young man, so give him back his sandals." 'By God, I will not,' I said; 'it is a good omen and if it proves to be true I shall plunder him.'

'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr told me that they came to 'Abdullah b. Umayya and said to him much the same as Ka'b had said and he replied, 'This is a serious matter; my people are not in the habit of deciding a question without consulting me in this way and I do not know that it has happened.' Thereupon they left him.

When the people had left Minā they investigated the report closely and found that it was true. So they went in pursuit of our people and overtook Sa'd b. Ubāda in Adhākhir and also al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, brother of B. Sā'idā, both of them being 'leaders'. The latter got away, but they caught Sa'd and tied his hands to his neck with the thongs of the girl and brought him back to Mecca beating him on the way and dragging him by the hair, for he was a very hairy man. Sa'd said, 'As they held me, a number of Quraysh came up, among them a tall, white, handsome man of pleasant appearance and I thought that if there was any decency among them this man would show it. But when he came up he delivered me a violent blow in the face and after that I despaired of fair treatment. As they were dragging me along, a man took pity on me and said, "You poor devil, haven't you any right to protection from one of the Quraysh?" 'Yes,' I said, 'I have. I used to guarantee the safety of the merchants. Jābār b. Muqīm b. 'Adiy b. Nafāl b. 'Abū Manāf and protect them from those who might have wronged them in my country; also al-Hārith b. Ḥarb b. Umayya b. 'Abdū Shams b. 'Abdu Manāf.' "Very well, then, call out the names of these two men and say that there is no connection between you," he said. This I did and that man went to them and found them in the mosque beside the Ka'ba and told them of me and that I was being dragged by the hair. He acknowledged the truth of my claim and came and delivered me.' So Sa'd went off. The name of the man who hit him was Suhayl b. 'Amr, brother of B. Ṣā'ir b. Lu'ayy (244).

The first poetry about the Migration was two verses composed by Ḥabīb b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Mirdās, brother of B. Muḥārīb b. Fihr:

I overtook Sa'd and took him by force.

It would have been better if I had caught Mundhir.

If I had got him his blood would not have to be paid for.

He deserves to be humiliated and left unavenged (2449).

Hassān b. Ṣaḥhab answered him thus:

You were not equal to Sa'd and the man Mundhir.

When the people's camels were thin.

But for Abū Wahb (my) verses would have passed over.

The top of al-Baraqūl1 swooping down swiftly.2

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1 Ya'qūb says that this is a place in the desert. He does not say where.
2 The interpretation of this difficult line depends on the identity of Abū Wahb. The

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The Idol of 'Amr ibnul-Jamāh

When they came to Medina they openly professed Islam there. Now some of the shaykhs still kept to their old idolatry, among whom was 'Amr b. Jamal b. Ya'qūb b. Hārām b. Ka'b b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama whose son, Mu'adhdh, had been present at al-'Aqaba and had done homage to the idol there. 'Amr was one of the tribal nobles and leaders and had set up in his house a wooden idol called Manāt3 as the nobles used to do, taking it to god to reverence and keeping it clean. When the young men of his house, Salama Mu'adhdh b. Jabal and his own son Mu'adhdh adopted Islam with the other men who had been at al-'Aqaba they used to creep in at night to this idol of 'Amr's and carry it away and throw it on its face into the cesspit. When the morning came 'Amr cried, 'Woe to you! Who has been at our gods this night?' Then he went in search of the idol and when he found it he washed it and cleaned it and perfumed it, saying, 'By God, I knew who had done this I would treat him shamefully!' When night came and he was fast asleep they did the same again and he restored the idol in the morning. This happened several times until one day he took the idol from the place where they had thrown it, purified it as before, and

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This line mentioned by I.I. (p. 253) was the father of the prophet's maternal uncle; if it is what is referred to, clearly the meaning must be that the presence of this man in Mecca interfered Hassān from launching his invective against Quraysh, and the verb must mean stopping or retarding. However, al-Baraqūl in his commentary on the Dīwān tentatively agrees that it was Abū Wahb who brought Dirā's lines to Medina; had he not done so they would have fallen impotently on the way. This interpretation requires us to understand 'ṣaṣṣi' in the sense of falling, and soṣṣi' as 'wasted' instead of 'stripped for action' and so implies of rapid movement. The last line in I.I.'s text follows this line and rearrange-ment of the lines would naturally suggest that the wealth of lines from this source; but also, reported the entire such a conclusion is unnecessary. See further Dr. Arafa's thesis on the poetry of Hassān.

3 Or 'bleached'.

4 Sends coal to Newcastle. This line follows line 2 in the Diwān. Shabāb explains that the idol was so called because blood was shed (maniyat) by it as aalling and that is why idols are said to be bloody. But the explanation of the name is found outside the Arabic language in the goddess of Fate. See S. H. Langdon, Steinitz Studies, 1931, pp. 19 ff.
fastened his sword to it, saying, 'By God, I don’t know who has done this, but if you are any good at all defend yourself since you have this sword.' At night when he was asleep they came again and took the sword from his neck and hung a dead dog to it by a cord and then threw it into a cesspit. In the morning 'Amr came and could not find it where it normally was; ultimately he found it face downwards in that pit tied to a dead dog. When he saw it and perceived what had happened and the Muslims of his clan spoke to him he accepted Islam by the mercy of God and became a good Muslim. He wrote some verses when he had come to a knowledge of God, in which he mentioned the image and its impotence and thanked God for having delivered him from the blindness and error in which he had lived hitherto:

By Allah, if you had been a god you would not have been
tied to a dead dog in a cesspit.
Phew! that we ever treated you as a god, but now
we have found you out and left our wicked folly.
Praise be to God most High, the Gracious,
The Bountiful, the Provider, the Judge of all religions
Who has delivered me in time to save me
From being kept in the darkness of the grave.

CONDITIONS OF THE PLEDGE AT THE SECOND 'AQABAH

When God gave permission to his apostle to fight, the second 'Aqabah contained conditions involving war which were not in the first act of faith. Now they bound themselves to war against all and sundry for God and his apostle, while he promised them for faithful service thus the reward of paradise.

'Ubadah b. al-Walid b. 'Ubada b. al-Samit from his father from his grandfather 'Ubadah b. al-Samit who was one of the Leaders told me, 'We pledged ourselves to war in complete obedience to the apostle in weak and woe, in ease and hardship and evil circumstances; that we would not wrong anyone; that we would speak the truth at all times; and that God’s service we would fear the censure of none.' 'Ubada was one of the twelve who gave his word at the first 'Aqabah.

THE NAMES OF THOSE PRESENT AT THE SECOND 'AQABAH

There were seventy-three men and two women of Aus and Khazraj:

Of Aus there were:

Ubayd b. Ijuyah ... a leader who was not at Badr. Abu'l-Haytham b. Taysah who was at Badr. Salma b. Safla b. Waqqah b. Zuhra b. 'Abdu'l-Asghal who was at Badr (245). Total 3.
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Imru’ul-Qays b. Mālik al-Agharr b. Tha’laba b. Ka’b. Present at Badr and killed at Uhud as a martyr. ‘Abdullah b. Rawāha, a leader, present at all the apostle’s battles except the occupation of Mecca and was killed at Mūta as a martyr as one of the apostle’s commanders. Basīhr b. Sa’d b. Tha’laba b. Khālās b. Zayd b. Mālik . . . , the father of al-Nu’mān was present at Badr. ‘Abdullah b. Zayd b. Tha’laba b. ‘Abdullah b. Zayd b. Manāt b. al-Ḥārith. Present at Badr. He it was who was shown how to call to prayer and was ordered by the apostle to perform it. Khallād b. Suwayd b. Tha’laba b. ‘Amr b. Ḥāritha b. Imru’ul-Qays b. Mālik. Present at Badr, Uhud, and al-Khaṇdaq and was killed as a martyr in fighting at Qurayya when a millstone was thrown from one of their castles and crushed his skull. The apostle said—so they say—that he will have the reward of two martyrs. ‘Uqba b. ‘Amr b. Tha’laba b. ‘Usayra b. ‘Usayra b. Jādir b. ‘Auf who is Abū Mas‘ūd, the youngest of those at al-‘Qāba. Died in the time of Mu‘āwiya. Was not at Badr. Total 7.


Of B. ‘Abd b. al-Khazraj then of the B. Sālim b. ‘Abf b. ‘Amr b. ‘Abf: Ibdā b. al-Sāmīt, a leader who was at all the battles . . . (356). Al-Abbās b. ‘Ubaida b. Nādja . . . one of those who joined the apostle in Mecca, died there with him, and was called an Anṣārī Muḥājirī. He was killed at Uhud as a martyr. Abū ‘Abdul ʿRahmān Yazid b. Tha’laba b. Khazrama b. Asrām b. Abīd b. Ammār, an ally from the B. Ghuṣayn of Bally. Amur b. al-Ḥārith b. Labba b. Amur b. Tha’laba. They were the Qawāqil. Total 4.


1 Some authorities assert that this is the same person as the one just mentioned above.
2 Some read Uthman. See Suhayf ibn Usayn.
3 i.e. the biblical Ezechias.
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Of the B. Sā'īda b. Ka'b: Sā'd b. 'Ubadah a leader. Al-Mundhir b. 'Amar, a leader, present at Badr and Uhud and killed at Bīr Ma'āna commanding for the apostle. It was said of him 'He hastened to death' (259). Total 2.

The total number of those present at the second 'Aqaba from the Banu and Khazraj was seventy-three men and two women who they all allegorically pledged their obedience also. The apostle used not to strike hands with women; he merely stated the conditions, and if they accepted them, he would say, 'Go, I have made a covenant with you.'

(Of these two women) Nusayba was of B. Māzīn b. al-Najjār. She was d. of Ka'b b. 'Amr b. 'Auf b. Māzhūl b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. Māzin, mother of Umāra. She and her sister went to war with the apostle. Her husband was Zayd b. 'Āsīm b. Ka'b, and her two sons were Hābīb and 'Abdulrah. Nusayba's family, the Hārīf, chief of the Yamāna, got hold of Hābīb and began to say to him, 'Do you testify that Muhammad is the apostle of God?' And when he said that he did, he went on, 'And do you testify that I am the apostle of God?' he answered, 'I do not hear.' So he began to cut him to pieces member by member until he died. He tried putting the same questions to him again and again, but he could get no different answers. Nusayba went to al-Yamāna with the Muslims and took part in the war in person until God slew Musaylima, when she returned having suffered twelve wounds from spear or sword. It was Muhammad b. Yahiya b. Habbān who told me this story from 'Abdulrah b. 'Abdul-RAjamān b. Abū Sa'frah.

The other woman was of B. Salama, Umm Mani', named Asma' b. 'Amr b. 'Ady b. Nabi b. 'Amr b. Sawād b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama.

THE APOSTLE RECEIVES THE ORDER TO FIGHT

The apostle had not been given permission to fight or allowed to shed blood before the second 'Aqaba. He had simply been ordered to call men to God and to endure insult and forgive the ignorant. The Quraysh had persecuted his followers, seducing some from their religion, and exiling others from their country. They had to choose whether to give up their religion, be maltreated at home, or to flee the country, some to Abyssinia, others to Medina.

When Quraysh became insolent towards God and rejected His gracious purpose, accused His prophet of lying, and ill treated and exiled those who served Him and proclaimed His unity, believed in His prophet, and held fast to His religion, He gave permission to His apostle to fight and to protect himself against those who wronged them and treated them badly.

The first verse which was sent down on this subject from what I have heard from 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr and other learned persons was: 'Permission is given to those who fight because they have been wronged. God is well able to help them,—those who have been driven out of their house without right only because they said God is our Lord. Had not God used some men to keep back others, cloisters and churches and oratories and mosques wherein the name of God is constantly mentioned would have been destroyed. Assuredly God will help those who help Him. God is Almighty. Those who if we make them strong in the land will establish prayer, pay the poor-tax, enjoin kindness, and forbid iniquity. To God belongs the end of matters.' The meaning is: 'I have allowed them to fight only because they have been unjustly treated while their sole offence against men has been that they worship God. When they are in the ascendent they will establish prayer, pay the poor-tax, enjoin kindness, and forbid iniquity, i.e. the prophet and his companions all of them.' Then God sent down to him: 'Fight them so that there be no more seduction, i.e. until no believer is seduced from his religion. 'And the religion is God's, i.e. Until God alone is worshipped.' When God had given permission to fight and this clan of the Ānasr had pledged their support to him in Islam and to help him and his followers, and the Muslims who had taken refuge with them, the apostle commanded his companions, the emigrants of his people and those Muslims who were with him in Mecca, to emigrate to Medina and to link up with their brethren the Ānasr. 'God will make for you brethren and houses in which you may be safe.' So they went out in companies, and the apostle stayed in Mecca waiting for his Lord's permission to leave Mecca and migrate to Medina.

THOSE WHO MIGRATED TO MEDINA

The first of the Quraysh to migrate to Medina from among the apostle's companions was one of B. Makhzum, Abū Salama b. 'Abdul-Asad b. lil by. 'Abdulrah b. 'Umar b. Makhzum whose forname was 'Abdulrah. He went to Medina a year before the pledge at al-'Aqaba, having come to the apostle in Mecca from Abyssinia. He migrated because the Quraysh treated him and he had heard that some of the Ānasr had accepted him.

My father Iṣḥāq b. Yāsār on the authority of Salama who had it from his grandmother Umm Salama the prophet's wife told me that she said: When Abū Salama had decided to set out for Medina he saddled his camel for me and mounted me on it together with my son Salama who was in my arms. Then he set out leading the camel. When the men of B. al-Mughira b. 'Abdulrah b. 'Umar b. Makhzum saw him they got up and said: 'So far as you are concerned you can do what you like; but what about your wife? Do you suppose that we shall let you take her away?' So they snatched the camel's rope from his hand and took me from him. Abū Salama's family, the B. Abdul-Asad, were angry at this and said: 'We will not leave our son with her seeing you have torn her from our tribesman.' So they dragged at my little boy Salama between them until

1 Sūra 22. 40-42.
2 Sūra 2. 198.
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they dislocated his arm, and the B. al-Asad took him away, while the B. al-Mughira kept me with them, and my husband Abū Salama went to Medina. Thus I was separated from my husband and my son. I used to go out every morning and sit in the valley weeping continuously until a year or so had passed when one of my cousins of B. al-Mughira passed and showed my plight and took pity on me. He said to his tribesmen, 'Why don't you let this poor woman go? You have separated husband, wife, and child.' So they said to me, 'You can join your husband if you like'; and then the B. 'Abdu'l-Asad restored my son to me. So I saddled my camel and took my son and carried him in my arms. Then I set forth making for my husband in Medina. Not a soul was with me. I thought that I could get food from anyone I met on the road until I reached my husband. When I was in Tan'im1 I met 'Uthmān b. Taḥha b. Abū Taḥha, brother of B. 'Abdu'l-Dār, who asked me where I was going and if I was all alone. I told him that except for God and my little boy I was alone. He said that I ought not to be left helpless like that and he took hold of the camel's halter and went along with me. Never have I met an Arab more noble than he. When we halted he would make the camel kneel for me and then wash it when we reached a stopping-place he would lead my camel away, unload it, and tie it to a tree. Then he would go from me and lie down under a tree. When evening came he would bring the camel and saddle it, then go behind me and tell me to ride; and when I was firmly established in the saddle he would come and take the halter and lead it until he brought me to a halt. Thus he did all the way to Medina. When he saw a village B. 'Amr b. 'Auṣ in Qubā' he said: 'Your husband is in this village (Abū Salama was actually there), so enter it with the blessing of God.' Then he went off on his way back to Mecca.

She used to say, By God, I do not know a family in Islam which suffered what the family of Abū Salama did.2 Nor have I ever seen a nobler man than 'Uthmān b. Taḥha.

The first emigrant to go to Medina after Abū Salama was 'Amir b. Rabī'a, an ally of B. 'Adīy b. Ka'b together with his wife Laylā d. of Ḥathama, Ghanīm b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Auṣ b. 'Uwayj b. 'Adīy b. Ka'b. Then 'Abdullāh b. Jahl b. Rī'āb b. Ya'amar b. Sābira b. Murra b. Kathīr b. Ghann b. Dūdān b. Asad b. Khuzayma ally of B. Umayyā b. 'Abd Shams along with his family and his brother 'Abd—who was known as Abū Aḥmad. Now Abū Aḥmad was blind and he used to go all round Mecca from top to bottom without anyone to lead him. He was a poet. He had to wife al-Far'a d. of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb; his mother was Umayīna d. of 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib.

The house of the B. Jahl was locked up when they left and 'Uthb b. Rabī'a and al-'Abbās b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib and Abū Jahl b. Hishām passed

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1. This place is said to be two parsegs, i.e. about six miles, from Mecca.
2. The family was all but destroyed in the war that followed; 'Uthmān himself was killed at the beginning of 'Umar's reign.
When we reached Medina we stayed with B. 'Amr b. 'Auf in Qubā'; and Abū Jahl and al-Hārith, sons of Hishām, came to 'Ayyāsh who was the son of their uncle and their maternal brother, while the apostle was still in Mecca. They told him that his mother had vowed that she would not comb her head or take shelter from the sun until she saw him. He felt sorry for her and I said to him, "This is nothing but an attempt of the people to seduce you from your religion so beware of them; for by God if there were causing your mother trouble she would use her comb, and if the heat of Mecca oppressed her she would take shelter from it." But he said, "I will clear my mother from her oath; also I have some money which I can get." I told him that I was one of the richest of the Quraysh and he could have half my money if he refused to go with the two men. But when I saw that he was determined to go I said, "If you must go, then take this camel of mine. She is well bred and easy to ride. Don't dismount, and if you suspect them of treachery you can escape on her."

'The three went off and while they were on their way Abū Jahl said, "Nephew, I find my beast hard to ride. Won't you mount me behind you?" When he agreed he and they made their camels kneel to make the change over, and when they were on the ground they fell on him and bound him securely and brought him to Mecca and induced him to apostatize."

One of the family of 'Ayyāsh told me that they brought him in to Mecca bound by day and said, "O men of Mecca, deal with your fools as we have dealt with this fool of ours."

To continue Nāfi's story of 'Umar's words: 'We were saying God will give creative compensation or ransom or repentance from those who let themselves be made apostates—a people who know God and then return to disbelief because of trial! And they were saying that of themselves. When the apostle came to Medina God sent down concerning them and that we had said and what they themselves thought: Say: O my servants who have acted foolishly against yourselves, despair not of God's mercy, for God forgiveth all sins. He is Forgiving Merciful. Turn to your Lord and submit yourselves to Him before punishment comes to you, then you will not be helped. Follow that excellent course which has been sent down to you from your Lord before punishment comes to you suddenly when you do not perceive it.'

I wrote these words with my own hand on a sheet and sent it to Hishām, and he said, 'When it came to me I read it in Dhū Tusā, bringing it near and holding it at arms' length and could make nothing of it until I said, 'God, make me understand it!'. Then God put it into my heart that it had been sent down concerning us and what we were thinking and what was being said about us. So I returned to my camel and rejoined the apostle who was then in Medina (264).'

1 This seems to be an allusion to Sūra 16. 29.
2 About 10 miles from Mecca. From Yāqūt, l. 875. 13 al-Tanajdūb would seem to be a place or at any rate a landmark, near by.
3 About 6 miles from Mecca.
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The Lodgements of the Emigrants in Medina

'Umar accompanied by various members of his family, and his brother Zayd, and 'Amr and 'Abdullah the sons of Surāqā b. al-Mu'tamir, and Khunays b. Hudhāfa al-Sahmī (who had married 'Umar's daughter Hafsa whom the apostle married after the death of her husband), and Wāqīd b. 'Abdullah al-Tabārī an ally of theirs, and Khaliṣ and Mālik b. Abū Khaliṣ, two allies (265), and four sons of al-Bukayr, namely: Iyās, 'Aqīl, 'Āmir, and Khālid; and their allies from B. Sa'd b. Layk; when they arrived at Medina stayed with Rīfā'ā b. 'Abdullāh-μundhir b. Zanbār among B. 'Amr b. 'Auf in Qubā'. 'Ayyāsh also stayed with him when he came to Medina.


The following stayed with Kultām b. Hidm brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf in Qubā': Ḥama b. 'Abdullāh-Muttaqā; Zayd b. Ḥāridh; Abū Marthād b. Kānāk b. Ḥāqn (267); and his son Marthad of the tribe Ghāni, all of Ḥamza; Anas; and Abū Kāshā, freedmen of the apostle. Other reports are that they stayed with Sa'd b. Khaythama; and that Ḥama stayed with As'ad b. Zurrār.


With Sa'd b. al-Rabi' brother of the B. al-Hārīth b. al-Khazraj in the house of the latter stayed 'Abdullāh-Rahmān b. 'Auf with some male emigrants.


With Sa'd b. Mu'ādh b. al-Nu'mān brother of the B. 'Abdullāh-Asḥāl their dwelling stayed Muṣ'āb b. 'Umayr b. Hāshim brother of the B. 'Abdullāh-Dār.


With Ṣab b. Thābit b. al-Mundhir, brother of Hassān b. Ṣabīt in the dwelling of B. al-Najjār stayed 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. This was the reason why Hassān was so fond of 'Uthmān and lamented him when he was slain.

It is said that the celibate emigrants stayed with Sa'd b. Khaythama because he himself was unmarried; but God knows best about that.

2 In the upper part of Medina.