with him he put him on his oath as to whether the Torah did not prescribe stoning for adulterers. ‘Yes,’ he said, ‘they know right well, Abū I-Qasim, that you are a prophet sent (by God) but they envy you.’ The apostle went out to them and commanded that the two should be stoned and they were stoned at the door of his mosque among B. Ghānim b. Mālik b. al-Nājir. Afterwards Ibn Ṣūrīyā disbelieved and denied that the apostle was a prophet. So God sent down concerning them: ‘O apostle, let not those who lie with one another in unbelief and transgress the boundaries of God’s laws, those who say with their mouths, We believe, but their hearts do not believe, those Jews who listen to lies, listening for other people who do not come to thee, i.e. those who sent others and stayed behind themselves and gave them orders to change the judgement from its context. Then He said: ‘They change words from their places, saying, If this be given to you receive it, and if it is not given to you, i.e. the stoning, beware of it,’ etc.

Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa b. Yaẓīd b. Rukāna from Ḳusayr il b. Ibrāhīm from Ibn Abīs told me that the apostle ordered them to be stoned, and they were stoned at the door of his mosque. And when the Jew felt the first stone he crouched over the woman to protect her from the stones until both of them were killed. This is what God did for the apostle in exacting the penalty for adultery from the pair.

Ṣāliḥ b. Kāisān from Ṣafī, freedman of ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Umar from ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Umar, told me: When the apostle gave judgement about them he asked for a Torah. A rabbi sat there reading it having put his hand over the verse of stoning. ‘Abdullāh b. Salām struck the rabbi’s hand, saying, ‘This, O prophet of God, is the verse of stoning which he refuses to read to you.’ The apostle said, ‘Woe to you Jews! What has induced you to abandon the judgement of God which you hold in your hands?’ They answered: ‘The sentence used to be carried out until a man of royal birth and noble origin committed adultery and the king refused to allow him to be stoned. Later another man committed adultery and the king wanted him to be stoned but they said No, not until you stone so-and-so. And when they said that to him they agreed to arrange the matter by tajībīh and they did away with all mention of stoning.’ The apostle said: ‘I am the first to revive the order of God and His book and to practise it.’ They were duly stoned and ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Umar said, ‘I was among those that stoned them.’

Du’ūd b. al-Husayn from Ibrāhīm al-Muṣawwara from Ibn Abīs that the verses of The Table in which God said: ‘Then judge between them or withdraw from them and if you withdraw from them they will do thee no harm. And if thou judgest, judge with fairness, for God loveth those who deal fairly’ were sent down concerning the blood-money between B. al-Nājir and B. Qurajza. Those slain from B. al-Nājir were leaders and they wanted the whole bloodwit while B. Qurajza wanted half of it. They referred the matter for arbitration to the apostle, and God sent down that passage concerning them. The apostle ordered that the matter should be settled
know that there is another god with God? The apostle answered: ‘God, there is no God but He. With that (message) I was sent and that I preach.’ God sent down concerning their words: ‘Say, What is the greatest testimony? Say God is witness between me and you, and this Quran has been revealed to me that I might warn you by it and whomsoever it reaches. Do you actually testify that with God there are other gods? Say, I do not testify to that. Say He is only One God, and I dissociate myself from what you associate (with Him). Those to whom We sent the book know it as they know their own sons. Those who destroy themselves will not believe.’

Rifi’s and Suwayd had hypocritically affected to embrace Islam and some of the Muslims were friendly with them. So God sent down concerning these two men: ‘O Believers, choose not as friends those who have chosen your religion to make a jest and game of it from among those who received the scripture before you, nor the unbelievers, and fear God if you are believers’, as far as the words ‘And when they come to you they say, We believe, but they came in in unbelief and they went out with it and God knows best about what they are concealing.’

Jabal and Shamwîl came to the apostle and said: ‘Tell us when the hour will be if you are a prophet as you say.’ So God sent down concerning them: ‘They will ask you about the hour when it will come to pass. Say, only my Lord knows of it. None but He will reveal it at its proper time. It is heavy in the heavens and the earth. Suddenly it will come upon you. They will ask you as though you knew about it. Say, Only God knows about it, but most men do not know’ (322).

Sallám and Nu‘mân b. Auâf and Maḥmûd b. Dîhya and Sha’s and Malik came and said to him: ‘How can we follow you when you have abandoned our Qur’ân and you do not allege that ’Uzayr is the son of God?’

So God sent down concerning these words: ‘The Jews say that ’Uzayr is the son of God and the Christians say the Messiah is the son of God. That is what they say with their mouths copying the speech of those who disbelieve aforetime. God fight them! How perverse are they to the end of the passages’ (323).

Maḥmûd b. Sayyâh and Nu‘mân b. Adâh and Bahfrî and ’Uzayr and Sallâm came to him and said: ‘Is it true, Muhammad, that what you have brought is the truth from God? For our part we cannot see that it is arranged as the Torah is.’ He answered, ‘You know quite well that it is from God; you will find it written in the Torah which you have. If men and jinn came together to produce its like they could not.’ Fînâh and ’Abdullâh b. Sûriyâ and Ibn Salâbî and Kinânâ b. al Rabî and Ashyâ and Ka‘b b. al-Asad and Shamwîl and Jabal were there and they said: ‘Did neither men nor jinn tell you this, Muhammad?’ He said: ‘You know

The charge of polytheism made against the Jews is very puzzling and hard to explain. Certainly this passage (Sûra 6. 19) and the context in which it occurs refers not to the Jews but to the polytheists.

1 Sûra 5. 54.
2 Sûra 3. 58.
3 Sûra 2. 72.
4 Sûra 7. 186. To make sense we must supply the words ‘that they do not know’ at the end.
well that it is from God and that I am the apostle of God. You will find it written in the Torah you have.’ They said: ‘When God sends an apostle, He does for him what he wishes, so bring down a book to us from heaven, that we may read it and know what it is, otherwise we will produce one like the one you bring.’ So God sent down concerning their words: ‘Say, Though men and jinn should meet to produce the like of this Quran they would not produce its like though one helped the other’ (324).

400 Huyayy, Ka‘b, Abū Rāfi‘, Ashya’, and Shamwïl said to ‘Abdullāh b. Sa‘lām when he became a Muslim, ‘There is no prophecy among the Arabs, but your master is a king.’ Then they went to the apostle and asked him about Dhul‘Qarnayn and he told them what God had sent him about him from what he had already narrated to Quraysh. They were of those who ordered Quraysh to ask the apostle about him when they sent Ala‘ and ‘Uqba to them.

I was told that Sa‘īd b. Juba‘r said: A number of Jews came to the apostle and said: ‘Now, Muhammad, Allah created creation, but who created Allah?’ The apostle was so angry that his colour changed and he rushed at them being indignant for his Lord. Gabriel came and quietened him saying, ‘Calm yourself, O Muhammad.’ And an answer to what they asked came to him from God: ‘Say, He God is One, God the Eternal, He begotteth not nor is He begotten and there is none equal to Him.’ When he recited that to them they said, ‘Describe His shape to us, Muhammad; his forearms and his upper arm, what are they like?’ The apostle was more angry than before and rushed at them. Gabriel came to him and spoke as before. And an answer to what they asked came to him from God: ‘They think not of God as He ought to be thought of; the whole earth will be in His grasp at the day of resurrection and the heavens folded up in His right hand. Glorified and Exalted is He above what they associate with Him.’

401 ‘Utbā b. Muslim freedman of the B. Taym from Abū Sa‘lām b. ‘Abdul‘-Rahmān from Abū Hurayra told me: I heard the apostle say, ‘Men question their prophet’ to such an extent that one would almost say, ‘Now God created creation, but who created God? And if they say that, say ye: He God is One,’ &c. Then let a man spit three times to the left and say ‘I take refuge in God from Satan the damned’ (325).

A DEPUTATION FROM THE CHRISTIANS OF NAJĪRĀN

A deputation from the Christians of Najīrān came to the apostle. There were sixty riders, fourteen of them from their nobles of whom three were in control of affairs, namely (a) the ‘Aqib the leader of the people, a man of affairs, and their chief adviser whose opinion governed their policy.

1 17. 90. 2 53. 3 112.
4 39. 67. In W.’s text this paragraph is attributed to Ibn Hishām.
5 I prefer W.’s reading to that of C.
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We have created and We have decreed, and they say, If He were one, We would have said I have done, I have created, and soon, but He is He and Jesus and Mary. Concerning all these assertions the Quran came down. When the two divines spoke to him the apostle said to them, 'Submit yourselves.' They said, 'We have submitted.' He said, 'You have not submitted, so submit.' They said, 'Nay, but we submitted before you.' He said, 'You lie. Your assertion that God has a son, your worship of the cross, and your eating pork hold you back from submission.' They said, 'But who is his father, Muhammad?' The apostle was silent and did not answer them. So God sent down concerning their words and their incoherence the beginning of the sîra of the Family of 'Imrân up to more than eighty verses, and He said: 'Alîf Lâm Mim. God there is no God but He the Living the Ever-existent.' Thus the sîra begins with the statement that He transcends what they say, and His oneness in creation and authority, without associate therein, in refutation of the infidelity they have invented, and their making rivals to Him; and using their own arguments against them in reference to their master to show them their error thereby, 'God there is no God but He,' no associate is with Him in His authority, 'the Living the Ever-existent,' the living Who cannot die, whereas Jesus died and was crucified according to their doctrine; 'the Ever-existent' one who remains unceasingly in the place of His sovereignty in His creation, whereas Jesus, according to their doctrine, removed from the place where he was and went from it elsewhere. 'He has brought down to thee the book in truth,' i.e. with the truth about which they differ. 'And He sent down the Torah and the Gospel,' the Torah to Moses and the Gospel to Jesus, as He sent down books to those who were before him. 'And He sent down the Criterion,' i.e. the distinction between truth and falsehood about which the sects differ in regard to the nature of Jesus and other matters. "Those who disbelieve in God's signs will have a severe punishment. God is Mighty, Vengeful," i.e. God will take vengeance on all who deny His signs, after knowing about them and about what comes from Him in them. 'Nothing in heaven or earth is hidden from God,' i.e. He knows what they intend and scheme and what comparison they seek to establish in the doctrine of Jesus when they make him God and Lord, when they possess the knowledge that he is nothing of the kind, thus behaving with insolence and infidelity. 'He is who forms you in the womb as He pleases,' i.e. Jesus was one who was formed in the womb—they do not attempt to deny that—like every other child of Adam, so how can he be God when he has occupied such a place? Then He says, to lift His transcendence and His essential Unity above what they put with Him, 'There is no God but He the Mighty the Wise.' The Mighty in His victory over those who deny

1 The ordinary meaning of the word must stand here. Muhammad, of course, meant 'Become Muslim.' The Christians asserted that they had already submitted themselves to God—see what was said on p. 179.

2 Not in the theological sense, though undoubtedly christological differences form the background of this sîra.
him entirely devoted to God's service subservient to no worldly interest. Accept (him) from me. Thou art the Seer the Knower. And when she was delivered of him she said: O my Lord, I have given birth to a female, and God knew best of what she was delivered—and the male is not as the female,' i.e. the two were not the same when I vowed her to thee as a consecrated offering. 'I have called her Mary and I put her in Thy keeping and her offspring from Satan the doomed,' God said: 'And her Lord accepted her with kindly acceptance and made her grow up to a goodly growth and made Zachariah her guardian' after her father and mother were dead (388).

He mentions that she was an orphan and tells of her and Zachariah and what he prayed for and what He gave him when He bestowed on him Yahyâ. Then He mentions Mary and how the angels said to her, 'O Mary, God hath chosen thee and purified thee and chosen thee above the women of the world. O Mary, be obedient to Thy Lord and prostrate thyself and bow with those that bow', saying, 'That is some of the tidings of things hidden. We reveal it to thee. Thou wast not present with them, i.e. thou wast not with them 'when they threw their arrows to know which of them should be the guardian of Mary' (329).

Later her guardian was Jurayj, the ascetic, a carpenter of B. Isrâ'il. The row came out for him so he took her, Zachariah having been her guardian hitherto. A grievous famine befell B. Isrâ'il and Zachariah was unable to support her so they cast lots to see who should be her guardian and the lot fell on Jurayj the ascetic and he became her guardian. 'And thou wast not with them when they disputed,' i.e. about her. He tells him about what they concealed from him though they knew it to prove his prophethood and as an argument against them by telling them what they had concealed from him.

Then He said: 'Then the angels said: O Mary, God giveth thee good things of a word from Him whose name is the Messiah Jesus, Son of Mary,' i.e. thus was his affair not as you say concerning him, illustrious in this world and the next,' i.e. with God 'and of those who are brought near,' he will speak to men in his cradle and as a grown man, and he is of the righteous ones,' telling them of the phases of life through which he would pass like the other sons of Adam in their lives young and old, although God marked him out by speech in his cradle as a sign of his prophethood and also his kindred where his power lay. She said, O my Lord, how can I have a child when no man hath touched me? He said: Thus (it will be) God creates what He wills, i.e. He does what He wishes, and creates what He wills of mortal or non-mortal. 'When He decrees a thing He merely says it to Be' of what He wills and how He wills 'And it is' He wishes.

Then He tells her of His intention in regard to him: 'And He will teach him the book and the wisdom and the Torah' which had been with them from the time of Moses before him 'and the Gospel,' another book which
God initiated and gave to him; they had only the mention of him that he would be one of the prophets after him. ‘And an apostle to B. Isra’l, (saying) I have come to you with a sign from your Lord, i.e. confirming thereby my prophethood that I am an apostle from Him to you. ‘I will create for you from clay the likeness of the form of birds and I will breathe into them and they will become birds by God’s permission,’ (334). And I will quench the dead by God’s permission and I will tell you of what you eat and store up in your houses. Therein is a sign for you that I am an apostle from God to you, if you become believers. And confirming that which was before me of the Torah, i.e. what of it preceded me, ‘and to make lawful to you some of that which was forbidden you,’ i.e. I tell you about it that it was forbidden you and you abandoned it; then I make it lawful to you to relieve you of it and you can enjoy it and be exempt from its penalties. ‘And I bring you signs from your Lord, so fear God and obey me. God is my Lord and your Lord, i.e. disowning what they say about him and proving that his Lord is God. ‘So worship Him. This is a straight path, i.e. that to which I urge you and bring you. But when Jesus perceived their disbelief and enmity against him ‘He said, Who are my helpers towards God? The disciples said: We are God’s helpers. We believe in God.’ This is their saying by which they gained favour from their Lord. ‘And bear witness that we are Muslims, not what those who argue with thee say about Him. ‘O our Lord, we believe in what Thou hast sent down and we follow the apostle, so write us down among the witnesses,’ i.e. thus was their saying and their faith.

Then He mentions His taking up of Jesus to Himself when they decided to kill him and says: ‘And they plotted and God plotted and God is the best of plotters.’ Then He tells them—refuting what they assert of the Jews in regard to his crucifixion—how He took him up and purified him from that and says: ‘When God said, O Israel I am about to cause thee to die and I shall exalt thee to Myself and to purify thee from those who disbelieve what they purposed as they did, ‘and I am setting those who follow thee above those who disbelieve until the day of resurrection.’ The narration continues until the words ‘This which We recite unto thee,’ O Muhammad, of the signs and the wise warning,’ the final, the decisive, the true, in which no falsehood is mingled, of the story of Jesus and of what they differed in regard to him, so accept no other report. ‘The likeness of Jesus with God, And listen! ‘as is the likeness of Adam whom God created of earth, He said to him: Be; and he was. ‘The truth is from thy Lord,’ i.e. the report which comes to thee about Jesus, ‘so be not of the doubters,’ i.e. the truth has come to thee from thy Lord so do not be doubtful about it; and if they say, Jesus was created without a male (intervening), I created Adam first from earth by that same power without a male or a female. And he was a earth by which same power without a male or a female. And he was a Jesus was: flesh and blood and hair and skin. The creation of Jesus without

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE HYPOCRITES

Abd b. ‘Umar b. Qatada told me that when the apostle came to Medina he leader there was ‘Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salih al-Aufi of the clan of B. al-Hubla; none of his own people contested his authority and Aus and

As the sequel shows, the meaning is ‘let us invoke God’s curse on which of us is lying’. 

1 See p. 256, n. 7.
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Khazraj never rallied to one man before or after him until Islam came, so they did to him. With him was a man of Aus whom Aus obeyed, Abu 'Amir 'Abdu 'Amr b. Ṣayfī b. al-Nu'mān, one of B. Ḍuwayyī b. Zayd, the father of Ḥanẓūla, the 'washed' on the day of Uhūd. He had been an ascetic in pagan days and had worn a coarse hair garment and was called the monk. These two men were damned through their high status and it did them harm.

'Abdullah b. Ubayy's people had made a sort of jewelled diadem to crown him and make him their king when God sent His apostle to them, so when his people forsook him in favour of Islam he was filled with consternation realizing that the apostle had deprived him of his kingship. However, when he saw that his people were determined to go over to Islam he went too, but unwillingly, retaining his enmity and dissimulating.

Abū 'Amir stubbornly refused to believe and abandoned his people when they went over to Islam and went off to Mecca with about ten followers to get away from Islam and the apostle. Muhammad b. Abū Umāma from one of the family of Hanzala b. Abu 'Amir told me that the apostle said, 'Don't call him the monk but the evil-doer.'

Ja'far b. 'Abdullah b. Abī-'L-Ḥakam whose memory went back to apostolic days and who was a narrator of tradition told me that before he left for Mecca Abū 'Amir came to the apostle in Medina to ask him about the religion he had brought.

'The Ḥanīfīya, the religion of Abraham.'
'That is what I follow.'
'You do not.'
'But I do! You, Muhammad, have introduced into the Ḥanīfīya things which do not belong to it.'
'I have not. I have brought it pure and white.'
'May God let the liar die a lonely, homeless, fugitive!' (meaning the apostle as if he had falsified his religion).
'Well and good. May God so reward him!'

That actually happened to the enemy of God. He went to Mecca and when the apostle conquered it he went to Ta'if; when Ta'if became Muslim he went to Syria and died there a lonely, homeless, fugitive.

Now there went with him Abū 'Āqīmama b. Ṣulṭana b. 'Araf b. al-AOMET b. Ja'far b. Kifār, and Kīnāna b. 'Abd Yāllī b. 'Amr b. 'Umayr al-Thaq̃ī. When they died they brought their rival claim on his property before Caesar, lord of Rome. Caesar said, 'Let townsmen inherit townsmen and camel owners inherit nomads.' So Kīnāna b. 'Abd Yāllī inherited his property and not Abū 'Āqīmama.

Kāb b. Mālik said of Abū 'Amir and what he had done:

God save me from an evil deed
Like yours against your clan, O 'Abdu 'Amr.

\footnote{1 End. 2 i.e. Nova Roma.}
was the most fever-infested land on earth, and his companions suffered
severely from it, though God kept it from His apostle. 'Amir b. Fuhayr,
and Bilal, freedmen of Abu Bakr, were with him in one house when the
fever attacked them, and I came in to visit them, for the veil had not then
been ordered for us. Only God knows how much they suffered from
the fever. I came to my father and asked him how he fared and he said:
Any man might be greeted by his family in the morning
While death was nearer than the thong of his sandal.

I thought that my father did not know what he was saying. Then I went to
'Amir and asked him how he was and he said:

I have experienced death before actually tasting it:
The coward's death comes upon him as he sits.
Every man resists it with all his might
Like the ox who protects his body with his horns (335).

I thought that 'Amir did not know what he was saying. Bilal when the
fever left him lay prostrate in a corner of the house. Then he lifted up his
voice and said:

Shall I ever spend a night again in Fakhkh?
With sweet herbs and thyme around me?
Will the day dawn when I come down to the waters of Majanna
Shall I ever see Shamma and 'Atfali again? (336)

I told the apostle what they had said and he remarked that they were
delirious and out of their minds with a high temperature. He said, "O God,
make Medina as dear to us as Mecca and even dearer! And bless us in
food, and carry its fever to Mahya.' Mahya'a is al-Juhfa."

Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri from 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. al-'As mentioned that,
when the apostle came to Medina with his companions, the fever of Medina
smote them until they were extremely ill (though God turned it away from
his prophet) to such a degree that they could only pray sitting. The apostle
came out to them when they were praying thus and said: "Know that the
prayer of the sitter is only half as valuable as the prayer of the stander.
Thereupon the Muslims painfully struggled to their feet despite their
weakness and sickness, seeking a blessing.

Then the apostle prepared for war in pursuance of God's command to
fight his enemies and to fight those polytheists who were near at hand
whom God commanded him to fight. This was thirteen years after his
call.

2 Cf. Yaq., iii. 854, 11, and Bukhârî, i. 471, 13. Fakhkh is a place outside Mecca. Medina in
the lower part of Mecca was a market of the Arabs in pagan days.

2 Cf. Yaq., i. 35, 16, who says it was once a large village with a pulpit on the road from
Medina to Mecca about four stages distant from the latter. It was the rendezvous of the
Egyptians and Syrians if they wished to avoid Medina.

THE DATE OF THE HIJRA

By the preceding *imād* from 'Abdullah b. Hishâm who said Ziyâd b.
Abdullah al-Bakkâ'î from Muhammad b. Ishâq told me that the apostle
gone to Medina on Monday at high noon on the 12th of Rabî‘ul-awwal.

The apostle on that day was fifty-three years of age, that being thirteen
years after God called him. He stayed there for the rest of Rabî‘ul-awwal,
the month of Rabî‘ul-Akhir, the two Jumâdâs, Rajab, Sha‘bân, Ramadân,
Shawwâl, Dhul-Qa‘da, Dhul-Hijja (when the polytheists supervised the
pilgrimage), and Muharram. Then he went forth raiding in Sa‘far at the
beginning of the twelfth month from his coming to Medina (337).

(THE RAID ON WADDÂN WHICH WAS HIS FIRST RAID)

until he reached Waddân, which is the raid of al-Abwâ‘, making for Quraysh
and B. Damra b. Bakr b. 'Abdu Manât b. Kinâna. The B. Damra there
made peace with him through their leader Makhshîb b. 'Amr al-Damrî.
Then he returned to Medina without meeting war and remained there for
the rest of Sa‘far and the beginning of Rabî‘ul-awwal (338).

THE EXPEDITION OF 'UBAYDA B. AL-HARITH

During that stay in Medina the apostle sent 'Ubayda b. al-Hârîth b.
al-Mu'Talib with sixty or eighty riders from the emigrants, there not being a
single one of the Ansâr among them. He went as far as water in the Hijaz
below Thaniyatu'l-Murra, where he encountered a large number of
Quraysh. No fighting took place except that Sa‘d b. Abû Waqqâs shot an
arrow on that day. It was the first arrow to be shot in Islam. Then the two
companies separated, the Muslims having a rearguard. Al-Miqâdîb b.
'Amr al-Bahrânî, an ally of the B. Zuhr, and 'Utba b. Ghazwân b. Jâbir
al-Mâzînî, an ally of the B. Naufal b. 'Abdu Manâf, fled from the polytheists
and joined the Muslims to whom they really belonged. They had
gone out with the unbelievers in order to be able to link up with the Mus-
lims. 'Ikrima b. Abû Jahl was in command of the Meccans (339).
Concerning this raid Abû Bakr composed the following (340).

Could you not sleep because of the spectre of Salmâ in the sandy
valleys,
And the important event that happened in the tribe?
You see that neither admonition nor a prophet's call
Can save some of Lu‘ayy from unbelief;
A truthful prophet came to them and they gave him the lie,
And said, 'You shall not live among us.'
When we called them to the truth they turned their backs,
They howled like bitches driven back panting to their lairs;
With how many of them have we ties of kinship, 
Yet to abandon piety did not weigh upon them; 
If they turn back from their unbelief and disobedience 
(For the good and lawful is not like the abominable); 
If they follow their idolatry and error 
God's punishment on them will not tarry; 
We are men of Ghālib's highest stock 
From which nobility comes through many branches; 
I swear by the lord of camels urged on at even by singing, 
Their feet protected by old leather thongs, 
Like the red-backed deer that haunt Mecca 
Going down to the well's slimy cistern; 
I swear, and I am no perjurer, 
If they do not quickly repent of their error, 
A valiant band will descend upon them, 
Which will leave women husbandless. 
It will leave dead men, with vultures wheeling round, 
It will not spare the infidels as Ibn Ḥārith did.¹ 
Give the Banū Ṣahm with you a message 
And every infidel who is trying to do evil; 
If you assail² my honour in your evil opinion 
I will not assail³ yours.

'Abdullāh b. al-Zibārah al-Sahmī replied thus:

Does your eye weep unceasingly 
Over the ruins of a dwelling that the shifting sand obscures? 
And one of the wonders of the days 
(For time is full of wonders, old and new) 
Is a strong army which came to us 
Led by 'Ubayda, called Ibn Ḥārith in war, 
That we should abandon images venerated in Mecca, 
Passed on to his heirs by a noble ancestor. 
When we met them with the spears of Rudayna, 
And noble steeds panting for the fray, 
And swords so white they might be salt-strewn 
In the hands of warriors, dangerous as lions, 
Wherewith we deal with the concealed? 
And quench our thirst for vengeance without delay, 
They withdrew in great fear and awe, 
Pleased with the order of him who kept them back. 
Had they not done so the women would have waited,

¹ Lit. 'Ubayda. 
² Abū 'Bahār refers the meaning of this word to the divine omniscience. In this case possibly 'ancestry' rather than 'honour' is the meaning of 'ird. 
³ Lit., the turning away of him who turns to one side. Possibly the writer has in mind Sūra 31.17, 'Turn not thy cheek in scorn towards people.'

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Bereft of their husbands all of them.
The slain would have been left for those concerned 
And those utterly heedless to talk about. 
Give Abū Bakr with you a message:
You have no further part in the honour⁴ of Fīhr, 
No binding oath that cannot be broken 
That war will be renewed is needed from me (341).

Sa'd b. Abū Waqqās, according to reports, said about his having shot an arrow:

Has the news reached the apostle of God 
That I protected my companions with my arrows? 
By them I defended their vanguard 
In rough ground and plain. 
No archer who shoots an arrow at the enemy 
Will be counted before me, O apostle of God. 
'Twas because thy religion is true 
Thou hast brought what is just and truthful, 
By it the believers are saved 
And unbelievers recompensed at the last.
Stop, thou hast gone astray, so do not slander me. 
Woe to thee Abū Jahl, lost one of the tribe! (342).

The flag of 'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith according to my information was the first flag which the apostle entrusted to a believer in Islam. Some scholars allege that the apostle sent him when he came back from the raid of al-Abwā' before he got to Medina.

HĀMZA'S EXPEDITION TO THE SEA-SHORE

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While he was staying there he sent Ḥāmza b. Ḥabīl-Muṭṭalib to the seascape in the neighbourhood of Al-'Iṣ (T. in the territory of Juḥayna) with thirty riders from the emigrants; none of the helpers took part. He met Abū Jahl with three hundred riders from Mecca on the shore, and Majdī b. 'Amr al-Juḥanī intervened between them, for he was at peace with both parties. So the people separated one from another without fighting.

Some people say that Ḥamza's flag was the first which the apostle gave to any Muslim because he sent him and 'Ubayda at the same time, and thus people became confused on the point. They alleged that Ḥamza had composed poetry in which he says that his flag was the first which the apostle entrusted to anyone. Now if Ḥamza actually said that, it is true if God wills. He would not have said it if it were not true, but God knows what has happened. We have heard from learned people that 'Ubayda was the first man to receive a flag. Ḥamza said concerning that, so they allege (343):

Wonder, O my people, at good sense and at folly, 
At lack of sound counsel and at sensible advice,

⁴ See n. 4 on the previous page.
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At those who have wronged us, while we have left
Their people and their property inviolate,
As though we had attacked them;
But all we did was to enjoin chastity and justice
And call them to Islam, but they received it not,
And they treated it as a joke.
They ceased not so until I volunteered to attack them
Where they dwelt, desiring the satisfaction of a task well done
At the apostle's command—the first to march beneath his flag,
Seen with none before me,
A victorious flag from a generous, mighty God,
Whose acts are the most gracious.
At even they saluted forth together,
Each man's pot burning with his companion's rage;
When we saw each other, they halted and hobbled the camels,
And we did the same an arrow-shot distant.
We said to them, 'God's rope is our victorious defence,
You have no rope but error,'
Abū Jahl warred there unjustly,
And was disappointed, for God frustrated his schemes.
We were but thirty riders, while they were two hundred and one.
Therefore, O Lu'ayy, obey not your deceivers,
Return to Islam and the easy path,
For I fear that punishment will be poured upon you
And you will cry out in remorse and sorrow.

Abū Jahl answered him, saying:
I am amazed at the causes of anger and folly
And at those who stir up strife by lying controversy,
Who abandon our fathers' ways.
Those noble, powerful men,
They come to us with lies to confuse our minds,
But their lies cannot confuse the intelligent.
We said to them, 'O our people, strive not with your folk—
Controversy is the utmost folly—
For if you do, your weeping women will cry out
Wailing in calamity and bereavement.
If you give up what you are doing,
We are your cousins, trustworthy and virtuous.'
They said to us, 'We find Muhammad
One whom our cultured and intelligent accept,'
When they were obstinately contentious
And all their deeds were evil,
I attacked them by the sea-shore, to leave them
Like a withered leaf on a rootless stalk.

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Majdū held me and my companions back from them
And they helped me with swords and arrows
Because of an oath binding on us, which we cannot discard,
A firm tie which cannot be severed.
But for Ibn 'Amr I should have left some of them
Food for the ever-present vultures, unavenged:
But he had sworn an oath, which made
Our hands recoil from our swords.
If time spares me I will come at them again,
With keen, new polished swords,
In the hands of warriors from Lu'ayy, son of Ga'lib,
Generous in times of dearth and want (344).1

THE RAID ON BUWĀT

Then the apostle went raiding in the month of Rabī‘ul-Awwal making for Quraysh (345), until he reached Buwāt in the neighbourhood of Radwā. Then he returned to Medina without fighting, and remained there for the rest of Rabī‘ul-Akhir and part of Jumādā il-عالم.

THE RAID ON AL-USHAYRA

Then he raided the Quraysh (346). He went by the way of B. Dinār, then by Fayā‘ul-Khabār, and halted under a tree in the valley of Ibn Azhar called Dhibū‘il-Sāq. There he prayed and there is his mosque. Food was prepared and they all ate there. The place occupied by the stones which supported his cooking-pot is still known. He drank from a watering place called al-Mushtarīb. Then he went on leaving al-Khālā‘iq on the left and went through a glen called ’Abdullah to this day; then he bore to the left until he came down to Yalayl and halted where it joins al-’Acbū‘. He drank of the well of al-’Acbū‘ and then traversed the plain of Malāl until he met the track in Șukhayrāt al-Yāmān which carried him straight to al-Ushayra in the valley of Yanbu’ where he stopped during Jumādā il-عالم and some days of the following month. He made a treaty of friendship there with B. Mudlī and their allies B. Damrā, and then returned to Medina without a fight. It was on this raid that he spoke the well-known words to ‘Ali.

Yazīd b. Muhammad b. Khaytham al-Muḥārībī from Muhammad b. Șâb, al-Qurāzī from Muhammad b. Khaytham the father of Yazīd from Anmār b. Yāsīr told me that the latter said: ‘Ali and I were close companions in the raid of al-Ushayra and when the apostle halted there we saw

1 The language of this poem and its predecessor owes much to the Quran.
2 Ṭab. and Ṣuhāyyil have ‘al-Mushtagīb.
3 According to Yāqūt there is a place of this name near Medina which belonged to Șahāb b. Ahmad b. Jâsh.
4 Reading șuṣl for W.’s șuṣl. Cf. Șuṣaili in loc.
some men of B. Mudlij working at a well and on the date palms. 'Ali suggested that we should go and see what the men were doing, so we went and watched them for a time until we were overcome by drowsiness and we went and lay down under some young palms and fell fast asleep in the soft fine dust. And then who should wake us but the apostle himself as he stirred us with his foot! It was as if we were dusting ourselves, as the apostle said to 'Ali when he saw him covered with dust, ‘What have you been up to, Abū Turāb (father of dust)?’ Then he went on, ‘Shall I tell you of the two most wretched creatures? ‘Ubaymīr of Thamād who slaughtered the camel, and he who shall strike you here, ‘Ali—and he put his hand to the side of his head—until this is soaked from it—and he took hold of his beard.

A learned traditionist told me that the real reason why the apostle called ‘Ali Abū Turāb was that when ‘Ali was angry with Fātimah he would not speak to her. He did not say anything to annoy her, but he used to sprinkle dust on his head. Whenever the apostle saw dust on ‘Ali’s head he knew that he was angry with Fātimah and he would say, ‘What is your trouble, O Abū Turāb?’ But God knows the truth of the matter.

THE RAiD OF SA’D B. ABŪ WAQQĀS

Meanwhile the apostle had sent Sa’d b. Abū Waqqās with eight men from the emigrants. He went as far as al-Kharrār in the Hijāz. Then he returned without fighting (347).

THE RAiD ON SAFAWĀN, WHICH IS THE FIRST RAiD OF BADR

The apostle stayed only a few nights, less than ten, in Medina when he came back from raiding Al-Ushayya, and then Kurz b. Jābir al-Fāhrid raided the pasturing camels of Medina. The apostle went out in search of him (348), until he reached a valley called Safawān, in the neighbourhood of Badr. Kurz escaped him and he could not overtake him. This was the first raid of Badr. Then the apostle returned to Medina and stayed there for the rest of Jumāda’l-Ākhirah, Rajah, and Sha'bān.


The apostle sent ‘Abdullāh b. Jāhsh b. Rī’āb al-Asadi in Rajah on his return from the first Badr. He sent with him eight emigrants, without any of the Anṣār. He wrote for him a letter, and ordered him not to look at 3

1 In T. (1271 al-M.) the suggestion is made to ‘Abdul by ‘Armóre. Someone has been a bit of a deliberate alteration.

2 As these men had already been named with full particulars of their genealogy and ages, only their first names are repeated here.
lim brethren reproached them for what they had done, and the Quraysh said, 'Muhammad and his companions have violated the sacred month, shed blood therein, taken booty, and captured men.' The Muslims in Mecca who opposed them said that they had done it in Sha'bân. The Jews turned this raid into an omen against the apostle. 'Amr b. al-Hadrâni whom Waqid had killed they said meant 'amarati'l-barb (war has come to life), al-Hadrâni meant hadarat'l-barb (war is present), and Waqid meant magarat'l-barb (war is kindled); but God turned this against them, not for them, and when there was much talk about it, God sent down to his apostle: 'They will ask you about the sacred month, and war in it. Say, war therein is a serious matter, but keeping people from the way of God and disbelieving in Him and in the sacred mosque and driving out His people therefrom is more serious with God.' i.e. If you have killed in the sacred month, they have kept you back from the way of God with their unbelief in Him, and from the sacred mosque, and have driven you from it when you were its people. This is a more serious matter with God than the killing of those of them whom you have slain. 'And seduction is worse than killing,' i.e. They used to seduce the Muslim in his religion until they made him return to unbelief after believing, and that is worse with God than killing. 'And they will not cease to fight you until they turn you back from your religion if they can.' i.e. They are doing more heinous acts than that contumaciously.

And when the Quran came down about that and God relieved the Muslims of their anxiety in the matter, the apostle took the caravan and the prisoners. Quraysh sent to him to redeem 'Uthmân and al-Hakam, and the apostle said, 'We will not let you redeem them until our two companions come,' meaning Sa'd and 'Utba, 'for we fear for them on your account. If you kill them, we will kill your two friends.' So when Sa'd and 'Utba turned up the apostle let them redeem them. As for al-Hakam he became a good Muslim and stayed with the apostle until he was killed as a martyr at Bîr Ma'âna. 'Uthmân went back to Mecca and died there as an unbeliever. When 'Abdullah and his companions were relieved of their anxiety when the Quran came down, they were anxious for reward, and said, 'Can we hope that it will count as a raid for which we shall be given the reward of combatants?' So God sent down concerning them: 'Those who believe and have emigrated and fought in the way of God, these may hope for God's mercy, for God is forgiving, merciful.' That is, God gave them the greatest hopes therein. The tradition about this comes from Al-Zuhri and Yazid b. Rûmân from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr.

One of 'Abdullah's family mentioned that God divided the booty when He made it permissible and gave four-fifths to whom God had allowed to take it and one-fifth to God and His apostle. So it remained on the basis of what 'Abdullah had done with the booty of that caravan (350).

457 Abû Bakr said concerning 'Abdullah's raid (though others say that Ab-

1 Sûra 2. 214.

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1 Cf. Sûra 2. 214 f. which these lines endeavour to put into verse.
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THE DREAM OF 'A'TIKA D. OF 'ABDU'L-MU'TTALIB

A person above suspicion told me on the authority of 'Ikrima from 'Abbas b. Yazid b. Ruman from Urwa b. al-Zubayr, saying: 'three days before Damdám arrived A'tika saw a vision which frightened her. She sent to her brother al-Abbas saying, 'Brother, last night I saw a vision which frightened me and I am afraid that evil and misfortune will come upon your people, so treat what I tell you as a confidence.' He asked what she had seen, and she said, 'I saw a rider coming upon a camel who halted in the valley. Then he cried at the top of his voice, 'Come forth, O people, do not leave your men to face a disaster that will come in three days.' I saw the people flock to him, and then he went into the mosque with the people of the Ka'ba. Then they were round him his camel mounted to the top of the Ka'ba. Then he called out again, using the same words. Then his camel mounted to the top of Abū Qubays, and he cried out again. Then he seized a rock and loosened it, and it began to fall, until it fell from the top of the mountain into pieces. There was not a house in a dwelling in Mecca but received a bit of it.' Al-Abbas said, 'By God, that is indeed a vision, and you had better keep quiet about it and not tell anyone.' Then Abūbās went out and met al-Walid b. Uba, who was a friend of his, and told him and asked him to keep it to himself. Al-Walid told his father and the story spread in Mecca until Quraysh were talking about it in their public meetings.

Al-Abbas said, 'I got up early to go round the temple, while Abū Bakr was sitting with a number of Quraysh talking about A'tika's vision. When he saw me he said, 'Come to us when you have finished going round the temple.' When I had finished I went and sat with them, and he said, 'Abū Barkhāb, Abūl-Mu'ttalib, since when have you had a prophetess among you? And what do you mean by that?' I said, 'That vision which A'tika saw.' He answered. I said, 'And what do you see?' He said, 'Are you not satisfied that your men should play the prophet that your women should do so also?' A'tika has alleged that in her vision someone said, 'Come forth to war three days.' We shall keep an eye on you these three days, and if what you say is true, then it will be so; but if the three days pass and nothing happens, we will write you down as the greatest liars of the temple people among the Arabs.' Nothing much had passed between us except that contradicted that and denied that she had seen anything. Then we separated. When night came every single woman of ABDU'L-MU'TTALIB came to me and said, 'Have you allowed this evil rascal to attack your men, and then go on to insult your women while you listened? Have you no shame that you should listen to such things?' I said, 'By God, I have done nothing; nothing much had passed between us but I swear by God that I will confront him, and if he repeats what he has said, I will rid you of him.

1 Lit. 'Come forth ye perilous to your disaster', &c. See Suhayl's note in loc.
2 A mountain hard by.
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outstanding with Quraysh, and when they said there was, he said, 'Any man who kills this younger in revenge for one of his tribe will have exacted the blood due to him.' So one of them followed him and killed him in revenge for the blood Quraysh had shed. When Quraysh discussed the matter, 'Amir b. Yazid said, 'You owed us blood so what do you want? If you wish you pay us what you owe us, and we will pay you what we owe. If you want only blood, man for man, then ignore your claims and we will ignore ours'; and since this youth was of no great importance to this clan of Quraysh, they said, 'All right, man for man', and ignored his death and sought no compensation for it.

Now while his brother Mikraz was travelling in Marr al-Zahrān he saw 'Amir on a camel, and as soon as he saw him 'Amir went up to him and made his camel kneel beside him, 'Amir was wearing a sword, and Mikraz brought his sword down on him and killed him. Then he twisted his sword about in his belly, and brought it back to Mecca and hung it overnight among the curtains of the Ka'ba. When morning came Quraysh saw 'Amir's sword hanging among the curtains of the Ka'ba and recognized it. They said, 'This is 'Amir's sword; Mikraz has attacked and killed him.' This is what happened, and while this vendetta was going on, Islam intervened between men, and they occupied themselves with that, until when Quraysh decided to go to Badr they remembered the vendetta with B. Bakr and were afraid of them.

Mikraz b. Hafs said about his killing 'Amir:

When I saw that it was 'Amir I remembered the fleshless corpse of my dear brother.

I said to myself, it is 'Amir, fear not my soul and look to what you do. I was certain that as soon as I got in a shread blow with the sword, it would be the end of him.

I swooped down on him, on a brave, experienced man, with a sharp sword.

When we came to grips I did not show revenge which only weaklings fargo (353).

Yazid b. Rūmān from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me that when Quraysh were ready to set off they remembered their quarrel with B. Bakr and it almost deterred them from setting out. However, Iblis appeared to them in the form of Surāja b. Mālik b. Ju' tham al-Mudīli who was one of the chiefs of B. Kūnānā saying, 'I will guarantee that Kūnānā will not attack you in the rear,' so they went off speedily.

The apostle set out in the month of Ramadān (354). He gave the flag to Mūsāb b. 'Umayr b. Ḥāshim b. 'Abdul Mānāf b. 'Abdu'l-Dūr (355). The apostle was preceded by two black flags, one with 'Alī called al-Uqād and the other with one of the Ḍālib. His companions had seventy camels on which men rode in turns: the apostle with 'Alī and Mardhab b. Abū Mardhab al-Ghanāwī one camel; Ḥamza and Zayd b. Ḥāritha and Abū Kābaha and Anasa freedmen of the apostle one camel; and Abū Bakr, and 'Umar, and 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. 'Auf one camel. The apostle put over the rear-guard Qayṣ b. Abū Sa'id a brother of B. Māzīn b. al-Naṣīr (356).

He took the road to Mecca by the upper route from Medina, then by al-Adīf, Dhu'l-Hulayfā, and Uhlū'ī-Jays (357). Then he passed Turbān, Malā, Ghamisa'l-Hamām, Sukhayrā'tul-Yamān, and Sayāl; then by the route of al-Rauhā to Shunākā, which is the direct route, until at Irqūl-Zayba (358) he met a nomad. He asked him about the Quraysh party, but he said that he had no news. The people said, 'Salute God's apostle.' He said, 'Have you got God's apostle with you?' and when they said that they had, he said, 'If you are God's apostle, then tell me what is in the belly of my she-camel here.' Salama b. Safāma said to him, 'Don't question God's apostle; but come to me and I will tell you about it. You leapt upon her and she has in her belly a little goat from you.' The apostle said, 'Enough! You have spoken obscene to the man.' Then he turned away from Salama.

The apostle stopped at Sajjar which is the well of al-Rauhā; then went on to al-Munṣaraf, leaving the Meccan road on the left, and went to the right to al-Nāziya making for Badr. Arrived in its neighbourhood he crossed a wadi called Ruhjān between al-Nāziya and the pass of al-Safār'; then along the pass; then he debouched from it until when near al-Safār' he sent Bashās b. 'Amr al-Juhandi, an ally of B. Sā'ida, and 'Ady b. Abū Zaghbā al-Juhandi, ally of B. al-Najjar, to Badr to scout for news about Abū Su'fian and his caravan.1 Having sent them on ahead he moved off and when he got to al-Safār', which is a village between two mountains, he asked what their names were. He was told that they were Mushli and Mokhrī.2 He asked about their inhabitants and was told that they were B. al-Nār and B. Hurqā, two clans of B. Ghīfār. The apostle drew an ill men from their names and disliked them that he refused to pass between them, so he left them and al-Safār' on his left and went to the right to a wadi called Dhafirān which he crossed and then halted.

News came to him that Quraysh had set out to protect their caravan, and he told the people of this and asked their advice. Abū Bakr and then 'Umar got up and spoke well. Then al-Miqūdāt got up and said, 'O apostle of God, go where God tells you for we are with you. We will not say as the children of Israel said to Moses, 'You and your Lord go and fight and we will stay at home,' but you and your Lord go and fight, and we will fight

1 Though there is no authority in the printed editions, or in the variants cited therein, it cannot be help thinking that the reading should be 'Britt' and not ghybrīd, 'anyone else'. In an earlier text the prophet had not made inquiries about all and sundry and all he was interested in was the Meccan caravan and the Meccan army. If the latter were meant in the assumed reading ghybrīd, one feels they would have been explicitly mentioned. Note the 'Irīyū 'Ifrīkī, 1909'.
2 Both names mean 'defector'.
3 'Fire' and 'Burning' respectively.

Sūra 5. 47.
with you. By God, if you were to take us to Bark al-Ghāmā'il, we would fight resolutely with you against its defenders until you gained it.' The apostle thanked him and blessed him. Then he said, 'Give me advice, O Men,' by which he meant the Āṣārī. This is because they formed the majority, and because when they had paid homage to him in al-'Aṣārī, they stipulated that they were not responsible for his safety until he entered their territory, and that when he was there they would protect him as they did their wives and children. So the apostle was afraid that the Āṣārī would not feel obliged to help him unless he was attacked by an enemy in Medina, and that they would not feel it incumbent upon them to go with him against an enemy outside their territory. When he spoke these words, Sa'd b. Mu'īdh said, 'It seems as if you mean us,' and when he said that he did, Sa'd said, 'We believe in you, we declare your truth, and we witness that what you have brought is the truth, and we have given you our word and agreement to hear and obey; so go where you wish, we are with you; and by God, if you were to ask us to cross this sea and you plunged into it, we would plunge into it with you; not a man would stay behind. We do not dislike the idea of meeting your enemy tomorrow. We are experienced in war, trustworthy in combat. It may well be that God will let us show you something which will bring you joy, so take us along with God's blessing.' The apostle was delighted at Sa'd's words which greatly encouraged him. Then he said, 'Forward in good heart, for God has promised me one of the two parties,' and by God, it is as though I now saw the enemy lying prostrate.' Then the apostle journeyed from Dhafrān and went over passes called Aṣāfīr. Then he dropped down from them to a town called al-Dabbā and left al-Ḥāmnān on the right. This was a huge sandhill like a large mountain. Then he stopped near Badr and he and one of his companions (339) rode on, as Muhammad b. Yahyā b. Ḥabīb told me, until he stopped by an old man of the Beduin and inquired about Quraysh and about Muhammad and his companions, and what he had heard about them. The old man said, 'I won't tell you until you tell me which party you belong to.' The apostle said, 'If you tell us we will tell you.' He said, 'Tit for tat?' 'Yes,' he replied. The old man said, 'I have heard that Muhammad and his companions went out on such-and-such a day. If that is true, today they are in such-and-such a place,' referring to the place in which the apostle actually was, 'and I heard that Quraysh went out on such-and-such a day, and if this is true, today they are in such-and-such a place,' meaning the one in which they actually were.

When he had finished he said, 'Of whom are you?' The apostle said, 'We are from Mā'. Then he left him, while the old man was saying, 'What does "from Mā" mean? Is it from the water of Iraq?' (360).

1 A place in the Yemen, others say the farthest point of Ḥajār. T. 1300 adds 'a town of the Abyssinians'.
2 i.e. the caravan or the army. Cf. Sūra 8. 7.
3 i.e. Water.
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sleeping I saw a man advancing on a horse with a camel, and then he halted and said: "Slain are 'Utba and Shayba and Abūl-Hakam and Umayya" (and he went on to enumerate the men who were killed at Badr, all nobles of Quraysh). Then I saw him stab his camel in the chest and send it loose into the camp, and every single tent was bespattered with its blood." When the story reached Abū Jahl he said, 'Here's another prophet from B. al-Mutālib! He'll know tomorrow if we meet them who is going to be killed!'

When Abū Sufyān saw that he had saved his caravan he sent word to Quraysh, 'Since you came out to save your caravan, your men, and your property, and God has delivered them, go back.' Abū Jahl said, 'By God, we will not go back until we have to Badr'—Badr was the site of one of the Arab fairs where they used to hold a market every year. 'We will spend three days there, slaughter camels and feast and drink wine, and the girls shall play for us. The Arabs will hear that we have come and gathered together, and will respect us in future. So come on!'

Al-Akhmās b. Shariq b. 'Amr b. Waḥib al-Ṭhaqafī, an ally of B. Zubair who were in al-Jufa, addressed the latter, saying, 'God has saved you and your property and delivered your companion Makhrama b. Nuqai; and as you only came out to protect him and his property, lay any charge of cowardice on me and go back. There is no point in going to war without profit as this man would have us,' meaning Abū Jahl. So they returned and not a single Zubairite was present at Badr. They obeyed him as he was a man of authority. Every clan of Quraysh was represented except B. 'Ady b. Ka'b: not one of them took part, so with the return of B. Zubair with al-Akhmās these two tribes were not represented at all. There was some discussion between Ṭālib b. Abū Ṭalib, who was with the army, and some of Quraysh. The latter said, 'We know, O B. Ḥāshim, that if you have come out with us your heart is with Muhammad.' So Ṭālib and some others returned to Mecca. Ṭālib said:

O God, if Ṭālib goes forth to war unwillingly
With one of these squadrions,
Let him be the plundered not the plunderer,
The vanquished not the victor (361).

Quraysh went on until they halted on the farther side of the wadi behind al-'Aqanqal. The bed of the wadi—Yaláyl—was between Badr and al-'Aqanqal, the hill behind which lay Quraysh, while the wells at Badr were on the side of the wadi bed nearest to Medina. God sent a rain which turned the soft sand of the wadi into a compact surface which did not hinder the apostle's movements, but gravely restricted the movements of Quraysh. The apostle went forth to hasten his men to the water and when he got to the nearest water of Badr he halted.

I was told that men of B. Salama said that al-Jubair b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jamāḥī said to the apostle: 'Is this a place which God has ordered you to occupy, so that we can neither advance nor withdraw from it, or is it a matter of opinion and military tactics?' When he replied that it was the latter he pointed out that it was not the place to stop but that they should go on to the water nearest to the enemy and halt there, stop up the wells beyond it, and construct a cistern so that they would have plenty of water; then they could fight their enemy who would have nothing to drink. The apostle agreed that this was an excellent plan and it was immediately carried out; the wells were stopped; a cistern was built and filled with water from which his men replenished their drinking-vessels.

'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr told me that he was informed that Sa'd b. Mu'ādh said: 'O prophet of God, let us make a booth (T. of palm-branches) for you to occupy and have your riding camels standing by; then we will meet the enemy and if God gives us the victory that is what we desire; if the worst occurs you can mount your camels and join our people who are left behind, for they are just as deeply attached to you as we are. Had they thought that you would be fighting they would not have stayed behind. God will protect you by them; they will give you good counsel and fight with you.' The apostle thanked him and blessed him. Then a booth was constructed for the apostle and he remained there.

Quraysh, having marched forth at daybreak, now came on. When Quraysh saw them descending from the hill 'Aqanqal into the valley, he cried, 'O God, here come the Quraysh in their vanity and pride, contending with Thee and calling Thy apostle a liar. O God, grant the help which Thou didst promise me. Destroy them this morning!' Before uttering these words he had seen among the enemy 'Utba b. Rabī'a, mounted on a red camel of his, and said, 'If there is any good in any one of them, it will be with the man on the red camel: if they obey him, they will take the right way.' Khūfa b. Amīrī b. Raḥmān, or his father Aīmīrī b. Raḥmān al-Ġifarī, had sent to Quraysh, as they passed by, a son of his with some camels for slaughter, which he gave them as a gift, saying, 'If you want us to support you with arms and men, we will do so;' but they sent to him the following message by the mouth of his son—"You have done all that a human ought. If we are fighting only men, we are surely equal to them; and if we are fighting God, as Muhammad alleges, none is able to withstand Him." And when Quraysh encamped, some of them, among whom was Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, went to the cistern of the apostle to drink. 'Let them tell me!' he said; and every man that drank of it on that day was killed, except Ḥakīm, who afterwards became a good Muslim and used to say, when he was earnest in his oath, 'Nay, by Him who saved me on the day of Badr.' My father, Iṣḥāq b. Yāsār, and other learned men told me on the authority of some elders of the Ansār that when the enemy had settled in their camp they sent 'Umar b. Waḥib al-Jumāḥī to estimate the number of Muhammad's followers. He rode on horseback round the camp and on his return said, 'Three hundred men, a little more or less; but wait till I see

1 T. adds: 'He escaped on a horse of his called al-Wajih.' So also al-Aghā.
whether they have any in ambush or support.' He made his way far into the valley but saw nothing. On his return he said, 'I found nothing, but i people of Quraysh, I have seen camels carrying Death—the camels of Yathrib laden with certain death. These men have no defence or refuge but their swords. By God! I do not think that a man of them will be slain till he slay one of you, and if they kill of you a number equal to their own, what is the good of living after that? Consider, then, what you will do! When Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām heard these words, he went on foot amongst the folk until he came to 'Uth b. Rabī‘a and said, 'O Abū l-Walid, you are chief and lord of Quraysh and whom they obey. Do you wish to be remembered with praise among them to the end of time?' 'Uth b. Rabī‘a answered, 'How may that be, O Ḥakīm?' He answered, 'Lead them back and take up the cause of your ally, 'Amr b. al-Ḥadrāmī. 'I will do it,' said 'Uth b. Rabī‘a, and you are witness against me (if I break my word): he was under my protection, so it behoves me to pay his bloodwit and what was seized of his wealth (to his kinmen). Now go you to Ibn al-Ja‘farīya, for I do not fear that any one will make trouble except him (362).’ Then 'Uth b. Rabī‘a rose to speak and said, 'O people of Quraysh! By God, you will gain naught by giving battle to Muhammad and his companions. If you fall upon him, each one of you will always be looking with loathing on the face of another who has slain the son of his paternal or maternal uncle or some man of his kin. Therefore turn back and leave Muhammad to the rest of the Arabs. If they kill him, that is what you want; and if it be otherwise, he will find that you have not tried to do to him what you (in fact) would have liked to do.'

Ḥakīm said: 'I went to Abū Jahl and found him oiling a coat of mail (363) which he had taken out of his bag. I said to him, 'O Abū l-Hakam, 'Uth b. Rabī‘a has sent me to you with such-and-such a message,' and I told him what 'Uth b. Rabī‘a had said. 'By God,' he cried, 'his lungs became swollen with fear when he saw Muhammad and his companions. No, by God, we will not turn back until God decide between us and Muhammad. 'Uth b. Rabī‘a does not believe his own words, but he saw that Muhammad and his companions are (in number as) the eaters of one slaughtered camel, and his son is among them, so he is afraid lest you slay him.' Then he sent to 'Amīr b. al-Ḥadrāmī, saying, 'This ally of yours is for turning back with the folk at this time when you see your blood-revenge before your eyes. Arise, therefore, and remind them of your covenant and the murder of your brother.' 'Amīr arose and uncovered; then he cried, 'Alas for 'Amīr! Alas for 'Amīr!' And war was kindled and all was marred and the folk held stubbornly on their evil course and 'Uth b. Rabī‘a’s advice was wasted on them. When 'Uth b. Rabī‘a heard how Abū Jahl had taunted him, he said, 'He who befriends a befouled garment will find out whose lungs are swollen, mine or his (364).' Then 'Uth b. Rabī‘a looked for a helmet to put on his head; but seeing that his head was so big that he could not find in the army a helmet that would contain it, he wound a piece of cloth he had round his head.

Abū l-Aswad b. 'Abdul-Asad al-Makhzūmī, who was a quarradesm ill-natured man, stepped forth and said, 'I swear to God that I will drink from their cistern or destroy it or die before reaching it.' Ḥamza b. Abū-l-Muṭṭalīb came forth against him, and when the two met, Ḥamza smote him and sent his foot and half his shank flying as he was near the cistern. He fell on his back and lay there, blood streaming from his foot towards his comrades. Then he crawled to the cistern and threw himself into it with the purpose of fulfilling his oath, but Ḥamza followed him and smote him and killed him in the cistern.

Then after him 'Uth b. Rabī‘a stepped forth between his brother Shabayh and his son al-Walid b. 'Uth b. and when he stood clear of the ranks gave the challenge for single combat. Three men of the Anṣār came out against him: 'A‘fūf and Mu‘āwīya the sons of Hārith (their mother was 'Afrā‘) and another man, said to have been Abdullah b. Rawāhā. The Quraysh said, 'Who are you?' They answered, 'Some of the Anṣār,' whereupon the three of Quraysh said, 'We have nothing to do with you.' Then the herald of Quraysh shouted, 'O Muhammad! Send forth against us our peers of our own tribe!' The apostle said, 'Arise, O 'Ubaydah b. Hārith, and arise, O Ḥamza, and arise, O 'Ali.' And when they arose and approached them, the Quraysh said, 'Who are you?' And having heard each declare his name, they said, 'Yes, these are noble and our peers.' Now 'Ubaydah was the eldest of them, and he faced 'Uth b. Rabī‘a, while Ḥamza faced Shabayh b. Rabī‘a and 'Ali faced al-Walid b. 'Uth b. It was not long before Ḥamza slew Shabayh and 'Ali slew al-Walid. 'Ubaydah and 'Uth b. Rabī‘a exchanged two blows with one another and each laid his enemy low. Then Ḥamza and 'Ali turned upon 'Uth b. with their swords and dispatched him and bore away their comrade and brought him back to his friends. T. 1318. 2. His leg had been cut off and the marrow was oozing from it. When they brought 'Ubaydah to the prophet he said, 'Am I not a martyr, an apostle of God?' 'Indeed you are,' he replied. Then 'Ubaydah said, 'Were Abū Tālib alive he would know that his words'...

We will not give him up till we lie dead around him
And be unmindful of our women and children

(he truly realized in me.) 'Āṣim b. Umar b. Qatā‘a told me that when the men of the Anṣār declared their lineage, 'Uth b. Rabī‘a, 'You are noble and our peers, but we desire men of our own tribe.'

Then they advanced and drew near to one another. The apostle had ordered his companions not to attack until he gave the word, and if the enmy should surround them they were to keep them off with showers of arrows. He himself remained in the hut with Abū Bakr. I was informed by Abū Ja‘far Muhammad b. al-Husayn that the battle of Badr was fought

1 Or 'shield'.
2 A coarse expression for a coward.
on Friday morning on the 17th of Ramadān. Habbān b. Wāsiʿ b. Habban told me on the authority of some elders of his tribe that on the day of Badr the apostle dressed the ranks of his companions with an arrow which he held in his hand. As he passed by Sawād b. Ghazlya, an ally of B. 'Adī b. al-Ḥajjār (365), who was standing out (366) of line he pricked him in his belly with the arrow, saying, 'Stand in line, O Sawād!' 'You have hurt me, O Apostle of God,' he cried, 'and God has sent you with right and justice so let me retaliate.' The apostle uncovered his belly and said 'Take your retaliation.' Sawād embraced him and kissed his belly. He asked what had made him do this and he replied, 'O apostle of God, you see what is before us and I may not survive the battle and as this is my last time with you I want my skin to touch yours.' The apostle blessed him.

Then the apostle straightened the ranks and returned to the hut and entered it, and none was with him there but Abū Bakr. The apostle was beseeching his Lord for the help which He had promised to him, and among his words were these: 'O God, if this band perish today Thou wilt be worshipped no more.' But Abū Bakr said, 'O prophet of God, your constant entreaty will annoy Thy Lord, for surely God will fulfil His promise to thee.' While the apostle was in the hut he slept a light sleep; then he awoke and said, 'Be of good cheer, O Abū Bakr. God's help is come to you. Here is Gabriel holding the rein of a horse and leading it. The dust is upon his front teeth.'

The first Muslim that fell was Mihja', a freedman of 'Umar: he was shot by an arrow. Then while Ħārīta b. Surqa, one of B. 'Adī b. al-Ḥajjār (365), was drinking from the cistern an arrow pierced his throat and killed him.

Then the apostle went forth to the people and incited them saying: 'By God in whose hand is the soul of Muhammad, no man will be slain this day fighting against them with steadfast courage advancing not retrogressing but God will cause him to enter Paradise.' 'Umayr b. al-Ḥumām b. B. Salīma was eating some dates which he had in his hand, 'Fine, Fine!' he said, 'is there nothing between me and my entering Paradise save to be killed by these men?' He flung the dates from his hand, seized his sword, and fought against them till he was slain, [saying the while In God's service take no food
But piety and deeds of good.
If in God's war you've firmly stood
You need not fear as others should
While you are righteous and good.]

Al-'Abbās b. Al-Aswāf b. 'Afbī b. Hārīt—his mother was 'Afīr—said 'O apostle of God, what makes the Lord laugh with joy at his servant?' He answered, 'When he plunges into the midst of the enemy without mail.' 'Auf drew off the mail-coat that was on him and threw it away: then he seized his sword and fought the enemy till he was slain.

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Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhri on the authority of 'Abdullāh b. Thalāba b. Ṣu'ayr al-ʿUdhrī, an ally of B. Zuhra, told me that when the warriors advanced to battle and drew near to one another Abū Jahl cried, 'O God, destroy this morning him that more than any of us hath cut the ties of kinship and wrought that which is not approved.' Thus he condemned himself to death.

Then the apostle took a handful of small pebbles and said, turning towards Quraysh, 'Foul be those faces!' Then he threw the pebbles at them and ordered his companions to charge. The foe was routed. God saw many of their chiefs and made captive many of their nobles. Meanwhile the apostle was in the hut and Sa'd b. Mu'a'dh was standing at the door of the hut where he rested. With him were some of the Anṣār guarding the apostle for fear lest the enemy should come back at him. While the folk were laying hands on the prisoners the apostle, as I have been told, saw displeasure on the face of Sa'd at what they were doing. He said to him, 'You seem to dislike what the people are doing.' 'Yes, by God,' he replied, 'it is the first defeat that God has brought on the infidel and I would rather see them slaughtered than let alive.'

Al-'Abbās b. 'Abbūl-Bakhtārī. 'Abūl-Bakhtārī from one of his family from Ibn 'Abbās told me that the latter said that the prophet said to his companions that day, 'I know that some of B. Hāshim and others have been forced to come out against their will and have no desire to fight us; so if any of you meet one of B. Hāshim or Abūl-Bakhtārī or Al-Abbās the apostle's uncle do not kill him, for he has been made to come out against his will.' Abū Ḥudhayfa said: 'Are we to kill our fathers and our sons and our brothers and our families and leave Al-Abbās? By God, if I meet him I will flesh my sword in him!' (397).

This saying reached the apostle's ears and he said to 'Umar, 'O Abū Bāsīr!' and 'Umar said that this was the first time the apostle called him by his honorific—ought the face of the apostle's uncle to be marked with the sword? 'Umar replied, 'Let me off with my head! By God, the man is a false Muslim.' Abū Ḥudhayfa used to say, 'I never felt safer in my words that day. I was always afraid unless martyrdom averted for them.' He was killed as a martyr in the battle of al-Yamāma.

The reason why the apostle forbade the killing of Abūl-Bakhtārī was because he had kept back the people in Mecca from the apostle; he never stoned him or did anything offensive; and he took a prominent part in the cancelling of the boycott which Quraysh had written against B. Hāshim and B. al-Mu'taṣibī. Now al-Mujadalah b. Dhiyād b. Abāwī, an ally of the Anṣār, of the clan of B. Sālim b. 'Auf, fell in with him and told him that the apostle had forbidden them to kill him. Now al-'As Abūl-Bakhtārī...
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447 Tarfi was accompanied by his fellow-rider Junada b. Mulayha d. Zuhayr b. al-Ijirith b. Asad who was one of B. Layth, and he said, ‘And what about my friend here?’ ‘No, by God,’ said al-Mujaddadh, ‘we are not going to spare your friend. The apostle gave us orders about you only.’ ‘In that case,’ he said, ‘I will die with him. The women of Mecca shall not say that I forsook my friend to save my own life.’ He uttered this rajaz as al-Mujaddadh came at him and he insisted on fighting:

A son of the free betrays not his friend
Till he’s dead, or sees him safe on his way.

The result was that al-Mujaddadh killed him and composed these lines thereon:

Do you not know or have you forgotten?
Then note well my line is from Bait.
Those who thrust with Yazan’s spears
Slitting down chiefs and bringing them low.
Tell Bakhtart that he’s bereaved of his father
Or tell my son the like of me.
I am he of whom it is said my origin is in Bait,
When I thrust in my spear it bends almost double.
I kill my opponent with a sharp Mashraft sword,
I yearn for death like a camel overfull with milk.
You will not see Mujaddadh telling a lie (368).

Then al-Mujaddadh went to the apostle and told him that he had done his best to take him prisoner and bring him to him but that he had insisted on fighting and the result had been fatal to him (369). 448

Yahya b. Abbad b. Abdullah al-Zubayr told me on the authority of his father; and Abdullah b. Abi Bakr and others on the authority of ‘Abdu-l-Rahman b. Auf told me the same, saying: ‘Umayya b. Khalaf was a friend of mine in Mecca and my name was ‘Abdu ‘Amr, but I was called ‘Abdu-l-Rahman when I became a Muslim. When we used to meet in Mecca he would say, ‘Do you dislike the name your parents gave you?’ and I would say yes; and he would say, ‘As for me, I don’t know al-Rahman, so adopt a name which I can call you between ourselves. You won’t reply to your original name, and I won’t use one I don’t know.’ When he said ‘O ‘Abdu ‘Amr,’ I wouldn’t answer him, and finally I said, ‘O Abi ‘Ali, call me what you like,’ and he called me ‘Abdul-l-Ilah’ and I accepted the name from him. On the day of Badr I passed by him standing with his son ‘Ali holding him by the hand. I was carrying coats of mail which I had looted; and when he saw me he said, ‘O ‘Abdu ‘Amr,’ but I would not answer until he said ‘O ‘Abdu-l-Ilah.’ Then he said, ‘Won’t you take me prisoner, for I am more valuable than these coats of mail which you have?’ ‘By God I will,’ I said. So I threw away the mail and took him and his son by the hand, he saying the while ‘I never saw a day like this. Have you no use for milk?’ Then I walked off with the pair of them’ (370).

‘Abdu-l-Wahid b. Abi ‘Aun from Sa’d b. Ibrahim from his father ‘Abdu-l-Rahman b. Auf told me that the latter said: Umayya said to me as I walked between them holding their hands, ‘Who is that man who is wearing an ostrich feather on his breast?’ When I told him it was Hamza he said that it was he who had done them so much damage. As I was leading them away Bilal saw him with me. Now it was Umayya who used to torture Bilal in Mecca to make him abandon Islam, bringing him out to the scorching heat of the sun, laying him on his back, and putting a great stone on his chest, telling him that he could stay there until he gave up the religion of Muhammad, and Bilal kept saying ‘One! One!’ As soon as he saw him he said, ‘The arch-infidel Umayya b. Khalaf! May I not live if he lives.’ I said, ‘(Would you attack) my prisoners?’ But he kept crying out these words in spite of my remonstrances until finally he shouted at the top of his voice, ‘O God’s Helpers, the arch-infidel Umayya b. Khalaf! May I not live if he lives.’ The people formed a ring round us as I was protecting him. Then a man drew his sword and cut off his son’s foot so that he fell down and Umayya let out a cry such as I have never heard; and I said to him ‘Make your escape’ (though he had no chance of escape) I can do nothing for you.’ They hewed them to pieces with their swords until they were dead. ‘Abdu-l-Rahman used to say, ‘God have mercy on Bilal, I lost my coats of mail and he deprived me of my prisoners.’

‘Abdullah b. Abi Bakr told me he was told as from Ibn ‘Abduss, ‘A man of B. Ghiyar told me: I and a cousin of mine went up a hill from which we could look down on Badr, we being polytheists waiting to see the result of the battle so that we could join in the looting. And while we were on the hill a cloud came near and we heard the neighing of horses and I heard one saying “Forward, Hazzim!” As for my cousin, his heart burst asunder and he died on the spot; I almost perished, then I pulled myself together.’

‘Abdullah b. Abi Bakr from one of B. Saa’ida from Abi Usayd Malik b. Rabia who was present at Badr told him after he had lost his sight: ‘If I were in Badr today and had my sight I could show you the gleam from which the angels emerged. I have not the slightest doubt on the point.’

My father Ihsan b. Yasir from men of B. Mazin b. al-Najjir from Abi ‘Utd Al-Mazini, who was at Badr, told me: ‘I was pursuing a polytheist and at Badr to smite him, when his head fell off before I could get at him with my sword, and I knew that someone else had killed him.’

One above suspicion from Miqsam, freedman of ‘Abdullah b. Al-Harith from ‘Abdullah b. ‘Abbas, told me, ‘The sign of the angels at Badr was white turbans flowing behind them: at Hunayn they wore red turbans’ (373).

One above suspicion from Miqsam from Ibn ‘Abduss told me: The angels...
did not fight in any battle but Badr. In the other battles they were there in reinforcements, but they did not fight.

As he was fighting that day Abū Jahl was saying:

What has fierce war to dislike about me,
A young he-camel with razor-like teeth?
For this very purpose did my mother bear me (372).

When the apostle had finished with the enemy he ordered that Abū Jahl should be looked for among the slain. (T. He said, 'O God, don't let him escape Thee!') The first man to find him—so Thaur b. Yazid from Tikritt from Ibn 'Abbās told me; as well as 'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr who told me the same—was Mu'ādh b. 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ, brother of B. Sālima, whom they reported as saying: I heard the people saying when Abū Jahl was in a sort of thicket, 'Abū'ī-Hakam cannot be got at' (373). When I heard that I made it my business, and made for him. When I got within striking distance I fell upon him and fetched him a blow which sent his foot and half his shank flying. I can only liken it to a date-stone flying from the postle when it is beaten. His son 'Ikrima struck me on the shoulder and severed my arm and it hung by the skin from my side, and the battle compelled me to leave him. I fought the whole of the day dragging my arm behind me and when it became painful to me I put my foot on it and stood on it to tire it off.' He lived after that into the reign of 'Uthmān.

Mu'āwīyah b. 'Afrā' passed Abū Jahl as he lay there helpless and since him until he left him at his last gasp. He himself went on fighting until he was killed. Then 'Abdullah b. Mas'ūd passed by Abū Jahl when the apostle had ordered that he was to be searched for among the slain. I have heard that the apostle had told them that if he was hidden among the corpses they were to look for the trace of a scar on his knee. When they both were young they had been pressed together at the table of 'Abdullah b. Jā'far. He was thinner than Abū Jahl and he gave him a push which sent him to his knees and one of them was scratched so deeply that it left a permanent scar. 'Abdullah b. Mas'ūd said that he found him at his last gasp and put his foot on his neck (for he had once clawed him at his hands and punched him in Mecca), and said to him: 'Has God put you to shame, you enemy of God? He replied: 'How has He shamed me? Am I anything more remarkable than a man you have killed?' Tell me how the battle went. He told him that it went in favour of God and His apostle (374).

Men of B. Makhzūm assert that Ibn Mas'ūd used to say: He said to me

You have climbed high, you humble shepherd.' Then I cut off his head and brought it to the apostle saying, 'This is the head of the enemy of God, Abū Jahl.' He said, 'By God than Whom there is no other, is it?' (This used to be his oath.) 'Yes,' I said, and I threw his head before the apostle and he gave thanks to God (375).

1 This is a difficult expression much commented on by Arab writers: other possibilities are: 'Am I to wonder at, or be angry', &c. Cf. Lane, 21316 and Tab. Gloss. 376.
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Hûmayd al-Tawîl told me that Anas b. Mâlik said: "The apostle’s companions heard him saying in the middle of the night "O people of the pit: O ’Utba, O Shayba, O Umâyya, O Abû Jahl," enumerating all who had been thrown into the pit, "Have you found that what God promised you is true? I have found that what my Lord promised me is true." The Muslims said, "Are you calling to dead bodies?" He answered: "You cannot hear what I say better than they, but they cannot answer me."

A learned person told me that the apostle said that day, 'O people of the pit, you were an evil kinsfolk to your prophet. You called me a liar when others believed me; you cast me out when others took me in; you fought against me when others fought on my side.' Then he added 'Have you found that what your Lord promised you is true?'

Hassan b. Thâbit said:

I recognize the dwellings of Zaynab on the sandhill
Looking like the writing of revelation on dirty old paper.
Winds blow over them and every dark cloud
Pours down its heavy rain;
Its traces obscured and deserted
Were once the abodes of dearly loved friends.
Abandon this constant remembrance of them,
Quench the heat of the sorrowing breast.
Tell the truth about that in which there is no shame,
Not the tale of a liar,
Of what God did on the day of Badr,
Giving us victory over the polytheists.
The day when their multitude was like Hîraya’s
Whose foundations appear at sunset.
We met them with a company
Like lions of the jungle young and old
In defence of Muhammad in the heat of war
Helping him against the enemy.
In their hands were sharp swords
And well-tried shafts with thick knots.
The sons of Aus the leaders, helped by
The sons of al-Najjar in the strong religion.
Abû Jahl we left lying prostrate
And ’Utba we left on the ground.
Shayba too with others
Of noble name and descent.
The apostle of God called to them
When we cast them into the pit together.
‘Have you found that I spoke the truth?
And the command of God takes hold of the heart?’

1 I follow S.’s suggestion for the meaning of qasîb.
everyone to turn in what they had taken. I came and threw it into the heap of spoils. Now the apostle never held back anything he was asked for, and all the Muslims who were with him knew and trusted him.

Then the apostle sent 'Abdullah b. Rawāha with the good news of the victory to the people of Upper Medina, and Zayd b. Hāritha to the people of Lower Medina. Usāma b. Zayd said: 'The news came to us as we had a big feast in the garden of Abu'īn. We were all eating and enjoying ourselves. When we heard the news, we immediately left our feast and ran to spread the news to the people. We were all excited and happy, and we immediately started celebrating the victory. We all said: 'Let us go to Medina and see the apostle and the Muslims.' We immediately started making our way to Medina. We were all dressed in our best clothes and carrying our weapons, and we were all singing and shouting, 'Allah Akbar! Allah Akbar!' We reached Medina and met the apostle and the Muslims, and we all embraced and greeted each other. We were all happy and excited, and we immediately started celebrating the victory. We all said: 'Let us see the apostle and the Muslims.' We immediately started making our way to Medina. We were all dressed in our best clothes and carrying our weapons, and we were all singing and shouting, 'Allah Akbar! Allah Akbar!' We reached Medina and met the apostle and the Muslims, and we all embraced and greeted each other. We were all happy and excited, and we immediately started celebrating the victory. We all said: 'Let us see the apostle and the Muslims.' We immediately started making our way to Medina. We were all dressed in our best clothes and carrying our weapons, and we were all singing and shouting, 'Allah Akbar! Allah Akbar!' We reached Medina and met the apostle and the Muslims, and we all embraced and greeted each other. We were all happy and excited, and we immediately started celebrating the victory. We all said: 'Let us see the apostle and the Muslims.' We immediately started making our way to Medina. We were all dressed in our best clothes and carrying our weapons, and we were all singing and shouting, 'Allah Akbar! Allah Akbar!' We reached Medina and met the apostle and the Muslims, and we all embraced and greeted each other. We were all happy and excited, and we immediately started celebrating the victory. We all said: 'Let us see the apostle and the Muslims.' We immediately started making our way to Medina. We were all dressed in our best clothes and carrying our weapons, and we were all singing and shouting, 'Allah Akbar! Allah Akbar!' We reached Medina and met the apostle and the Muslims, and we all embraced and greeted each other. We were all happy and excited, and we immediately started celebrating the victory. We all said: 'Let us see the apostle and the Muslims.' We immediately started making our way to Medina. We were all dressed in our best clothes and carrying our weapons, and we were all singing and shouting, 'Allah Akbar! Allah Akbar!' We reached Medina and met the apostle and the Muslims, and we all embraced and greeted each other. We were all happy and excited, and we immediately started celebrating the victory. We all said: 'Let us see the apostle and the Muslims.' We immediately started making our way to Medina. We were all dressed in our best clothes and carrying our weapons, and we were all singing and shouting, 'Allah Akbar! Allah Akbar!' We reached Medina and met the apostle and the Muslims, and we all embraced and greeted each other. We were all happy and excited, and we immediately started celebrating the victory. We all said: 'Let us see the apostle and the Muslims.'
people. Abū Lahab had stayed behind from the Badr expedition sending in his stead al-'Āṣ b. Hishām; for that is what they did—any man who stayed behind sent another in his place. And when news came of the Quraysh disaster at Badr God humiliated Abū Lahab and put him to shame while we found ourselves in a position of power and respect. Now I was a weak man and I used to make arrows, sharpening them in the tent of Zamzam, and lo as I was sitting there with Ummu'l-Fadl sharpening arrows delighted with the news that had come up came Abū Lahab dragging his feet in ill temper and sat down at the end of the tent with his back to mine. As he was sitting there people said, “Here is Abī Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. Abūl-Muttalib (385) just arrived.” Abū Lahab said, “Come here, for you have news.” So he came and sat with him while the people stood round, and when he asked his nephew for the news he said, “As soon as we met the party we turned our backs and they were killing and capturing us just as they pleased; and by God I don’t blame the people for that. We met men in white on piched horses between heaven and earth, and by God they spared nothing and none could withstand them.” So I lifted the rope of the tent and said: “Those were the angels.” Abū Lahab struck me violently in the face. I leapt at him, but he knocked me down and knelt on me beating me again and again, for I was a weak man. Ummu'l-Fadl went and got one of the supports of the tent and split her head with a blow which left a nasty wound, saying, “You think you can despise him now his master is away!” He got up and turned tail humiliated. He only lived for another week, for God smote him with pestles, from which he died. 

(T. 1340. 10. His two sons left him unburied for two or three nights so that the house stank (for the Quraysh dread pestles and the like as men dread plague) until finally a man said to them: ‘It is disgraceful! Are you not ashamed that your father should stink in his house while you do not cover him from the sight of men?’ They replied that they were afraid of those ulcers. He offered to go with them. They did not wash the body but threw water over it from a distance without touching it. Then they took it up and buried it on the high ground above Mecca by a wall and threw stones over it until it was covered.

Ibn Ḥamid said that Salama b. al-Fadl said that Muhammad b. Iṣḥāq said that al-'Abbās b. 'Abdullāh b. Mā'bad from one of his family on the authority of 'Abdullah b. 'Abbās said: ‘On the night of Badr when the prisoners were safely guarded, the apostle could not sleep during the first part of the night. When his companions asked him the reason he said: “I heard the writhing of al-'Abbās in his prison.” So they got up and liberated him whereupon the apostle slept soundly.’

On the same authority I heard that Muhammad b. Iṣḥāq said: “Abūl-Ḥasan b. Umarā told me from al-Hakam b. 'Utayba from Miṣlam from Ibn 'Abbās: ‘The man who captured al-'Abbās was Abīl-Yasār Kā'ī̂b b. 'Amr brother of the B. Salīma. Abīl-Yasār was a compact little man while al-'Abbās was bulky. When the apostle asked the former how he had managed to capture him, he said that a man such as he had never seen before or afterwards had helped him, and when he described him, the apostle said, “A noble angel helped you against him.”’)

(Suhayyī, ii. 79: In the rīḍa 'a of Yūnus I. l. recorded that the apostle saw her (Ummu'l-Fadl) when she was a baby crying before him and said, ‘If she grows up and I am still alive I will marry her.’ But he died before she grew up and Sufyān b. al-Aswād b. Abūl-'Aṣīd al-Makhzūm married her and she bore him al-Rizūq and Lūbābā. . . . They did not bury Abū Lahab, but he was put against a wall and stones were thrown upon him from behind the wall until he was covered. It is said that when 'Aisha passed the place she used to veil her face.)

Yahyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr from his father 'Abbād told me that Quraysh bewailed their dead. Then they said, ‘Do not do this, for the news will reach Muhammad and his companions and they will rejoice over your misfortune; and do not send messengers about your captives but hold back so that Muhammad and his companions may not demand excessive ransom.’ Al-Aswād b. al-Muttalib had lost three of his sons: Zamā'ī, 'Aqlī, and al-Ḥārith b. Zamā'ī, and he wanted to bewail them. Meanwhile he heard a weeping woman, and as he was blind he told a servant to go and see whether lamentation had been permitted, for if Quraysh were weeping over their dead he might weep for Zamā'ī Abū Ḥakīma, for he was consumed by a burning sorrow. The servant returned to say that it was a woman weeping over a camel she had lost. Thereupon he said:

Does she weep because she has lost a camel? And does this keep her awake all night? Weep not over a young camel But over Badr where hopes were dashed to the ground. Over Badr the finest of the sons of Huṣayn And Makhzūm and the clan of Abul-Walid. Weep if you must weep over 'Aqlī, Weep for Ḥārith the lion of lions, Weep unweariedly for them all, For Abū Ḥakīma had no peer. Now they are dead, men bear rule Who but for Badr would be of little account (386).

Among the prisoners was Abū Wadi'a b. Ḍubayra al-Sabīm. The apostle remarked that in Mecca he had a son who was a shrewd and rich merchant and that he would soon come to redeem his father. When Quraysh counselled delay in redeeming the prisoners so that the ransom should not be extortionate al-Muttalib b. Abū Wadi'a—the man the apostle meant—said, ‘You are right. Don’t be in a hurry.’ And he slipped away at night and came to Medina and recovered his father for 4,000 dirhams and took him away.
Then Quraysh sent to redeem the prisoners and Mikraž b. Hafs b. al-Khafif came about Suhayl b. 'Amr who had been captured by Malik b. al-Dukhshum, brother of the B. 'Alī who said:

I captured Suhayl and I would not exchange him
For a prisoner from any other people.
Khudaf knows that his hero is Suhayl
When injustice is complained of.
I struck with my keen sword until it bent.
I forced myself to fight this hare-lipped man.

Suhayl was a man whose lower lip was split (387).

Muhammad b. 'Amr b. 'Ati, brother of B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy, told me that 'Umar said to the apostle, 'Let me pull out Suhayl's two front teeth; his tongue will stick out and he will never be able to speak against you again.' He answered, 'I will not mutilate him, otherwise God would mutilate me though I am a prophet.'

I have heard that in this tradition the apostle said to 'Umar, 'Perhaps he will make a stand for which you will not blame him' (388).

When Mikraž had spoken about him and finally agreed on terms with them they demanded the money, and he asked that they would hold him as security and let Suhayl go so that he could send his ransom. They did so and imprisoned Mikraž in his stead. Mikraž said:

I redeemed with costly she-camels a captive hero.
(The payment is for a true Arab not for clients).
I pledged my person, though money would be easier for me.
But I feared being put to shame.
I said, 'Suhayl is the best of us, so take him back
To our sons so that we may attain our desires' (389).

(The text continues with additional narratives and historical events.)
with prophecy Khadija and her daughters believed in him and testified that he had brought the truth and followed his religion, though Abû-l'-As persisted in his polytheism. Now the apostle had married Ruqayya, or Umm Kulthûm to 'Uthba b. Abû Lahab, and when he openly preached to Quraysh the command of God and showed them hostility they reminded one another that they had relieved Muhammad of his care for his daughters and decided to return them so that he should have the responsibility of looking after them himself. They went to Abû-l'-As and told him to divorce his wife and they would give him any woman he liked. He refused, saying that he did not want any other woman from Quraysh; and I have heard that the apostle used to speak warmly of his action as a son-in-law. Then they went to 'Uthba b. Abû Lahab with the same request and he said that if they would give him the daughter of Abân b. Sa'id b. al'-As or the daughter of Sa'id b. al'-As he would divorce his wife, and when they did so he divorced her, not having consummated the marriage. Thus God took her from him to honour his word, and 'Uthmân afterwards married her.

Now the apostle had no power of binding and loosing in Mecca, his circumstances being circumscribed. Islam had made a division between Zaynab and her husband Abû-l'-As, but they lived together, Muslim and unbeliever, until the apostle migrated. Abû-l'-As joined the expedition to Badr and was captured among the prisoners and remained at Medina with the apostle.

Yahyâ b. 'Abdâ b. 'Abdullâh b. al-Zubayr from his father 'Abbâd told me that 'A'îsha said: 'When the Meccans sent to ransom their prisoners, Zaynab sent the money for Abû-l'-As; with it she sent a necklace which Khadija had given her on her marriage to Abû-l'-As. When the apostle saw it his feelings overcame him and he said: 'If you would like to let her have her captive husband back and return her money to her, do so.' The people at once agreed and they let him go and sent her money back.

ZAYNAB SETS OUT FOR MEDINA

Now the apostle had imposed a condition on Abû-l'-As, or the latter had undertaken it voluntarily—the facts were never clearly established—that he should let Zaynab come to him. At any rate, after Abû-l'-As had reached Mecca the apostle sent Zayd b. Hâridha and one of the Ansâr with instructions to stop in the valley of Yâjî until Zaynab passed, and then to accompany her back to him. About a month or so after Badr they went off to take up their position. Meanwhile Abû-l'-As came to Mecca and told Zaynab to rejoin her father, and she went out to make her preparations.

'Abdullâh b. Abû Bakr told me that he had been told that Zaynab said that while she was making her preparations she was met by Hind d. 'Uthba who inquired whether she was going off to rejoin Muhammad. When she said that she did not wish to go, Hind offered to give her anything she needed for the journey as well as money. She need not be shy of her, for women stood closer together than men. However, though she thought she was sincere she was afraid of her and denied that she had any intention of going. But she went on with her preparations.

These completed, her brother-in-law Kinân b. al-Rabî' brought her a camel and taking his bow he led her away in a howdah in broad daylight. After discussing the matter Quraysh went off in pursuit and overtook them in Dhû Tawwâ. The first man to come up with them was Habîb b. al-Aswad b. al-Muštâlîb b. Asad b. 'Abdu-l'-Uzza al-Fihrî. He threatened her with his lance so she sat in the howdah. It is alleged that the woman was pregnant and when she was frightened she had an abortion. Her brother-in-law Kinân knelt and emptied his quiver [in front of him] and said, 'By God, if one of you comes near me I will put an arrow through him.' So the men fell back. Then Abû Sufyân with some Quraysh leaders came up and asked him to unbend his bow so that they could discuss the matter. Then he came up to him and said, 'You have not done the right thing. You have taken the woman out publicly over the heads of the people when you know of our misfortune and disaster which Muhammad has brought on us. The people will think, if you take away his daughter publicly over the heads of everyone, that that is a sign of our humiliation after the disaster that has happened and an exhibition of utter weakness. 'Od's life we don't want to keep her from her father and that is not our way of seeking revenge. But take the woman back, and when the chaff has died down and people say that we have brought her back you can take her away secretly to rejoin her father.' This is exactly what happened and one night he took her off and delivered her to Zayd b. Hâridha and his companion, and they took her to the apostle.

'Abdullâh b. Rawîja or Abû Khaythamâ, brother of B. Sâlim b. 'Auf, said of this affair of Zaynab's (393):

Tidings reached me of their wicked treatment of Zaynab,
So criminal that men could not imagine it.
Muhammad was not put to shame when she was sent forth
Because of the result of the bloody war between us.
From his alliance with Damâm and his war with us
Abû Sufyân got but disappointment and remorse.
We bound his son 'Amr and his sworn friend together
In well-wrought jangling irons.
I swear we shall never lack soldiers,
Army leaders with many a champion.
Driving before us infidel Quraysh until we subdue them
With a halter above their noses (and) with a branding iron.
We will drive them to the ends of Najd and Nakhila.