hūbāb agreed and gave her to him and she bore him 'Abd al-Dār, 'Abd Manāt b. Abūl-'Uzzā, and 'Abd. By the time that the children of Qūsāyy had spread abroad and increased in wealth and reputation Ḥulayl died. Now Qūsāyy thought that he had a better claim than Khuzā'a and his B. Bakr to control the Kā'ba and Mecca, and that Quraysh were the noblest offshoot of Ishmael b. Abraham and the purest descendants of his son. He spoke to Quraysh and B. Kināna asking them to drive out Khuzā'a and B. Bakr from Mecca and they agreed to do so.

Now Rabi'a b. Ḥārām of 'Udhrā b. Sa'd b. Zayd had come to Mecca after the death of Kilāb and had married Fātima d. Sa'd b. Sayyāl. (Zurara,

1 Or 'houses'.

At that time was a grown man and stayed behind, while Qusayy had just been weaned.) Rabi'a took Fātima away to his land and she carried Qusayy with her, and subsequently gave birth to Rizāh. When Qusayy 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 Rizāh, who shared the same mother, asking him to come and support him. Thereupon Rizāh set out accompanied by his half-brothers Ḥunn, Maḥmūd, and Julhumā, all sons of Rabī' but not by Fātima, together with a number of Qūdā'a among the Arab pilgrims, having agreed to support Qusayy.

Khuzā'a allege that Ḥulayl b. Hubshān had enjoined this on Qusayy 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'a', so that this was the reason why Qusayy acted as he did. But this is a story which we have not heard from any other source, and only God knows the truth. (Ṭ. When the people had assembled in Mecca and gone to the manṣūf, completed the ḥāj and came down to Minā, Qusayy assembled his possessions and his followers from his own tribe of Qurayah, the B. Kināna, and such of the Qūdā'a as were with him, there only remained the ceremony of dismissal.)

Al-Ghāth's Authority over Men on Pilgrimage

Al-Ghāth b. Murr b. Udd b. al-Ya's b. Muḍar used to give permission to men on pilgrimage to leave 'Arafa, and this function descended to his children after him. He and his sons used to be called Šūfā. Al-Ghāth 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 Kā'ba as a slave to serve it and to look after it. In course of time she gave birth to al-Ghāth and he used to look after the Kā'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 Kā'ba. His sons carried on the practice until they were cut off.

1 T. 1905, 12-17. The narrative goes on with the words: 'Šūfā used to send the people away'—W. 26, 17.
2 It seems possible that the ḥāja or "permission", i.e. the word of command that terminates the manṣūf, was originally the permission to fall upon the slaughtered victims. In the Meccan pilgrimage the ḥāja which terminated the manṣūf at 'Arafa was the signal for a hot race to the neighbouring sanctuary of Mundsāla, where the sacred fire of the god Conāb burned; it was, in fact, not so much the permission to leave 'Arafa as to draw near to Conāb. The race itself is called ḥāja, which may mean "dispersion" or "distribution". It cannot well mean the former, for 'Arafa is not holy ground, but merely the point of assembly just outside the Ḥaram at which the ceremonies began, and the station at 'Arafa is only the preparation for the vigil at Mundsāla. On the other hand, if the meaning is "distribution" the ḥāja answers to the rush of Nilus's Saracens to partake of the sacrifice." W.R.S., R.S.
3 T. Cf. Wellh. 82; Gudeloupe-Denomybeye, 260.
4 The meaning of this name is obscure.
The Life of Muhammad

By appointment, 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 Quḍā'a's.

Yāliyā b. 'Abdāb b. 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from his father 'Abbād said:
Sūfā used to send the people away from 'Arafa and give them permission to depart when they left Mina. 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 Mina, 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 Šafwān b. al-Hārith b. Shijna (103). It was Šafwān who gave permission to the pilgrims to depart from 'Arafa, and this right was maintained by them up to Islam, the last being Kārib b. Šafwān.

Aṣb b. Tamīm b. Maghra' al-Sadī said:
The pilgrims do not quit their halting-place at 'Arafa
Until it is said, 'Give permission O family of Šafwān.'

ADWĀN AND THE DEPARTURE CEREMONY AT MUZDALIFA

Hurthān b. 'Amr the 'Adwānīte who was called Dhiḥl-Iṣba' because he had a finger missing said:

Bring an excuse for the tribe of 'Ardān.'
They were the serpents of the earth.1

1 I.e. 'for what they have done the one to the other.' They were rent by civil war. See Cousin de Perceval, Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes, ii. 262.

2 I.e. 'cunning and treacherous.'
The Life of Muhammad

79. Hermaphrodite. 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 urinary process.' Be as late as you please henceforth, Sukhayla; 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.

HOW QUŞAYY B. KILĀB GAINED POWER IN MECCA; HOW HE UNITED QUARAYSH AND THE HELP WHICH QUŞA'A GAVE HIM

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'a when they were in authority. Quraysh came to them with his tribesmen from Quraysh and Kā'bāna and Quṣa'a 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 Quṣa'y assumed their authority.

Thereupon Khuzā'a and B. Bakr withdrew from Quṣa'y knowing that he would impose the same restrictions on them as Sūfa had done and that he would come between them and the Kā'bā and the rule of Mecca. When they had withdrawn, Quṣa'y showed his hostility and gathered his forces to fight them. (T. His brother Rizāh b. Rabi'a with his men from Quṣa'a stood with him.) Khuzā'a 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. 'Auf b. Kā'b b. 'Amir b. Layth b. Bakr b. 'Abdu Manāt b. Kā'nā. His verdict was that Quṣa'y had a better claim to the Kā'bā and to rule Mecca than Khuzā'a and that all blood shed by Quṣa'y was to be cancelled and compensation disregarded, but Khuzā'a and B. Bakr must pay bloodwit for the men of Quraysh, Kā'nā, and Quṣa'a whom they had killed and that Quṣa'y should be given a free hand with the Kā'bā and Mecca. Ya'mar b. 'Auf was immediately called al-Shaddāk because he had cancelled the claim to bloodwit and remitted it (104).

Thus Quṣa'y 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 had not the right to alter. Thus he confirmed the family of Sāwān and 'Adwān and the interlocutors and Murra b. 'Auf in their customary rights which obtained until the coming of Islam when God put an end thereby to them all. Quṣa'y was the first of

1 The point was important because a male received double as much as a female.
The Life of Muhammad

We collected tribesmen from Sirr 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-'Aṣjad And took the easy road from Mustanākh And passed by the edge of Wariqān And passed by al-‘Arīj, 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 Khuzā'a 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. Thalāba b. ‘Abdullāh b. Dhubyān b. al-Ḥārith b. Sa’d Hudhaym al-Quḍā'ī said concerning Ḥusayy’s invitation and their response:

We urged on our slender high-stepping horses From the sandhills, the sandhills of al-Jināb To the lowlands of Thāmāna, and we met our foe In a barren depression of a desert. As for Šāfā 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 camels that yearn for home.

Quṣayy b. Kilāb said:

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

1 It is disputed whether these are two tribes or two mountains between Medina and Khaybar.
2 The reading is uncertain: 'they passed by water without tasting it', as some MSS., purpose, is improbable.
3 It seems improbable that such a rare and valuable metal would be used for such a purpose at this date.

The Life of Muhammad

Mine is the valley as Ma‘add knows, Its Marwa I delight in. I should not have conquered had not The sons of Qaybar and Nabīt settled there. Rızāḥ was my helper and through him I am great, I fear no injustice as long as I live.

When Rızāḥ was established in his country God increased him and Jūnn in numbers. (They are the two tribes of 'Udrā today.) Now when he came to his country there had been a matter in dispute between Rızāḥ on the one hand and Nahd b. Zayd and Ḥūtaiba b. Aslum on the other, they being two clans of Quḍā’a. He put them in fear so that they clave to the Yaman and left the Quḍā’a country and remain in the Yaman to this day. Now Ḥusayy was well disposed to Quḍā’a and wanted them to increase and be united in their land because of his kinship with Rızāḥ and because of their goodwill to him when they responded to his appeal for help. He disliked what Rızāḥ had done to them and said:

Who will tell Rızāḥ from me
That I blame him on two accounts,
I blame you for the Banī Nahd b. Zayd
Because you drove a wedge between them and me,
And for Ḥūtaiba b. Aslam; of a truth
He who treats them badly has badly treated me (106).

When Ḥusayy grew old and feeble, he spoke to 'Abdul-‘Lā‘ī-Dār. He was his first born but (T. they say he was weak) 'Abdul Manāf had become famous during his father's lifetime and done all that had to be done along with 'Abdul-‘Uzzā 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’ba 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 Ṣafā was a tax which Quraysh used to pay from their property to Quraysh at every festival. With it he used to provide food for the pilgrims who were unable to afford their own provisions. Qurṣayy 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 from there, while they

1 Reading ṣafā with Aqr. i. 60 for ṣafā in I.1.
The Life of Muhammad

were at Minā, 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 Minā until the pilgrimage is over.

My father Ithāq b. Yāsār from al-Hasan b. Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Abū Tālib told me about this affair of Qusayy's and what he said to 'Abdul-l-Dār concerning the transfer of his power to him in these words, 'I heard him, saying this to a man of B. 'Abdul-l-Dār called Nubāḥ b. Wāḥib b. 'Amir b. Ikrīma b. 'Amir b. Hāshim b. 'Abdū Manāf b. 'Abdul-l-Dār b. Qusayy,' al-Hasan said: 'Qusayy gave him all the authority that he had over his people. Qusayy was never contradicted nor was any measure of his overthrown.'

The Rift in Quraysh After Qusayy and the Confederacy of the Scented Ones

After the death of Qusayy 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. Quraysh took part in this with them without any discord or dispute. Then the sons of 'Abdul Manāf—Abū Shams and Hāshim and al-Muṭṭalib and Naufal—agreed to seize the rights that the sons of 'Abdul-l-Dār possessed which Qusayy had given to 'Abdul-l-Dār 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 dissension among Quraysh, one section siding with B. 'Abdul Manāf, and the other with B. 'Abdul-l-Dār. The former held that the new claimants had a better right; the latter that rights which Qusayy had given to one branch should not be taken away from them.


They all made a firm agreement that they would not abandon one another and would not betray one another as long as the sea was wetted with water. The B. 'Abdul Manāf 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 Ka'b; then they dipped their hands into it and they and their allies took a solemn oath. Then they

The Confederaquiraysh of the Fudūl

Ziyād b. 'Abdullah al-Bakkā'ī related to me the following as from Ibn Ithāq: The tribes of Quraysh decided to make a covenant and assembled for that purpose in the house of 'Abdullah b. Judān b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Su'd b. Taym b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy because of his seniority and his high reputation he enjoyed. Those party to the agreement with him were B. Hāshim, B. 'Abdul-l-Uzza b. Zuhra 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. Quraysh called that confederacy 'The Confederaquiraysh of the Fudūl.'

Muhammad b. Zayd b. al-Muḥājir b. Quṣūfudūl al-Taymī told me that he heard Tālḥa b. 'Abdullah b. 'Auf al-Zuhārī say: The apostle of God said, 'I witnessed in the house of 'Abdullah b. Judān a covenant which I would not exchange for any number of fine camels: if we were invited to take part in it during Islam I should do so.'

Yazīd b. 'Abdullāh b. Usāma b. al-Hādi al-Laythī told me that Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Hārith al-Taymī told him that there was a dispute between al-Husayn b. 'Ali b. Abū Tālib and al-Walīd b. Uṭba b. Abū Sufyān about some property they held in Dhu'l-Marwa. At that time al-Walid was governor of Medina, his uncle, Mu'āwiyah b. Abū Sufyān having given him the appointment. Al-Walid had defrauded al-Husayn of his

1 This is not an anachronism. See E.I., art. 'Mudājdīd'.

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 and somewhat less-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.
The Life of Muhammad

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 Fuḍā'il!' '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. Nafal al-Zubair and 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. 'Uthmān b. 'Ubaydullāh al-Taynī they said the same. As soon as he realized what was happening al-Walid gave al-Husayn satisfaction.

This same Yazīd, on the same authority, told me that Muhammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭ'īm b. 'Adīyy b. Nafal b. 'Abdu Manāf, who was the most learned of the Quaraysh, 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 Abū Sa'īd, were not we and you—meaning B. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Manāf and B. Nafal b. 'Abdu Manāf—partners in the confederacy of the Fuḍā'il?' 'You should know best,' he replied. 'Abdu'l-Malik said, 'No, you tell me, Abū Sa'id, the truth of the matter.' He answered: 'No, by God, you and we kept out of that!' 'You're right,' said 'Abdu'l-Malik.

Hāshim b. 'Abdu 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 Hāshim was a well-to-do man. It is alleged that when the pilgrims were there he got up and addressed Quaraysh 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 get 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 Hāshim was the first to institute the two caravan journeys of Quraysh, summer and winter, and the first to provide harrād (broth in which bread is broken up) in Mecca. Actually his name was 'Amr, but he was called Hāshim 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 (127).

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

Hāshim had gone to Medina and married Salmā d. 'Amr, one of B. 'Adīyy b. al-Najār. Before that she had been married to Uhayba b. al-Julāh b. al-Harīsh b. Jabābā b. Kufā b. 'Aufo b. 'Amr b. 'Aufo 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 Hāshim she bore 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib and called his name Shayba. Hāshim left him with her while he was a little boy. Then his uncle al-Muṭṭalib 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-Muṭṭalib's slave whom he has bought!' and that is how he got the name of 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib. His uncle called out: 'Rubbiah! This is my nephew whom I have brought from Medina.'

Subsequently al-Muṭṭalib died in Radmān in the Yaman, and an Arab mourned him in the following lines:

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

Maṭrūd b. Ka'b al-Khuza'ī wrote this elegy over al-Muṭṭalib 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 Radmān, one in Salmān,
A third lies near Ghazza,

1. The ḥifāda, feeding by means of a levy on Quraysh, has been explained above (p. 35); and there the author of the system is said to be Quraysh. Probably for this reason Ibn Hāshā discredits their tradition here by the words 'it is alleged'.
The Life of Muhammad

A fourth lies in a grave by the Ka'ba
To the east of the sacred buildings.
'Abdu Manâf brought them up virtuously
Safe from the reproof of all men.
Yea there are none like Mughîrah's children
Among the living or the dead.

'Abdu Mânás's name was al-Mughîrah. Hâshîm was the first of his sons to
die at Ghazza in Syria, followed by 'Abdu Shamâs in Mecca, then al-Muţţâlib
in Radmân in the Yaman, and lastly Naţaf in Salîmân in Iraq.
It was said to Maţrûd—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 Mughîrah'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 churlis, 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 Muţţâlib 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 Shamâs 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 Naţaf
Who found in Salîmân 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-'Ulâ 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 blows.
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 mettled 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 forbears,
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)

90

By the 'father of the women with dishevelled hair' the poet means
Hâshîm, 'Abdu Manâf.
Following his uncle al-Muţţâlib, 'Abdu'l-Muţţâlib 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.

1 The words 'camels doomed to die' refer to the she-camel which used to be tethered by
the grave of her dead master until she died of hunger and thirst. The heathen Arabs believed
she would ride her in the next world.

2 'The loftiest one.'
While Abdullah-Mu'ttaliib was sleeping in theбир, he was ordered in a vision to dig Zamzam. Yazid b. Abū Ḥabīl al-Muṣṭir from Martyb b. Abdullāh al-Yaṣari from 'Abdulrah b. Zurayq al-Ghaliqî told me that he heard 'Abdulrah b. Abū Ṣālih telling the story of Zamzam. He said that 'Abdulrah-Mu'ttaliib said: 'I was sleeping in theбир when a supernatural visitor came and said: "Dig Tiberias." I said: And what is Tiberias?; 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 was Barra he left me. The next day he came and said: "Dig al-Madina"; when I asked what was that he went away again. The next day he came while I was sleeping and said: "Dig Zamzam." I said: "What is Zamzam?"; he said:

'I will never fall or ever run dry,
Twill water the pilgrim company.
It lies twixt the dung and the flesh bloody,
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-Harib—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.' He 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 a judicial decision in the matter.' He said: Appoint anyone you like as umpire between us.' He agreed to accept a woman, a diviner of B. Sa'd al-Hudhaym, who dwelt in the uplands of Syria. So

1. The_bihr_is_the_semicircular_spot_between_the_walls_called_Hatin_and_the_Ka'ba,which_is_said_to_contain_the_graves_of_Hajjar_and_Ishmael.Cf._Arazzi, _la_, _f._
2. The_language_is_characteristic_of_Arabian_oracles_composed_in_doggerel_as_Sa.'_The_words_between_the_dung_and_the_blood_occur_in_the_Quran,Sûra_16,verse_68,'Whogiveto_drink_of_what_is_in_their_bellys_between_the_facies_and_the_blood,pure_milk_which_swallowed_by_the_drinkers.'_But_this_throws_no_light_on_the_meaning_of_the_passage_because_which_plainly_has_a_local_significance.Abū_Diarr_passes_it_by_without_comment._Al-Suhayli,p._98,sees_that_the_term_must_go_with_the_two_followingTermsandserves_to_show_exactly_what_Zamzam_was_to_be_found._He_therefore_repeats_a_story_to_the_effect_the_"Abdulrah-Mu'ttaliib_saw_the_ant's_nest_and_the_raven's_nest_why_when_he_did_the_well,he_saw_neither_dung_nor_blood._At_that_moment_a_crow_escaped_her_who_beingshootentered_the_haram._There_she_was_slaughtered_and_where_the_dung_and_blood_flew."_Abdulrah-Mu'ttaliib_proceeded_to_dig._This_gallant_attempt_to_explain_the_ancient_origin_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_importantly_not_occurred_precisely_in_the_same_space_and_which_would_render_the_following_inconsistent._Most_probably,therefore,we_should_assume_that_the_sacrificial_victims_were_tethered_at_a_certain_spot_and_there_they_would_wait_until_before_they_were_leaded_to_the_foot_of_the_image_at_which_they_were_slaughtered.A_point_between_these_two_spots_is_more_clearly_defined_by_the_ants'and_theraven's_nest._

Abdulrah-Mu'ttaliib, accompanied by some of his relations and a representative from all the tribes of Quraysh, rode away. They went on through desolate country between the Hijaz and Syria until Abdulrah-Mu'ttaliib's company ran out of water and they feared that they would die of thirst. They asked the Quraysh tribes to give them water, but they refused, on the ground that if they gave them their water they too would die of thirst. In his desperation Abdulrah-Mu'ttaliib consulted his companions as to what should be done, but all they could do was to say that they would follow his instructions: so he said, 'I think that every man should dig a hole for himself with the strength that he has left so that whenever a man dies his companions can thrust him into the hole and bury him until the last man, for it is better that one man should lie unburied than a whole company.' They accepted his advice and every man began to dig a hole for himself. Then they sat down until they should die of thirst. After a time Abdulrah-Mu'ttaliib said to his companions, 'By God, to abandon ourselves to death in this way and not to scour the country in search of water is sheer incompetence; perhaps God will give us water somewhere. Your saddles!' So they got their beasts ready while the Quraysh watched them at work. Abdulrah-Mu'ttaliib went to his beast and mounted her and when she got up from her knees a flow of fresh water broke out from beneath her feet. Abdulrah-Mu'ttaliib and his companions, crying 'Allah akbar', disembowelled and drank and filled their water-skins. Then they invited the Quraysh to come to the water which God had given them and to drink freely. After they had done so and filled their water-skins they said: 'By God, the judgement has been even in your favour Abdulrah-Mu'ttaliib. We will never dispute your claim to Zamzam. He who has given you water in this wilderness is He who has given you Zamzam. Return to your office of watering the pilgrims in peace.' So they all went back without going to the diviner.

This is the story which I heard from 'Ali b. Abū Ṣālih about Zamzam and I have heard one report on Abdulrah-Mu'ttaliib's authority that when he was ordered to dig Zamzam it was said to him:

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

In 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 should not return to him. So Abdulrah-Mu'ttaliib 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.'
The Life of Muhammad

'Twill never fail or ever run dry,
'Twill 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 canst 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 'Abdul-Mu'ṭṭalib 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 Na'ilā where Quraysh used to slaughter their sacrifices. He brought a pick-axe and began to dig where he had been commanded, and Quraysh seeing him at work came up and refused to allow him to dig between their two idols where they sacrificed. 'Abdul-Mu'ṭṭalib 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 Jurhum had buried there when they left Mecca. He also found some swords and coats of mail from Qa'il Quraysh claimed that they had a right to share in this find. 'Abdul-Mu'ṭṭalib denied this, but was willing to submit the matter to the sacred lot. He said that he would make two arrows for the Ka'ba, two for them, and two for himself. The two arrows which came out from the quiver would determine to whom the property belonged. This was agreed, and accordingly he made two yellow arrows for the Ka'ba, two black ones for himself, and two white ones for Quraysh. They were then given to the priest in charge of the divinatory arrows, which were thrown beside Hubal. (Hubal was an image in the middle of the Ka'ba, indeed the greatest of their images. It is that referred to by Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb at the battle of Uhud when he cried 'Arise Hubal', i.e. Make your religion victorious). 'Abdul-Mu'ṭṭalib began to pray to God, and when the priest threw the arrows the two yellow ones for the gazelles came out in favour of the Ka'ba. The two black ones allotted the swords and coats of mail to 'Abdul-Mu'ṭṭalib, and the two arrows of Quraysh remained behind. 'Abdul-Mu'ṭṭalib made the swords into a door for the Ka'ba and overlaid the door with the gold of the gazelles. This was the first golden ornament of the Ka'ba, at any rate so they allege. Then 'Abdul-Mu'ṭṭalib took charge of the supply of Zamzam water to the pilgrims.

1 As these lines are in part identical with those mentioned above, clearly this is a rude account of the vision.
2 A mountain in Syria, though other sites have been suggested. See Yāqūt.