O my people, can one without strength and courage
Slay a man like me?
If the tiniest ants were to crawl upon her
They would make wounds in her skin.
She smells of sweet scent and lingers in her bed
Adorned with silver and strung with pearls.
The daily sun surpasses her in naught
Except that youth does not endure.
My uncle was orator at Jābiyatu’l-Jaulān
With al-Nu’mān when he stood up (to speak).
I was the hawk at the door of Ibn Salma
On the day that Nu’mān was sick in fetters.
Ubayy and Wāqīd were set free for me,
The day they went forth with their fetters broken.
I went surety for them with all my wealth,
Every scrap of it was allotted.
My family stood high in their regard,
Every dwelling had a great ancestor of mine.
My father gave decisive judgement at Sumayḥa
When disputes were referred to him.
Such were our deeds, but al-Ziba’rāt
Is a man of no account, blamed even by his friends.
How much culture is destroyed by poverty
While prosperity hides barbarism?
Do not insult me for you cannot do so,
Only a gentleman can insult his peer.
I care not if a he goat cries in the wasteland
Or a churl speaks evil behind my back.
The finest stock of Banū Quṣayy took over the courage
(You ought to have had) when you withdrew.
Nine carried the standard while
Makhzūm ran away from the spears with the riff-raff.
They stood firm together in their place till all were slain,
All of them bleeding from open wounds.
It was only honourable that they should stand firm.
The noble man is truly noble.
They stood fast until death came upon them
With the lances broken in their throats.
Quraysh fled from us seeking refuge

So that they stood not fast but lost their wits,
Their collarbones could not sustain its weight;
Only the best men can carry the standard (648).

Hāshān b. Thābit mourning Ḥanḍa:
O Mayya, arise and weep sadly at dawn as the keening women do;
As those who carry heavy burdens cannot move for their weight
Who cry aloud scratching the faces of free women.
When their tears run they are like the pillars reddened by the blood
of victims.
They let their hair loose and their locks appear
Like the tails of restive ploughing horses in the morning,
Some plaited, some cut, dishevelled by the wind.
They weep sadly like mourners whom fate has wounded,
Their hearts scarred by painful wounds.
Fate has smitten those who were our hope when we were afraid,
The men of Ujlud whom fate’s calamities destroyed.
Our knight and protector when armed men appeared,
O Ḥanḍa, I will not forget you while time lasts,
The refuge of orphans and guests and the widow who looks shily away,
And from the fate that brings war after war with growing evil.
O knight, O protector, O Ḥanḍa, you were our great defender
From blows of fate when they were crushing.
You reminded me of the lion of the apostle, that protector of ours
Who will always be mentioned when noble chiefs are counted
High above the leaders, generous, white, shining;
Not frivolous, poor spirited, nor grumbling at life’s burdens.
A sea of generosity, he never withheld gifts from a guest.
Young men of honour, zealous and serious minded, have died
Who in the winter when none gets his fill of milk
Offered the flesh of camels topped by slices carved from its fat,
Protecting their guests as long as the enemy attacks.
Alas for the young men we have lost, they were as lamps,
628
Proud, patricians, princes, lavishly generous,
Who bought reputation with their wealth, (for reputation is a gain),
Who leapt to their bridles if a cry for help was raised.
One who suffered misfortunes in an unrighteous age.
His camels kept going over the dusty plain,
They went vying with each other while he was among those
Whose breasts ran with sweat so that good fortune might return to him,
Not the lot of him who gets the unlucky arrow.

O Ḥanḍa, you have left me lonely like a branch cut off from a tree.

Notes:
1. Reading ‘maskūr‘ with A. Dh.
2. ‘Her interest is’.  
3. A variant in the riyāya of Yūnus is ‘mounts above’.  
4. The Levām and Jami’āra attribute this line (which is not in the Dhu‘l) to Ḥanḍa’s son ‘Abdu’l-Rahmān.  
5. If a brutish man becomes enraged.  
7. How could the prophet’s time be called unrighteous? This must be a disguised lament over Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. The preceding verses in the plural cannot refer to Ḥanḍa.
8. In the Arab game of chance.
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I complain to you when layers of dust and stone cover you, of
The stone we put above you when the gravedigger finished his work.
In a wide space, covering it with earth carefully smoothed.
Our comfort is that we say (and what we say is grievous hard).
He who is free from life’s misfortunes let him come to us
And weep for our noble generous dead,
Who said and did what they said, the truly laudable,
Who always gave freely even when they had little to spare (649).

He also said:

Do you know the camp whose traces since you saw it
Are swept away by a mighty torrent of rain
Between Al-Sarāḍīḥ and Udmāna and the channel of Al-Rauhi’ in
Ḥā’ī? I
I asked it of that and it would not answer;
It did not know the answer.
Give no thought to a camp whose traces have disappeared,
And weep over Ḥamza the generous who filled the platter
When the storm blew in bitter cold and famine,
Who left his adversaries in the dust
Stumbling on his slender lance,
Who threw himself among the horses when they held back
Like a lion bold in his thicket.
Shining at the summit of the Hashim clan
He did not oppose the truth with lies,
He died a martyr under your swords.
May the hands of Wahsh, the murderer, wither!
What a man did he leave on his lance, its point deadly sharp!
The earth has become dark at his loss
And the moon shining forth from the clouds is blackened.
God bless him in the heavenly paradise.
May his entry be honoured.
We looked on Ḥamza as a protector in all the blows of misfortune.
In Islam he was a great defence
Who made up for the loss of miserable stay-at-homes.
Rejoice not, O Hind, but produce thy tears,
Let flow the tears of the bereaved.
Weep for ‘Utha whom he cut down with the sword
Who lay in the whirling dust,
When he fell among your shaikhs
Insolent, ignorant fellows.
Ḥamza killed them with a family who walk in long armour.
The day that Gabriel helped him,
That fine helper of an intrepid horseman.

1 Or ‘mingled with’, al-‘aḥtā.

Ka‘b b. Malik:

Visited by care you could not sleep
And feared because joyous youth had been taken from you.
A Damīr girl claimed your love,
But your love is Ghauf and your company is Najaf.1
Do not go too far rashly in the folly of love,
You have always been thought foolish for following its allure.
It is time for you to stop in obedience
Or to awake when an adviser warns you.
I was crushed by the loss of Ḥamza,
My inward parts trembled.
If Mount Ḥirā’ had been so distressed
You would have seen its firm rocks shattered.
A noble prince, strong in the lofty stock of Ḥāshim,
Whence came prophecy, generosity, and lordship,
Who slew fat-humped camels when the wind is so cold
That it almost freezes the water,
Who left a brave opponent prostrate on the ground
On the day of battle, with his lance broken.
You could see him sweeping along in steel,
Like a tawny strong-pawed lion,
The prophet’s uncle and chosen one
Came to his death—a goodly end.
He met his fate marked out among a people
Who helped the prophet and sought martyrdom.
I imagine that Hind has been told of that
To still the burning choking within her breast
How we met her people on the sandhill
The day in which happiness left her.
And of the well of Badr when Gabriel and Muhammad
Beneath our banner turned them back
So that I saw their best men with the prophet in two parties,
One killing and one pursuing whom he pleased.
There remained where the camels knelt
Seventy men, ‘Utha and al-Aswad among them,
And Ibnul-Mughira whom we smote above the neck vein
From which foaming blood gushed forth.
A sharp sword in the hands of the believers
Reduced the pride of Umayya al-Jumah.2

1 The poet is addressing himself. There is a play on the underlying meaning of ghaur, low ground, and najaf, high ground. The reading taʾṣīsaka would give a sense that could be expressed by ‘Your heart is in the lowlands and your head in the highlands’, though more strictly the word means ‘Your return to sobriety’.
2 qarma wa yāflu, lit. ‘straightened his turning aside’, i.e. struck him in the face which
it his arrogance he was wont to turn away.
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The fugitive polytheists came to you like runaway ostriches
With the cavalry in full pursuit.

Different are those whose home is hell everlasting
And those who are eternally in paradise.

He also said:

Rise, O Safiyya, be not weak.
Make the women weep over Hamza.
Be not weary in prolonging weeping
Over God's lion in the mêlée.
For he was a strength to our orphans
And a lion of battle amid the weapons,
Wishing thereby to please Ahmad
And the glorious Lord of the throne.

He also said:

By thy noble father's life I adjure you,
Ask those who sought our hospitality,
For if you ask them you will not be told a lie,
Those you ask will tell you the truth
That on nights when bones were gathered for food
We gave sustenance to those who visited us:
(Crowds 1 took refuge in our shelters
From distress in years of famine)
With a gift of what our rich provided
With patience and generosity towards the indigent.
The shears of war left us
Those whose ways we have always tried to vie with.
One who saw the place where the camels go to water
Would think it was black rocky ground.
There the best camels are broken in,
Black, red, and white. 2
The rush of men was like Euphrates in flood,
Solid well-armed masses destroying all in their path.
You would think their glitter was the shining of stars,
They dazzle beholders in their commotion.
If you are ignorant of our importance
Then ask those near us who know,
How we behave when war is violent
In slaughter, severity, biting, and mauling.
Do we not tighten the cord round the camel's udder
Until she yields her milk and becomes gentle? 3

1 W. has najjād 'poor women'.
2 White or, less likely, blackish. This word is one of the oddād.
3 In these two lines war is compared to a savage camel that is subdued by the tribe's firmness and resource and ends to their advantage.

A day in which fighting is continuous,
Terrifying, burning those who kindled its blaze,
Long drawn out exceeding hot fighting.
Fear of it keeps the base-born away.
You would think the heroes engaged in it
Were happily drunk and inebriated,
Their right hands exchanging the cups of death
With their sharp-edged swords.
We were there and we were courageous
Wearing our badges under clouds of dust,
With silent fine blood-stained swords,
Blades of Buṣrā which loathe the scabbard;
Which grow not blunt nor buckle
And cease not smiting if they are not held back,
Like autumn lightning in the hands of heroes
Overwhelming in blood heads that remain in place.
Our fathers taught us how to strike
And we will teach our sons
The swordsmanship of heroes and the spending of patrimony
In defence of our honour as long as we live.
When a champion passes, his posterity takes his place
And he leaves others to inherit him.
We grow up and our fathers perish,
And while we bring up our sons we cease to be.
I asked about you, Ibnu'-Ziba'rā,
And was told that you were baseborn,
Evil, of disgraceful life, persistently mean.
You have said much 1 in insulting God's apostle.
God slay you, you cursed rude fellow!
You utter filth, and then throw it
At the clean robed godly faithful one (650).

He also said:

Ask Quraysh of our flight and of theirs
That morn at the base of Uljud's hill.
We were lions, they but leopards when they came.

We cared nothing for blood relationship.
How many brave chiefs did we leave there
Protectors of protégés, noble in birth and reputation?
Among us the apostle, a star, then there followed him
A brilliant light excelling the stars.
True is his speech, just his behaviour.
He who answers his call will escape perdition,
Brave in attack, purposeful, resolute

1 Another reading is tanajjasta 'You have behaved filthyly', which may be right.
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When hearts are moved by fear,
Advancing and encouraging us so that we should not be disobedient;
Like the full moon that cannot lie.
When he appeared we followed him and hold him true.
They called him liar so we are the happiest of the Arabs.
They wheeled and we wheeled, they did not reform or return
While we followed them in unwearying pursuit.
The two armies had nothing in common,
God’s party and the men of polytheism and idols (651).\(^1\)

‘Abdullah b. Rawāḥa said (652):

My eye wept and right well it did so
(But what avails weeping and lamentation),
For God’s lion on the day that they said
‘Is that slain man Ḥamza?’
All the Muslims were distressed thereat;
The apostle too suffered.
O Abu Ya’llī,\(^2\) your pillars were shattered,
You the noble, just, bounteous one.
God’s peace on you in paradise
With everlasting felicity!
O Ḥāshim, the best men, be steadfast
Whose every deed is fine and laudable,\(^3\)
God’s apostle is patient, noble,
Whenever he speaks ‘tis by God’s command.
Will someone tell Lu’āyy for me
(For after today war’s fortune will change,
And previously they have known and tasted of
Our fighting in which vengeance was slaked),
You have forgotten our blows at Badr’s pool
When swift death came to you,
The morn that Abū Jahl lay prostrate,
The vultures wheeling and circling over him.
‘Uṭba and his son fell together
And Shayba whom the polished sword bit.
We left Umayya stretched on the ground,
A huge lance in his belly.
Ask the skulls of Banū Rabī’ah,
For our swords were notched by them.
Weep, O Hind, grow not weary,
For you are the bereaved one in tears for a lost son.

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Ka‘b b. Makkīl said:

Say to Quraysh despite their distance,
Do you boast of what you have not won?
You boast of the slain on whom the favours
Of Him who grants the best favours have fallen.
They dwell in gardens and have left waiting for you
Lions who protect their Cubs,
To fight for their religion, in their midst
A prophet who never recedes from the truth.
Ma‘ād attacked him with infamous words
And the arrows of enmity unceasingly (653).

Ḍīrār b. al-Khaṭṭāb:

What ails thine eye which sleeplessness affects
As though pain were in thine eyelids?
Is it for the loss of a friend whom you hold dear
Parted by distance and foes?
Or is it because of the mischief of a useless people
When wars blaze with burning heat?
They cease not from the error they have committed.
Woe to them! No helper have they from Lu’āy.
We adjured them all by God,
But neither kinship nor oaths deterred them;
I’ll finally when they determined on war against us
And injustice and bad feeling had grown strong,
We attacked them with an army
Flanked by helmeted strong mailed men
And slender horses sweeping along with warriors
Like kites, so smooth was their gait;
An army which Ṣakhrā’ led and commanded
Like an angry lion of the jungle tearing his prey.
Death brought out a people from their dwellings,
We and they met at Uhud.
Some of them were left stone dead
Like goats which the hail has frozen to the cold ground.
Noble dead, the Banū’l-Najjar in their midst
And Muṣṭāb with broken pieces of our shafts around him
And Ḥamza the chief, prostrate, his widow going round him,
His nose and liver had been cut away. It was
As if when he fell he bled beneath the dust
Transfixed by a lance on which the blood had dried.

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\(^{1}\) These two poems are in sharp contrast. The first is a fine example of the old Arab spirit; the second belongs to the large category of the spurious, and clearly dates from a later age.

\(^{2}\) The Ṣuq al-Ḥamza.

\(^{3}\) Cf. Sūras 38. 47. 8; 12. 18. 87.
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He was the colt of an old she-camel whose companions had fled
As frightened ostriches run away
Rushing headlong filled with terror,
The steep precipitous rocks aiding their escape.
Husbandless women weep over them
In mourning garb rent in pieces.
We left them to the vultures on the battlefield
And to the hyenas who made for their bodies (654):

Abū Za'na b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthba, brother of B. Jushām b. a.

Khaṣraj:
I'm Abū Za'na. Al-Huzam! Takes me apace,
Painful exertion alone saves disgrace.
A Khaṣrajite of Jushām his ward will solace.

'All b. Abū 'Ṭālib (655):

Al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma
Was faithful to his covenant with us.
He went through painful deserts,
Black as darkest night,
Among many swords and spears
Seeking God's apostle in what was happening there.

'Ikrima b. Abū Jahīl:
Each of them says to his horse, Come on here!
You can see him advancing today without fear
Bearing a leader with his mighty spear.

Al-A'shā b. Zurārā b. al-Nabbās al-Tamīmī, of B. Asad b. 'Amr b.
Tamīm, weeping the slain of B. Abū al-Dār:
Let the Banū Abū 'Ṭalība in spite of their distance
Be given a greeting that will not be rejected.
Their water-carrier passed them with it
And every water-carrier of theirs is known.
Their neighbour and guest never complained,
No door was closed in their face.3

'Abdullāh b. al-Ziba'rā:
We killed Ibn Jaḍah and rejoiced at his death
And Ḥamza with his horsemen and Ibn Qauqal.
Some men escaped us and got quickly away.
Would that they had stopped and we had not been hasty,
That they had stood so that our swords their best men
Might have cut down, for all of us were fully armed;

1 The name of his horse.
3 The last line is omitted by W., probably rightly. He refers to it in his notes in vol. II.

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And that there might have been a fight between us
When they would have a morning draught1 whose evil would not pass away (656).

Ṣafīya: 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib mourning her brother Ḥamza:
Are you my sisters asking in dread
The men of Uḥud, the slow of speech and the eloquent?2
The latter said Ḥamza is dead,
The best helper of the apostle of God.
God the true, the Lord of the Throne, called him
To live in paradise in joy.
That is what we hoped and longed for.
Ḥamza on the day of gathering will enjoy the best reward.
By God I'll ne'er forget thee as long as the east wind blows
In sorrow and weeping, whether at home or in travel,
For the lion of God who was our defence,
Protecting Islam against every unbeliever.
Would that my limbs and bones were there
For hyenas and vultures to visit,
I said when my family raised their lamentation,
God reward him, fine brother and helper as he was! (657).

Nu'm wife of Shammās b. 'Uthmān weeping her husband:
O eye be generous, let thy tears flow spontaneously
For the noble and victorious warrior
Whose opinion was accepted, whose deeds were successful,
Who carried the standards, the rider of horses.
I said in anguish when news of his death came,
'The generous man who fed and clothed others has perished.'
I said when the places where he sat were forsaken,
'May God not take Shammās far from us!'2

Her brother Abū'l-Ḥakam b. Sa'id b. Yarbū' replying to comfort her:
Preserve thy modesty in secret and in honour,
For Shammās was only a man.
Kill not thyself because he met his death
In obeying God on the day of heroic battle.
Ḥamza was the lion of God, so be patient;
He too on that day tasted Shammās's cup.

Hind: 'Uthba when the polytheists withdrew from Uḥud:
I came back my heart filled with sorrow,
For some from whom I sought vengeance had escaped me,
Men of Quraysh who were at Badr,  
Of Banu Hashim, and of Yathrib's people.  
I gained somewhat from the expedition  
But not all that I had hoped (658).

THE DAY OF AL-RAJJI, A.H. 3

Abu Muhammad 'Abdu'll-Malik b. Hashim told us from Ziyad b. 'Abdul- 
lah al-Bakari from 1. Ishaq from 'Ashim b. 'Umar b. Qatada: After Uthud  
a number of 'Adal and al-Qura came to the apostle (659). They said that  
some of them had already accepted Islam and they asked him to send some  
of his companions to instruct them in religion and to teach them to read  
the Quran and to teach them the laws of Islam. The apostle sent the  
following six of his companions: Marthad b. Abu Marthad al-Ghanawi,  
an ally of Hamza; Khalid b. al-Bukair al-Laythi, an ally of B. 'Adiy b.  
Ka'b; 'Ashim b. Thabit b. 'Abdu'l-Aqda, brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf b.  
'Amr b. 'Auf; Zayd b. al-Dahhanna b. Mu'siwa, brother of B. Bayada b.  
Khazzaj; and 'Abdullah b. 'Uriq, ally of B. Zafar b. al-Khazzaj b. 'Amr b.  
Malik b. al-Aus.

The apostle put Marthad in command of them and the band got as far as  
al-Rajji', a watering-place of Hudhayl in a district of the Hijaz at the upper-  
part of al-Had'a.1 There they betrayed them and summoned Hudhayl  
against them. While they were off their guard sitting with their baggage  
suddenly they were set upon by men with swords in their hands, so they  
took their swords to fight them; but the men said that it was not their  
intention to kill them; they wanted to get something for them from the  
people of Mecca. They swore by God that they would not kill them.

Marthad, Khalid, and 'Ashim said: 'By God, we will never accept an  
undertaking and agreement from a polytheist.' 'Ashim said:

No weakening [I, an archer hold,  
My bow thick-stringed with trusty hold  
Broad arrows can life's coil unfold,  
Death's certain—life a mere tale told.  
What God decrees men shall behold,  
Life must return to Him its mould.  
I fight though I leave a mother, cold (660).

He also said:

I'm Abu Sulayman with al-Muq'ad's shafts.2  
Like Gehenna they burn my feathered shafts.

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1 The readings vary: al-mawati 'the ways' and sufurishat 'full of men'; al-mawaji 'swift  
and sufuriy' collected'. The probable sense is given above.
2 Or, more probably, 'horrons'. See below.
3 The passages marked are quoted as B. Yalif b. Yahya al-Tadali known as I. al-Zayyin  
(6.672/1199) in his al-Tahawwuf il-aqaid il-tasawwuf, Rahut MS. D. 767, f. 22r, where  
gla is glossed by maal. I owe this reference to my colleague Mr. Hopkins.
4 Possibly for Anastasius.
cut off his head, and that you were with your family?' Zayd answered, 'By God, I don't wish that Muhammad now were in the place he occupies and that a thorn could hurt him, and that I was sitting with my family.' Abū Sufyān used to say, 'I have never seen a man who was so loved as Muhammad's companions loved him.' Then Nāṣir killed him, God pity him.

'Abdullāh b. Abū Najāf told me that he was told by Māwīyya, a freedwoman of Ḥujayr b. Abī Ithāb, who had become a Muslim: Khubayb was imprisoned in my house and I looked at him one day with a bunch of grapes in his hand as big as a man's head from which he was eating. I did not know that there were grapes on God's earth that could be eaten at that time.

641 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda and 'Abdullāh b. Abū Najāf both told me that she said: When the time for his execution had come he asked me to help him in a razor with which to cleanse himself before he died; so I gave a razor to a youth of the tribe and told him to take it to the man in the house. Hardly had he turned his back to take it to him when I thought, 'What have I done? By God, the man will take his revenge by killing the youngster and it will be man for man.' But when he handed him the steel he took it from him saying, 'Gracious, your mother was not afraid of my treachery when she sent you to me with this razor!' Then he let him go (664).

'Āṣim said, 'Then they took out Khubayb as far as al-Tani'im to crucify him. He asked them to give him time to make a couple of bowings, and they agreed. He performed two excellent bowings and then turned to the people saying, 'Were it not that you would think that I only delayed out of fear of death I would have prolonged my prayer.' Khubayb b. 'Adī was the first to establish the custom of performing two bowings at death. Then they raised him on the wood and when they had bound him he said, 'O God, we have delivered the message of Thy apostle, so tell him tomorrow what has been done to us.' Then he said, 'O God, reckon them by number and kill them one by one, let none of them escape.' Then they killed him, God pity him.

Mūsāyya b. Abū Sufyān used to say: 'I was present that day among those who were there with Abū Sufyān and I saw him throw me to the ground out of fear of Khubayb's curse.' They used to say, 'If a man is cursed and is thrown to one side the curse will pass over him.'

Yahyā b. Ābdāb b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr from his father 'Abdāb concerning 'Uqba b. al-Ḥārith said: 'I heard him say, 'It was not I who killed Khubayb, for I was too young to do that; but Abū Maysara brother of B. 'Abdu'l-Dār took a lance and put it in my hand. Then he covered my hand with his and thrust him with it until he killed him.' 1

One of our companions said that 'Umar had appointed Sa'd b. 'Āmir b. Hīdhlīm al-Jumāḥi over a part of Syria when he was among the people and 'Umar was told of this. It was said that the man was subject to seizures. During one of his visits 'Umar asked him the cause of the trouble and he said, 'There is nothing the matter with me, but I was one of those who was present when Khubayb b. 'Adī was killed and I heard his curse, and whenever I remember it when I am in a meeting I faint away.' This increased his favour in 'Umar's eyes (664).

A freedman of Zayd b. Thalib told me from 'Ikrīma, freedman of Ibn 'Abbās, or from Sa'd b. Jubayr, that Ibn 'Abbās said with reference to a passage of the Qur'an about this expedition: When the expedition in which Marthad and 'Āṣim took part came to grief in al-Rajī some of the disaffected said, 'Alas for those beguiled fellows who perished thus! They did not stay with their families nor did they deliver the message of their master.' Then God sent down concerning their words and the good they gained by their suffering: 'There is the kind of man whose talk about the life of this world pleases you,' i.e. when he professes Islam with his tongue, and he calls God to witness about that which is in his heart' which is contrary to what he professes with his tongue, 'yet he is the most quarrelsome of adversaries', i.e. a controversialist when he argues with you (665).

God said, 'And when he turns away, i.e. goes out from your presence, he hastens through the land to make mischief therein and to destroy the crops and the cattle; but God loves not mischief,' i.e. He does not love the doing of it nor does it please Him. 'And when it is said to him, Beware of God, pride seizes him in sin. Hell will be his reckoning, an evil resting-place. And there is the kind of man who would sell himself in his desire to please God and God is kind to His servants,' i.e. they sell themselves to God by fighting in His way and doing what He required until they gave up their lives. He means that expedition (666).

Among the poems about this is that of Khubayb b. 'Adī when he heard that the people had gathered to crucify him (667):

The confederates gathered their tribes around me And assembled all whom they could collect. All of them show violent enmity against me Because I am helpless in bonds. They collect their women and children And I am brought to a lofty high trunk. To God I complain of my loneliness and pain And of the death the confederates have prepared for me. Lord of the throne, give me endurance against their purpose. They have pierced my flesh—all hope is gone! This is for God's sake, and if He wills

1 Sūra 2. 200. S. records a variant reading of Ibn Muhayyin, wayyashhudu'llāha for wayyush-

hūdū'llāha, i.e. God knows what is in his heart, and this may well be the true reading. He

also says that the majority of commentators hold that this verse came down with reference
to al-Akhūn b. Shafīq al-Thaqafi according to the tradition from Ibn 'Abbās through Abū Mālik, and Mujaḥid said the same. Ibn 'Utbā-Kalbī said that when he was in Mecca he gave that opinion, but one of al-Akhūn's offspring denied it and said that it came down with reference to the people of Mecca.
They deceived you with their treachery, breaking their faith,  
You were wronged, a prisoner in their camp (670).

Those who formed the mob from Quraysh when Khubayb was killed were 'Ālīya b. Abī Jahl; Sa'd b. 'Abdullah b. Abū Qays b. 'Abdu Wudd;  
al-Akūnas b. Shārīq al-Thaqafi, ally of B. Zuhra; 'Ubayda b. Ḥakīm b.  
Umayya b. Ḥāritha b. al-Awgh al-Sulamī, ally of B. Umayya b. 'Abdu  
Shams; and 'Umayya b. Abū 'Uthma and the B. al-Hadramī.

Hassān also said reviling Hudhayl for what they did to Khubayb:

Tell Banū 'Amr that a man steeped in treachery  
Sold their brother as a chattel.  
Zuhayr b. al-Agharr and Jārim' sold him,  
Both of them committing foul crimes.  
You promised him protection and having done so betrayed him.  
In the region of al-Raj' you were as sharp swords.¹  
Would that Khubayb had not been deceived by your promise;  
Would that he had known what people he was dealing with! (671)

Hassān also said:

If pure unalloyed treachery pleases you  
Go to al-Raj' and ask about the abode of Libyān;  
A people who adjure one another to devour the guest among them.²  
Dog and ape are like such men,  
If a he-goat were to rise up and address them one day  
He would be a man of honour and importance among them! (672)

Hassān also said:

Hudhayl asked the apostle for something disgraceful.  
They erred therein and went astray;  
They asked their apostle what he would not grant them  
To their dying day and they were the disgrace of the Arabs.  
Never will you see in Hudhayl one  
Calling others to a generous deed in that place of plunder.  
Woe to them who desired to make immoral conditions  
To be allowed what the scripture forbids!

Hassān also said:

The tale of Khubayb and 'Āṣim  
Has ruined the name of Hudhayl ibn Mudrik.  
The tale of Libyān has ruined their reputation,  
For Libyān has committed the worst of crimes.  
Men, the best stock of their tribe,  
Like hairs upon a horse's fetlock,

¹ Or, perhaps, 'thieves'.
² Al-Jābīz, Babhahā', Caire, 1948, p. 216, understands from this and other satirical poems that these men were cannibals.
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Were treacherous on the day of al-Rajjī, the apostle's messenger. Hudhayl took no pains to ward off the evil of loathsome crimes. One day they will see victory turn against them. For killing one whom there protected against evil deeds. Swarms of hornets standing guard over his flesh. Which protected the flesh of one who witnessed great battles. Perhaps in return for killing him Hudhayl will see. Dead lying prostrate or women mourning. As we bring a violent attack upon them. Which riders will relate faithfully to those at the fairs. By command of God's apostle, for he with full knowledge. Has made a forceful decision against Lihyān. A contemptible tribe caring nothing for good faith. If they are wronged they do not resist the aggressor. When people live in an isolated quarter. You see them in the watercourses between the well-worn channels. Their place is the home of death. When anything happens to them they have the minds of cattle.

Hassān also said:

God curse Lihyān, for their blood does not repay us. For their having slain the two at treachery. At al-Rajjī they killed the son of a free woman. Faithful and pure in his friendship. Had they all been killed on the day of al-Rajjī! In revenge for 'Aṣīm's that would not have sufficed. For the dead man whom the bees protected in their tents. Among people of obvious infidelity and coarseness. Lihyān killed one more honourable than they. And sold Khubayb for a miserable price, woe to them! Ugh! for Lihyān in every event. May their memory perish and not even be mentioned! A contemptible tribe of mean and treacherous descent. Their meanness cannot be concealed. If they were slain their blood would not pay for him. But the killing of his killers would cure me (of my pain). Unless I die I will terrify Hudhayl with a plundering raid. Swift as the early morning cloud. By the apostle's command, and his is. Disaster will spend the night in Lihyān's court.

1. 

The people in al-Rajjī will be found in the morning. Like little goats who have passed the winter without warmth. 

Hassān also said:

By God, Hudhayl do not know whether Zamzam's water is clean or foul; And if they make the great or lesser pilgrimage. They have no share in the hijr or the running. But at al-Rajjī they have a place, the home of open meanness and disgrace. They are like goats in the Hijaz bleating. In the evening beside the shelters. They were treacherous to Khubayb their ward. What a miserable covenant was their false word! (673)

Hassān also said:

God bless those who followed one another (to death) the day of al-Rajjī. And were honoured and rewarded. Marthad the head and leader of the party and Ibn al-Bukār their imām and Khubayb. And a son of ʿṬairī; Ibn Darbīna was there too. There his death as it was written befell him. And al-ʿAṣīm slain at Rajjī. Attained the heights of heaven) great gain he. He averted the disgrace of wounds in the back. He met them sword in hand, the noble warrior (674).

The Story of Bir Maʿūna in Safar, A.H. 4

The apostle stayed (in Medina) for the rest of Shawwal, Dhūl-Qaʿda, Dhūl-Hijja, and al-Muharram while the polytheists supervised the pilgrimage. Then he sent the men of Bir Maʿūna forth in Safar, four months after Uhud.

My father Ishāq b. Yasār from al-Mughīra b. Abdūl-Rahmān b. al-Ḥarīrī b. Ḥshām told me, as did ʿAbdullah b. Abū Bakr b. Muhammad b. ʿAmr b. Hazm and other traditionists, as follows: Abū Barāʾ ʿAmr b. Mālik b. Jaʿfar the 'Player with the Spears' came to the apostle in Medina (Ṭ) and offered him a present. The apostle refused it, saying that he could not accept a present from a polytheist and telling him to become a Muslim if he wished to accept his present. The apostle explained Islam to him and invited him to accept it. He would not do so yet he was not far from Islam. He said: 'O Muhammad (Ṭ), your affair to which you invite

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1. Some references to the oath taken by 'Aṣīm that he would never touch or be touched by a polytheist, and also to the vow of Sulṭāna that she would drink wine from 'Aṣīm's skull.
2. Lit. 'he of the hornets'.
3. I follow the reading of C.
4. Ṭ's version is more verbose than I.H.'s recension.
me is most excellent). If you were to send some of your companions to the people of Najd and they invited them to your affair I have good hope that they would give you a favourable answer. The apostle said that he feared that the people of Najd would kill them; to which Abū Bara‘ replied that he would go surety for them, so let him send them and invite men to his religion. So the apostle sent al-Mundhir b. ‘Amr, brother of B. Sā‘id, ‘The Quick to seek Death’, with forty of his companions from the best of the Muslims. Among them were al-Hārith b. al-Šimma; Harām b. Mīšān, brother of B. ‘Adīy b. al-Najār; ‘Urwa b. Asmā‘ b. al-Šā‘l b. al-Salām; Nāfi‘ b. Budayl b. Warqā‘ al-Khuza‘i; ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra, freedman of Abū Bakr, of those who were named of the best Muslims. (Ṭ. Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl from Anas b. Mālik who said that the apostle sent al-Mundhir b. ‘Amr with seventy riders.) They went on until they halted at Bīr Ma‘ānā, which is between the land of B. ʿĀmir and the barra of B. Sulaym, near to both districts but nearer to the barra. When they alighted at it they sent Harām b. Mīšān with the apostle’s letter to the enemy of God ʿĀmir b. ʿUţayf. When he came to him he rushed at the man and killed him before he even looked at the letter. Then he tried to call out the B. ʿĀmir against them, but they refused to do what he wanted, saying that they would not violate the promise of security which Abū Bara‘ had given these men. Then he appealed to the tribes of B. Sulaym of Uṣayya, Ri‘l, and Dhakwān, and they agreed and came out against them and surrounded them as they were with their camels. Seeing them they drew their swords and fought to the last man. All were killed but Ka‘b b. Zayd, brother of B. Dīnār b. al-Najār; him they left while-breath was in him. He was picked up from among the slain and lived until the battle of the Trench when he was killed as a martyr. ʿĀmir b. Umayya al-Ḍanwārī and an Anṣārī of B. ʿĀmir b. ʿAuf were with the camels out at pasture (675). They did not know of the death of their companions until they saw vultures circling round the camp. They knew that this must mean that something serious had happened, so they went to investigate and there were the men lying in their blood and the horsemen who had killed them standing near. ʿĀmir’s opinion was that they should join the apostle and tell him the news, but the Anṣārī said that he could not bring himself to leave the spot where al-Mundhir had been slain, nor could he bear that people should say that he had done such a thing, so he fought the party until he was killed. They took ‘Amr prisoner, and when he told them that he was of Mu‘ār, ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl let him go after cutting off his forelock. He freed him, so he alleged, because of an oath taken by his mother.¹

¹ This is accepted by Bukhārī.
² Cf. the shorter account in Māsā b. Uqba, No. 7.

ʿĀmir of which ʿAmr knew nothing, and when after questioning he found that they belonged to B. ʿAmr he let them alone for a time until they slept when he fell upon them and killed them, thinking that he had taken vengeance on them for the killing of the apostle’s companions. But when he came to the apostle and told him what he had done he said, ‘You have killed two men whose bloodswit I must pay.’ Then the apostle said, ‘This is (the result of) Abū Bara‘s act. I did not like this expedition fearing what would happen.’ When Abū Bara‘ heard the news he was much upset at ʿĀmir’s violation of his guarantie in that the apostle’s companions had been killed because of what he had done and because he had promised them safety. Among those who were killed was ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra. ʿIyāhā b. ʿUrwa from his father told me that ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl used to ask, ‘Who was the man I saw lifted up between heaven and earth when he had been killed until I saw the sky receive him?’ They answered, ‘It was ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra. One of B. Jābār b. Salmā b. Mālik b. Ja‘far told me—Jābār was among those who were present that day with ʿĀmir and afterwards became a Muslim—that Jābār used to say, ‘What led me to become a Muslim was that I stabbed one of them between the shoulders that day and I saw the point of the spear come out of his chest, and I heard him say, “I have won by God!” I could not make out what he meant by the words seeing that I had killed him until afterwards I asked others and was told that it was martyrdom, and then I said, “By God he has won.”’ T. Ḥusayn b. Ṭālib, inciting B. Abū Bara‘ against ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl, said:

Ye sons of Ummul-Banin, are you not dismayed, You the loftiest of Najd’s people, At ʿĀmir’s insolence to Abū Bara‘ in violating his safe conduct? For a mistake is not the same as a deliberate act. Say to Rabī‘a who strives after great deeds, What did you do after I left you? Your father Abū Bara‘ is a man of war, Your uncle Ḥakam b. Sa‘d is celebrated (677).

{T.} Ka‘b b. Mālik also said on the same subject:

The violation of Abū Bara‘’s guarantee Is blazon abroad far and wide. It is like Musahhab and his father’s sons Hard by al-Ranḥ in the region of Suway‘. O sons of Ummul-Banin, did you not hear The cry for help at eventide, the loud call for aid? You did indeed, but you knew that he was a doughty warrior. The Banū Kilāb and al-Qurašt‘ Are homes of broken faith. O ʿĀmir, ʿĀmir of ancient infamy,
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You have won, but without intelligence or dignity.
Did you not deal falsely with the prophet?
Yet of old have you behaved infamously.
You are not like the guest of Abū Duvād
Nor al-Asadī the guest of Abū l-'Aṭā';
But your shame is a disease of long standing.
Take note that the disease of treachery is the most deadly.

When the words of Ḥassān and Ka‘b reached Rabī‘a b. ‘Amīr (Abū l-‘Ba‘rī‘), he attacked ‘Amīr b. al-‘Uthayl and stabbed him with his spear in his thigh; he failed to kill him but he fell from his horse saying, 'This is the work of Abū l-‘Ba‘rī‘'; if I die my blood (I give) to my uncle and he is not to be sued for it: if I live I will see to what has to be done myself.’


I left Ibn Warqā‘ dead on the ground
With the dust wind blowing o'er him.
I remembered Abūl-Rayyān when I saw him
And made sure that I was avenged.

Abūl-Rayyān was Ṭū‘ayma b. ‘Adiy.
Abdullāh b. Rawāḥa mourning Nāfī‘ b. Budayl b. Warqā‘ said:

God have the mercy on Nāfī‘ b. Budayl
That belongs to those who seek the reward of jiḥād!
Enduring, truthful, faithful,
When men talked too much he spoke to the point.

Ḥassān b. Thābit, mourning the slain at Bi'ir Ma‘ūna and especially at Mundhir b. ‘Amr, said:

Weep for the slain at Ma‘ūna
With everflowing tears,
For the apostle's horsemen the day
They met their death by God's decree.
They met their end because a people
Were false to their covenant and treacherous.
Alas for Mundhir who died there
And hastened to his end steadfastly!
How many a noble welcoming man
Of ‘Amr's best people was done to death! (678)

1 ‘Ṭ. has 'the spear was deflected so that it did not kill him'.
2 e.g. 'I forgive him'.
3 W. has ‘Abdūl-Za‘bībīn.
4 These lines are attributed to ‘Ḥassān. Cf. Dīwān xl.

The Deportation of the B. al-Naḍīr, A.H. 4

According to what Ṭāhir b. Ṭūrān told me the apostle went to B. al-Naḍīr to ask for their help in paying the bloodwit for the two men of B. Ṭāhir whom ‘Amīr b. Umayya al-Dāmirī had killed after he had given them a promise of security. There was a mutual alliance between B. al-Naḍīr and B. Ṭāhir. When the apostle came to them about the bloodwit they said that of course they would contribute in the way they wished; but they took counsel with one another apart, saying, 'You will never get such a chance again. Who will go to the top of the house and drop a rock on him (Ṭ. so as to kill him) and rid us of him? The apostle was sitting by the wall of one of their houses at the time. ‘Amīr b. Jāhid b. Ka‘b volunteered to do this and went up to throw down a rock.' As the apostle was with a number of his companions among whom were Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, and ‘Alī, news came to him from heaven about what these people intended, so he got up (Ṭ. and said to his companions, 'Don't go away until I come to you') and he went back to Medina. When his companions had waited long for the prophet, they got up to search for him and met a man coming from Medina and asked him about him. He said that he had seen him entering Medina, and they went off, and when they found him he told them of the treachery which the Jews meditated against him. The apostle ordered them to prepare for war and to march against them (679). Then he went off with the men until he came upon them (680).

The Jews took refuge in their forts and the apostle ordered that the palm-trees should be cut down and burnt, and they called out to him, 'Muhammad, you have prohibited wanton destruction and blamed those guilty of it. Why then are you cutting down and burning our palm-trees?'

Now there was a number of B. ‘A‘f b. al-Khaṭṣajr among whom were ‘Abdullāh b. Ubayy b. Sulāf and Wādī'a and Mālīk b. Abū Quaqqal and Suwayd and Dā‘i’ who had sent to B. al-Naḍīr saying, 'Stand firm and protect yourselves, for we will not betray you. If you are attacked we will fight with you and if you are turned out, we will go with you.' Accordingly they waited for the help they had promised, but they did nothing and God cast terror into their hearts. They asked the apostle to deport them and to spare their lives on condition that they could retain all their property which they could carry on camels, except their armour, and he agreed. So they loaded their camels with what they could carry. Men were destroying their houses down to the lintel of the door which they put upon the back of their camels and went off with it. Some went to Khaybar and others went to Syria. Among their chiefs who went to Khaybar were Sallām b.

1 I think it is clear that another and later story has been attached to this incident. Obviously if the prophet had overheard their designs there was no need of a supernatural communication from heaven. Further, it should be noted that in this later story the apostle is called 'the prophet'. This is a term which I.I. uses most sparingly, though it is fairly frequently employed by his editor I.H.
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Abū'l-Huqayq, Kinnāna b. al-Rabī b. Abī-l-Huqayq, and Huayy b. Akhtab. When they got there the inhabitants became subject to them.

'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr told me that he was told that they carried off the women and children and property with tambourines and pipes and singing-girls playing behind them. Among them was Umm 'Amr, wife of 'Urwa b. al-Ward al-'Abṣī, whom they had bought from him, she being one of the women of Ghiṣṭīr. (They went) with such pomp and splendour as had never been seen in any tribe in their days.

They left their property to the apostle and it became his personal property which he could dispose of as he wished. He divided it among the first emigrants to the exclusion of the Anṣār, except that Saḥb b. Ḥunayf and Abū Dujāna Simāk b. Kharasāha complained of poverty and so he gave them some. Only two of B. al-Naḍīr became Muslims: Yāmīn b. 'Umayr Abū Ka'b b. 'Amr b. Jīhāsh and Abī Sa'd b. Wāb b. who became Muslims in order to retain their property.

One of Yāmīn's family told me that the apostle said to Yāmīn, 'Have you seen the way your cousin has treated me and what he proposed to do?' Thereupon Yāmīn gave a man money to kill 'Amr b. Jīhāsh and he did kill him, or so they allege.

Concerning B. al-Naḍīr the Sūra of Exile came down in which is recorded how God wreaked His vengeance on them and gave His apostle power over them and how He dealt with them. God said: 'He it is who turned out those who disbelieved of the scripture people from their homes to the first exile. You did not think that they would go out and they thought that their forts would protect them from God. But God came upon them from a direction they had not reckoned and He cast terror into their hearts so that they destroyed their houses with their own hands and the hands of the believers.' That refers to their destroying their houses to extract the lintels of the doors when they carried them away. 'So consider this, you who have understanding. Had not God prescribed deportation against them, which was vengeance from God, 'He would have punished them in this world,' i.e. with the sword, 'and in the next world there would be the punishment of hell' as well. 'The palm-trees which you cut down or left standing upon their roots.' Līna means other than the best kind of dates. 'It was by God's permission,' i.e. they were cut down by God's order; it was not destruction but was vengeance from God, 'and to humble evildoers' (681). 'The spoil which God gave the apostle from them,' i.e. from B. al-Naḍīr. 'You did not urge on your cavalry or riding camels for the sake of it, but God gives His apostle power over whom He wills and God is Almighty,' i.e. it was peculiar to him (682). 'The spoil which God gave the apostle from the people of the towns belongs to God and His apostle.' What the Muslims gallop against with horses and camels and what is captured by force of arms belongs to God and the apostle. And is for the next of kin and orphans and the poor and the wayfarer so that it should not circulate among your rich men; and what the apostle gives you take and abstain from what he forbids you.' He says this is another division between Muslims concerning what is taken in war according to what God prescribed to him.¹

Then God said, 'Have you seen those who are disaffected,' meaning 'Abdullah b. Ubayy and his companions and those who are like-minded 'who say to their brothers of the scripture people who disbelieve,' i.e. the B. al-Naḍīr, up to the words 'like those who a short time before them tasted the misery of their acts and had a painful punishment,' i.e. the B. Qaynuqā'r. Then as far as the words 'Like Satan when he said to man Disbelieve, and when man disbelieved he said, I am quit of you. I fear Allah the Lord of the worlds and the punishment of both is that they will be in hell everlasting. That is the reward of the evildoers.'²

Among the verses composed about B. al-Naḍīr are the following from I. Luqaym al-'Abṣī. (Others say Qays b. Bahr b. Taṣīr was the author (683).)

My people be a ransom for the immortal man
Who forced the Jews to settle in a distant place.³
They pass their siesta with live coals of tamarisk.
Instead of the young shooting palms they have the bare hills of 'Ūdī.⁴
If I am right about Muhammad
You will see his horses between al-Ṣūlā and Yaramram
Making for 'Amr b. Bulthah. They are the enemy.
(A friendly tribe is not the same as an evil one.)
On them are heroes, firebrands in war,
Brandishing spears directed at their enemies.
Every fine sharp Indian blade
Inherited from the days of 'Abd and Jurhum.
Who will give Qurayah a message from me,
For is there one honoured in glory after them?

¹ In al-Baladhuri's Futūḥat al-Baladīn, ed. De Goeje, 18 f., this passage reads as follows: '...from Ibn Abī Zāma from Muhammad b. Iṣāq concerning God's word "The spoil which God gave the apostle from them," i.e. from B. al-Naḍīr, "you did not urge cavalry ... whom He wills." He taught them that it was peculiar to the apostle and to none else. So the apostle divided it among the emigrants except that Saḥb b. Ḥunayf and Abī Dujāna complained of poverty and so he gave them some [cf.1]. As to His words "The spoil which God gave the apostle from the people of the towns belongs to God and His apostle" to the end of the verse He says this is another division between Muslims according to what God described.'

² It does not necessarily follow that this is what I. b. wrote, though the arrangement of the matter is certainly more systematic. That may be due to al-Baladhuri. On the other hand, the mention of the first emigrants (e.g.) seems somewhat strange. The exclusion of the Anṣār may well have been ignored by the later writer as foreign to his purpose. On the other hand, the clumsy Arabic 'concerning what is taken in war' does not appear here. The change of 'prescribed' into 'described' is not an oral mistake but a misunderstanding and incidentally is one of countless proofs that tradition in early days was written down. A confusion between nāṣaḥa and nāṣafahā in speech is utterly impossible; in writing it might well be impossible to determine which alternative to adopt.

³ The meaning is obscure. I have followed S.

⁴ A. Dīb. says that this is the name of a place. Yasān does not mention it.
That your brother Muhammad, and know it well,
Is of that generous stock between al-Hajjān and Zamzam.
Obey him in truth and your fame will grow
And you will attain the greatest heights. He is
A prophet who has received God's mercy.
Ask him no hidden uncertain matter.
You had an example at Badr, O Quaysh,
And at the crowded cistern
The morning he attacked you with the Khazarjīs,
Obeying the Great and Honoured One,
Helped by the Holy Spirit, smiting his foes,
A true apostle from the Compassionate on high;
An apostle from the Compassionate reciting His book.
When the truth shone forth he did not hesitate.
I see his power mounting on every hand
In accord with God's decree (684).

Mentioning the deportation of B. al-Naḍīr and the killing of Ka'b b. al-Ashraf, 'Abb b. (685):

I know, and he who judges fairly knows.
I'm sure and swerve not
From the determined word, the signs which came
From God the Kind, the Most Kind,
Documents studied among the believers
In which he chose Ahmad the chosen one.
So Ahmad became honoured among us,
Honoured in rank and station.
O you who foolishly threaten him
Who came not in wickedness and was not overbearing,
Do you not fear the basest punishment
(He who has nothing to fear from God is not like him who lives in dread.)
And that you may be thrown beneath his swords
As Ka'b al-Ashraf was
The day that God saw his insolence
When he turned aside like a refractory camel?
And He sent down Gabriel with a gracious revelation
To His servant about his killing.
So the apostle secretly sent a messenger to him
With a sharp cutting sword.
Eyes wept copiously for Ka'b

1. A place in Mecca.
2. i.e. Gabriel.
3. Whenever the reader encounters this miserable basality of 'A, is not the same as 647—there is an example in the preceding poem—he may be sure that it is the product of the forge of much of the poetry of the Sira.
4. In Syria.
5. A sarcastic reference to the prophet. C. has yādil.
6. A mountain in the Hijaz.
7. Or, perhaps, 'of being disbelieved'.
And the disbeliever therein will be recompensed.
And when they imbibed treachery and unbelief
And aversion turned them from the truth,
God showed the prophet a sound view,
For God's decision is not false.
He strengthened him and gave him power over them
And was his Helper, an excellent Helper!
Ka'b was left prostrate there.
After his fall Naḍîr was brought low.
Sword in hand we cut him down
By Muhammad's order when he sent secretly by night
Ka'b's brother, to go to Ka'b,
He beguiled him and brought him down with guile.
Maḥmûd was trustworthy, bold.
Those Bani'l-Naḍîr were in evil case,
They were destroyed for their crimes.
The day the apostle came to them with an army
Walking softly as he looked at them.
Ghassân the protectors were his helpers
Against the enemies as he helped them.
He said 'I offer) Peace, we to you,' but they refused
And lies and deceit were their allies.
They tasted the results of their deeds in misery,
Every three of them shared one camel.
They were driven out and made for Qaynuqâ',
Their palms and houses were abandoned.

Sammâlî the Jew answered him:
I was sleeping while deep sleep was my guest
On a night that made all others seem short.
I saw that all the rabbis rejected him,
All of them men of knowledge and experience
Who used to study every science
Of which the Law and Psalms do speak.
You killed Ka'b the chief of the rabbis,¹
He whose ward was always safe.
He came down to Maḥmûd his brother,²
But Maḥmûd was harbouring a wicked design.
He left him in his blood looking as though
Saffron was flowing o'er his clothes.
By your father and mine,

¹ Ka'b was nothing of the kind. His father was of 'Uay's, though his mother belonged to B. al-Naḍîr. Can the forger possibly have confused him with Ka'b al-Aḥbâr?
² But the mans name was Sûlûn (W. 351, line 3). Is the forger referring to Muhammad b. Maslama, one of the assassins, whom he confused with Maḥmûd b. Maslama (W. 718, 769)?
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'Abbās b. Mirdās al-Sulami answered him:

You satirized the purest stock of the two priests,1
Yet you always enjoyed favours at their hands.
'Twere more fitting that you should weep for them,
Your people too if they paid their debt of gratitude.
Gratitude is the best fruit of kindness,
And the most fitting act of one who would do right.
You are as one who cuts off his head
To gain the power that it contains.2
Weep for B. Hārūn and remember their deeds,
How they killed beasts for the hungry when you were famished.3
O Kha wa, shed tears after tear for them,
Abandon your injurious attack upon them.
Had you met them in their homes
You would not have said what you say.
They were the first to perform noble deeds in war,
Welcoming the needy guest with kind words.4

Ka'b b. Malik (685) answered him:

On my life the mill of war
After it had sent Lu'ayy flying east and west5
Ground the remains of the family of the two priests, and their glory
Which once was great became feeble.
Salām and I. Sa'ya died a violent death
And I. Akhṭāb was led to a humiliating fate.
He made such noise in seeking glory ('twas really humiliation he sought),
What he gained from his fuss was frustration.6
Like him who leaves the plain and the height distresses him,
And that men find more difficult and arduous.
Sha's and 'Azzāl suffered war's fiery trial,
They were not absent as others were.
'Auf b. Salmā and I. 'Auf, both of them,

1 Commentators say that there were two tribes known as the Kabhainayn in the neighbourhood of Medina. Some read khālid in the plural. If (v. s) one of these tribes was the 'Sons of Aaron', could the other have been the tribe of Moses? But one must not take this forger's work too seriously. What Jew would refer to the Bible as 'The Law and the Prophets'? However, it is possible that al-zubār here means no more than 'The Writings'.
2 If, so, it would, of course, be appropriate in the mouth of a Jew. And what had they to do with the slaughter of beasts on the open plain?
3 I.e. kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. In destroying the Jewish settlements they had destroyed the prosperity of the Hijaz.
4 Lit. 'killed hunger'.
5 It says much for the impartiality of the biographer and his editor that they have retained this touching tribute to the unfortunate Jews.
6 He refers to the battle of Badr.
7 The meaning of the gloss in L.M. 1486 seems to be 'In seeking glory he appealed to outsiders', &c.

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And Ka'b chief of the people died a disappointed man.
Away with B. Nadir and their like
Whether the result be victory or God (686).1

The Raid of Dhātu'l-Riqā'

After the attack on B. al-Nadir the apostle stayed in Medina during Ra'bū'l-Ākhir and part of Jumādā. Then he raided Najd making for B. Muḥārib and B. Tha'labah of Ghaṭafān (687), until he stopped at Nakhl.6 This was the raid of Dhātu'l-Riqā'. There a large force of Ghaṭafān was encountered. The two forces approached one another, but no fighting occurred, for each feared the other. The apostle led the prayer of fear; then he went off with the men.

(T. Muhammad b. Ja' far b. al-Zubayr and Muhammad b. 'Abdu'l-7 T. 1454)

Rahmān from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from Abū Hurayra: We went with the apostle to Najd until at Dhātu'l-Riqā' he met a number of Ghaṭafān. There was no fighting because the men were afraid of them. The prayer of fear came down7 and he divided his companions into two sections, one facing the enemy and the other behind the apostle. The apostle cried 'Allah akbar,' and so did they all. Then he bowed with those behind him, and he and they prostrated themselves. When they stood erect they walked backwards to the ranks of their companions and the others prayed one bow. Then they stood erect and the apostle prayed one bow with them and they sat. Those who were facing the enemy came back and prayed the second bow and all the apostle united them with the salām, and gave them the Muslim greeting.8 (688)

'Amr b. 'Ubayd from al-Hasan from Ja'b b. 'Abdullah told me that a 663 man of B. Muḥārib called Ghaurath said to his people of Ghaṭafān and Muḥārib, 'Shall I kill Muhammad for you?' They encouraged him to do so and asked him how he proposed to carry out his design. He said that he would take him by surprise; so he went to the apostle as he was sitting with his sword in his lap, and asked to be allowed to look at it (689). The apostle gave it to him and he drew it and began to brandish it intending to strike him, but God frustrated him. He said, 'Aren't you afraid of me, Muhammad? ' 'No, why should I be? ' 'Aren't you afraid of me when I have a sword in my hand?' 'No, God will protect me from you.' Then he returned the apostle's sword to him. God sent down, 'O you who believe, remember God's favour to you when a people purpose to lay hands on you and he turned their hands away from you. Fear God and on God let the believers rely.9

Yazīd b. Rumān told me that this came down in reference to 'Amr b.

1 I.e. we have nothing but our hope in God.
2 See further E.I., art. 'Salāt, p. 1022. T. here notes that there is an irreconcilable difference in tradition, and proposes to deal with the problem elsewhere. I.H. has probably omitted the story because of the conflict in tradition.
3 Or, 'knocked him down'.
4 Sūrā 4, 105 f.
Jihāsh, brother of B. al-Nadīr, and his intention. But God knows the truth of the matter.

Walsh b. Kayṣān from Jābir b. ‘Abdullāh said: I went out with the apostle to the raid of Dhāntul-Riqī of Nākhūl on an old feeble camel of mine. On the way back the company kept on going while I dropped farther behind until the apostle overtook me and asked me what the trouble was. I told him that my camel was keeping me back, and he told me to make it kneel. I did so and the apostle made his camel kneel and then said, ‘Give me this stick you are holding’ or ‘Cut me a stick from a tree.’ He took it up and prodded the beast with it a few times. Then he told me to mount and off we went. By Him who sent him with the truth my (old) camel kept up with the rapid pace of his she-camel.

As we were talking, the apostle asked me if I would sell him my camel. I said that I would give it him, but he insisted on buying it, so I asked him to make me an offer. He said he would give me a dirham. I refused and said that would be cheating me. Then he offered me two dirhams and I still refused and the apostle went on raising his offer until it amounted to an ounce (of gold). When I asked him if he was really satisfied he said that he was and I said the camel was his. ‘Then he asked me if I were married; then was she a virgin or a woman previously married?’ I told him she had been married before and he said, ‘No girl so that you could sport together.’ I told him that my father had been killed at Uḥjud leaving seven daughters and I had married a motherly woman who could look after them efficiently. He said, ‘You have done well, if God will. Had we come to Sīrāt we would order camels to be slaughtered and stay there. For the day and she would hear about us and shake the dust off her cushions.’ I said, ‘But by God we have no cushions!’ He said, ‘But you will have. When you return, behave wisely.’ When we got to Sīrāt the apostle ordered the camels to be slaughtered and we stayed there for the day. At night the apostle went home and so did we. I told the woman the news and what the apostle had said to me. She said ‘Look alive and do what he tells you.’ In the morning I led away the camel and made it kneel at the apostle’s door. Then I sat inside the mosque hard by. He came out and saw it and asked what it was, and they told him it was the camel which I had brought. He asked where I was and I was summoned to him. He said, ‘O son of my brother, take away your camel for it is yours,’ and he called Bilāl and told him to give me an ounce of gold. He did so and added a little more. By God it continued to thrive with me and its effect on our household could be seen until it was lost recently in the misfortune which befell us, meaning the day of al-Harrā′.


al-Ansārī said: We went with the apostle on the raid of Dhāntul-Riqī of Nākhūl and a man killed the wife of one of the polytheists. When the apostle was on his way back her husband, who had been away, returned and heard the news of her death. He swore that he would not rest until he had taken vengeance on Muhammad’s companions. He went off following the track of the apostle, who when he halted asked that someone should keep watch during the night. A Muhājir and an Ansārī volunteered and he told them to stay in the mouth of the pass, the apostle and his companions having halted lower down the pass (690).

When the two had gone to take up their positions the Ansārī asked the Muhājir whether he would prefer to watch for the first or the second part of the night. He said that he would like to be relieved of the first part and lay down and went to sleep, while the Ansārī stood up to pray. The man who had been following them perceiving the figure of the man on guard and recognizing him for what he was, shot him with an arrow. The guard pulled it out and laid it down and remained standing. He shot him a second and a third time, and each time he pulled out the arrow and laid it down. Then he bowed and prostrated himself. Only then did he wake his companion, saying, ‘Sit down, for I have been wounded.’ But he leapt up, and when the man saw the two of them he knew that they were aware of him and fled. When the Muhājir saw the Ansārī flowing with blood he said ‘Great gracious, why didn’t you wake me the first time you were hit?’ He replied, ‘I was reading a sûra and I did not want to stop until I had finished it. When the shooting continued I bowed in prayer and woke you. If God, unless I were to lose a post which the apostle had ordered me to hold he could have killed me before I would break off my reading until I had finished the sûra (691).’

When the apostle came to Medina after this raid he stayed there for the rest of Jumāda’ul-‘Awwal, Jumāda’ul-‘akhirah, and Rajab.

THE LAST EXPEDITION TO BADR, A.H. 4

In Shab‘aḥ he went forth to Badr to keep his appointment with Abū Sufyān and stopped there (692).

He stayed there for eight nights waiting for Abū Sufyān. Abū Sufyān with the men of Mecca went as far as Majanna in the area of (T. Murr) al-Zahrā’. Some people say he reached (T. passed through) ‘Usfān; then he decided to go back. He told the Quraysh that the only suitable year was a fertile year when they could pasture the animals on the herbage and drink their milk, whereas this was a dry year. He was going to return and they must return with him. And so they did. The Meccans called them ‘the porridge army’, saying that they merely went out to drink porridge.

While the apostle was staying at Badr waiting for Abū Sufyān to keep
his appointment Makhshiy b. 'Amr al-Damri, who had made an agreement with him concerning B. Damra in the raid of Waddan, came to him and asked him if he had come to meet Quaraysh by this water. He said, ‘Yes, O brother of B. Damra; nevertheless, if you wish we will cancel the arrange-
ment between us and then fight you until God decide between us.’ He an-
swered, ‘No, by God, Muhammad, we do not want anything of the
kind.’

As he remained waiting for Abū Sufyān, Ma’bad b. Abū Ma’bad al-
Khuza’i passed by. He had seen where the apostle was as his she-camel
passed swiftly by and he said:

She fled from the two companies of Muhammad
And a datestone from Yahrib like a raisin stone
Hasting in the ancient religion of her fathers.
She made the water of Qudayd’ my meeting-place
And the water of Ḫajjān will be hers tomorrow.

‘Abdullah b. Rawāḥa said concerning this: (693):

We arranged to meet Abū Sufyān at Badr,
But we did not find him true to his promise.

I swear if you had kept your word and met us
You would have returned disgraced without your nearest kin.
We had left there the limbs of ‘Utba and his son
And ‘Amr Abū Jahl we left lying there.
You disobeyed God’s apostle—disgusting your religion
And your evil state that’s all astray.
If you reproach me I say
My wealth and people be the apostle’s ransom!
We obey him treating none among us as his equal.
His is our guiding light in the darkness of the night.

Hassān b. ‘Thabit said concerning that:

You can say good-bye to Syria’s running streams,
For in between are swords like mouths of pregnant camels that feed
on arak trees
In the hands of men who migrated to their Lord,
In the hands of His true helpers and the angels too.
If they go to the lowland of the sandy valley
Say to them: ‘This is not the road.’
We stayed by the shallow well eight nights
With a large well-equipped force with many camels
With every dark bay its middle half its size

1 Qudayd was near Mecca.
2 Ḫajjān is a mountain in the Tihāma about one post from Mecca.
3 These lines have already been cited on p. 347.
4 Lit. ‘wide kneeling places’.

Slender, long, of lofty withers.
You could see the swift camel’s feet
Uprooting the annual herbs.
If on our journeyings we meet Furāt b. Ḥayyān
He will become death’s hostage.
If we meet Qays b. Imrā’ul-Qays hereafter
His black face will become blacker still!
Take Abū Sufyān a message from me
For you are the best of a bad lot.

Abū Sufyān b. al-Harith b. ‘Abdu’l-Muṭṭalib answered him:

O Ḥassān, son of a mouldy date-eating woman,
I swear that we so traversed wide deserts
That young gazelles could not escape between us
Had they fled from us swiftly one after the other.4
When we left our halting-place you would have thought it
Dunged by the crowds at a fair.
You stayed by the shallow well wanting us
And you left us in the palm-groves hard by.
Our horses and camels walked on the crops
And what they trod on they drove into the soft sand.
We stopped three days between Ṣal‘ and Fārī5
With splendid steeds and swift camels.
You would have thought fighting people beside their tents
Was as easy as buying lead for money.
Don’t describe your fine horses, but speak of them
As one who holds them firmly back.
/ You rejoice in them, but that is the right of others,
The horsemen of the sons of Fāhr b. Mālik.
You have no part in the migration though you mention it
And do not observe the prohibitions of its religion (694).

THE RAID ON DUMATUL-JANDAL, AH. 5

The apostle returned to Medina and stayed there some months until
Dhū’l-Hijja had passed. This was the fourth year of his sojourn in Medina
and the polytheists were in charge of the pilgrimage. Then he raided
Dumatul-Jandal (695).

Then he returned, not having reached the place, without fighting, and
stayed in Medina for the rest of the year.

1 According to the commentator the meaning is that their force was so large that the
2 Elephants could not escape them.
3 Two mountains.
4 Q 4698
THE BATTLE OF THE DITCH, A.H. 5

660 'This took place in Shawwal, A.H. 5. Yazid b. Ruman, client of the family of al-Zubayr b. Urwa b. al-Zubayr, and one whom I have no reason to suspect from Abdullah b. Ka'b b. Malik, and Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurashi, and al-Zuhri, and 'Asim b. Umar b. Qatada, and 'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr and other traditionists of ours told me the following narrative, each contributing a part of it:

A number of Jews who had formed a party against the apostle, among whom were Sallam b. Abu'l-Huqayq al-Nadr, and Huways b. Akthab al-Nadr, and Kinana b. Abu'l-Huqayq al-Nadr, and Haudha b. Qays al-Willi, and Abu 'Ammar al-Willi with a number of B. al-Nadr and B. Wa'il went to Quraysh at Mecca and invited them to join them in an attack on the apostle so that they might get rid of him altogether. Quraysh said, 'You, O Jews, are the first scripture people and know the nature of our dispute with Muhammad. Is our religion the best or is his?' They replied that certainly their religion was better than his and they had a better claim to be in the right. (It was about them that the apostle said, 'Have you not considered those to whom a part of the scripture was given who believe in idols and false deities and say to those who disbelieve, These are more rightly guided than those who believe? These are they whom God hath cursed and he whom God has cursed you will find for him no helper as far as His words, 'Or are they jealous of men because of what God from His bounty has brought to them?' I.e. prophecy. 'We gave the family of Abraham the scripture and wisdom and we gave them a great kingdom and some of them believed in it and some of them turned from it, and half is sufficient for (their) burning.')

These words rejoiced Quraysh and they responded gladly to their invitation to fight the apostle, and they assembled and made their preparations. Then that company of Jews went off to Ghaṭafan of Qays 'Aylan and invited him to fight the apostle and told them that they would act with them and that Quraysh had followed their lead in the matter; so they too joined in with them (T. and agreed to what they suggested).


When the apostle heard of their intention he drew a trench about Medina and worked at it himself encouraging the Muslims with the hope of reward in heaven. The Muslims worked very hard with him, but the disaffected held back from them and began to hide their real object by working slackly and by stealing away to their families without the apostle's permission or

knowledge. A Muslim who had to attend to an urgent matter would ask the apostle's permission to go and would get it, and when he had carried out his business he would return to the work he had left because of his desire to do what was right and his respect for the same. So God sent down concerning those believers: 'They only are the believers who believe in God and His apostle and when they are with him on a common work do not go away without asking his permission. Those who ask thy permission are they who believe in God and His apostle. And if they ask thy permission in some business of theirs, give leave to whom wilt of them and ask God's pardon for them. God is forgiving, merciful.' This passage came down concerning those Muslims who desired the good and respected it, and obeyed God and His apostle.

Then God said of the disaffected who were stealing away from the work and leaving it without the prophet's permission, 'Do not treat the call of the apostle among you as if it were one of you calling upon another. God knows those of you who steal away to hide themselves. Let those who conspire to disobey his order beware lest trouble or a painful punishment befall them.' (696). 'Verily to God belong heaven and earth. He knows what you are doing' the man who speaks the truth and the man who lies. 'And (He knows) the day they will be returned to Him when He will tell them what they did, for God knows all things.'

The Muslims worked at the trench until they had finished it, and they made a jingle about one of the Muslims called Ju'ayl whom the apostle had named 'Amr, saying,

He changed his name from Ju'ayl to 'Amr
And was a help to the poor man that day.

When they came to the word 'Amr the apostle said 'Amr', and when they came to 'help' he said 'help'.

I have heard some stories about the digging of the trench in which there is an example of God's justifying His apostle and confirming his prophetic office, things which the Muslims saw with their own eyes. Among these stories is one that I have heard that Jabin b. 'Abdullah used to relate: When they were working on the trench a large rock caused great difficulty, and they complained to the apostle. He called for some water and spat it in; then he prayed as God willed him to pray; then he sprinkled the water on the rock. Those who were present said, 'By Him who sent him a prophet with the truth it was pulverized as though it were soft sand so that it could not resist axe or shovel.'

Sa'id b. Minah told me that he was told that a daughter of Bashihr b. Sa'd, sister of al-Nu'man b. Bashir, said: 'My mother 'Amra d. Rawaha called me and gave me a handful of dates which she put in my garment and told me to take them to my father and my uncle 'Abdullah b. Rawaha for their

1 Sura 34, 52.
2 The prophet came in with the rhyming words of each hemistich.
food. As I went off looking for them I passed the apostle who called me and asked me what I had. When I told him that I was taking the dates to my father and my uncle he told me to give them to him. So I poured them into his hands but they did not fill them. Then he called for a garment which was laid out for him and threw the dates upon it so that they were scattered on it. Then he told the men to summon the diggers to lunch, and when they came they began to eat and the dates went on increasing until they turned away from them and they were still falling from the ends of the garment.

On the same authority I was told: We worked with the apostle at the trench. Now I had a little ewe not fully fattened and I thought it would be a good thing to dress it for the apostle, so I told my wife to grind some barley and make some bread for us, and I killed the sheep and we roasted it for the apostle. When night came and the apostle was about to leave the trench—for we used to work at it all day and go home in the evening—I told him that we had prepared bread and mutton for him and that I should like him to come with me to my house. It was only he that I wanted; but when I said this he ordered a crier to shout an invitation for all to come to my house. I said, ‘To God we belong and to Him we return!’ However he and the other men came and when he sat down we produced the food and he blessed it and invoked the name of God over it. Then he ate as did all the others. As soon as one lot had finished another lot came until the diggers turned from it.

I was told that Salmān al-Fārisī said: I was working with a pick in the trench where a rock gave me much trouble. The apostle who was near at hand saw me hacking and saw how difficult the place was. He dropped down into the trench and took the pick from my hand and gave such a blow that lightning showed beneath the pick. This happened a second and a third time. I said: ‘O you, dearer than father or mother, what is the meaning of this light beneath your pick as you strike?’ He said: ‘Did you really see that, Salmān? The first means that God has opened up to me the Yaman; the second Syria and the west; and the third the east.’ One whom I do not suspect told me that Abū Hurayra used to say when these countries were conquered in the time of ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān and after: ‘Conquer where you will, by God, you have not conquered and to the resurrection day you will not conquer a city whose keys God had not given beforehand to Muhammad.’

When the apostle had finished the trench, Quraysh came and encamped where the torrent-beds of Rūma meet between al-Jurf and Zughābā with ten thousand of their black mercenaries and their followers from B. Kinnā and the people of Tīhāma. Ghaṭafān too came with their followers from Najd and halted at Dhanab Naqmā towards the direction of ‘Uphud. The apostle and the Muslims came out with three thousand men having ‘Uthmān at their backs. He pitched his camp there with the trench between him and his foes (67), and gave orders that the women and children were to be taken up into the forts.

The enemy of God Huyayy b. Akhṭab al-Naḍrī went out to Ka‘b b. Asad al-Qurāzī who had made a treaty with the apostle. When Ka‘b heard of Huyayy’s coming he shut the door of his fort in his face, and when he asked permission to enter he refused to see him, saying that he was a man of ill omen and that he himself was in treaty with Muhammad and did not intend to go back on his word because he had always found him loyal and faithful. Then Huyayy accused him of shutting him out because he was unwilling to let him eat his corn. This so enraged him that he opened his door. He said, ‘Good heavens, Ka‘b, I have brought you immortal fame and a great army. I have come with Quraysh with their leaders and chiefs which I have halted where the torrent-beds of Rūma meet; and Ghaṭafān with their leaders and chiefs which I have halted in Dhanab Naqmā towards ‘Uphud. They have made a firm agreement and promised me that they will not depart until we have made an end of Muhammad and his men.’ Ka‘b said: ‘By God, you have brought me immortal shame and an empty cloud which has shed its water while it thunders and lightens with nothing in it. Woe to you, Huyayy leave me (F. and Muhammad) as I am, for I have always found him loyal and faithful.’ Huyayy kept on wheeling Ka‘b until at last he gave way in giving him a solemn promise that if Quraysh and Ghaṭafān returned without having killed Muhammad he would enter his fort with him and await his fate. Thus Ka‘b broke his promise and cut loose from the bond that was between him and the apostle.

When the apostle and the Muslims heard of this the apostle sent Sa‘d b. Mu‘ādh b. al-Nu‘mān who was chief of Aus at the time, and Sa‘d b. 675 Ubāda b. Dula‘yram, one of B. Sa‘ida b. Ka‘b b. Khazraj, chief of al-Khazraj at the time, together with ‘Abdullah b. Rawā‘ja brother of B. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj, and Khawā‘īt b. Jubayr brother of B. ‘Amr b. ‘Auf, and told them to go and see whether the report was true or not. ‘If it is true give me an enigmatic message which I can understand, and do not undermine the people’s confidence; and if they are loyal to their agreement speak openly before the people. They went forth and found the situation even more deplorable than they had heard; they spoke disparagingly of the apostle, saying, ‘Who is the apostle of God? We have no agreement or undertaking with Muhammad.’ Sa‘d b. Mu‘ādh reviled them and they reviled him. He was a man of hasty temper and Sa‘d b. ‘Ubāda said to him, ‘Stop insulting them, for the dispute between us is too serious for recrimination.’ Then the two Sa‘ds returned to the apostle and after saluting him said: ‘Asad al-Qāra‘ī i.e. like the treachery of ‘Asad al-Qāra towards the men of al-Ra‘jī, Khubayb and his friends.’ The apostle said ‘Allah akbar! Be of good cheer, you Muslima.’

The situation became serious and fear was everywhere. The enemy came

1 See the excursus on the semantic development of the word la‘b in J. Fich, Arabýa, Berlin, 1950, p. 132.
2 c.c.
at them from above and below until the believers imagined vain things, and disaffection was rife among the disaffected to the point that Mu’ātib b. Qusyahr brother of B. ‘Amr b. ‘Auf said, ‘Muhammad used to promise us that we should eat the treasures of Chosroes and Caesar and today not one of us can feel safe in going to the privy!’ (698). It reached such a point that ‘Aus b. Qayz, one of B. Hāritha b. al-Hārith, said to the apostle, ‘Our houses are exposed to the enemy’—this he said before a large gathering of his people—so let us go out and return to our home, for it is outside Medina.’ The apostle and the polytheists remained twenty days and more, nearly a month, without fighting except for some shooting with arrows, and the siege.

When conditions pressed hard upon the people the apostle—according to what ‘Āsim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda and one whom I do not suspect told me from Muhammad b. Muslim b. ‘Ubaydullah b. Shihāb al-Zuhri—sent to ‘Uyyayna b. Ḥiṣn b. Hudhayfa b. Badr and to al-Hārith b. ‘Auf b. Abī Hāritha al-Murrī who were leaders of Ghāṭafān and offered them a third of the dates of Medina on condition that they would go back with their followers and leave him and his men, so peace was made between them so far as the writing of a document. It was not signed and was not a definite peace, merely peace negotiations (T. and they did so). When the apostle wanted to act he sent to the two Sa’ds and told them of it and asked their advice. They said: ‘Is it a thing you want us to do, or something God has ordered you to do which we must carry out? or is it something you are doing for us?’ He said: ‘It is something I am doing for your sake. By God, I would not do it were it not that I have seen the Arabs have shot at you from one bow, and gathered against you from every side and I want to break their offensive against you!’ Sa’d b. Mu’ādh said: ‘We and these people were polytheists and idolaters, not serving God nor knowing him, and they never hoped to eat a single date (T. of ours) except as guests or by purchase. Now, after God has honoured and guided us to Islam and made us famous by you, are we to give them our property? We certainly will not. We will give them nothing but the sword until God decide between us.’ The apostle said: ‘You shall have it.’ Sa’d took the papers and erased what was written, saying, ‘Let them do their worst against us.’

The siege continued without any actual fighting, but some horsemen of Quraysh, among whom were ‘Amr b. Abū Wudd b. Abī Qays (699) brother of B. ‘Amir b. Lu’ayy; ‘Ikrima b. Abū Jahl; Hubayra b. Abī Wahhāb, both of Makkah; Dirir b. al-Khaṭṭāb the poet, b. Miqdād brother of B. Muḥārīb b. Fihir donned their armour and went forth on horseback to the stations of B. Kinnā, saying, ‘Prepare for fighting and then you will know who are true knights today.’ They galloped forward until they stopped at the trench. When they saw it they exclaimed, ‘This is a device which the Arabs have never employed!’ (700).

They then made for a narrow part of the trench and beat their horses.

1 The language is borrowed from Sūra 33. 10.

so that they dashed through it and carried them into the swampy ground between the trench and Sa‘l. ‘All with some Muslims came out to hold the gap through which they had forced a passage against (the rest of) them and the horsemen galloped to meet them. Now ‘Amr b. Abū Wudd had fought at Badr until he was disabled by wounds, and so he had not been at Uḥud. At the battle of the Trench he came out wearing a distinguishing mark to show his rank, and when he and his contingent stopped he challenged anyone to fight him. ‘All accepted the challenge and said to him: ‘Amr, you swore by God that if any man of Quraysh offered you two alternatives you would accept one of them?’ ‘Yes, I did,’ he said. ‘All replied, ‘Then I invite you to God and His apostle and to Islam.’ He said that he had no use for them. ‘All went on, ‘Then I call on you to dismount.’ He replied, ‘O son of my brother, I do not want to kill you.’ ‘All said, ‘But I want to kill you.’ This so enraged ‘Amr that he got off his horse and hamstring it and (T. or) beat its face; then he advanced on ‘All, and they fought, the one circling the other. ‘All killed him and their cavalry fled, bursting headlong in flight across the trench.

[When Amr issued his challenge to single combat ‘All got up clad in armour and asked the prophet’s permission to fight him, but he told him to sit down, for it was ‘Amr. Then ‘Amr repeated his challenge taunting them and saying, ‘Where is your garden of which you say that those you lose in battle will enter? Can’t you send a man to fight me?’ Again ‘All asked the prophet’s permission to go out, and again he told him to sit down. Then ‘Amr called out the third time:

I’ve become hoarse from shouting.
Isn’t there one among the lot of you who’ll answer my challenge?
I’ve stood here like a fighting champion
While the so-called brave are cowards.
I’ve always hastened to the front
Before the fight begins.
Bravery and generosity are in truth
The best qualities of a warrior.

‘All asked the prophet’s permission to fight him, even if he were ‘Amr, and he let him go. He marched towards him saying the while:

Don’t be in a hurry. No weakening
Has come to answer your challenge.
A man of resolution and foresight.
Truth is the refuge of the successful.
I hope to make the keening women
Busy over your corpse
Through the blow of a spear
Whose memory will last while fights are talked of.

‘Amr asked him who he was, and when he told him he said: ‘Let it be
one of your uncles who is older than you, my nephew, for I don’t want to shed your blood.’ ‘All answered, ‘But I do want to shed your blood.’ He became angry, and drew his sword which flashed like fire, and advanced in his anger (it is said that it was mounted). ‘All said to him, ‘How can I fight you when you are on a horse? Dismount and be on a level with me;’ So he got off his horse and came at him and ‘All advanced with his shield. ‘Amr aimed a blow which cut deeply into the shield so that the sword stuck in it and struck his head. But ‘All gave him a blow on the vein at the base of the neck and he fell to the ground. The dust rose and the apostle heard the cry, ‘Allah Akbar’ and knew that ‘All had killed him. [Subaya continues:] As he came towards the apostle smiling with joy ‘Umar asked him if he had stripped him of his armour, for it was the best that could be found among the Arabs. He answered: ‘When I had struck him down he turned his private parts towards me and I felt ashamed to despoil him and moreover he had said that he did not want to shed my blood because my father was a friend of his.’

T. 1476 [‘]. With ‘Amr were killed two men, Munabbih b. ‘Uthmân b. ‘Ubayd b. al-Sabba‘b b. ‘Abdu’l-Dâr who was hit by an arrow and died in Mecca; and of B. Makhzmûm Naufal b. ‘Abdullâh b. al-Mughîrâ who had stormed the trench and rolled down into it and they stoned him. He called out, ‘0 Arabs, Death is better than this,’ so ‘All went down to him and dispatched him. The Muslims got possession of his body and asked the apostle to let them sell his effects. He told them that he had no use for his effects or the price they would fetch, and it was their affair; and he left them a free hand.]

‘All said concerning that:

In his folly he fought for the stone pillars
While I fought for the Lord of Muhammad rightly.
I rejoiced when I left him prone
Like a stump between sand and rocks.
I forbore to take his garments
Though I had been the vanquished he would have taken mine.
Do not imagine, you confessors, that God
Will desert His religion and His prophet (701).

1 This incident is reported by I.H., Suh., L. S. Nâs, and al-Muâwîrî, 64, all of them saying that it was not reported by I.H. in the form given above. L. S. Nâs says it was narrated in the Kitâb of al-Bakîlî. Muâwîrî adds the details (a) that the three challenges of ‘Amr were issued on three successive days; (b) that he called out to Muhammad. His version seems to be the original, as there is more point in the taunt: ‘What’s the matter when none of you will advance to get his reward from his Lord (by being killed) or send an enemy to him?’ He ends: ‘They circled round each other and the dust rose so that it hid them from sight. When it cleared away there was ‘All wiping his sword on ‘Amr’s garments and he was slain. Muâwîrî took this from a written source, because he says that I.H. narrated the story in his Maqâmât.

2 I.e. the idlis.

3 The point of this is made clear in the extract from L.I’s Maqâmât and T.’s quotation from L.I. As the Sûra of L.I. stands it is left in the air.

The Life of Muhammad

‘Ikrîma b. Abû Jahl threw away his spear as he was running from Amr, so Hâsîn b. Thâbit said:

As he fled he threw his spear to us.
Perhaps, ‘Ikrîma, you have not done such a thing before?
As you turned your back you ran like an ostrich
Turning neither to right nor left.
You didn’t turn your back as a human being would,
The back of your neck was like a young hyaena’s (702).

Abû Laylâ ‘Abdullâh b. Sahl b. ‘Abdullâh-Râhîmân b. Sahl al-Ansârî, brother of B. Hârîthah, told me that ‘A’isha was in the fort of B. Hârîthah on that day. It was one of the strongest forts of Medina. The mother of ‘A’ishah was with her. ‘A’isha said: ‘This was before the veil had been imposed upon us. Sa’d went by wearing a coat of mail so short that the whole of his forearm was exposed. He hurried along carrying a lance, 679 saying the while,

Wait a little! Let Hamal 3 see the fight.
What matters death when the time is right?

His mother said, “Hurry up, my boy, for by God you are late.” I said to her, “I wish that Sa’d’s coat of mail were longer than it is”, for I was afraid for him where the arrow actually hit him. Sa’d was shot by an arrow which severed the vein of his arm. The man who shot him, according to what ‘Âsîm b. ‘Umar b. Qatâdah told me, was Hîbûn b. Qays b. al-‘Ariqâ, 2 one of B. ‘Amir b. Lu’ayy. When he hit him he said, “Take that from me, the son of al-‘Ariqâ.” Sa’d said to him, “May God make your face sweat (arrany) in hell. O God, if the war with Quraysh is to be prolonged spare me for it, for there is no people whom I want to fight more than those who insulted your apostle, called him a liar, and drove him out. O God, seeing that you have appointed war between us and that you grant me martyrdom and do not let me die until I have seen my desire upon B. Qurayya.”

One whom I do not suspect told me from ‘Abdullâh b. Ka’h b. Mîlîk that he used to say: ‘The man who hit Sa’d that day was Abû Usâmâ al-Jushamî, an ally of B. Makhzmûm. This Abû Usâmâ composed an ode about it with reference to ‘Ikrîma b. Abû Jahl:

O ‘Ikrîma, why did you blame me when you said
Khâlid be your ransom in the forts of Medina?
Am I not he who inflicted a bloody wound on Sa’d?
The vein where the elbow bends gushed with his blood.
Sa’d died of it and the grey-haired matrons
And the high-breasted virgins made loud lamentation.
You are the one who protected him when ‘Ubaydah 4

1 The saying is proverbial. The readings vary between Hamal and Jamal, and the commentators are not agreed on the reading or the man intended.
2 She was Khadija’s grandmother according to some.
3 Is this ‘Ubaydah b. Jâhid who was slain at Ujûd?
Called all of them in his stress,
What time some of them turned away from him
And others made off in their terror.¹

God knows best about that (705).

Yahya b. ‘Abdād b. ‘Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr from his father ‘Abdād told me as follows: Safiya d. ‘Abdul-l-Mutallāb was in Fārij, the fort of Hassān b. Thābit. She said: ‘Hassān was with us there with the women and children, when a Jew came along and began to go round the fort. The B. Qurayza had gone to war and cut our communications with the apostle, and there was no one to protect us while the apostle and the Muslims were at the enemy’s threats unable to leave them to come to us if anyone turned up. I told Hassān that he could see this Jew going round the fort and I feared that he would discover our weakness and inform the Jews who were in our rear while the apostle and his companions were too occupied to help us, so he must go down and kill him. “God forgive you,” he said.

“You know quite well that I am not the man to do that.” When he said that and I saw that no help was to be expected from him I girded myself and took a club, and went down to him from the fort above and hit him with the club until I killed him. This done I went back to the fort and told Hassān to go down and strip him: I could not do it myself because he was a man. He said, “I have no need to strip him, Bint ‘Abdul-l-Mutallāb.”²

As God has described,³ the apostle and his companions remained in fear and difficulty when the enemy came upon them from above and below. Then Nu‘aym b. Mas‘ud b. ‘Amir b. Unayf b. Tha’labab b. Qunfud b. Hālāb b. Kahlāwab b. Aa‘jhab b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafan came to the apostle saying that he had become a Muslim though his people did not know of it, and let him give him what orders he would. The apostle said: ‘You are only one man among us, so go and awake distrust among the enemy to draw them off us if you can, for war is deceit.’ Thereupon Nu‘aym went off to B. Qurayza with whom he had been a boon companion in heathen days, and reminded them of his affection for them and of the special tie between them. When they admitted that they did not suspect him he said: ‘Qurayza and Ghaṭafan are not like you: the land is your land, your property, your wives, and your children are in it; you cannot leave it and go somewhere else. Now Quraysh and Ghaṭafan have come to fight Muhammad and his companions and you have aided them against him, but their land, their

¹ Or, reading maršāh, ‘aside off to avoid trouble’.
² Or, reading Tujātna, ‘fastened my veil’.
³ The commentators do not like this story to the discredit of one of the prophet’s companions. Subayyil says that the learned reject the tradition because the tādīd is broken off. Further, had the story of Hassān’s cowardice been true the poets who satirized him would have mentioned it. As they did not the tradition must be weak. On the other hand, if it is sound, it may be that Hassān was ill on that day and could not fight. Al-Zarqālī, who believes the story, discounts the argument that rival poets would have used the story had it been true by saying that the fact that he was a companion of the prophet saved him, and their silence on the subject is one of the ‘marks of prophecy’.
⁴ Sūra 33. 10.
cold wind against them in the winter nights which upset their cooking-pots and overthrew their tents.

When the apostle learned of their dispute and how God had broken up their alliance he called Hudhayfa b. al-Yamān and sent him to them to see what the army was doing at night.

Yazid b. Ziyād told me from Muhammad b. Ka'ab b. al-Qurayṣa: A man of Kiṣa said to Hudhayfa, 'Did you really see the apostle and were you his companion?' When he replied Yes, he asked what they used to do, and he said that they used to live a hard life. He said, 'By God, if we had lived in his day we would not have allowed him to set foot on the ground, but would have carried him on our shoulders.' Hudhayfa said, 'I can see us with the apostle at the trench as he prayed for a part of the night and then turned to us and said, "Who will get up and see for us what the army is doing and then return—the apostle stipulating that he should return—I will ask God that he shall be my companion in paradise." Not a single man got up because of his great fear, hunger, and the severe cold. When no one got up the apostle called me, and I had to get up when he called me. He told me to go and see what the army was doing and not to do anything else until I returned to him. So I went out and mingled with the army while the wind and God's troops were dealing with them as they did, leaving neither pot, nor fire, nor tent standing firm. Abū Sufyān got up and said, '"O Quraysh, let every man see who is sitting next him.' So I took hold of the man who was at my side and asked him who he was and he said So and so.

Then Abū Sufyān said: '"O Quraysh, we are not in a permanent camp; the horses and camels are dying; the B. Qurayṣa have broken their word to us and we have heard disquieting reports of them. You can see the violence of the wind which leaves us neither cooking-pots, nor fire, nor tents to count on. Be off, for I am going!' Then he went to his camel which was hobbled, mounted it, and beat it so that it got up on its three legs; by God its hobble was not freed until it was standing. Were it not that the apostle had enjoined me not to do anything else until I returned to him, if I wished I could have killed him with an arrow.

'I returned to the apostle as he was standing praying in a wrapper belonging to one of his wives (704). When he saw me he made me come in to sit at his feet and threw the end of the wrapper over me; then he bowed and prostrated while I was in it (¶. And I disturbed him). When he had finished I told him the news. When Ghaftān heard of what Quraysh had done they broke up and returned to their own country.'

In the morning the apostle and the Muslims left the trench and returned to Medina, laying their arms aside.

1 i.e. not to act on his own initiative.
2 The Arabs still hobble their camels when they are kneeling with their legs folded beneath them. One of the forelegs is tied by the halter in the folded position. If the camel gets up before the hobble is undone one leg is permanenly doubled up and cannot be put to the ground.

According to what al-Zuhri told me, at the time of the noon prayers Gabriel came to the apostle wearing an embroidered turban and riding on a mule with a saddle covered with a piece of brocade. He asked the apostle if he had abandoned fighting, and when he said that he had said that the angels had not yet laid aside their arms and that he had just come from pursuing the enemy. 'God commands you, Muhammad, to go to B. Qurayṣa. I am about to go to them to shake their stronghold.'

The prophet ordered it to be announced that none should perform the afternoon prayer until after he reached B. Qurayṣa (705). The apostle sent 'Ali forward with his banner and the men hastened to it. 'Ali advanced until when he came near the forts he heard insulting language used of the apostle. He returned to meet the apostle on the road and told him that it was not necessary for him to come near those rascals. The apostle said, 'Why? I think you must have heard them speaking ill of me,' and when 'Ali said that that was so he added, 'If they saw me they would not talk in that fashion.' When the apostle approached their forts he said, 'You brothers of monkeys, has God disgraced you and brought His vengeance upon you?' They replied, 'O Abū-l-Qasim, you are not a barbarian.'

The apostle passed by a number of his companions in al-Ṣuwayrīn before he got to B. Qurayṣa and asked if anyone had passed them. They replied that Dhiya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī had passed upon a white mule with a saddle covered with a piece of brocade. He said, 'That was Gabriel who has been sent to B. Qurayṣa to shake their castles and strike terror to their hearts.'

When the apostle came to B. Qurayṣa he halted by one of their wells near their property called The Well of Anā (706). The men joined him. Some of them came after the last evening prayer not having prayed the afternoon prayer because the apostle had told them not to do so until he got to B. Qurayṣa. They had been much occupied with warlike preparations and they refused to pray until they came to B. Qurayṣa in accordance with his instructions and they prayed the afternoon prayer there after the last evening prayer. God did not blame them for that in His book, nor did the apostle reproach them. My father Isḥaq b. Yasār told me this tradition from Ma'had b. Mālik al-Anṣārī.

The apostle besieged them for twenty-five nights until they were sore pressed and God cast terror into their hearts.

Now Huwayy b. Akhtāb had gone with B. Qurayṣa into their forts when Quraysh and Ghaftān had withdrawn and left them, to keep his word to Ka'ab b. Asad; and when they felt sure that the apostle would not leave them until he had made an end of them Ka'ab b. Asad said to them: 'O Jews, you can see what has happened to you; I offer you three alternatives. Take which you please.' (i) We follow this man and accept him as true, for by God it has become plain to you that he is a prophet who has
been sent and that it is he that you find mentioned in your scripture; and
then your lives, your property, your women and children will be saved.
They said, 'We will never abandon the laws of the Torah and never change
it for another.' He said, 'Then if you won't accept this suggestion (ii) let
us kill our wives and children and send men with their swords drawn to
Muhammad and his companions leaving no encumbrances behind us, until
God decides between us and Muhammad. If we perish, we perish, and we
shall not leave children behind us to cause us anxiety. If we conquer we
can acquire other wives and children.' They said, 'Should we kill these
poor creatures? What would be the good of life when they were dead?
He said, 'Then if you will not accept this suggestion (iii) tonight is the eve
of the sabbath and it may well be that Muhammad and his companions
will feel secure from us then, so come down, perhaps we can take Muham-
mad and his companions by surprise.' They said: 'Are we to profane one
sabbath and do on the sabbath what those before us of whom you well
know did and were turned into apes?' He answered, 'Not a single man
among you from the day of your birth has ever passed a night resolved to
do what he knows ought to be done.'

Then they sent to the apostle saying, 'Send us Abū Lubāba b. 'Abdū-
Mundhir, brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf (for they were allies of al-Aus), that
we may consult him.' So the apostle sent him to them, and when they saw
him they got up to meet him. The women and children went up to him
weeping in his face, and he felt sorry for them. They said, 'Oh Abū Lubāba,
do you think that we should submit to Muhammad's judgment?' He said, 'Yes,' and pointed with his hand to his throat, signifying slaughter.
Abū Lubāba said, 'My feet had not moved from the spot before I knew
that I had been false to God and His apostle.' Then he left them and did
not go to the apostle but bound himself to one of the pillars in the mosque
saying, 'I will not leave this place until God forgives me for what I have
done,' and he promised God that he would never go to B. Qurayza and
would never be seen in a town in which he had betrayed God and His
apostle (707).

When the apostle heard about him, for he had been waiting for him a
long time, he said, 'If he had come to me I would have asked for-
forgiveness for him, but seeing that he behaved as he did I will not let him go from his
place until God forgives him.' Yarzib b. 'Abdullah b. Qussay told me that
the forgiveness of Abū Lubāba came to the apostle at dawn while he was
in the house of Umm Salama. She said: 'At dawn I heard the apostle laugh
and I said: Why did you laugh? May God make you laugh!' He replied,
'Abū Lubāba has been forgiven.' She said, 'Cannot I give him the good
news?' and when he said that she could she went and stood at the door of
her room' (this was before the veil had been prescribed for women) and
said, 'O Abū Lubāba, rejoice, for God has forgiven you'; and men rushed
out to set him free. He said, 'No, not until the apostle frees me with his

1 The prophet's house was next door to the mosque where Abū Lubāba had tied himself.

own hand.' When the apostle passed him when he was going out to
morning prayer he set him free (708).

That 'Abba b. Sa'ay, Usayd his brother, and Asad b. 'Ubayd of B. Hadl
who were not related to B. Qurayza or B. al-Nafīr (their pedigree is far
above that), accepted Islam the night on which B. Qurayza surrendered to
the apostle's judgement.

On that night 'Amr b. Su'dā al-Quraych went out and passed the apostle's
guards commanded that night by Muhammad b. Maslama who challenged
him. Now 'Amr had refused to join B. Qurayza in their treachery towards
the apostle, saying, 'I will never behave treacherously towards Muham-
dad.' When Muhammad b. Maslama recognized him he said, 'O God, do
not deprive me (of the honour) of setting right the errors of the noble' and
let him go his way. He went as far as the door of the apostle's mosque7 in
Medina that night; then he vanished, and it is not known to this day where he
went. When the apostle was told he said, 'That is a man whom God
delivered because of his faithfulness.' Some people allege that he was
found with a rotten rope along with the captives of B. Qurayza when they
submitted to the apostle's judgement, and his old rope was found cast away
gone knowing whither he went and the apostle then said those words. God
knows what really happened.

In the morning they submitted to the apostle's judgement and al-Aus
left up and said, 'O Apostle, they are our allies, not allies of Khazraj, and
you know how you recently treated the allies of our brethren.' Now the
apostle had besieged B. Qaynuqa' who were allies of al-Khazraj and when
they submitted to his judgement 'Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salūl had asked
him for them and he gave them to him; so when al-Aus spoke thus the
apostle said: 'Will you be satisfied, O Aus, if one of your own number
pronounces judgment on them?' When they agreed he said that Sa'd b.
Mu'adh was the man. The apostle had put Sa'd in a tent belonging to a
woman of Aslam called Rufayda inside his mosque. She used to nurse the
wounded and see to those Muslims who needed care. The apostle had told
his people when Sa'd had been wounded by an arrow at the battle of the
Trench to put him in Rufayda's tent until he could visit him later. When
the apostle appointed him umpire in the matter of B. Qurayza, his people
came to him and mounted him on a donkey on which they had put a
leather cushion, he being a corpulent man. As they brought him to the
apostle they said, 'Deal kindly with your friends, for the apostle has made
you umpire for that very purpose.' When they persisted he said, 'The time
has come for Sa'd in the cause of God, not to care for any man's censure.'
Some of his people who were there went back to the quarter of B. 'Abdul-
'Abhal and announced to them the death of B. Qurayza before Sa'd got to
them, because of what they had heard him say.

When Sa'd reached the apostle and the Muslims the apostle told them
to get up to greet their leader. The muhādirs of Quraysh thought that the

1 W. has 'until he passed the night in'.

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apostle meant the Anṣār, while the latter thought that he meant everyone, so they got up and said ‘O Abī ‘Amr, the apostle has entrusted to you the affair of your allies that you may give judgement concerning them.’ Sa’d asked, ‘Do you covenant with Allah that you accept the judgement I pronounce on them?’ They said Yes, and he said, ‘And is it incumbent on the one who is here? (looking) in the direction of the apostle not mentioning him out of respect, and the apostle answered Yes. Sa’d said, ‘Then I give judgement that the men should be killed, the property divided, and the women and children taken as captives.’

‘Āṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda told me from ‘Abdu’l-Rahmān b. ‘Amr b. Sa’d b. Mu‘adh from ‘Alqama b. Waqqās al-Laythī that the apostle said to Sa’d, ‘You have given the judgement of Allah above the seven heavens’ (709).

Then they surrendered, and the apostle confined them in Medina in the quarter of d. al-‘Jarīth, a woman of B. al-Najār. Then the apostle went out in the market of Medina (which is still its market today) and dug trenches in it. Then he sent for them and struck off their heads in those trenches as they were brought out to him in batches. Among them was the enemy of Allah Huwayy b. Akhtab and Ka‘b b. Asad their chief. There were 600 or 700 in all, though some put the figure as high as 800 or 900. As they were being taken out in batches to the apostle they asked Ka‘b what he thought would be done with them. He replied, ‘Will you never understand? Don’t you see that the summoner never stops and those who are taken away do not return? By Allah it is death!’ This went on until the apostle made an end of them.

Huwayy was brought out wearing a flowered robe (710) in which he had made holes about the size of the finger-tips in every part so that it should not be taken from him as spoil, with his hands bound to his neck by a rope. When he saw the apostle he said, ‘By God, I do not blame myself for opposing you, but he who forsakes God will be forsaken.’ Then he went to the men and said, ‘God’s command is right. A book and a decree, and massacre have been written against the Sons of Israel.’ Then he sat down and his head was struck off.

Jabal b. Jawwāl al-Thalabi said:

Ibn Akhtab did not blame himself
But he who forsakes God will be forsaken.
He fought until he justified himself
And struggled to the utmost in pursuit of glory.

Muhammad b. Ja‘far b. al-Zubayr told me from ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr that ‘A‘ishah said: ‘Only one of their women was killed. She was actually with me and was talking with me and laughing immoderately as the apostle was killing her men in the market when suddenly an unseen voice called her name. ‘Good heavens,’ I cried, ‘what is the matter?’ ‘I am to be killed,’ she replied. ‘What for?’ I asked. ‘Because of something I did,’ she answered. She was taken away and beheaded. ‘A‘ishah used to say, ‘I shall never forget my wonder at her good spirits and her loud laughter when all the time she knew that she would be killed’ (711).

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri told me that Thābit b. Qays b. al-Shamās had gone to al-Zubair b. Bāţa‘ al-Qurayjā who was Abū ‘Abdullāh-Rahmān. Al-Zubair had spared Thābit during the pagan era. One of al-Zabair’s sons told me that he had spared him on the day of Bu‘ath, having captured him and cut off his forelock and then let him go. Thābit came to him (he was then an old man) and asked him if he knew him, to which he answered, ‘Would a man like me not recognize a man like you?’ He said, ‘I want to repay you for your service to me.’ He said, ‘The noble repays the noble,’ Thābit went to the apostle and told him that al-Zubair had spared his life and he wanted to repay him for it, and the apostle said that his life would be spared. When he returned and told him that the apostle had spared his life he said, ‘What does an old man without family and without children want with life?’ Thābit went again to the apostle, who promised to give him his wife and children. When he told him he said, ‘How can a household in the Hijaz live without property?’ Thābit secured the apostle’s promise that his property would be restored and came and told him so, and he said, ‘O Thābit, what has become of him whose face was like a Chinese mirror in which the virgins of the tribe could see themselves, Ka‘b b. Asad?’ ‘Killed,’ he said. ‘And what of the prince of the Desert and the Sown, Huwayy b. Akhtab?’ ‘Killed.’ And what of our vanguard when we attacked and our rear guard when we fled (T. returned to the charge), ‘Azzāl b. Samawār? ‘Killed.’ ‘And what of the two assemblies? meaning B. Ka‘b b. Qurayya and B. ‘Amr b. Qurayya. ‘Killed.’ He said, Then I ask of you, Thābit, by my claim on you that you join me with my people, for life holds no joy now that they are dead, and I cannot bear to wait another moment to meet my loved ones.’ So Thābit went up to 692 him and struck off his head.

When Abū Bakr heard of his words ‘until I meet my loved ones’ he said, Yes, by Allah he will meet them in hell for ever and ever’ (712).

(Thābit b. Qays said concerning that, mentioning al-Zubair b. Bāţa‘: T. 1496)

My obligation is ended; I was noble and persistent
When others swerved from steadfastness.
Zubair had a greater claim than any man on me
And when his wrists were bound with cords
I went to the apostle that I might free him.
The apostle was a very sea of generosity to us.)

The apostle had ordered that every adult of theirs should be killed.

1 Lit. ‘the time it takes a man to pour a bucket of water into the trough and return the bucket’.

H h

A variant ‘so that none should wear it after him’ is worth mention.