In the vale of Badr I saw some of them, the slain,
Eyes pouring with tears for them.
Weep ['Atika], for you have made a mean slave weep
Like a pup following a little bitch.
God has given satisfaction to our leader
And put to shame and prostrated those who fought him.
Those whose hearts were torn with fear
Escaped and fled away (574).

A Muslim woman of B. Murayd, a clan of B. of B. Umayya b. Zayd, called al-Ja‘ādira answered Ka‘b (575):

This slave shows great concern
Weeping over the slain unceasingly,
May the eye that weeps over the slain at Badr weep on
And may Lu‘ayy b. Ghalib weep double as much!
Would that those weeping in their blood
Could be seen by those who live between Mecca’s mountains!
They would know for certain and would see
How they were dragged along by hair and beard.¹

Ka‘b b. al-Ashraf answered her:

Drive off that fool of yours that you may be safe
From talk that has no sense!
Do you taunt me because I shed tears
For people who loved me sincerely?
As long as I live I shall weep and remember
The merits of people whose glory is in Mecca’s houses.
By my life Murayd used to be far from hostile
But now they become as jackals.
They ought to have their noses cut off
For insulting the two clans of Lu‘ayy b. Ghalib.
I give my share in Murayd to Ja‘dar
In truth, by God’s house, between Mecca’s mountains.

¹ Or, reading mubahahum, ‘the sword cuts above their beards and eyebrows’.

² Presumably her buttocks are meant; they would be between her ankle and her elbow as she reclined. Large and heavy buttocks were marks of female beauty among the old Arabs.

Then he composed amatory verses of an insulting nature about Muslim women. The apostle said—according to what ‘Abdullah b. al-Mughith b. Abū Burda told me—‘Who will rid me of Ibnul-Ashraf?’ Muhammad b. Maslama, brother of the B. ‘Abdu’l-Ashraf, said, ‘I will deal with him for you, O apostle of God, I will kill him.’ He said, ‘Do so if you can.’ So Muhammad b. Maslama returned and waited for three days without food or drink, apart from what was absolutely necessary. When the apostle was told of this he summoned him and asked him why he had given up eating and drinking. He replied that he had given him an undertaking and he did not know whether he could fulfill it. The apostle said, ‘All that is incumbent upon you is that you should try.’ He said, ‘O apostle of God, we shall have to tell lies.’ He answered, ‘Say what you like, for you are free in the matter.’ Thereupon he and Silkân b. Salāma b. Waqqâsh who was Abū Na‘īma one of the B. ‘Abdull-Asahhal, foster-brother of Ka‘b, and ‘Abdull b. Bishr b. Waqqâsh, and al-Hārith b. Anb b. Mu‘ādh of the B. ‘Abdu’l-Asahhal and Abū ‘Abd b. Ja‘far of the B. Hāritha conspired together and sent Silkân to the enemy of God, Ka‘b b. Ashraf, before they came to him. He talked to him some time and then recited poetry one to the other, but Silkân was fond of poetry. Then he said, ‘O Ibn Ashraf, I have come to you about a matter which I want to tell you of and wish you to keep secret.’ Very well,’ he replied. He went on, ‘The coming of this man is a great trial to us. It has provoked the hostility of the Arabs, and they are all in league against us. The roads have become impassable so that our families are in want and privation, and we and our families are in great distress.’ Ka‘b answered, ‘By God, I kept telling you, O Ibn Salāma, that the things I warned you of would happen.’ Silkân said to him, ‘I want you to sell us food and we will give you a pledge of security and you deal generously in the matter.’ He replied, ‘Will you give me your sons as a pledge?’ He said, ‘You want to insult us. I have friends who share my opinion and I want to bring them to you so that you may sell to them and act generously, and we will give you enough weapons for a good pledge.’ Silkân’s object was that he should not take alarm at the sight of weapons when they brought them. Ka‘b answered, ‘Weapons are a good pledge.’ Thereupon Silkân returned to his companions, told them what had happened, and ordered them to take their arms, then they went away and assembled with him and met the apostle (576).
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Thaur b. Zayd from 'Ikrima from Ibn 'Abbās told me the apostle walked with them as far as Baq'ī 'l-Gharqad. Then he sent them off, saying, 'Go in God's name; O God help them.' So saying, he returned to his house. Now it was a moonlight night and they journeyed on until they came to his castle, and Abū Nā'īla called out to him. He had only recently married, and he jumped up in the bedsheet, and his wife took hold of the end of it and said, 'You are at war, and those who are at war do not go out at this hour.' He replied, 'It is Abū Nā'īla. Had he found me sleeping he would not have woken me.' She answered, 'By God, I can feel evil in his voice.' Ka'b answered, 'Even if the call were for a stab a brave man must answer it.' So he went down and talked to them for some time, while they conversed with him. Then Abū Nā'īla said, 'Would you like to walk with us to Shīb al-'Ājūz, so that we can talk for the rest of the night?' If you like,' he answered, so they went off walking together, and after a time Abū Nā'īla ran his hand through his hair. Then he smelt his hand, and said, 'I have never smelt a scent finer than this.' They walked on farther and he did the same so that Ka'b suspected no evil. Then after a space he did it for the third time, and cried, 'Smite the enemy of God!' So they smote him, and their swords clashed over him with no effect. Muhammad b. Maslama said, 'I remembered my dagger when I saw that our swords were useless, and I seized it. Meanwhile the enemy of God had made such a noise that every fort around us was showing a light. I thrust it into the lower part of his body, then I bore down upon it until I reached his genitals, and the enemy of God fell to the ground. Al-Hārith had been hurt, being wounded either in his head or in his foot, one of our swords having struck him. We went away, passing by the B. Umayya b. Zayd and then the B. Quraisy and then Bū'āth until we went up the Ḥarrā' al-'Urāyj.1 Our friend al-Hārith had lagged behind, weakened by loss of blood, so we waited for him for some time until he came up, following our tracks. We carried him and brought him to the apostle at the end of the night. We saluted him as he stood praying, and he came out to us, and we told him that we had killed God's enemy. He spat upon our comrades' wounds, and both he and we returned to our families. Our attack upon God's enemy cast terror among the Jews, and there was no Jew in Medina who did not fear for his life.'

Ka'b b. Malik said:

Of them Ka'b was left prostrate there
(After his fall al-Nadr were brought low).

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Sword in hand we cut him down
By Muhammad's order when he sent secretly by night
Ka'b's brother to go to Ka'b.
He beguiled him and brought him down with guile
Mahmūd was trustworthy, bold (577).

Hassān b. Thābit, mentioning the killing of Ka'b and of Sallām b. Abū'-Husayyq, said:

What a fine band you met, O Ibnu'-Husayyq,
And you too, Ibnu'-Ashraf,
Travelling by night with their light swords
Bold as lions in their jungle lair
Until they came to you in your quarter
And made you taste death with their deadly swords,
Seeking victory for the religion of their prophet
Counting their lives and wealth as nothing (578).

The Affair of Muḥayyīṣa and Ḥuwayyiṣa

The apostle said, 'Kill any Jew that falls into your power.' Thereupon Muḥayyīṣa b. Mas'ūd leapt upon Ibn Sunayna (579), a Jewish merchant with whom they had social and business relations, and killed him. Ḥuwayyiṣa was not a Muslim at the time though he was the elder brother. When Muḥayyīṣa killed him Ḥuwayyiṣa began to beat him, saying, 'You enemy of God, did you kill him when much of the fat on your belly comes from his wealth?' Muḥayyīṣa answered, 'Had the one who ordered me to kill him ordered me to kill you I would have cut your head off.' He said that this was the beginning of Ḥuwayyiṣa's acceptance of Islam. The other replied, 'By God, if Muhammad had ordered you to kill me would you have killed me?' He said, 'Yes, by God, had he ordered me to cut off your head I would have done so.' He exclaimed, 'By God, a religion which can bring you to this is marvellous!' and he became a Muslim.

I was told this story by a client of B. Hārīth from the daughter of Muḥayyīṣa from Muḥayyīṣa himself.

Muḥayyīṣa composed the following lines on the subject:

My mother's son blames me because if I were ordered to kill him
I would smite his nape with a sharp sword,
A blade white as salt from polishing.
My downward stroke never misses its mark.
It would not please me to kill you voluntarily
Though we owned all Arabia from north to south (580).

After his arrival from Baḥrān the apostle stopped for the months of the later Jumādā, Rajab, Shā'bān, and Ramaḍān (in Medina). Quraysh made the raid of Uḥud in Shawwāl, A.H. 3.
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THE BATTLE OF UHUD

I have pieced together the following story about the battle of Uhud, from what I was told by Muhammad b. Muslim al-Zuhri and Muhammad b. Yahyā b. Ḥijjān and 'Aṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah and Al-Husayn b. 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Mu'ādh and other learned traditions. One or the other, or all of them, is responsible for the following narrative. When the unbelieving Quraish met disaster at Badr and the survivors returned to Mecca and Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb had returned with his caravans, 'Abdullāh b. Abū Rabī'a and Ikrīma b. Abī Jahl and Sāfwān b. Umayyā walked with the men whose fathers, sons, and brothers had been killed at Badr, and they spoke to Abī Sufyān and those who had merchandise in that caravan, saying, 'Men of Quraish, Muhammad has wronged you and killed your best men, so help us with this money to fight him, so that we may hope to get our revenge for those we have lost,' and they did so.

A learned person told me that it was concerning them that God sent down:1 'Those who disbelieve spend their money to keep others from the way of God, and they will spend it, then they will suffer the loss of it, then they will be overcome, and those who disbelieve will be gathered to Hell.'

So Quraish gathered together to fight the apostle when Abū Sufyān did this, and the owners of the caravan, with their black troops, and such of the tribes of Kinānā as would obey them, and the people of the low country. Now Abū 'Azza al-Jumāḥî had been spared by the apostle at Badr because he was a poor man with a large family.2 He had been taken prisoner, and said, 'I am a poor man with a large family and great need, as you know, so spare me,' and the apostle let him go. Sāfwān said to him, 'Now, Abū 'Azza, you are a poet so help us with your tongue and go forth with us.' He replied, 'Muhammad spared me and I do not want to go against him.' He said, 'No, but help us with your presence, and God is my witness that if I return I will make you rich; and if you are killed I will treat your daughters as my own. What befalls mine, whether good or ill, shall befall yours.' So Abū 'Azza went through the low country calling the B. Kinānā and saying:

Listen, sons of 'Abdu Manāt, the steadfast,
You are stout warriors like your father,
Do not promise me your help a year hence,
Do not betray me, for betrayal is not right.3

Musāfi b. 'Abdu Manāt b. Wābb b. Ḥudhāfi b. Jumāḥ went out to the B. Mālik b. Kinānā stirring them up and calling them to fight the apostle, saying:

O Mālik, Mālik, foremost in honour,
I ask in the name of kindred and confederate,

1 Sira b. 37.
2 v.c. W. p. 471.
3 The sting is in the tail where islam is used in the sense of 'betrayal'.
stay in Medina, do not go out to them. We have never gone out to fight an enemy but we have met disaster, and none has come in against us without being defeated, so leave them where they are. If they stay, they stay in an evil predicament, and if they come in, the men will fight them and the women and children will throwstones on them from the walls, and if they retreat they will retreat low-spirited as they came.’ Those who wanted to fight Quraysh kept urging the apostle until he went into his house and put on his armour. That was on the Friday when he had finished prayers. On that day one of the Anṣār, Mālik b. ‘Amr one of the B. al-Najjār died, and the apostle prayed over him, and then went out to fight. Meanwhile the people had repented of their design, saying they thought they had persuaded the apostle against his will, which they had no right to do, so that when he went out to them they admitted that and said that if he wished to remain inside the city they would not oppose him. The apostle said, ‘It is not fitting that a prophet who has put on his armour should lay it aside until he has fought,’ so he marched out with a thousand of his companions (485), until when they reached al-Sha‘ar between Medina and Uhud, ‘AbdAllah b. Ubayy withdrew with a third of the men, saying, ‘He has obeyed them and disobeyed me. We do not know why we should lose our lives here, O men.’ So he returned with the waverers and doubters who followed him, and ‘AbdAllah b. ‘Amr b. Ḥārām, brother of the B. Salama, followed them, saying, ‘O people, I adjure you by God not to abandon your people and your prophet when the enemy is at hand.’ They replied, ‘If we knew that you would fight we would not abandon you, but we do not think that there will be a battle.’ So when they withstood him and persisted in withdrawing, he said, ‘May God curse you, you enemies of God, for God will make His prophet independent of you.’ Someone, not Ziyād, from Muhammad b. ʻIṣāq from al-Zuhrf, said that on that day the Anṣār said, ‘O apostle, should we not ask help from our allies, the Jews?’ He said, ‘We have no need of them.’ Ziyād said Muhammad b. Ḥāritha said to him that the apostle went his way until he passed through the harra of the B. Hāritha and a horse swished its tail and it caught the pommel of a sword so that it came out of its sheath (484). The apostle, who liked auguries, though he did not observe the flight of birds, said to the owner of the sword, ‘Sheath your sword, for I can see that swords will be drawn today.’

Then the apostle asked his companions whether anyone could take them near the Quraysh by a road which would not pass by them. Ḥabīb b. Khaṭṭib b. Hāritha, undertook to do so, and he took him through the harra of B. Hāritha and their property until he came out in the territory of Mirbā’b. Qayyīḥ who was a blind man, a disaffected person. When he perceived the approach of the apostle and his men he got up and threw dust in their faces saying, ‘You may be the apostle of God, but I won’t let you through my garden!’ I was told that he took a handful of dust and said, ‘By God, Muhammad, if I could be sure that I should not hit someone else I would throw it in your face.’ The people raised on him to kill him, and the apostle said, ‘Do not kill him, for this blind man is blind of heart, blind of sight.’ Sa‘d b. Zayd, brother of B. ‘Abdul’-Ashshāh, rushed at him before the apostle had forbidden this and hit him on the head with his bow so that he split it open.

The apostle went on until he came down the gorge of Uhud on the high ground of the wadi towards the mountain. He put his camels and army towards Uhud and said, ‘Let none of you fight until we give the word.’ Now Quraysh had let their camels and horses loose to pasture in some crops which were in al-Samgha, a part of Qanāt belonging to the Muslims. When the apostle had forbidden them to fight one of the Anṣār said, ‘Are the crops of the B. Qayla to be grazed on without our striking a blow?’ The apostle drew up his troops for battle, about 700 men. He put over the archers ‘AbdAllah b. Jubiyyr brother of B. ‘Amr b. ‘Auf who was distinguished that day by his white garments. There were 50 archers, and he said, ‘Keep the cavalry away from us with your arrows and let them not come on us from the rear whether the battle goes in our favour or against us; and keep your place so that we cannot be got at from your direction.’ The apostle then put on two coats of mail and delivered the standard to Mus‘ab b. ‘Umayr, brother of B. ‘Abdul’-Dār (485).

The Quraysh mustered their troops about 3,000 men with 200 horses which they had led along with them. Their cavalry on the left flank was commanded by Khalid b. al-Walid; and on the right by ‘Ikrima b. Abū Jahl.

[M. The apostle wore two coats of mail on the day of Uhud, and he took up a sword and brandished it saying] ‘Who will take this sword with its right?’ Some men got up to take it but he withheld it from them until Abū Dujānā Simāk b. Khaṭṭīḥ, brother of B. Sā‘īda, got up to take it. M. ‘Umar got up to take it, saying, ‘I will take it with its right,’ but the prophet turned away from him and brandished it a second time using the same words. Then al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awāsī got up and he too was rejected, and the two of them were much mortified. Then Abū Dujānā, 8c.] He asked, ‘What is its right, O Apostle of God?’ He answered, ‘That you should smite the enemy with it until they bend.’ When he said that he would take it with its right he gave it him. Now Abū Dujānā was a brave but conceited man in battle and whenever he put on this red turban of his, people knew that he was about to fight. When he took the sword from the apostle’s hand [he began to walk to the fight saying:

I’m the man who took the sword
When ‘Use it right’ was the prophet’s word.
For the sake of God, of all the Lord
Who doth to all their food afford.] And he began to strut up and down between the lines.

1 i.e. use it as it ought and deserves to be used.
Whenever he met one of the enemy he killed him. Now among the pagans there was a man who dispatched every man of ours he wounded. These two men began to draw near one to the other, and I prayed God that he would make them meet. They did meet and exchanged blows, and the polytheist struck at Abû Dujāna, who warded off the blow with his shield; his sword sank into the shield so that he could not withdraw it, and Abû Dujāna struck him and killed him. Then I saw him as his sword hovered over the head of Hind d. 'Utba. Then he turned it aside from her. Al-\n\nZubayr said, 'And I said, "God and His apostle know best."' Abû Dujāna said, 'I saw a person inciting the enemy, shouting violently, and I made for him, and when I lifted my sword against him, he shrieked, and lo, it was a woman; I respected the apostle's sword too much to use it on a woman.'\n
Hamza fought until he killed Arqā b. 'Abdu Shurahbîl b. Háshim b. 'Abdu Manâf b. 'Abdu'l-Dâr who was one of those who were carrying the standard. Then Sibā' b. 'Abdu'l-Uzza' al-Ghubshânî, who was known as Abû Ni'âr, passed by him, and Hamza said, 'Come here, you son of a female circumciser.' Now his mother was Um'm Anmar, freedwoman of Sharti b. 'Amr b. Wahb al-Thaqafi (586), a female circumciser in Mecca. When they closed Hamza smote him and killed him.\n
Wâshî, the slave of Jâbur b. Mu'âzam, said, 'By God, I was looking at Hamza while he was killing men with his sword, sparing none, like a huge camel, when Sibâ' came up to him before me, and Hamza said, 'Come here, you son of a female circumciser,' and he struck him a blow so swiftly that it seemed to miss his head. I poised my javelin until I was sure that it would hit the mark, and launched it at him. It pierced the lower part of his body and came out between his legs. He came on towards me, but collapsed and fell. I left him there until he died, when I came and recovered my javelin. Then I went off to the camp, for I had no business with anyone but him.'\n
'Abdullâh b. al-\n\n\n1 Lit. 'dust coloured'. Camels of this colour were unusually large so that the speaker never that Hamza towered over his opponents.

2 In M. (66) the verse given by I. L. 563 follows here.

3 Almost the same words were used by a woman of B. Ijl at the battle of Dhu Qâtâ. Cf. Naqa'îd, 641.
carpet, an old man like a bugāth (589). He was quite sober and normal. We saluted him, and he lifted his head to look at ‘Ubaydullah, and said, “Are you the son of ‘Adiy b. al-Khīyār?” and when he said he was, he said, “By God, I have not seen you since I handed you to your Sa‘dite mother, who nursed you in Dhi Ṭuwa.” I handed you to her when she was on her camel, and she clasped you round your body with her two hands. You kicked me with your feet when I lifted you up to her. By God, as soon as you stood in front of me I recognized them.” We sat down and told him that we had come to hear his account of how he killed ʿAmmâz. He said, “I will tell you as I told the apostle when he asked me about it. I was a slave of ʿAbdār b. Muṭʿīm, his uncle ʿUthmān b. ‘Adiy had been killed at Badr, and when Quraṣḥ set out for ʿUthmān, ʿAbdār b. Muṭʿīm told me that if I killed ʿAmmâz, Muhammad’s uncle, in revenge for his uncle, I should be free. So I went out with the army, a young Abyssinian, skillful like my countrymen in the use of the javelin—I hardly ever missed anything with it. When the fight began I went out to look carefully for ʿAmmâz, until I saw him in the midst of the army, like a great camel, slaying men with his sword, none being able to resist him, and by God, I was getting ready for him, making towards him and hiding myself behind trees or rocks so that he might come near me, when suddenly ʿṢibā’ got to him first, and when ʿAmmâz saw him, he said, “Come here, you son of a female circumsicer,” and struck him a blow so swiftly that it seemed to miss his head. I poised my javelin until I was sure that it would hit the mark and launched it at him. He pierced the lower part of his body and came out between his legs, and he began to stagger towards me. Then he collapsed, and I left him with the javelin until he died; then I came back and recovered my javelin, and returned to the camp and stayed there, for I had no further business, and my only object in killing him was that I might be freed. When I returned to Mecca I was freed and lived there until the apostle conquered Mecca, when I fled to al-Ṭā‘if, and stayed there for some time. Then the envoys of Ṭā‘iif went out to the apostle to surrender, I was in an impasse and thought that I would go to Syria or the Yaman, or any other country, and while I was in this anxiety a man said to me, “Good heavens, what is the matter? He does not kill anyone who enters his religion and pronounces the shahāda.” On hearing this I went out of the town to the apostle at Medina, and the first thing to surprise him was to see me standing at his head, witnessing to the truth of God and His apostle. When he saw me, he said, “Is it Wahshi?” “Yes, O apostle of God,” I said. He replied, “Sit down and tell me how you killed ʿAmmâz.” So I told him as I have told you. When I had finished speaking, he said, “Woe to you, hide your face from me and never let me see you again.” So I used to avoid the apostle wherever he was so that he should not see me, until God took him.

1 A place in Mecca.
2 Or, perhaps, ‘Your feet looked shiny to me’. In what respect this person’s feet were in normal is not indicated.
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Ibn Sha'ūb, mentioning the way he helped Ābu Sufyān and defended him, said:

Had I not been there and defended you, Ibn Ḥarb,
You would have been left speechless for ever at the mountain foot.

Al-Ḥārith b. Ḥishām, answering Ābu Sufyān, said:

Had I not brought my horse back there,
Hyenas or jackals would have devoured your flesh (594).

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Hyenas or jackals would have devoured your flesh (594).

Hassān b. Thābit said about that:

You boasted of your flag, the worst (ground for) boasting
Is a flag handed over to Šu‘āb.
You have made a slave your boast,
The most miserable creature that walks the earth.
You supposed (and only a fool so thinks,
For it is anything but the truth)
That fighting us the day we met
Was like your selling red leather sacks in Mecca.
It gladdened the eye to see his hands reddened,
Though they were not reddened by dye (597).
Hassān also said about 'Amra and her raising the standard:

When 'Adal were driven to us
They were like fawns of Shirk.1
With strongly marked eyebrows,
We attacked them thrusting, slaying, chastising,
Driving them before us with blows on every side.
Had not the Hārithite woman seized their standard
They would have been sold in the markets like chattels.

The Muslims were put to flight and the enemy slew many of them. It was a day of trial and testing in which God honoured several with martyrdom, until the enemy got at the apostle who was hit with a stone so that he fell on his side and one of his teeth was smashed, his face scored, and his lip injured. The man who wounded him was 'Utbah b. Abū Waqqas. Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl told me from Anās b. Mālik: The prophet's incisor was broken on the day of Uhud and his face was scored. The blood began to run down his face and he began to wipe it away, saying as the while, 'How can a people prosper who have stained their prophet's face with blood while he summoned them to their Lord?' So God revealed concerning that: 'It is not your affair whether He relents towards them or punishes them, for they are wrongdoers.'2 (598)

Hassān b. Thābit said of 'Utbah:

When God recompenses a people for their deeds
And the Rāḥūmān punishes them3
May my Lord disgrace you, 'Uṭayba b. Mālik,
And bring you a deadly punishment before you die.
You stretched out your hand with evil intent against the prophet,
You blooded his mouth. May your hand be cut off!
Did you forget God and the apostle, as he once said:
When the final misfortune overtakes you! (599)

According to what al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Mu'ādh told me on the authority of Mahmūd b. 'Amr, when the enemy hemmed him in, the apostle said: 'Who will sell his life for us?' and Ziyād b. al-Sakan with five of the Anṣār arose. (Others say it was 'Umāra b. Yazid b. al-Sakan.) They fought in defence of the apostle man after man, all being killed until only Ziyād (or 'Umāra) was left fighting until he was disabled. At that point a number of the Muslims returned and drove the enemy away from him. The apostle ordered them to bring him to him and made his foot a support for his head and he died with his face on the apostle's foot. (600)

1 A.Dh. gives the forms Shurk and Shirk. Yaqūt gives Sherk as the name of a place in the Hijaz and Shirk as the name of a waterhole on the other side of the mountain of al-Quraydah in Asad territory. 'Adal is a tribe of Khuzayma.
2 Sūra 5, 123.
3 Reading sayfarratum with C.
answered, ‘He said to me in Mecca that he would kill me, and, by God, if he had spat on me he would have killed me.’ The enemy of God died in Sarif as they were taking him back to Mecca.

In reference to that Ḥassān b. Thābit said:

Ubayy showed the disbelief inherited from his father
The day the apostle met him in battle.
You came to him carrying a moulder bone
And threatened him, ignorant of his office.
Banū-Najār killed Umayya from among you
When he called on ‘Aqīl for help.
Rabī‘a’s two sons perished when they obeyed Abū Jahl,
Their mother became childless.
Hārith escaped when we were busy taking prisoners.
To capture him was not worth while (604).1

Ḥassān b. Thābit also said:

Who will give a message from me to Ubayy?
You have been cast into the nethermost hell;
Long have you pursued error,
Sworn vows that you would win.
Long have you indulged in such hopes,
But unbelief leads to disappointment.
A thrust from an angry warrior found you
One of a noble house, no miscreant.
Who surpasses all other creatures
When misfortunes befall.

When the apostle reached the mouth of the glen ‘Ali came out and filled his shield with water from al-Mihrās2 and brought it to the apostle, who refused to drink it because its evil smell repelled him. However, he used the water to wash the blood from his face and as he poured it over his head he said: ‘The wrath of God is fierce against him who blooded the face of His prophet.’

Sāliḥ b. Kaysān told me from an informant who got it from Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqās that the latter used to say: ‘I was never more eager to kill anyone than I was to kill ‘Utba b. Abī Waqqās; he was, as I know, of evil character and hated among his people. It was enough for me (to hate him) that the apostle should say, “The wrath of God is fierce against him who blooded the face of His prophet”.’

While the apostle was in the glen with a number of his companions suddenly a troop of Quraysh came up the mountain (605). The apostle said, ‘O God, it is not fitting that they should be above us,’ so ‘Umar

and a number of emigrants fought until they drove them down the mountain.

The apostle made for a rock on the mountain to climb it. He had become heavy by reason of his age, and moreover he had put on two coats of mail, so when he tried to get up he could not do so. Ṭalḥa b. ‘Ubaydullah squatted beneath him and lifted him up until he settled comfortably upon it. Yahyā b. ‘Abdūl b. ‘Abdullāh al-Zubayr from his father from ‘Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr from al-Zubayr said: ‘That day I heard the apostle saying ‘Ṭalḥa earned paradise when he did what he did for the apostle (606).’”

The army had fled away from the apostle until some of them went as far as al-Munaqqā near al-A‘was.3 ‘Aṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda from Maḥmūd b. Lābūd told me that when the apostle went out to Ḫusayl b. Jābir, who was al-Yāmān Abū Ḫudhayfah b. al-Yāmān, and Thābit b. Waqqh were sent up into the forts with the women and children. They were both old men and one said to the other, ‘What are you waiting for, confound you? Neither of us will live much longer.’ We are certain to die today or tomorrow, so let us take our swords and join the apostle. Perhaps God will grant us martyrdom with him.’ So they took their swords and sallied out until they mingled with the army. No one knew anything about them. Thābit was killed by the polytheists and Ḫusayl by the swords of the Muslims, who killed him without recognizing him. Ḫudhayfah said, ‘It is my father.’ They said, ‘By God, we did not know him,’ and they spoke the truth. Ḫudhayfah said, ‘May God forgive you, for He is most compassionate.’ The apostle wanted to pay his blood-money, but Ḫudhayfah gave it as alms to the Muslims and that increased his favour with the apostle.

‘Aṣim also told me that a man called Ḥāṭib b. Umayya b. Rāfī, who had a son called Yazid, was grievously wounded at Ḫud and was brought to his people’s settlement at the point of death. His kinmen gathered round and the men and women began to say to him, ‘Good news of the garden (of paradise), O son of Ḥāṭib.’ Now Ḥāṭib was an old man who had lived long in the heathen period and his hypocrisy appeared then, for he said, ‘What good news do you give him? Of a garden of rue?’ By God, you have robbed this man of his life by your deception (and brought great sorrow on me.’ Ṭab.);

‘Aṣim told me: “There was a man among us, a stranger of unknown origin called Quzzān. The apostle used to say when he was mentioned, ‘He belongs to the people of hell.’ On the day of Ḫud he fought fiercely and killed seven or eight polytheists single-handed, he being a stout warrior. He was disabled by wounds and carried to the quarter of B. Zādār. The Muslims began to say to him, “You have done gallantly, Quzzān, be of good cheer!” “Why should I,” he said, “I only fought for the honour of my people; but for that I should not have fought.” And when

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1 Reading arratuṭuḥu for awarzuṭuḥu (so Dr. Arafat).
2 According to some commentators this is the name of a well at Ḫud. The word ṭuḥuṭ can mean a stone trough beside a well.
3 A place near Medina.
4 Only as long as a donkey’s drink.
5 According to some commentaries this is the name of a well at Ḫud. The word ṭuḥuṭ can mean a stone trough beside a well.
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the pain of his wounds became unbearable he took an arrow from his quiver, (T. cut the veins of his wrist, and bled to death. When the apostle was told of this he said "I testify that I am truly God's apostle").

Among those killed at Ubd was (T. the Jew) Mukhayrīq who was one of the B. Th'labāb b. al-Fīyūn. On that day he addressed the Jews saying: "You know that it is your duty to help Muhammad," and when they replied that it was the Sabbath day, he said, "You have no Sabbath," and taking his sword and accoutrements, he said that if he slan his property was to go to Muhammad, who could deal with it as he liked. Then he joined the apostle and fought with him until he was killed. I have heard that the apostle said, "Mukhayrīq is the best of the Jews." 579

Al-Hārith b. Suwayd b. Ǧānim was a hypocrite. He went out with the Muslims to Ubd, and when the armies met he attacked al-Mujāhidh b. Dhiyād b. al-Balāwī and Qays b. Zayd, one of the B. Dhu'bāy'a, and killed them. Then he joined the Quraysh in Mecca. Now the apostle, as they say, had ordered 'Umar to kill him if he got the better of him, but he escaped him and was in Mecca. Then he sent to his brother al-Julāa desiring forgiveness so that he might return to his people, and God sent down concerning him, as I have heard on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās: 'How can God guide a people who have disbelieved after their belief, and after that they have testified that the apostle is true and proofs have been given to them. God will not guide an evil people' to the end of the passage (607).

Mu'ādh b. 'Āfā had killed Suwayd b. al-Ǧānim treacherously in some other battle. He shot him with an arrow and killed him before the day of Bu'āth. 580

Al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abdūl-Raḥmān b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Mu'ādh from Abū Sufyān client of Ibn Abū Aḥmad from Abū Hurayra said that he used to say: "Tell me about a man who entered paradise never having prayed in his life," and when the people did not know, they asked him who it was and he said, 'Uṣayrim of the B. 'Abdūl-Aṣḥal, 'Amr b. Ṭhābit b. Waqq. Al-Ḥusayn asked Mahmūd b. Asad what were the facts of Uṣayrim, and he replied that in spite of his people he had refused to accept Islam, but on the day that the apostle marched out to Ubd he accepted it. He took his sword, plunged into the heart of the battle, and fought until he was overcome by wounds. While the B. 'Abdūl-Aṣḥal were looking for their dead in the battle suddenly they came upon him and marvelled that he should be there when they had left him showing his dislike for Islam. They asked

For the words in brackets I. I. has merely 'and killed himself with it'.

This is a repetition of what I. I. said on p. 356: Mu'ādh killed Suwayd b. al-Ǧānim before Islam. Here he has said that Suwayd's son killed al-Mujāhidh b. Qays treacherously at Ubd as he said on p. 326. Both here and on p. 356 I. I. agrees that Suwayd's son killed al-Mujāhidh and denies that he killed Qays, giving as a proof the fact that I. I. does not mention him among those slain at Ubd. He further asserts that al-Mujāhidh had killed Suwayd before Islam. The emphasis in which I. I. states that Mu'ādh killed him (object before subject) would seem to indicate that I. I. knew of the rival story repeated by I. I. but stuck to his guns.

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him what had brought him, whether it was concern for his people or goodwill towards Islam. He replied that it was the latter. 'I believe in God and His apostle and became a Muslim. Then I took my sword and fought with the apostle until I met the fate you see.' Soon afterwards he died in their hands. When they mentioned him to the apostle he said, 'Verily, he belongs to the people of paradise.'

My father Ḥishāq from shaykhs of the B. Salama told me that 'Amr b. al-Jamīzh was a man who was very lame. He had four lion-like sons who were present at the apostle's battles. On the day of Ubd they wanted to detain him, saying that God had excused him. He came to the apostle and told him that his sons wanted to keep him back and prevent his joining the army. 'Yet by God, I hope to tread the heavenly garden despite my lameness.' The apostle said, 'God has excused you, and jihād is not incumbent on you,' and to his sons he said, 'You need not prevent him; perhaps God will favour him with martyrdom,' so he went along with him and was killed at Ubd.

According to what Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān told me, Hind d. Uthā and the women with her stopped to mutilate the apostle's dead companions. They cut off their ears and noses and Hind made them into anklets and collars and gave her anklets and collars and pendants to Waṣḥi, the slave of Jūbār b. Mu'am. She cut out Ḥamza's liver and chewed it, but she was not able to swallow it and threw it away. Then she mounted a high rock and shrieked at the top of her voice:

We have paid you back for Badr
And a war that follows a war is always violent.
I could not bear the loss of 'Uthba
Nor my brother and his uncle and my first-born.
I have slated my vengeance and fulfilled my vow.
You, O Waṣḥi, have assuaged the burning in my breast.
I shall thank Waṣḥi as long as I live.
Until my bones rot in the grave.

Hind d. Uthātha b. 'Abbad b. al-Muṭṭalib answered her:

You were disgraced at Badr and after Badr,
O daughter of a despicable man, great only in disbelief.
God brought on you in the early dawn
Tall and white-skinned men from Ḥāshim,
Everyone slashing with his sharp sword:
Hamza my lion and 'Ali my falcon.
When Shayba and your father planned to attack me
They reddened their breasts with blood.
Your evil vow was the worst of vows (608).

1 This seems to be a survival of prehistoric animism. By devouring an enemy's liver it was hoped to absorb his strength.
Hind d. 'Utba also said:

I slaked my vengeance on Ḥamza at Uḥud.
I split his belly to get at his liver.
This took from me what I had felt
Of burning sorrow and exceeding pain.
War will hit you exceeding hard
Coming upon you as lions advance.

Salāḥ b. Kaisān told me that he was told that 'Umar said to Ḥassān, 'O Ibn al-Furay'a (609), I wish you had heard what Hind said and seen her arrogance as she stood upon a rock uttering her taunts against us, reminding us of what she had done to Ḥamza.' Ḥassān replied, 'I was looking at the lance as it fell, while I was on the top of Fārī'—meaning his fort—and I realized that it was not one of the weapons of the Arabs. It seemed to me as though it was directed at Ḥamza, but I was not sure. But recite me some of her verse: I will rid you of her.' So 'Umar quoted some of what she said and Ḥassān said:

The vile woman was insolent; her habits were vile;
Seeing that disbelief accompanied her insolence (610).

Al-Hulays b. Zabbān, brother of the B. al-Hāʾirīth b. 'Abdu Manāt, who was then chief of the black troops, passed by Abū Sufyān as he was striking the side of Ḥamza’s mouth with the point of his spear saying, ‘Taste that, you rebel.’ Hulays exclaimed, ‘O B. Kināna, is this the chief of Quraysh acting thus with his dead cousin as you see?’ He said, ‘Confound you. Keep the matter quiet, for it was a slip.’

When Abū Sufyān wanted to leave he went to the top of the mountain and shouted loudly saying, ‘You have done a fine work; victory in war goes by turns. Today in exchange for the day (T. of Badr). Show your superiority, Hubal,’ i.e. vindicate your religion. The apostle told ‘Umar to get up and answer him and say, ‘God is most high and most glorious. We are not equal. Our dead are in paradise; your dead in hell.’ At this answer Abū Sufyān said to ‘Umar, ‘Come here to me.’ The apostle told him to go and see what he was up to. When he came Abū Sufyān said, ‘I adjure thee by God, ‘Umar, have we killed Muhammad?’ ‘By God, you have not, he is listening to what you are saying now,’ he replied. He said, ‘I regard you as more truthful and reliable than Ibn Qami’a,’ referring to the latter’s claim that he had killed Muhammad (611).

Then Abū Sufyān called out, ‘There are some mutilated bodies among your dead. By God, it gives me no satisfaction, and no anger. I neither prohibited nor ordered mutilation.’ When Abū Sufyān and his companions went away he called out, ‘Your meeting-place is Badr next year.’ The apostle told one of his companions to say, ‘Yes, it is an appointment between us.’

Then the apostle sent ‘Ali to follow the army and see what they were doing and what their intentions were. If they were leading their horses and riding their camels they would be making for Mecca; but if they were riding the horses and driving the camels they would be making for Medina.

By God,’ said he, ‘if they make for Medina I will go to them there. Then I will fight them.’ ‘Ali said that he followed their tracks and saw what they were doing. They were leading their horses, riding their camels and going towards Mecca. (T. The apostle had said ‘Whatever they do, keep silent about it until you come to me.’ When I saw they had set out for Mecca I came back shouting. I could not hide the fact as the apostle had ordered me because of my joy at seeing them going to Mecca and thus avoiding Medina.)

The people searched for their dead, and the apostle said, according to what Muhammad b. ‘Abdu’l-Rahmān b. Abī Sa’āda al-Māzini, brother of the B. al-Najjar told me, ‘Who will find out for me what has happened to Sa’d b. al-Rabī’? Is he alive or among the dead?’ One of the Ansār volunteered and found him lying wounded among the slain, at the point of death. He told him that the apostle had ordered him to see if he was alive or among the dead. He said, ‘I am among the dead. Convey my greetings to the apostle and say: “Sa’d says to you ‘May God reward you by us better than he has rewarded any prophet by his people,’” and give your people a greeting from me and say “You have no excuse with God if anything has happened to your prophet while you can flutter an eyelid,”’ and straightway he died. He said: ‘I came to the apostle and delivered his message’ (612).

I have been told that the apostle went out seeking Ḥamza and found him at the bottom of the valley with his belly ripped up and his liver missing, and his nose and ears cut off. Muhammad b. Ja’far b. al-Zubayr told me that when he saw this the apostle said: ‘Were it not that Saṭīya would be miserable and it might become a custom after me! I would leave him as he is, so that his body might find its way into the bellies of beasts and the crops of birds. If God gives me victory over Quraysh in the future I will mutilate 30 of their men.’ When the Muslims saw the apostle’s grief and anger against those who had thus treated his uncle, they said, ‘By God, if God gives us victory over them in the future we will mutilate them as no Arab has ever mutilated anyone’ (613).

Buraq b. Sufyān b. Farwa al-Aslāmī from Muhammad b. Ka’h al-Naṣrī, and a man I have no reason to suspect from Ibn ‘Abbās told me that God sent down concerning the words of the apostle and his companions: ‘If you punish, then punish as you have been punished. If you endure patiently that is better for the patient. Endure thou patiently. Thy endurance is only in God. Grieve not for them, and be not in distress at what they plot.’ So the apostle pardoned them and was patient and

This hadith, if it is trustworthy, indicates that the prophet was aware that his every word would form a precedent for future generations. However, it is possible that the four words in the Arabic text have been added.

2 Sūra 16, 107.
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forbade mutilation. Ḥumayd al-Tawīl from al-Ḥasan from Samurah b. Jundub told me: ‘The apostle never stopped in a place and left it without enjoining on us almsgiving and forbidding mutilation.’

One day I do not suspect from Miqṣam, a client of ‘Abdullah b. al-Ḥārith from Ibn ‘Abbās, told me that the apostle ordered that Ḥamza should be wrapped in a mantle; then he prayed over him and said ‘Allah Akbar’ seven times. Then the dead were brought and placed beside Ḥamza and he prayed over them all until he had prayed seventy-two prayers.

According to what I have been told Saffīya d. ‘Abdullāh-Muṭṭalib came forward to look at him. He was her full-brother and the apostle said to her: son, al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awāím, ‘Go to meet her and take her back so that she does not see what has happened to her brother.’ He said to her, ‘Mother, the apostle orders you to go back.’ She said, ‘Why? I have heard that my brother has been mutilated and that for God’s sake [T. is a small thing]. He has fully reconciled us to what has happened. I will be calm and patient if God will.’ When Zubayr returned to the prophet and reported this to him he told him to leave her alone; so she came and looked at Ḥamza and prayed over him and said, ‘We belong to God and to God do we return,’ and she asked God’s forgiveness for him. Then the apostle ordered that she be buried. The family of ‘Abdullah b. jaḥṣ, who was the son of Umayma d. ‘Abdullāh- Muṭṭalib, Ĥamza being his maternal uncle, and he having been mutilated in the same way as Ḥamza except that his liver had not been taken out, asserted that the apostle buried him in the same grave with Ḥamza; but I heard that story only from his family.

Now some Muslims had carried their dead to Medina and buried them there. The apostle forbade this and told them to bury them where they lay. Muhammad b. Muslim al-Zuhri from ‘Abdullāh b. Tha’labah b. ‘Awāyir al-‘Udhri, an ally of the B. Zuhra, told me that the apostle said when he looked down on the slain at Uḥud: ‘I testify concerning these that there is none wounded for God’s sake but God will raise him on the resurrection day with his wounds bleeding, the colour that of blood, the smell like musk; look for the one who has collected most of the Quran and put him in front of his companions in the grave.’ They were burying two and three in one grave.

My uncle Muṣlib b. Ḥasyir told me that he heard Abū Ḥuṣayn say: Abū-Qāsim said: ‘There is none wounded for God’s sake but God will raise him on the resurrection day with his wounds bleeding, the colour that of blood, the smell like musk.’

My father Iṣḥāq b. Ḥasyir told me on the authority of ashaykhīs of the B. Salama that when the apostle ordered the dead to be buried he said, ‘Look out for ‘Amr b. al-Jaňūḥ and ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Amr b. Ḥarām; they were close friends in this world, so put them in one grave.’ (T). When Mu’awīya dug the canal and they were exhumed they were as free from rigor mortis 1 as though buried but yesterday.) Then the apostle went back on his way to Medina and there met him ʿAbbās d. Jaḥṣ, so I have been told. As she met the army she was told of the death of her brother ‘Abdullah and she exclaimed, ‘We belong to God and to God we return,’ and asked forgiveness for him. Then she was told of the death of her maternal uncle Ḥamza, and uttered the same words. Then she was told of the death of her husband Muṣlib b. ʿUmar and she shrieked and waited. The apostle said: ‘The woman’s husband holds a special place with her, as you can see from her self-control at the death of her brother and uncle and her shrieking over her husband.’

The apostle passed by one of the settlements of the Ṭanṯūr b. ʿAbdullāh-Asḥal and ʿZafar and he heard the sound of weeping and wailing over the dead. The apostle’s eyes filled with tears and he wept and said, ‘But there are no weeping women for Ḥamza.’ When Sa’d b. Mu‘āth and ʿUsayd b. Ḥujayr came back to the quarter, they ordered their women to gird themselves and go and weep for the apostle’s uncle. ʿĀkīn b. ʿĀkīn b. ʿAbbās b. Ḥunayf from a man of the B. ‘Abdullāh-Asḥal told me: ‘When the apostle heard their weeping over Ḥamza at the door of his mosque he said “Go home; may God have mercy on you; you have been a real help by your presence”’ (614).

‘Abdullāh-Wāziḥ b. Abū ‘Aun from Ibn ‘Abbās from Sa’d b. Abū Waqas told me that the apostle passed by a woman of the B. Dinār whose husband, brother, and father had been killed at Uḥud, and when she was told of their death she asked what had happened to the apostle, and when they replied that thanks to God he was safe, she asked that she might see him for herself. When he was pointed out to her she said, ‘Every misfortune now that you are safe is negligible’ (using the word jalal in the sense of ‘small’) (615).

When the apostle rejoined his family he handed his sword to his daughter ʿĀṣima, saying, ‘Wash the blood from this, daughter, for by God it has served me well today.’ ‘Ali also handed her his sword and said, ‘This one too, wash the blood from it, for by God it has served me well today.’ The apostle said, ‘If you have fought well, Saḥil b. Ḥunayf and Abū Dujāna fought well with you’ (616).

The battle was fought on the sabbath in mid-Shawwal; 2 and on the morning of Sunday the 16th of the month the apostle’s crier called to the men to go in pursuit of the enemy and announced that none should go out with us unless he had been present at the battle on the preceding day. Jibār b. ‘Abdullāh b. Amr b. Ḥarām said, ‘O apostle of God, my father left me behind to look after my seven sisters, saying that it was not right for us both to leave the women without a man and that he was not one to give me the precedence in fighting with the apostle. So I stayed behind to look after them.’ The apostle gave him permission to go and he went out with him. The apostle merely marched out as a demonstration against the

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1 In W, this sentence is ascribed to I.H. Ṭab. supports C. Cf. p. 1427.

2 i.e. Muhammad.
enemy to let them know that he was pursuing them so that they might think he was in strength, and that their losses had not weakened them.

Abdullah b. Khārija b. Zayd b. Thābit from Abū-l-Sa‘ib, a freed slave of ‘Āisha d. ‘Uthmān, told me that one of the apostle’s companions from the B. ‘Abdul-Asghal who had been present at Uḥud said, ‘I and one of my brothers were present at Uḥud and we came back wounded. When the apostle’s crier announced that we must pursue the enemy, I said to my brother or he said to me, ‘Are we going to stay away from an expedition with the apostle? We have no beast to ride and are severely wounded.’ However, we marched out with the apostle and since my wound was less severe, when he was enfeebled I put him on the beast for a time and we walked and rode turn and turn about until we came up to where the Muslims had halted.’

The apostle went as far as Ḥarrā‘ul-Asad, about eight miles from Medina (617). He stayed the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, and then returned to Medina.

Abdullah b. Abū Bakr told me that Ma‘bad b. Abū Ma‘bad al-Khuzā‘i passed by him. The Khuzā‘i, both their Muslims and polytheists, were confidants of the apostle in Thā‘ama, they having agreed that they would not conceal from him anything that happened there. Now at this time Ma‘bad was a polytheist and he said, ‘Muhammad, we are distressed at what has happened to you [Ṭ. with your companions] and we wish that God would preserve you among them.’ Then he went out while the apostle was in Ḥarrā‘ul-Asad until he met Abū Sufyān and his men in al-Ra‘ifa when they had determined to come back to the apostle and his companions. They said, ‘We have killed the best of his companions, their leaders and their nobles. Shall we then go back before we have exterminated them? Let us return to the survivors and make an end of them.’ When Abū Sufyān saw Ma‘bad he said, ‘What is the news?’ He replied, ‘Muhammad has come out with his companions to pursue you with an army whose like I have never seen, burning with anger against you. Those who stayed behind when you fought them have joined him; they are sorry for what they did and are violently enraged against you. Never have I seen anything like it.’ He said, ‘Confound you, what are you saying?’ He answered, ‘By God, I do not think that you will move off before you see the forelocks of the cavalry.’ He replied, ‘But we have determined to attack them to exterminate their survivors.’ He answered, ‘But I would advise against that. What I saw induced me to utter some verses about them.’ When he asked what they were, he recited:

My mount almost fell with fright at the clamour
When the ground flowed with troops of horse
Hastening with noble lion-like warriors
Eager for the fray; firm in the saddle: fully armed.

T. 1429

Abū Muhammad ‘Abdul-Malik b. Hishām told us from Ziyād b. ‘Abdul-‘Abd al-Bakka‘i that Muhammad b. Iṣḥāq al-Muṭṭalib: There are sixty
verses in "The Family of Imran" which God sent down concerning the
day of Uhud in which there is a description of what happened on that day
and the blame of those who murdered His rebeuke.

God said to His prophet: 'And when you went forth early from your
family you assigned to the believers positions for the fighting, God hearing
(and) knowing' (619). 'Hearing' what you said; 'knowing' about what you
were concealing.

'When two parties of you thought they would fail,' i.e. of deserting; and
the two parties were the B. Salama b. Jusham b. al-Khazzraj and the B.
Haritha b. al-Nabiz of al-Aus, being the two wings.

God said: 'And God was their friend,' i.e. God protected them from the
cowardice they meditated because it was only the result of weakness and
feebleness which overcame them, not doubt in their religion, so He thus;
that from them in His mercy and pardon so that they were saved from
their weakness and feebleness and stuck to their prophet (620).

God said: 'Upon God let the believers rely,' i.e. the believer who is
weak let him rely on Me and ask My help. I will help him in his affair and
protect him until I bring him to his appointed time of life and ward off evil
from him and strengthen him in his purpose.

'God helped you at Badr when you were contemptible, so fear God that
you may be thankful,' i.e. fear Me, for that is gratitude for My kindness.

'God helped you at Badr' when your numbers and strength were inferior
when thou didst say to the believers: 'Is it not enough for you that your
Lord reinforced you with three thousand angels sent down? Nay, if you are
steadfast and fear God and they come on you suddenly your Lord will
reinforce you with five thousand angels clearly marked,' i.e. if you are stead-
fast against my enemy and obey My command and they come on you reck-
lessly I will reinforce you with five thousand angels clearly marked (621).

'God did this only as good news for you that your hearts might be at
rest therein. Victory comes only from God, the Mighty the Wise,' i.e. I
mentioned the armies of My angels only as good news for you and that
your hearts might be at rest therein, because I know your weakness and
victory comes only from Me because of My sovereignty and power for the
reason that power and authority belong to Me, not to any one of My
creatures.

Then He said: 'That He may cut off a part of those who disbelieve or
overturn them so that they retire disappointed,' i.e. to cut off a part of the
polytheists in a fight in which He will take vengeance on them or drive
them back in chagrin, i.e. that those who survive may retreat as frustrated
fugitives having achieved nothing that they hoped to attain (622).

Then He said to Muhammad the apostle of God: 'It is not your affair
whether He changes His attitude to them or punishes them, for they are
evil doers,' i.e. you have no concern with My judgement of My slaves except
in so far as I give you orders concerning them or I change towards them

1 Sura 3, 117 f.

Then He said: 'O ye who believe, Take not usury, doubling and quadd-
rupling,' i.e. Do not devour in Islam, to which God has now guided you,
what you used to devour when you followed another religion; such is not
permitted to you in your religion. 'And fear God, haply you may be pro-
nersous', i.e. So obey God, perhaps you may escape from His punishment
of which He has warned you, and attain His reward which He has made
you desire. 'And fear the fire which is prepared for the disbelievers,' i.e.
which has been made a dwelling for those who disbelieve in Me.

Then He said: 'And obey God and the apostle, haply you will attain
mercy' reproaching those who disobeyed the apostle in the orders he gave
them that day and at other times. 'Then He said: 'And vie with one
another for forgiveness from your Lord and a garden as wide as the
heavens and the earth prepared for those who fear (God),' i.e. a dwelling
for those who obey Me and obey My apostle. 'Those who spend (their
money) in ease and adversity and who control their wrath and are forgiving
to men, for God loves those who do well,' i.e. that is well doing and I love
those who act thus. 'And those who when they act unseemly or wrong
themselves, remember God and ask forgiveness for their sins—and who
forges sins but God?—and have not persisted in their actions knowingly,'
i.e. if they have acted unseemly or wronged themselves by disobedience,
they remember God's prohibition and what He has declared evil, and ask
forgiveness, knowing that none can forgive sins but He. 'And have not
persisted in their actions knowingly,' i.e. have not continued to disobey Me
like those who associate others with Me in the extravagance of their dis-
belief while they know that I have prohibited the worship of any but Myself.
The reward of such is forgiveness from their Lord and gardens beneath
which run rivers, in which they will abide for ever—a fine reward
for workers,' i.e. the reward of the obedient.

Then He mentioned the catastrophe which befell them and the mis-
fortune which came upon them and the trial (of the faith) that was in them
and His choice of martyrs from among them, and He said comforting them
and telling them of what they had done and what He was about to do with
them: 'Examples have been made before your time, so go through the land
and see the nature of the punishment of those who called (apostles) liars,'
i.e. vengeance came from me upon those who gave the lie to My apostles
and associated others with Me (such as) 'Ad and Thamûd and the people
of Lot and the men of Midian and they saw what I did to them and to those
in like ease with them, for I was forbearing to them purely for the reason
that they should not think that My vengeance was cut off from your enemy

1 Or, 'in spite of'.
2 v. 125, lit. 'devour not'.
The Life of Muhammad

and mine in the time in which I let them get the better of you to test you thereby to show you your true selves.

Then He said: ‘This is a plain statement to men and guidance and admonition to those that fear God,’ i.e. this is an explanation to men if they receive guidance; ‘and guidance and admonition,’ i.e. light and disciplining to those who fear,’ i.e. to those who obey Me and know My commandment; ‘and do not wax faint or be sad,’ i.e. do not become weak and despair at what has befallen you ‘you being the superiors,’ i.e. you will have the victory ‘if you believe,’ i.e. if you had believed in what My prophets brought from Me. ‘If you have received a shock the (Meccan) army received a shock likewise,’ i.e. wounds like yours. ‘These are days which We alternate among men,’ i.e. we change them among men for trial and search; ‘and that God may know those who believe and may choose martyrs from among you, and God loves not wrongdoers,’ i.e. to distinguish between believers and hypocrites and to honour some of the faithful with martyrdom. ‘And God loves not wrongdoers,’ i.e. the hypocrites who profess obedience with their tongues while their hearts are firm in disobedience; ‘and that God may try those who believe,’ i.e. put to the test those who believe, so that He may purify them by the misfortune which came upon them, and their constancy and certainty; ‘and confound the disbelievers,’ i.e. bring to naught what the hypocrites say with their tongues that is not in their hearts until He brings to light their disbelief which they are concealing.

Then He said: ‘Or do you think that you will enter the garden when God does not yet know those of you who are energetic and steadfast?’ i.e. Do you think that you will enter the garden and receive the honour of My reward when I have not tested you with hardship and tried you with misfortune so that I may know your loyalty by faith in Me and steadfastness in what has befallen you through Me? ‘And you used to wish’ for martyrdom when you were in the way of truth before you met your enemy. It means those who urged the apostle to take them out against their enemy because they had not been present at the battle of Badr before that and longing for the martyrdom which they had escaped there. He said: ‘And you used to wish for death before you met it.’ He says: ‘Now you have seen it with your eyes’ i.e. death by swords in the hands of men with nothing between you and them while you looked on. Then He kept them back from you. ‘And Muhammad is nothing but an apostle; apostles have passed away before him. Will it be that if he dies or is killed you will turn back on your heels? He who so turns back will not harm God at all, and God will reward the thankful’ in reference to the men saying ‘Muhammad has been killed’ and their flight thereat and breaking away from their enemy. ‘Will it be if he dies or is killed’ you will go back from your religion disbelievers as you once were and abandon the fight with your enemy, and God’s book, and what His prophet will have left behind of his religion with you and in your possession when he has explained to you what he brought from Me to you that he would die and leave you? ‘And he who so turns back,’ i.e. turns back from his religion ‘will not harm God at all,’ i.e. he will not diminish His glory and kingdom and sovereignty and power. ‘And God will reward the thankful,’ i.e. those who obey Him and do what He has commanded.

‘And no soul can die but by God’s permission in a term that is written,’ i.e. Muhammad has a fixed time which he will attain and when God gives permission in regard to that it will happen. ‘And he who desires the reward of this world We will give him it; and he who desires the reward of the next world We will give him it and We shall reward the thankful,’ i.e. he of you who desires this world having no desire for the next We will give him his allotted portion of sustenance and nothing more and he has no share in the next world; and he who desires the reward of the next world We will give him what he has been promised together with his reward of sustenance in this world. That is the reward of the thankful, i.e. the pious.

Then He said: ‘And with how many a prophet have myriads been slain and they waxed not faint at what befell them in the way of God and were not weak nor humiliated for God loves the steadfast,’ i.e. how many a prophet has death (in battle) befallen and many myriads with him, i.e. a multitude, and they waxed not faint at the loss of their prophet nor showed weakness towards their enemies and were not humiliated when they suffered in the fight for God and their religion. That is steadfastness and God loves the steadfast. ‘All that they said was, Forgive us our sins, O Lord, and our wasted effort in our affair; make our feet firm and give us the victory over a disbelieving people’ (623), i.e. say what they said and know that that is for your sins, and ask His forgiveness as they did, and practise your religion as they did, and be no renegades turning back on your heels; and ask Him to make your feet firm as they did; and ask His help as they did against a disbelieving people. For all that they said actually happened and their prophet was killed, yet they did not do what you did. So God gave them the reward of this world by victory over their enemy and a fine reward in the hereafter with what He had promised therein, for God loves those who do well.

‘O you who believe, if you obey those who disbelieve they will turn you back on your heels and you will return as losers,’ i.e. from your enemy, and will lose this world and the next. ‘But God is your protector and He is the best of helpers.’ If you say what with your tongues is true in your hearts then hold fast to Him and ask victory only of Him and do not turn back, withdrawing from His religion. ‘We will cast terror into the hearts of those who disbelieve,’ i.e. that by which I was helping you against them because they associated with Me that for which I gave them no warrant; i.e. do not think that they will have the final victory over you, while you hold fast to Me and follow My commandment, because of the disaster which befell you through sins which you committed whereby you went against My commandment in disobedience and also disobeyed the prophet. ‘God ful-
filled His promise when you routed them by His leave until you failed and disagreed about the order and were disobedient after He had shown you what you were desiring. Some of you desired this world and some desired the hereafter. Then He made you flee from them that He might try you. Yet He forgave you, for God is full of kindness to the believers, i.e. I carried out My promise to give you victory over your enemy when you routed them with the sword, i.e. killing them by My permission and My giving you power over them and keeping them from you (624). ‘Until you failed,’ i.e. deserted and disagreed about the order; i.e. you disputed about My order, i.e. you abandoned the order of your prophet and what he had told you to do, meaning the archers. ‘After He had shown you what you were desiring,’ i.e. victory about which there was no doubt and the flight of the (Meccan) army from their wives and property. ‘Some of you desired this world,’ i.e. those who desired the spoil in this world and abandoned their orders which carried the reward of the hereafter; ‘and some of you desired the hereafter,’ i.e. those who fought for God’s sake and did not transgress in going after what they had been forbidden for an accident of this world out of desire for it, hoping for the fine reward that is with God hereafter; i.e. those who fought for religion and did not transgress in going after what they had been forbidden for an accident of this world. ‘To try you’ for some of your sins. God pardoned the great sin in that He did not destroy you for having disobeyed your prophet. But I restored My kindness to you. ‘And thus God favours the believers.’ He punished some sins at once in this world by way of discipline and admonition, but He did not exterminate all for the debt they owed Him because they suffered for disobeying Him, out of mercy to them and as a reward for such faith as they had.

Then He reproached them for running away from their prophet and paying no heed when he called to them: ‘When you climbed up and paid no heed to any one while the apostle was calling behind you, He rewarded you with grief for grief, that you might not be sad for what you missed and for what befell you,’ i.e. grief after grief by the killing of some of your brethren and your enemy getting the better of you, and what you felt when someone said your prophet had been killed. That was what brought grief for grief to you so that you might not be sad over the victory you had missed after you had seen him with your own eyes, nor over the death of your brethren until I gave you ease of that sorrow. ‘And God is informed of what you do.’ God comforted them from the sorrow and grief which they suffered in rebutting the lie of Satan that their prophet had been killed; and when they saw the apostle alive among them what they had missed from the Meccans after the victory over them and their disaster in the loss of their brethren became easy to bear when God had turned death aside from their prophet.

‘Then after grief He sent down safety for you, as a sleep. It came upon a party of you while another party were troubled in mind thinking wrongly about God thoughts of heathen days, saying, Have we anything to do with the matter? Say, the whole matter belongs to God. They hide in themselves what they do not reveal to thee. They say, If we had had anything to do with the matter we should not have been killed here. Say: Had you been in your houses, those whose slaying has been written would have gone forth to the places where they were to lie. (This has happened) that God might test what is in your breasts and prove what is in your hearts, for God knows about what is in the breasts.’

God sent them in sleep in security upon the people who were confident in Him and they slept unafraid; while the hypocrites whose thoughts troubled them, thinking wrongly about God thoughts of heathen days, were afraid of death because they had no hope in the final result. God mentioned their recriminations and sorrow at what befell them. Then He said to His prophet, ‘Say “Had you been in your houses,” you would not have been in this place in which God has made plain your secret thoughts ‘those whose slaying has been written would have gone forth to the places where they were to lie’ to some other place where they would have been slain so that He might test what was in their breasts and prove what was in their hearts, for God knows what is in the breasts,’ i.e. what is in their breasts which they try to conceal from you is not hidden from Him.

Then He said: ‘O you who believe, be not like those who disbelieved and said of their brethren who journeyed through the land or were raiding “Had they been with us, they would not have died or been killed that God may make that sorrow in their hearts. God gives life and causes death and God is a seer of what you do,” i.e. be not like the hypocrites who forbid their brethren to war for God’s sake and to travel through the land in obedience to God and His apostle and say when they die or are killed, ‘Had they obeyed us, they would not have died or been killed.’ “That God may make that sorrow in their heart” because of their lack of certainty in their Lord. ‘God gives life and causes death,’ i.e. their earthly stay is shortened or prolonged by His power as He wishes. Then God said: ‘If you are slain for God’s sake or die, pardon from God and mercy are better than what you amass,’ i.e. there is no escape from death, so death for God’s sake or death in battle is better even if they had known and been certain of what they would amass from the world for which they hold back from fighting in fear of death and battle because of what they have amassed from the splendour of this world, not desiring the hereafter. ‘If you die or are slain,’ whichever it may be, ‘surely to God will you be gathered,’ i.e. to God you must return. Let not the world deceive you and be not deceived by it. Let fighting and the reward which God holds out to you have more weight with you than that.

Then he said: “It was by the mercy of God that thou wast lenient to them. Hadst thou been stern and rough, they would have dispersed and been no longer round thee,” i.e. they would have left you. ‘So forgive them,’ i.e. 1 A transitory and adventitious advantage. 2 Or ‘order’.
overlook their offence, 'and ask pardon for them and consult them about the matter. When thou art resolved put thy trust in God, for God loves those who trust.' He reminded His prophet of his leniency to them, and his patience with them in their weakness and their lack of patience which he had treated them harshly for all their opposition when there was laid upon them the duty of obeying their prophet. Then He said: 'So forgive them, i.e. overlook their offence and ask pardon for their sins: the people of faith who did wrong. And consult them about the matter' to show them that you listen to them and ask their help, even if you are independent of them, thereby making their religion agreeable to them. 'And when thou art resolved' on a matter which has come from Me and a matter of religion concerning fighting your enemy when only that will bring you and their advantage, then do as you have been ordered despite the opposition of those who oppose you and in agreement with those who agree with you; 'And trust in God,' i.e. please Him rather than men. 'God loves them that trust. If God helps you none can overcome you; if He forsakes you, who thereafter can help you?' i.e. so that you do not leave My command for men, and forsake men's orders for Mine. On God, not on men, let believers trust.

Then He said: 'It is not for any prophet to deceive. Whoso deceives will bring his deceit with him on the day of resurrection. Then every soul will be paid in full what it has earned and they will not be wronged.' It is not for a prophet to conceal from men what he has been ordered to reveal either out of fear or desire to please them. Whoso does that will bring it with him on the day of resurrection; then he will be repaid what he has earned not wronged nor defrauded. 'Is one who follows the pleasure of God whether men like it or not like one who has incurred God's displeasure by pleasing or displeasing men. He says, Is one who obeys Me whose reward is the garden and the goodwill of God like one who has incurred God's anger and deserves His anger, whose home is hell and a miserable end? Are the two examples the same? So know 'There are degrees with God and God is a seer of what they do' of all the degrees of what they do in paradise and hell, i.e. God knows those who obey and those who disobey Him.

Then He said: 'God showed favour to the believers when He sent among them an apostle from among themselves who recited to them His verses and purified them and taught them the book and wisdom, though before they were in obvious error.' God favoured you, O people of the faith, when He sent among you an apostle of your own, reciting to you His verses concerning what you did, and teaching you good and evil that you might know the good and do it; and the evil and guard yourselves against it, and telling you of His pleasure with you when you obeyed Him; that you might gain much from obeying Him and avoid the wrath proceeding from disobedience that thereby you might escape His vengeance and obtain the reward of His garden. 'Though before you were in obvious error,' i.e. in the blindness of paganism not knowing what was good or asking pardon for evil—deaf to good, dumb to the right, blind to guidance.

Then He mentioned the catastrophe that befell them: 'And was it so when a catastrophe befell you though you had smitten (them) with a disaster twice as great you said: How is this? Say: It is from yourselves. God is able to do all things.' Though a catastrophe befell you in the death of your brethren because of your sins, before that you had smitten your enemy with double that on the day of Badr in slaying and taking prisoners; and you have forgotten your disobedience and your opposition to what your prophet commanded you. You have brought that on yourselves. 'God is able to do all things.' God is able to do what He wills with His servants in taking vengeance or pardoning. 'And what befell you on the day the two armies met was by God's permission and that He might know the believers.' What befell you when you and your enemy met was by My permission. That happened when you acted as you did after My help had come to you and I had fulfilled my promise to you to distinguish between believers and hypocrites and to know those who were hypocrites among you, i.e. to make plain what was in them. 'And it was said to them, Come, fight for God's sake or defend,' meaning 'Abdullah b. Ubayy and his companions who went back from the apostle when he went against his polytheistic enemies at Uhud and their words: 'If we knew that you were going to fight we would go with you and would defend you; but we do not think that there will be a fight.' So he showed what they were hiding within them.

God said: 'They were nearer to disbelief than to faith that day saying with their mouths what was not in their hearts,' i.e. showing you faith which was not in their hearts 'but God knows best about what they conceal,' i.e. what they hide, 'who said of their brethren' who belonged to their families and people who were killed in your company, 'Had they obeyed us they would not have been killed. Say: Then avert death from yourselves if you are truthful,' i.e. there is no escape from death, but if you are able to keep death away from you then do so. This was because they were hypocritical and left fighting for God's sake, eager to survive in this world and fleeing from death.

Then He said to His prophet to make the believers wish to fight and desire battle: 'And do not think that those who were killed for God's sake are dead, nay they are alive with their Lord being nourished, glad with the bounty that God has brought them and rejoicing in those who have not yet joined them that they have nothing to fear or grieve over,' i.e. Do not think that those who were killed for God's sake are dead, i.e. I have brought them to life again and they are with Me being nourished in the rest and bounty of the Garden, rejoicing in the bounty that God has brought them for their striving on His account, and happy about those who have not yet joined them, i.e. glad when those of their brethren join them on account of their effort in war that they will share with them in the reward that God has given them, God having removed from them fear and sorrow.
they said, Allah is sufficient for us and a fine one in whom to trust.' The men who said that were a number of 'Abdu'l-Qays to whom Abū Sufyān spoke. They said: 'Abū Sufyān and his company are certainly coming back to you.' God says, 'So they returned with God's grace and favour. Harm did not befall them and they followed God's pleasure and God is of great bounty' in that He turned away their enemy so that they did not meet him. 'It is only the devil,' i.e. those men and what Satan put into their mouths, 'who would make men fear his adherents,' i.e. frighten you by means of his adherents. 'But fear them not and not Me if you are believers.

Let not those who vie in running to disbelief grieve you,' i.e. the hypocrites, 'they can in no wise injure God. God wills not to assign them a portion in the next world where they will have a painful punishment. Those who buy infidelity with faith will in no wise injure God: they will have a painful punishment. Let not those who disbelieve think that the respite We give them is good for them. We give them a respite only that they may increase in treachery. Theirs is an ignominious punishment. It is not God's purpose to leave the believers as you are till He shall separate the evil from the good,' i.e. the hypocrites. 'And it is not God's purpose to let you know the unseen,' i.e. what He wills to try you with that you may take heed of what comes to you. 'But God chooses whom He will of His messengers,' i.e. He lets him know that 'So believe in God and His messengers and if you believe and are pious,' i.e. return and repent 'then you will have a great reward.'

The Names of the Muslims Who Were Martyred

At Uḥud

The Muslims who were martyred at Uḥud in the company of the apostle were as follows:


Of the Anṣār: of B. 'Abdu'l-As̄hāf: Amr b. Muʿādh; al-Hārith b. Anas b. Rāfī; and Umāra b. Ziyād b. al-Sākan (625); Salama b. Thābit b. Waqṣ and Amr his brother (ʿAṣim b. Umar b. Qatūd) asserted to me that their father Thābit was killed that day; and Rāfī b. Waqṣ; and Ḥusayn b. Jābir b. Ḥudhayfa who was al-Yāmān (the Muslims killed him unwittingly and Ḥudhayfa foremost were his blood-wit incumbent on the slayer); and Sayf and Ḥabāb sons of Qayār; and 'Abdāb b. Sahl; and al-Hārith b. Ans b. Muʿādh. Total 12.

Of the men of Rāṭi: 1 Iyās b. Ans b. Atik b. Amr b. 'Abdu'l-A'lam b.
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Za’ūrā b. Jusham b. ‘Abdur-Asnahal; and ‘Ubayd b. al-Tayyibān (626); and Ḥābīb b. Yazīd b. Tāyym. 3.


Of B. Sawād b. Ghanm: Sulaym b. ‘Amr b. Ḥadīda and his client Ṭantara; and Sahl b. Qays b. Abū Ka‘b b. al-Qayn. 3.


The total number of Muslims killed including both Emigrants and Ansār was 65 men (633).

THE NAMES OF THE POLYTHEISTS WHO WERE KILLED AT UHUD


Of B. Makhmūm b. Yaqaṣa: Ḥāshim b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīrā whom Ḥumzān killed; and al-Wālid b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Ḥīṣām b. abu-ʿAlī whom Ḥumzān killed; and Abū Umayya b. Ḥudhayfah b. al-Mughīrā whom Ḥumzān killed; and Abū Ḥudhayfah b. al-Mughīrā whom ʿAlī killed; and Khālid b. al-Alam an ally whom Ḥumzān killed. 4.


Thus God killed on the day of Uhud 22 polytheists.
POETRY ON THE BATTLE OF UHUD

The following wrote verses on the subject:
Hubayra b. Abū Waḥb b. 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Abd b. 'Imrān b. Makhzānīn
(640):

Why does this painful anxiety afflict me at night?
My love for Hind beset by cares.1
Hind keeps blaming and reproaching me
While war has distracted me from her.
Gently now, blame me not; 'tis my habit
As you know I have never concealed it.
I help the B. Ka'b as they demand
Struggling with the burdens they impose.
I bore my arms bestride a noble horse
Long of pace, smooth in gait, keeping up with the cavalry's galleop,
Running like a wild ass in the desert which
Pursued by hunters keeps close to the females.2
Sired by A'waj, which rejoices men's hearts
Like a branch on a thick lofty palm.
I got him ready and a sharp choice sword
And a lance with which I meet life's crises.
This and a well-knit coat of mail like a wavy pool
Fastened on me clear of blemishes.
We brought Kināna from the confines of yonder Yemen
Across the land driving them hard.
When Kināna asked where we were taking them
We told them Medina;3 so they made for it and its people.
We were the true knights that day on Uḥud's slope.
Ma`add were in terror so we said we would come to their aid,
They feared our strokes and thrusts well aimed and cutting
Which they beheld when their outposts had drawn together.
Then we came like a cloud of hail,
The B. al-Najjār's bird of death bemoaned them.
Their skulls in the battle were like ostrich eggs
Split open (by the chicks) and cast aside;
Or a colocynthen on a withered shoot
Loosened by the sweeping winds.
We spend our wealth lavishly without reckoning
And we stab the horsemen in their eyes right and left.

1 So A. Dh., but Ṣā`īdī in 742. 17 means 'troops' and it may well be that love and war are mingled in his thoughts.
2 Cf. Aḥkāmī, Chahāl al-Āhmār's Qadī, Greifswald, 1890; but a comparison with 'Amr b. Qa`mī's (ed. Lyall, Camb. 1919, p. 33) suggests that we should read muḥaddithun (active)
'hosting' to quicken their pace as he protects their rear.
3 Al-Nukhayl. A watering-place near Medina.

Many a night when the host warms his hands in the belly of a slaughtered camel
And invites only wealthy guests,1
Many a night of Jumādā with freezing2 rain
Have I travelled through the wintry cold.
Because of the frosts the dogs bark but once
And the vipers leave not their holes.
I kindled then a blaze for the needy
Bright as the lightning that illuminates the horizon.
'Amr and his father before him bequeathed me this example.
He used to do this again and again.
They vied with the courses of the stars.
Their deeds never fell below the highest standard.

Hassān b. Thābit answered him:
You brought Kināna in your folly (to fight) the apostle,
For God's army was (bound to) disgrace them.
You brought them to death's cisterns in broad daylight.
Hell was their meeting-place, killing what they met with.
You collected them, black slaves, men of no descent,
O leaders of infidels whom their insolent ones deceived.
Why did you not learn from those thrown into Bādār's pit
Slain by God's horsemen?
Many a prisoner did we free without ransom,
Many a captive's forelock did we, his masters, cut! (641)

Kab b. Malik also answered Hubayra:
Have Ghassān heard about us though
Wide desert land where travel is uncertain separates them?
Deserts and mountains looking black in the distance
Like pillars of dust dotted here and there.
Strong camels there become feeble,
The yearly rains pass over it to make other lands fertile.3
There the skeletons of exhausted animals
Look like merchants' linen dotted with figures.
The wild oxen and gazelles walk in file
And broken ostrich eggs lie strewn abroad.
Our warriors who fight for their religion are all troops
Skilled in war with helmets4 shining.
Every coat of mail preserved in store is
When donned as a well-filled pool.
But ask any man you meet about Badr;
News you are ignorant of will be profitable.
Had other men been in that land of fear
They would have decamped at night and fled away.
When a rider of ours came he said,
‘Prepare to meet the force Ibn Hār b has collected.’
In misfortunes that would distress others
We showed greater calmness than all.
Had others been beset by a multitude
They would have given up and lost heart.
We fought them; no tribe could stand against us
But feared and fled in dread.
When they made their home in ‘Irḍ our leader said,
‘Why do we plant grain if we do not protect it?’
Among us was God’s apostle whose command we obey.
When he gives an order we do not examine it.
The spirit descends on him from his Lord
Brought down from the midst of heaven and taken up again.
We consult him on our wishes, and our desire
Is to obey him in all that he wants.
The apostle said when they appeared,
‘Cast off the fear of death and desire it,
Be like one who sells his life
To draw near to a King by Whom he will be restored to life.
Take your swords and trust in God
To Whom belongs the disposal of all things.
We made for them openly as they rode their camels
Bearing swords and unafraid
In a compact force with lances and spears;
When our steeds planted their feet they kept them firm.
Into a sea of foemen we plunged,
Their blacks in the centre some in armour some unprotected.
They were three thousand while we were three hundred élite
Or four hundred at the most.
The battle went to and fro while death ran between us.
We tried to get to the cistern of death before them and did so.
Bows of lotte wood exchanged ‘presents’ between us
All of them cut from Yathribi wood
And Meccan arrows made by Ṣā‘i d

1 Or, reading 'towards', 'dispersed'.
2 A place outside Medina.
3 i.e. Gabriel.
4 A.Dh. explains Yathribi as 'bow strings' cut in Medina, but the context implies that arrows were exchanged.

Sprinkled with poison at the time they were made
Sometimes hitting men’s bodies,
Sometimes glancing off shields with a clang;
And horsemen in the plain looking like locusts
Which the east wind brings, moving briskly in the cold.
When we met them and the battle wasierce
(For there is no defence against God’s decree)
We smote them until we left their leaders
Lying in hollow like fallen trees.
From morn till eve until we recovered our strength
Our zeal was like a fire burning all in its path.
They fled in haste hurrying away
Like a cloud wisp that the wind robs of rain.
We went on, our rearguard coming slowly,
Like strong lions seeking meat in Bisha.
We inflicted loss on you and you on us;
Perhaps we should have won, but what is with God is more spacious.
The battle waged hot between us
And all were made to get their fill of evil.
We are men who see no blame in him who kills
To guard and protect his protégés.
Firm in misfortunes, you will never see
Our eyes weeping over a comrade slain;
Warriors who do what we say
Nor become despondent in war’s trials;
Warriors who commit no atrocities in victory
Nor complain of war’s scratches.
We are a flame whose heat men ward off,
Those near it withdraw with scorched faces.
You taunt me, Ibn al-Ziba‘rā, yet a party went after you
Searching for you at nightfall.
Ask about yourself in the summit of Ma‘add and elsewhere
Who is the lowest and most shameful of men?
Whom did war leave shorn of glory,
His face humiliated on the day of war?
We attacked you with God’s help and succour
Our spearheads directed at you.
Our lances made gaping wounds among you
Like the mouths of waterskins where the water gushes forth.
We attacked the standard-bearers, and he who hastens to mention the standard
Is the first in giving praise.

1 The reading is doubtful.
2 But the poem is said to be a reply to Hubayra who is not even mentioned!
3 The text of this verse is difficult and is probably corrupt.
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616  But they were treacherous, surrendered, and deserted. Only God’s will can prevail and He is the greatest doer (643).

‘Abdullah b. al-Ziba’rā:
O raven, you have made men hear, then speak,
You can say only what has happened.
(To good and evil there is an end and both befall men.
Gifts are mean among them
And the graves of the rich and the poor are equal.
Every comfortable and pleasant life comes to an end
And the blows of fate play with us all.)
Give Ḥassān a message from me,
For composing poetry cures inward pain.
How many skulls on the mountain slope did you see,
How many hands and feet cut off,
Fine armour stripped from the brave
Who had perished in the battle?
How many noble chiefs did we slay,
Their descent doubly glorious, intrepid warriors;
Truly courageous, noble, conspicuous,
No weaklings when the spears fell?
Ask al-Mihrās who inhabits it,
Between skulls and brains, like partridges?
Would that my elders in Badr had seen
The fear of Khaṭraj when the spears fell;
When (war) rubbed its breast in Qubā’
And the slaughter waxed hot among the ‘Abdu’l-Ashḥal.
Then they were nimble in flight
Like young ostriches running up a hill,
We killed a double number of their nobles
And adjusted the inequality of Badr,
I do not blame myself, but
Had we returned we should have made a clean sweep of them,
With Indian swords above their heads
Delivering blow after blow.

Ḥassān b. Thābit answered him:
The battle is over, O Ibn Ziba’rā
(Had he been fair he would have admitted our superiority).
You inflicted loss on us and we on you.
The fortunes of war often change.
We thrust our swords between your shoulders
Where they drank blood again and again.

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We made liquid to run from your arses
Like the ordure of camels that have eaten ‘qara’.
When you took to your heels1 in the pass
And fled like sheep one behind the other;
When we attacked you boldly
And drove you to the bottom of the mountain
With companies like vast objects (?) in the plain²
Whoever meets them is terrified.
The pass was too narrow for us when we traversed it
And we filled its heights and depths
With men you cannot equal
Strengthened by Gabriel’s help who came down,
We conquered at Ḍabd by piety,
Obeying God and believing the apostles.
We killed all their chiefs
And we killed every long-robed noble.
We left in Quraysh a lasting shame that day of Ḍabd,
An example to be talked of.
While the apostle of God witnessed truly,
While the short fat people among Quraysh
Got together by them were as
Camels collected in herbage and left shepherdless³.
We and not men like you, children of your mother’s arse,
Meet the fighters⁴ when adversity comes (643).

Kāb mourning Ḥamza and the Muslim dead:
You weep, but do you want one to stir you to tears?
You who are lost in grief when you remember them,²
Remembering a people of whom
Stories have reached me in this crooked age,⁵
Your heart palpitates at the memory of them
In longing and tearful sadness,
Yet their dead are in lovely gardens
Honoured in their exits and entrances.
Because they were steadfast beneath the flag,
The flag of the apostle in Dhū’l-Adwaj,⁷
The morning when the B. Aus and Khaṭraj
All responded with their swords
And ʿAlī’s supporters followed the truth,

¹ The language is Quranic.
² The reading is uncertain. A.Dh. cites ‘jinnas’ as an alternative reading.
³ These lines are difficult. A.Dh. makes several suggestions as to the meaning.
⁴ It would be tempting to read bā’r’s for nār here.
⁵ The poet is apostrophizing himself.
⁶ A clear indication of the comparatively late date of this poem. Cf. also W. 648, line 5.
⁷ A place near Ḍabd. Yāq. i, 305.
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The light-giving straight way.
They continually smote the warriors
As they passed through the clouds of dust
Till at last the King summoned them
To a garden with thick trees at its entrance.
All of them proved pure in the trial,
Died unflinchingly in God's religion
Like Ḥamza when he proved his loyalty
With a sharp well-whetted sword.
The slave of the B. Naufal met him
Muttering like a huge black camel
And pierced him with a lance like a flame
That burns in a blazing fire.
And Nu'mān fulfilled his promise
And the good Ḥanẓala turned not from the truth
Until his spirit passed
To a mansion resplendent in gold.
Such are (true men) not those of your company
Who lie in nothermost hell with no escape.

Dirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Fiḥr answered him:

Does Ka'b grieve over his followers
And weep over a crooked age
Crying like an old camel who sees his companions
Returning at even while he is kept back?
The water camels pass on and leave him
Grumbling of ill-treatment while he is not even saddled for women.
Say to Ka'b, 'Let him double his weeping
And let him suffer pain therefrom;
For the death of his brothers when the cavalry charged
In clouds of rising dust.'
Would that 'Amr and his followers
And 'Utbah had been in our flaming meeting-place
That they might have slaked their vengeance
On those of Khazraj who were slain
And on those of Aus who died on the battlefield,
All of them slain in Dhūl-Adwaj,\(^1\)
And the killing of Ḥamza under the flag
With a pliant death-dealing lance.
And where Mus'ab fell and lay
Smitten by a sword’s quick stroke
In Ulyud when our swords flashed among them
Flaming like a roaring fire
On the morn we met you with swords

\(^1\) Or the poet may be urging himself to weep.

Like lions of the plains who cannot be turned back;
All our steeds like hawks,
Blood horses fiery, well-saddled.
We trod them down there until they fled
Except the dying or those hemmed in (644).

'Abdullah b. al-Zibā'īt:

Surely tears flowed from your eyes!\(^2\)
When youth had fled and the loved one was far away.
Far off and gone is she whom you love and
The camp, now removed, has robbed me of a dear one.
The ardent lover cannot recover what is gone
However long he weeps.
But let be: Has Ḥunṣ Mālik news of my people
Since news spreads far and wide
Of our bringing horses to the men of Medina,
Fine handsome horses, some reared with us, some outborn,
The night we went forth in great force
Led by one, the dreads of his enemies, the hope of his friends?
All were clad in coats of mail
Which looked like a well-filled pool where two valleys meet.
When they saw us they were filled with awe,
A dreadful plight confronted them;
They wished that the earth would swallow them,
Their stoutest hearted warriors were in despair.
When our swords were drawn they were like
A flame that leaps through brushwood.
On their heads we brought them down
Bringing swift death to the enemy.
They left the slain of Aus with hyaenas hard at them and
Hungry vultures lighting on them.
The Banū Najār on every height
Were bleeding from the wounds on their bodies.
But for the height of the mountain pass they would have left Aḥmad dead,
But he climbed too high though the spears were directed at him,
As they left Ḥamza dead in the attack
With a lance thrust through his breast.
Nu'mān too lay dead beneath his banner,
The falling vultures busy at his bowels.\(^3\)

\(^2\) This unpleasant version is probably the original. For yujīnas C. follows the MSS, which have yujīnas, said to mean 'fall upon', which seems unnatural here. Another variant quoted by C. is yujūnas 'hover', while Nol., Delectus, 68, read yajīn 'na 'hunger for', which again is unnatural. All these variants can be accounted for by the assumption that editors wanted to tone down the ghastly description of this early Muslim's death.

\(^3\) Or the poet may be urging himself to weep.
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The spears of our warriors came on them in Uhud (as swiftly)
As a well devours the ropes of the bucket.¹

Hassān b. Thābit:

Do the spring camps make you long for Ummu'l-Walid,
The waste lands deserted by their people?
The winds of summer and the rain of Aquarius,
The torrential cloudbringer, has effaced them;
Naught remains but the place where the fire was,
Round it on the ground are the firestones like doves.
Mention no more the camp whose people distance separates
Severing the strongest ties, and say
‘If there was a battle in Uhud which a fool counts a victory
The real truth will some day be known.’
All the Bani Aus stood firm that day,
High renown was theirs.
The Bani Najjār were steadfast in defence,
None was fainthearted in the fight
In front of the apostle of God, they did not desert him.
They had a helper from their Lord and an intercessor.
They were faithful when you, Quraysh,² denied your Lord.
(The loyal and the disloyal slave are never equal)
With swords in their hands when the battle was hot
He whom they smote could not but die.
They left 'Urbā and Sa'd lying in the dust
As the spears found their mark.
They left Ubayy laid beneath the dust by the apostle's own hand,
His shirt wet with blood
When the dust they stirred up covered the people.
These were chiefs from your leading families,
For every army has chiefs,
By them² we help God when² He helps us
Even if things are terrible, O Quraysh.
Mention not the slain since Ḥamza is among them,
Dead for God's sake in true obedience.
Paradise eternal he lives in now.
(The command of Him who decrees is swift).

¹ Or, 'a water-drawer grasps'. Nollekens, Delectus, 70, renders nasā'ī by prōfundus pisator, but this is wrong because, according to the Fāji', Lābi', and Qdāmā, it means a shallān well. See further E. Brünich in Islamica, 1, 1936, 338. Alternatively nasā'ī could mean in habitual water-drawer. If, with some authorities, nasā'ī be read, then the act of drawing water is intended. The verb ghallā means taking away quickly, destroying, devoting, grasping, &c. Thus the point of the simile would seem to be that the spears went in and out of the bodies as fast as a skilled water-drawer could send buckets up and down a well or that they went in as quickly as a well (or the act of drawing water) takes away the ropes.
² Exeats of sakkāna.

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While your dead are in hell, their best food
Thorns and boiling water to fill their bellies (645):¹

'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ:

We went forth from the barren desert calling them
Forming as it were a streaked girdle to Raḍwān in the morning.
B. Najjār foolishly wished to meet us
By the side of Sa' and hopes are sometimes realized.
What scared them suddenly in the valley was
Squadrons of horse coming forth to the battle.
They wanted to plunder our tents,
But protecting those tents that day were shattering blows.
They were tents that have always been protected,
If a people made for them they would be spoiled and meet our rage.
The heads of the Khazrajīs that morning
By the side of Sa' were like sliced melons,
And their hands holding Yamanī swords were like barwaya² (646).

Dārā b. al-Khaṭṭāb:

By thy grandfather,² I had I not advanced my horse
When the cavalry wheeled between the slope and the low ground
On the side of Uhud's slope, there had not ceased
The voices of your wraiths calling for vengeance, their cause well known.
And a horseman, his forehead split by a sword,
His skull in pieces like a shepherd's cloak.⁴
By thy grandfather, I am always girded with a sharp sword white as salt
On the saddle of a mare thrusting forward to the one who calls for help
As long as the cry for aid is raised.
I am not reckoned the son of weaklings and non-combatants
Or miserly cowards on the day of battle,
But of those who smite the trusty helms when they reach them,
Warriors of proud descent on the day of battle,
Proud leaders bearing long swords who advance to death unfaltering.

He also said:

When there came from Ka'b a squadron
And the Khazrajīya with glittering swords
And they drew their Mashrajyi swords
And displayed a flag fluttering like the wings of an eagle

¹ Cf. Sura 88, 6.
³ A feeble plant ending in small envelopes like chicpeas: a simile of weakness and insubstantiality.
⁴ Or 'by thy fortune'. See Lane, 386a.
⁵ The point of this simile would seem to be that the man's skull, split and marred with blood, reminded the poet of a shepherd's cloak which had been made of odd pieces of fur.
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I said, This will be a battle worth many a battle,
It will be talked of as long as leaves fall.
Every day they have been accustomed to gain the victory in battle
And the spoils of those they encountered.
And I forced myself to be steadfast when I felt afraid.
And I was certain that glory could only be got in the forefront,
I forced my steed to plunge into their ranks
And drenched him with their blood.
My horse and my armour were coloured
With blood that spurted from their veins and coagulated.
I felt sure I should stay in their dwellings
For ever and a day.
Do not despair, O Banū Makhzūm, for you have men
Like Al-Mughira, men without blame.
Be steadfast, may my mother and brothers be your ransom,
Exchanging blows until time be no more.

'Amr b. al-‘Āṣ:
When I saw war's flames leaping over the fire stones
Reaching the squadrons flaying men with their heat
I was sure that death was truth and life a delusion.
I set my arms on a strong horse which outrun others easily.
Docile when others go astray in the desert outrunning the best horse.
When the sweat flowed down his flanks he showed more spirit.
Swift as a young hart of the desert when archers scare him to run full stretch,
Firm of fetlock he leads the cavalry in canter and gallop.
My mother be your ransom that fearful morning
When they walked like sandgrouse.
Making for the leader of the squadron when the sun revealed him plainly (647).
Ka'b b. Mālik answered the two of them:
Tell Quraysh (the best word is the truest and truth is always acceptable to the wise).
That we killed your best men, the standard-bearers,
In revenge for our slain, so what is all the talk about?
And on the day that we met you
Michael and Gabriel reinforced and helped us.
If you kill us the true religion is ours
And to be killed for the truth is to find God's favour.
If you think that we are fools

1 Reading pabbartu.
2 Hadīth could mean 'forelegs' and sulātī 'flames'. There is a variant reading jumlatu 'squadrons charged one after another'. In any event there is a conscious jināt in the double meaning of 'flames' and 'squadron'.

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The opinion of those who oppose Islam is misleading.
Do not wish for more war but stay at home,
The habitual man of war is blood-stained, never free of care.
You will get such blows at our hands.
That the hyaenas will rejoice at the lumps of meat.
We are men of war who get the utmost from it.
And inflict painful punishment on the aggressors.
If Ibn Ḥarab escaped with the skin of his teeth
(And God's will must be done) it gave him discernment.
And admonition if he has the sense to appreciate it.
Had you come to the bottom of the torrent bed
A swift stroke would have met you on the valley side.
Bands of men round the Prophet would have confronted you.
With breastplates prepared for war,
Men of Ghassān stock with drawn swords,
No unarmed cowards they;
They walk towards the dark clouds of battle.
As the camels' white foals walk in train,
Or as lions walk in a covert wetted by rain.
Brought by the north wind from the Gemini.
In long close-knit mail like a rippling pool,
Its wearer broad-shouldered,2 a chief like a sword,
Which makes the strongest arrowhead useless.
And the sword recoil with blunted edge.
Though you threw off Mount Šal from your backs
(And sometimes life can be prolonged and death avoided). You would never be able to take revenge;
Time will pass the slain not paid for;3
Slave and free, noble, tied up like game (led)
Towards Medina bound and slain.
We were hoping to get you all, but our knights with their weapons
Chased you from us too quickly.
When one of them commits a crime they know for certain
That the consequence will be borne (by the tribe).
His crime is not an unmistakable crime,
None blames him and none evades his share of the penalty.4

Hassān b. Thābit:
At even when the stars were setting
I could not sleep for care
And the vision of the beloved that haunted me.
A sickness pervaded my heart and an inner hidden passion.

1 W. adopts the variant masūlāt 'on fire' which hardly seems right. Perhaps 'with greying hair' is what was intended.
2 Reading fulija.
3 Lit. 'stones will disappear' or 'wear away'.
4 These lines seem to refer to the archers who left their post in quest of loot. See W. 379.