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Shu’ba b. al-Hajjaj told me from ‘Abdu’l-Malik b. ‘Umrayr from ‘Ayya al-Quraṣṭṭa: The apostle had ordered that every adult of B. Quraṣṭa should be killed. I was a lad and I found that I was not an adult and so they let me go.

Ayyūb b. ‘Abdu’l-Rahmān b. ‘Abdullāh b. Abū Sa’āda a brother of B. ‘Aḍīy b. al-Najjār told me that Salmā d. Qays, mother of al-Mundhir sister of Salīḥ b. Qays—she was one of the maternal aunts of the apostle—who had prayed with him both towards Jerusalem and towards Mecca and had sworn the allegiance of women to him—asked him for Rifa’ā b. Samaw’al al-Quraṣṭa who was a grown man who had sought refuge with her, and who used to know them. She said that he had alleged that he would pray and eat camel’s flesh. So he gave him to her and she saved his life.

Then the apostle divided the property, wives, and children of B. Quraṣṭa among the Muslims, and he made known on that day the shares of horse and men, and took out the fifth. A horseman got three shares, two for the horse and one for his rider. A man without a horse got one share. On the day of B. Quraṣṭa there were thirty-six horses. It was the first booty on which lots were cast and the fifth was taken. According to its precedent and what the apostle did the divisions were made, and it remained the custom for raids.

Then the apostle sent Sa’d b. Zayd al-Ansāri brother of B. ‘Abdu’l-Asshal with some of the captive women of B. Quraṣṭa to Najd and he sold them for horses and weapons.

The apostle had chosen one of their women for himself, Rayḥāna d. ‘Amr b. Khunāfa’, one of the women of B. ‘Amr b. Quraṣṭa, and she remained with him until she died, in his power. The apostle had proposed to marry her and put the veil on her, but she said: ‘Nay, leave me in your power, for that will be easier for me and for you.’ So he left her. She had shown repugnance towards Islam when she was captured and clung to Judaism. So the apostle put her aside and felt some displeasure. While he was with his companions he heard the sound of sandals behind him and said, ‘This is Tha’labā b. Sa’āya coming to give me the good news of Rayḥāna’s acceptance of Islam’ and he came up to announce the fact. This gave him pleasure.

God sent down concerning the trenched and B. Quraṣṭa the account which is found in the sūra of the Confederates 1 in which He mentioned their trial and His kindness to them, and His help when He removed that from them after one of the disaffected had said what he did: ‘O you who believe, remember God’s favour to you when armies came against you, and we sent against them a wind and armies you could not see, and God is a helper of what you do.’ The armies were Quraysh and Qaṭṭaṣa, and B. Quraṣṭa.

The armies which God sent with the wind were the angels. God said: ‘When they came at you from above you and below you, and when eyes grew wild and hearts reached to the throats and you thought vain things about God.’ Those who came at you from above were B. Qurayṣa; those from below were Qurayṣ and Qaṭṭaṣa. ‘There were the believers tested and shaken with a mighty shock. And when the disaffected and those in whose hearts was a disease were saying What God and His apostle promised us is naught but a delusion’ refers to the words of Mu’attib b. Qushayr. ‘And when a party of them said, O people of Yathrib, there is no standing for you, so turn back. And some of them sought the prophet’s permission saying Our houses are exposed, and they were not exposed. They wished only to run away’ refers to the words of Aus b. Qays and those of his people who shared his opinion. ‘And if it had been entered from its sides’, i.e. Medina (713).

‘Then if they had been invited to rebellion’, i.e. the return to polytheism, ‘they would have complied and would have hesitated but a moment. Yet they had sworn to Allah beforehand that they would not turn their backs. An oath to God must be answered for.’ They were the B. Ḥārītha. They were the men who thought to desert on the day of Uhud with B. Sālāma when both thought to desert on the day of Uhud. Then they swore to God that they would never do the like again and he reminded them of what they had taken on themselves. ‘Say, Flight will not avail you if you flee from death or killing, and then you will enjoy comfort but for a little. Say, Who can preserve you from Allah if He intends evil towards you, or intends mercy. They will not find that they have any friend or helper but Allah. Allah knows those of you who hinder,’ i.e. the disaffected people. ‘And those who say to their brethren, Come to us and they come not to battle even a little,’ i.e. for a moment to make a pretence of sincerity, ‘spite of their help to you,’ i.e. because of their grudging nature. ‘But when fear comes you see them looking at you with rolling eyes like one in a deadly fear,’ i.e. thinking it dreadful and terrified of it. ‘Then when their fear departs they scold you with sharp tongues,’ i.e. with talk about what does not please you because their hope is in this life; hope of (future) reward does not move them, for they fear death with the dread of him who has no hope in a future life (714). ‘They think that the Confederates have not gone away,’ i.e. Qurayṣ and Qaṭṭaṣa, ‘and if the Confederates should come again they would like to be in the desert with the Bedouin asking for news of you and if they were among you they would fight but little.’

Then He addressed the believers and said, ‘In God’s apostle you have a fine example for one who hopes for Allah and the last day,’ i.e. that they should not prefer themselves to him and not desire to be in a place where he is not.

Then He mentioned the believers and their truth and their belief in what God promised them of trial by which He tested them and He said, ‘And when the believers saw the Confederates they said: This is what God and His apostle promised us, and God and His apostle are true. It did but increase their faith and submission,’ i.e. endurance of trial and submission to the decree and belief in the truth of what God and His apostle had
promised them. Then He said: 'Some of the believers are men who are true to what they covenanted with Allah and some of them have fulfilled their vow in death,' i.e. finished their work and returned to their Lord like those who sought martyrdom at Badr and Uhud (715).

'And some of them are still waiting,' i.e. for the help which Allah promised them and the martyrdom like that which befell his companions, God said: 'And they have not altered in the least,' i.e. they did not doubt nor hesitate in their religion, and did not change it for another. 'That God may reward the true men for their truth and punish the disaffected if He will, or repent towards them. God is forgiving, merciful. And Allah turned back those who disbelieved in their wrath,' i.e. Quraysh and Ghatafān. 'They gained no good. God averted battle from the believers, and Allah is strong, mighty. And He brought down those of the Scripture people who helped them,' i.e. B. Qurayza, 'from their strongholds' the forts and castles in which they were (716). 'And he cast terror into their hearts; some you slew and some you captured,' i.e. he killed the men and captured the women and children. 'And caused you to inherit their land and their dwellings, and their property, and a land you had not trod,' i.e. Khaybar. 'For Allah can do all things.'

When the affair of B. Qurayza was disposed of, Sa'd's wound burst open and he died a martyr therefrom.

Mu'ād b. Rifa'ā al-Zurāqī told me: Anyone you like from the men of my people told me that Gabriel came to the apostle when Sa'd was taken, in the middle of the night wearing an embroidered turban, and said, 'O Muhammad, who is this dead man for whom the doors of heaven have been opened and at whom the throne shook?' The apostle got up quickly dragging his garment as he went to Sa'd and found him already dead.

'Abdulbār b. Abū Bakr told me from 'Amr b. 'Abdūl-Rahmān: As 'Ā'ishah was returning from Mecca with Usayd b. Hudayr he heard of the death of a wife of his, and showed considerable grief. 'Ā'ishah said: 'God forgive you, O Abū Yahyā, will you grieve over a woman when you have lost the son of your uncle, for whom the throne shook?'

One I do not suspect told me from al-Jassān al-Basrī: Sa'd was a fat man and when the men carried him they found him light. Some of the disaffected said, 'He was a fat man and we have never carried a lighter bier than his.' When the apostle heard this he said, 'He had other carriages as well. By Him Who holds my life in His hand the angels rejoiced at (receiving) the spirit of Sa'd and the throne shook for him."

Mu'ād b. Rifa'ā told me from Maḥmūd b. 'Abdūl-Rahmān b. 'Amr b. al-Jamīl from Jābīr b. 'Abdulrah: When Sa'd was buried as we were with the apostle he said Subhana'llah and we said it with him. Then he said Allah akbar and the men said it with him. When they asked him why he had said Subhana'llah he said 'The grave was constricted on this good man until God eased him from it' (717).

Of Sa'd one of the Ānār said:

We have never heard of the throne of God Shaking for any dead man but Sa'd Abū 'Amr.

His mother said when his bier was being carried, as she was weaving:

Alas Umm Sa'd for Sa'd the brave and bold,
Leader glorious, knight ever ready,
Stepping into the breach, cutting heads to pieces.'

The apostle said, 'Every wailing woman lies except the one who wept Sa'd b. Mu'ād.'

Only six Muslims found martyrdom at the battle of the Trench: Of B. 'Abdūl-Ashshāsil: Sa'd b. Mu'ād; Ansār b. 'Atik b. 'Amr, and B. Qurayza.


Of B. al-Najār of the clan B. Dinār: Ka'b b. Zayd whom a random arrow hit and slew (719).

Three polytheists were killed:

Of B. 'Abdūl-Dār: Munābbih b. Uthmān b. Ubayd b. al-Sabbāq hit by an arrow and died in Mecca (720).

Of B. Makhrzim b. Yaqazā: Naufal b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Mughira. They asked the apostle to let them buy his body he having stormed the trench and become trapped in it and killed, and the Muslims got possession of his body. The apostle said that they had no use for his body and did not want to be paid for it, and he let them have it (721).


On the day of Qurayza there were martyred of the Muslims of B. al-Jāthī and B. al-Khazraj: Khalīl b. Suwāyda b. Thalāba b. 'Amr. A millstone was thrown on him and inflicted a shattering wound. They allege that the apostle said, 'He will have the reward of two martyrs."

Abū Sinān b. Miḥṣam b. Jurtān b. Asad b. Khuzayma died while the apostle was besieging B. Qurayza and was buried in the cemetery of B. Qurayza which is still used today. They buried those who died in slum there.

When the defenders of the trench left it I have heard that the apostle said: 'Quraysh will not attack you after this year, but you will attack them.' Quraysh did not attack them after that; it was he who attacked them until God conquered Mecca by him.

* This line is omitted by W.
POETRY ABOUT THE TRENCH AND B. QURAYZA

Dirâr b. al-Khatîb b. Mîrâs is brother of B. Muḥârib b. Fîhr as said about the battle of the Trench:

Many a sympathetic woman had doubts about us,
Yet we led a great force, crushing all before us.
Its size was as Uhud
When one could see its whole extent.
You could see the long mail upon the warriors
And their strong leather shields
And the fine steeds like arrows
Which we discharged against the sinful wrongdoers.
When we charged the one the other,
"'Twas as though at the gap in the trench men would shake hands.
You could not see a rightly guided man among them
Though they said: 'Are we not in the right?'
 We besieged them for one whole month
Standing over them like conquerors.
Night and morning every day
We attacked them fully armed;
Sharp swords in our hands
Cutting through heads and skulls.
"'Twas as though their gleam when they were drawn
When they flashed in the hands of those that drew them
Was the gleam of lightning illuminating the night
So that one could see the clouds clearly.
But for the trench which protected them
We would have destroyed them one and all.
But there it stood in front of them,
And they took refuge in it from fear of us.
Though we withdrew we left
Sa'd hostage to death in front of their tents.
When darkness came you could hear the keening women
Raising their lament over Sa'd.
Soon we shall visit you again
Helping one another as we did before
With a company of Kinâna armed
Like lions of the jungle protecting their dens.
Ka'b b. Mâlik is brother of B. Salîma answered him:

Many a woman will ask of our fight.
Had she been there she would have seen we were steadfast.

We were steadfast trusting in Him;
We saw nothing equal to God in the hour of our danger.
We have a prophet, a true helper,
By whom we can conquer all men.
We fought an evil disobedient people
Fully prepared in their hostile attack.
When they came at us we struck them blows
Which dispatched the precipitate.
You would have seen us in wide long mail which
Glittered like pools in the plain;
Sharp swords in our hands
By which we quench the spirit of the mischievous.
Like lions at the gap in the trench
Whose tangled jungle protects their lairs.
Our horsemen when they charged night and morning
Looked disdainfully at the enemy as they wore their badges
'To help Aylmad and God so that we might be
Sincere slaves of truth,
And that the Meccans might know when they came
And the people of different parties
That God has no partners,
And that He helps the believers.
Though you killed Sa'd wantonly,
God's decrees are for the best.
He will admit him to kindly gardens
The resting-place of the righteous.
As He repulsed you, runaway fugitives,
Fruitless, disgraced, despite your rage.
Disgraced, you accomplished nothing there
And were all but destroyed
By a tempest which overtook you
So that you were blinded by its force.

Abdullah b. al-Ziba'râ al-Sahnî said about the trench:
Salute the dwelling whose vestiges
Long decay and time's changes have effaced.
'Tis as though their remains were the writings of Jews
Except the zarebas and (marks of) tent pegs,¹
A desert as though you did not find diversion in it
Happily with young girls of one age.
But speak no more of a life that has passed
And a place become ruined and deserted,
And gratefully remember the gallantry of all

¹ If this poem is really Dirâr's it must have been composed after Sûra 33, for it uses the language of verse 10. It is hardly likely that a Muslim would have boasted of the doings of Quraysh, or that a polytheist would have borrowed language from the Quran. Therefore it would seem to be a sort of literary Aunt Sally, put up to be assailed in the poems that follow.

¹ The trace of an old camp (ram) is compared to Hebrew script. The word also means 'writing'.
Who marched from the sacred stones,1
The stones of Mecca, making for Yathrib,
With a loud-throated mighty force;
Leaving the high ground well used paths
In every conspicuous height and pass;
The fine lean steeds led beside them
Thin in belly, lean of flank,
Foaled from long-bodied mares and stallions,
Like a wolf who attacks careless watchmen.
'Uwayna marched with the banner of the army;
Sha'b led the confederates;
Two chiefs like the moon in its splendour,
The help of the poor, the refuge of the fugitive,
Until they came to Medina
And girt themselves for death their sharp swords drawn.
For forty days they had the best of Muhammad
Though his companions in war were the best.
They called for withdrawal the morning you said
'We are almost done for,'
But for the trench they would have left them
corpse filthy with hungry birds and wolves.

Hassan b. Thabit answered him and said:
Can the vanished traces of a deserted place
Answer one who addresses it?
A desert where clouds of rain have effaced its traces
And the constant blowing of every high wind?
Yet have I seen their dwellings adorned by
Shining faces, heirs of a glorious past.
But leave the dwellings, the talk of lovely maidens
With soft breasts, sweet in converse,
And complain to God of cares and what you see—
An angry people who wronged the apostle,
Who marched with their company against him
And collected townsmen and desert dwellers,
The army of 'Uwayna and Ibn Harb
Mingled with the horsemen of the confederates
Until they came to Medina and hoped to slay
The apostle's men and plunder them,
And attacked us in their strength.
They were put to flight in their fury
By a tempest which dispersed their company

1 Almost an exact quotation from Surah 33. 25.
2 Or, To whose hearts misery has clung.
3 A.Dh.'s explanation implies:
High white forts and resting-places for camels
Where the camels have black necks and are rich in milk.
They (the resting places) are like lava tracts
Their bounty, &c.
4 S. renders muta'atun 'palm plantations' and judhâ 'trunks' and then has to take akhlab as a metaphor of 'fruit.'
5 The verse is difficult, but it is possible to avoid unnatural metaphors in its translation.
The dung of the camels made the ground look like a lava tract.
6 nazarî' are horses imported from elsewhere.
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All with a splendid highborn knight,
His right hand holding a spear ready for the thrust
Whose fashioning was entrusted to Khabbaab.
The glitter of his lance is like
A flash of flame in the darkness of the night,
And a force whose main defies the arrows
And repels the bolts that would pierce the thighs.
Reddish-black, massed, as though their spears
Were a blazing forest in every encounter,
Seeking the shadow of the standard as though
On the shaft of the spear there was the shadow of a hawk.
Their courage defeated Abū Karib and Ṭubbaa
And their gallantry overcame the Bedouin.
We were guided by admonitions from our Lord
On the tongue of one radiant and pure.
They were laid before us and we loved to remember them
After they had been laid before the confederates (and rejected).
Axioms which evil-doers assert they thought too strict
But the wise understand.
Quraysh came to contend with their Lord,
But he who contends with the Conqueror will surely be conquered (723).

Ka'b b. Malik said about the trench:
Let one who enjoys the noise of battle where blows resound
Like the crackling of burning reeds,
Come to the fight where swords are sharp
Between al-Madhād and the side of the trench.
They were bold in smiting champions
And surrendered their lifeblood to the Lord of the world
In a company by which God helped His prophet
And was gracious to His servant.
All in long mail whose ends swept the ground,
Looking like an undulating pool blown by the wind
With mail well wrought and woven as though its nails
Were the eyes of a locust in the chain rings.
Braced up by the belt of a sword
Of pure steel, cutting, and shining.
Such with piety was our clothing on the day of battle
And every hour that called for bravery.
When our swords were too short to meet the enemy
We made them reach by going forward.
You could see skulls split asunder,

To say nothing of hands, as though they had not been created.
We met the enemy with a compact force
Driving away their force who went as though to the top of al-Mashriq.
Against the enemy we prepared
Every swift, bay, white-legged, piebald horse
Carrying riders who in battle were like
Lions on damp dewy soil.
Trusty ones who bring death to brave men
With death-dealing spears beneath the clouds of dust.
God commanded that the horses should be kept for His enemy in the fight
(Truly God is the best guarantor of victory)
That they might vex the enemy and protect the dwellings
If the horses of the miscreants came near.
God the mighty helped us with His strength
And loyal steadfastness on the day of the encounter.
We obeyed our prophet's orders.
When he called for war we were the first to respond.
When he called for violent efforts we made them.
When we saw the battle we hastened thither.
He who obeys the prophet's command (let him do so), for among us
He is obeyed and truly believed.
By this He will give us victory and show our glory
And so give us a life of ease.
Those who call Muhammad a liar
Disbelieve and go astray from the way of the pious (724).

Ka'b also said:
The mixed tribes knew when they gathered together against us
And attacked our religion that we would not submit.
Confederates from Qays b. 'Ayth and Khindif with one accord
Made common cause, not knowing what would happen.
They tried to turn us from our religion while we
Tried to turn them from disbelief, but God is a seer and a hearer.
When they raged against us in battle
The all embracing help of God aided us.
'Twas God's protection and His grace towards us
(He whom God does not guard is lost).
He guided us to the true religion and chose it for us.
God can do more than man can do.

1 The place where the trench was dug. Some say that it was between Sul' and the trench.
2 Borrowed from Sūra 7. 35, 'The clothing of piety is the best'.
3 A mountain between al-Sarif and al-Qasim in Thabba country.
4 In such conditions lions are said to be most fierce, presumably because wet ground
would ruin the scent of their prey and so they would be ravenous.
5 Cf. Sūra 8. 62.
Ka'b also said:

'Tell Quraysh that Sul'
And the land between al-'Urayd and al-Ṣammād
Is a land where camels who know war carry water,
Where wells dug in the days of 'Ad abound.
Still waters fed by copious fountains
That keep the wells at a steady depth.
The tangled growth and the rushes there
Seem to rustle when they yellow at the harvest.
Our trade does not consist in selling donkeys
To the land of Daus or Murād.
Our is a land well tilled, for it we fight
If you have stomach for the battle,
We ploughed and planted it as peasants do;
Never have you seen a valley bordered like it.
We have kept every fine high-standing
Powerful courser for great objects.
Respond to our invitation
For clear statement and truth,
Or take the blows you will get from us
At the side of al-Madhād.
We will meet you with all our warriors
And well made tractable horses,
And bloodmares whose sides throb
Like the beating of a locust's wings
Swift of limb, firm fleshed,
Perfectly made from head to tail.
Horses which live through famine years
When other men's horses die;
Which tug at the reins, turning their necks to one side,
When their master calls them to war.
When our warners say: 'Be ready'
We put our trust in the Lord of men.
And we said: 'Nothing will ease our troubles
But smiting the helmets and desperate fighting.'
You have seen none among those we fought,
Whether townsmen or tribesmen,
Bolder than we were in attack
Nor gentler in affection.
When we tied with trusty knots
Fine costs of mail upon them
Into long armour we put every fierce noble warrior

Musāfī b. 'Abdu Manāf b. Wahb b. Ḥudhāfa b. Jumāḥ, weeping for
'Amr b. 'Abdu Wudd and mentioning how 'Ali killed him, said:

'Amr b. 'Abd was the first horseman to cross Madhād
And he was the horseman of Yalley.1
Mild in nature, noble, firm,
Seeking armed combat, never showing fear.
You knew that when they fled from you
Ibn Abd only hurried not
Until the best fighters surrounded him
Seeking untiringly to kill him.
On Sul's sides the spears surrounded
A horseman who was no unarmed coward.
You asked Ghālib's horseman to dismount, O 'Ali,
On Sul's sides. Would he had not done so.
Away with you, 'Ali! Never have you overcome his like in renown
Nor coped with such a difficult task.
My life be a ransom for the horseman of Ghālib
Who met death unperturbed,
He who crossed al-Madhād with his mare
Seeking to avenge the men he would not desert.

Musāfī also said, reproaching the horsemen of 'Amr who decamped and deserted him:

'Amr b. 'Abd and the fine horses he led—
Horses led for him and horses abd—
His horsemen decamped and his clan left
A great pillar, the first among them.
Marvel as I may I saw it
When you, 'Ali, asked 'Amr to dismount he dismounted.
Be not far,2 for I have suffered by his death
And till I die I have a burden heavy to bear.
Hubayra who was despoiled turned his back in flight
Fearing the fight lest they should be killed.
And Dirār who had shown courage
Fled like a miserable unarm'd wretch (726).
Hubayra b. Abū Wahh b. Suhayl making excuses for his flight, weeping for 'Amr, and mentioning how 'Ali killed him, said:

On my life, I did not turn my back
On Muhammad and his companions in cowardice or fear of death;
But I considered my position and could find
No advantage in sword or arrow if I used them.
I stopped, and when I could not go forward
I withdrew like a strong lion with his cubs,
Who turns his shoulder from his adversary when
He can find no way to return to the fray—such has always been my way.
Be not far, O 'Amr, alive or dead.
Such as you deserve the highest praise from one like me
Who (now) will drive on horses checked by spears
Be not far, O 'Amr alive or dead.
You have gone (from us) full of praise, noble of ancestry.
'Tell of his glory when the camels bellow loudly?'
Had Ibn 'Abd been there he would have gone to them
And relieved them, that never ignoble man.
Away with you, 'Ali, never have I seen one who behaved like you
Against a brave man advancing like a stallion.
Never have you achieved such a proud boast.
As long as you live you can feel safe from stumbling thereby.

Hubayra also said:

The noblest man of Lu'ayy b. Ghaillib knows
That when misfortune came their knight was 'Amr.
Their knight was 'Amr and 'Ali asked him to dismount.
(The lion must seek his enemy.)
He was their knight when 'Ali called to him
When the squadrons basely left him.
Alas that I left 'Amr in Yathrib.
May misfortunes never cease there!

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Hassān b. Thabit boasting of the killing of 'Amr b. 'Abdu Wudd said:

'Amr, the last of you, we slew with the lance
As we defended Yathrib with our small force.
We killed you with our Indian swords,
For we are masters of war when we attack.
We killed you in Badr too
And left your tribes threading their way through the dead (727).

1 So loud was his voice that he could be heard above the grumbling of the camels, as he boasted of his tribe's prowess.

Hassān also said:

The warrior 'Amr b. 'Abd is on the flanks of Yathrib
Requiring to be avenged: he was not given respite. 1
You found our swords drawn
And you found our horses ready.
At Badr you met a band
Who smote you with no weakening's blow.
No more will you be summoned on the day of great things
Or to important distasteful tasks, O 'Amr! (727)

Hassān also said:

Give Abū Hilām a message,
One with which the camels hasten.
Am I your friend in every hardship
And another your friend in a time of ease?
You have a witness who saw me
Lifted up to him as a child is carried (728).

Hassān said concerning B. Qurayṣa mourning Sa'd b. Mu'ādh and 711 mentioning his judgement concerning the former:

Tears streamed from my eyes,
'Tis right that they should weep for Sa'd
Lying on the battlefield. Eyes that flow with tears
Suffer his loss without ceasing.
Slain in God's religion, he inherits paradise with martyrs,
Thems a noble company.
Though you have said farewell and left us
And lie in the dust of darkness of the grave
You, O Sa'd, have returned (to God) with a noble testimony
And garments of honour and praise.
By pronouncing on the two tribes of Qurayṣa the (same) judgement
Which God had decreed against them you did not judge of your own volition.
Your judgement and God's were at one
And you did not forgive when you were reminded of a covenant.
Though fate has brought you to your death
Among those who sold their lives for everlasting gardens
Yet blessed is the state of the true ones
When they are summoned to God for favour and regard.

1 The reading in the Dox. xcv is easier but not necessarily original:
'Amr... lay dead
Vengeance for him is not to be expected.'
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Hassan also said mourning Sa'd and the prophet's companions who were martyred and mentioning their merits:

O my people, is there any defence against what is decreed?  
And can the good old days return?  
When I call to mind an age that is passed  
My heart is troubled and my tears flow;  
Yearning sorrow reminds me of friends  
Now dead, among them 'Ufayl and Rabi' and Sa'd.  
They have gone to paradise  
And their houses are empty and the earth is a desert without them,  
They were loyal to the apostle on the day of Badr  
While over them swords flashed amid the shades of death.  
When he called them they answered loyally,  
All of them obeyed him utterly.  
They gave no ground till all were dead.  
(Only battles cut short the allotted span.)  
Because they hoped for his intercession  
Since none but prophets can intercede.  
That, O best of men, is what we did,  
Our response to God while death is certain.  
Ours was the first step to thee, and the last of us  
Will follow the first in God's religion,  
We know that the kingdom is God's alone  
And that the decree of God must come to pass.¹

Hassan also said about B. Qurayza:

Qurayza met their misfortune  
And in humiliation found no helper.  
A calamity worse than that which fell B. al-Na'dir befall them  
The day that God's apostle came to them like a brilliant moon,  
With fresh horses bearing horsemen like hawks.  
We left them with the blood upon them like a pool  
They having accomplished nothing.  
They lay prostrate with vultures circling round them.  
Thus are the obstinate and impious rewarded.  
Warn Quraysh of a like punishment from God  
If they will take my warning.

Hassan also said:

Qurayza met their misfortune  
And shameful humiliation befall their castles.  
Sa'd had warned them, saying  
Your God is a majestic Lord.

¹ "Diasn cxxii. Obviously this dates from a later age. 'The good old days' are idealized.

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They soon broke their treaty so that  
The apostle slew them in their town.  
With our troops he surrounded their fort  
Which resounded with cries from the heat of the battle.

Hassan also said:

May the people who helped Quraysh miss one another,¹  
For in their land they have no helper.  
They were given the scripture and wasted it,  
Being blind, straying from the Torah.  
You disbelieved in the Quran and yet  
You had been given confirmation of what the warner said.  
The nobles of B. Lu'ayy took lightly  
The great conflagration in al-Bawara.²

Abu Sufyan b. al-Harith b. 'Abdul-Muttalib answered him:

May God make that deed immortal,  
May fire burn in its quarters!  
You shall know which of us is far (from the fire)  
And which of our lands will be harmed.  
Had the palms therein been horsemen  
They would have said, 'You have no place here, be off!'³

Jabal b. Jawwâl al-Thalabî also answered him, mourning al-Na'dir and Qurayza:

O Sa'd, Sa'd of B. Mu'adh,  
For what befell Qurayza and al-Na'dir,  
By thy life, Sa'd of B. Mu'adh  
The day they departed was indeed steadfast,  
As for al-Khazraj Abû Iubbîh⁴  
He told Qaynuqâ' not to go.  
The allies got Usayd in exchange for Hudayr  
(For circumstances sometimes change.)⁵

¹ This is the reading of C. W. has 'al-âdha against al-fâdha.  
² A place belonging to B. al-Na'dir (not Qurayza) according to Yaqût, s. o. It was their tree which Muhammad destroyed.  
³ The meaning of this poem is that the fact that B. al-Na'dir were able to withdraw with all their effects deserves to be immortalised and may the sites they left be destroyed by fire.  
The last line means 'could the trees have been made to walk you Muslims would have got all of them too!' Yaqût gives a different turn to all this and the preceding poem. Hassan's line above is put into the mouth of Abu Sufyan in the form:  
'The B. Lu'ayy took hardly the great conflagration at al-Bawara',  
But the first line of Abu Sufyan's poem is given to Hassan in the form:  
'May God make that conflagration permanent!'  
⁴ I. I. was right. Later writers thought that the 'deed' must be the burning of the trees  
⁵ A reference to 'Abdullah b. Umayy's interference in favour of B. Qaynuqâ'.  
⁶ In the time of Hudayr, chief of Aus, the Jews were secure; but they suffered when his son Usayd came to power.
Al-Buwayra perished and was deprived of Sallám and Sa'ya and Ibn Akhtab.
Yet in their land they were weighty men
Like the ponderous rocks of Maytán,²
Though Sallám Abú Ḥakam is dead
His weapons were not useless or rusty.
And both the tribes of Kaḥīn too, among them
Hawklite men, albeit kindly and generous.
We found their glory established on glory
Which time cannot obscure.
Dwell there, ye chiefs of Aus,
As though you were blind to shame.
You left your pot with nothing in it,
The pot of a people worth mentioning is ever on the boil.¹

The Killing of Sallám Ibn Abū'l-Ḥuqayq

When the fight at the trench and the affair of the B. Qurayza were over, the matter of Sallám b. Abū'l-Ḥuqayq known as Abū Rās' came up in connection with those who had collected the mixed tribes together against the apostle. Now Aus had killed Ka'b b. al-Ashraf before Uhud because of his enmity towards the apostle and because he instigated men against him, so Khazraj asked and obtained the apostle's permission to kill Sallám who was in Khaybar.

Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī from 'Abdullah b. Ka'b b. Malik told me: One of the things which God did for His apostle was that these two tribes of the Ansār, Aus and Khazraj, competed the one with the other like two stallions: if Aus did anything to the apostle's advantage Khazraj would say, 'They shall not have this superiority over us in the apostle's eyes and in Islam' and they would not rest until they could do something similar. If Khazraj did anything Aus would say the same.

When Aus had killed Ka'b for his enmity towards the apostle, Khazraj used these words and asked themselves what man was as hostile to the apostle as Ka'b? And then they remembered Sallám who was in Khaybar and asked and obtained the apostle's permission to kill him.

Five men of B. Salima of Khazraj went to him: 'Abdullah b. Atik; Mas'ūd b. Sinān; 'Abdullāh b. Unays; Abū Qatāda al-Hārith b. Rib'; and Khuzā'ī b. Aswad, an ally from Aslam. As they left, the apostle appointed 'Abdullah b. Atik as their leader, and he forbade them to kill women or children. When they got to Khaybar they went to Sallám's house by night, having locked every door in the settlement on the inhabitants. Now he was in an upper chamber of his to which a (T'. Roman) ladder led up. They mounted this until they came to the door and asked to be allowed to come in. His wife came out and asked who they were and they told her that they were Arabs in search of supplies. She told them that their man was here and that they could come in. When we entered we bolted the door of the room on her and ourselves fearing lest something should come between us and him. The only thing that guided us in the darkness of the night was his whiteness like an Egyptian blanket. When his wife shrieked and warned him of us, so we ran at him with our swords as he was on his bed. The only thing that guided us in the darkness of the night was his whiteness like an Egyptian blanket. When his wife shrieked one of our number would lift his sword against her; then he would remember the apostle's ban on killing women and withdraw his hand; but for that we would have made an end of her that night. When we had smitten him with our swords 'Abdullah b. Unays bore down with his sword into his belly until it went right through him, as he was saying Qat'nī, Qat'nī, i.e. 'It's enough.'

We went out. Now 'Abdullah b. Atik had poor sight, and fell from the ladder and sprained his arm (729) severely, so we carried him until we brought him to one of their water channels and went into it. The people lit lamps and went in search of us in all directions until, despairing of finding us, they returned to their master and gathered round him as he was dying. We asked each other how we could know that the enemy of God was dead, and one of us volunteered to go and see; so off he went and mingled with the people. He said, 'I found his wife and some Jews gathered round him. She had a lamp in her hand and was peering into his face and saying to them 'By God, I certainly heard the voice of 'Abdullah b. Atik. Then I decided I must be wrong and thought 'How can Ibn Atik be in this country?' Then she turned towards him, looking into his face, and said, 'By the God of the Jews he is dead!' Never have I heard sweeter words than those.

Then he came to us and told us the news, and we picked up our companions and took him to the apostle and told him that we had killed God's enemy. We disputed before him as to who had killed him, each of us laying claim to the deed. The apostle demanded to see our swords and when he looked at them he said, 'It is the sword of 'Abdullah b. Unays that killed him; I can see traces of food on it.'

Hassān b. Thābit mentioning the killing of Ka'b and Sallám said:

God, what a fine hand you met,
O Ibnul'-Huqayq and Ibnul'-Ashraf!
They went to you with sharp swords,
Brisk as lions in a tangled thicket,
Until they came on you in your dwelling

¹ One of the mountains of Medina.
² A metaphor for burning anger. Khazraj rescued their Jewish allies the Qaynuqā; Aus abandoned their allies.
And made you drink death with their swift-slaying swords,  
Looking for the victory of their prophet's religion  
Despising every risk of hurt.

‘AMR B. AL-‘ĀS AND KHĀLĪD B. AL-WALĪD ACCEPT ISLAM

Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb from Rāshīd client of Ḥabīb b. Abū Aus al-Thāqafī from Ḥabīb told me that ‘Amr b. al-‘Ās told him from his own mouth: When we came away from the trench with the mixed tribes I gathered some of Quraysh together, men who shared my opinion and would listen to me, and said: ‘You know that in my opinion this affair of Muhammad will go to unheard-of lengths and I should like to know what you think of my opinion. I think that we ought to go to the Negus and stay with him. If Muhammad conquers our people we shall be with the Negus and we should prefer to be subject to his authority rather than to Muhammad; on the other hand, if our people get the upper hand they know us and will treat us well.’ They thought that my suggestion was excellent so I told them to collect something that we could take as a present to him; as leather was the product of our land which he most valued we collected a large quantity and took it to him.

While we were with him who should come to him but ‘Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamārī whom the apostle had sent concerning Ja’far and his companions. He had an audience with the Negus, and when he came out he said to my companions that if I were to go to the Negus and ask him to let me have him, he would give him to me and we could cut off his head; and when I had done that Quraysh would see that I had saved them well in killing Muhammad’s messenger. So I went in to the Negus and did obeisance as was my wont. He welcomed me as a friend and asked if I had brought anything from our country, and when I told him that I had brought a large quantity of leather and produced it he was greatly pleased and coveted it. Then I said, ‘O King, I have just seen a man leave your presence. He is the messenger of an enemy of ours, so let me have him that I may kill him, for he has killed some of our chiefs and best men.’ He was enraged, and stretching out his hand he gave his nose such a blow that I thought he would have broken it. If the earth had opened I would have gone into it to escape his anger. I said that I had no idea that he would be so dastardly to himself I would not have said it. He said, ‘Would you ask me to give you the messenger of a man to whom the great Nāmis comes as he used to come to Moses, so that you might kill him?’ When I asked if he were really so great he said: ‘Woe to you, ‘Amr, obey me and follow him, for by Allah he is right and will triumph over his adversaries as Moses triumphed over Pharaoh and his armies.’ I asked him if he would accept my allegiance to Muhammad in Islam, and he stretched out his hand and I gave my allegiance. When I went out to my companions I had entirely changed my mind, but I concealed my Islam from my companions.

Then I went off making for Muhammad to adopt Islam, and met Khālid b. al-Walīd coming from Mecca. This was a little while before the occupation of Mecca. I said, ‘Where are you going, Abū Sulaymān?’ He said: ‘The way has become clear. The man is certainly a prophet, and by Allah I’m going to be a Muslim. How much longer should I delay?’ I told him that I too was travelling with the same object in view, so we went to Medina to the apostle. Khālid got there first and accepted Islam and gave his allegiance. Then I came up and said, ‘O apostle, I will give you my allegiance on condition that my past faults are forgiven and no mention is made of what has gone before.’ He said, ‘Give allegiance ‘Amr, for Islam does away with all that preceded it, as does the hījāra.’ So I gave my allegiance and went away (736).

One whom I do not suspect told me that ‘Uthmān b. Ṭalhā b. Abū Ṭalḥa who was with them accepted Islam at the same time.

Ibn al-Zība’rāʾ al-Sahmī said:

I adjure ‘Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa by our oath of friendship  
And by the casting of the sandals at the stone of kissing  
And by every alliance our fathers made,  
Khālid not being exempt from such,  
Do you want the key of a house other than yours,  
And what can be more desirable than the glory of an ancient house?  
Trust not Khālid and ‘Uthmān

After this, they have brought a great disaster.

The conquest of B. Qurayṣa was in Dhūl’-Qa’dā and the beginning of Dhūl’-Hijja. The polytheists were in charge of that pilgrimage.

THE ATTACK ON B. LIḤĀN

The apostle stayed in Medina during Dhūl’-Hijja, Muḥarram, Ṣafar, and the two months of Rabī’, and in Jumādā’-l-ʿUlā, six months after the conquest of Qurayṣa, he went out against B. Liḥān to avenge his men killed ʿat al-Rajj, Khuṣayb b. Ṭady and his companions. He made as though he was going to Syria in order to take the people by surprise (731). He went past Ghurāb, a mountain near Medina on the road to Syria, then by Maḥiṣ, then by al-Batrāʾ; then he turned off to the left and came out by lbn, then by Ṣukhrajātīr-Yamān, then the track went by the Meccan lightroad. He quickened the pace until he came down to Ghurān, the haunt of B. Liḥān. (Ghurān is a wadi between Armaṯ and ‘Usfān extending as far as a village called Sāya.) He found that the people had been warned and taken up strong positions on the tops of the mountains. When the apostle got there and saw that he had failed to take them by surprise as he

1 Uthmān was the Keeper of the Key of the Kaʾba. See W. 821.

2 The place is wrongly given as Makhād in W.

3 A wadi near Medina.

4 Between al-Saylā and Farah.
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719 had intended, he said, 'Were we to come down to 'Usfân the Meccans would think that we intend to come to Mecca.' So he went out with two hundred riders until we came to 'Usfân, when he sent two horsemen from his companions who went as far as Kūnâ'l-I-Ghamîm. Then he turned and went back.

Jâbir b. 'Abdullah used to say, 'I heard the apostle say when he set his face towards Medina 'Returning repentant if God will, giving thanks to our Lord. I take refuge in God from the difficulties of the journey and its unhappy ending, and the evil appearance of man and beast.'"

The tradition about the raid on B. Lilyān is from 'Asım b. 'Umar b. Qatâda and 'Abdullah b. Abû Bakr from 'Abdullah b. Ka'b b. Mâlik. Ka'b b. Mâlik said:

If B. Lilyyan had waited
They would have met bands in their settlements, fine fighters.
They would have met audacious warriors whose terror fills the way.
In front of an irresistible force glittering like stars.
But they were as weasels who stick to the
Clefts of the rocks', which have no means of escape.

THE ATTACK ON DHÛ QARAD

The apostle had spent only a few nights in Medina when 'Uyayna b. Hisâ b. Hudhafya b. Badr al-Fazârî with the cavalry of Ghaṣafân raided the apostle's milch-camels in al-Ghâba. A man of B. Gufârî, who had his wife with him, was in charge of the camels. Him they killed and carried off his wife with the camels.

'Asım b. 'Umar b. Qatâda and 'Abdullah b. Abû Bakr and a man I do not suspect from 'Abdullah b. Ka'b b. Mâlik contributed to the story which follows. The first to know of them was Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa' al-Aslamî. That morning he was making for al-Ghâba armed with bow and arrows accompanied by a slave belonging to Tâlî'a b. 'Ubaydullah with a horse which he was leading. When he got to the pass of al-Wadî' he saw some of their cavalry and looked down in the direction of Salî and cried aloud, 'O (what a) morning!' Then he hurried off after the raiding party like a lion. When he came up with them he began to keep them at bay with arrows, saying as he shot:

Take that, al-Akwa's son am I.
Today, mean crowd, you die!

Whenever the horsemen made for him he fled from them; then back he would come and take a shot at them when he could, saying the same words.

One of them said, 'Our little Akwa' comes early in the morning!' 1

720 Between Mecca and Medina, a wadi some eight miles from 'Usfân.
2 Or, with a different vowel, 'the heart'.
3 A variant is 'passes of Hijârî'.
4 Near Medina in the direction of Byzâ.
and al-Janāb was captured. When the cavalry engaged, Abū Qatāda al-Hārith b. Rūbʿi killed Ḥabīb b. ʿUyayna b. Ḥṣim and covered him with his mantle; then he joined his force. The apostle advanced with the Muḥalifūn (734) and there was Ḥabīb covered with Abū Qatāda's mantle. The men exclaimed, 'We are God's and to Him must we return! Abū Qatāda has been killed.' The apostle said that it was not Abū Qatāda but a man he had killed and covered with his mantle so that they might know that he was his prey. ʿUkāsha overtook Aḥbār and his son ʿAmr who were riding the same camel, and ran them through with his lance, killing the two of them at one stroke. They recovered some of the milk-camels. The apostle went forward until he halted at the mountain of Dhū Ḍurrah, and the men joined him there, and he stopped there for a day and a night. Salama b. al-Akwa' asked if he might go with a hundred men and recover the rest of the herd and cut off the heads of the band. I have heard that the apostle said, 'By this time they are being served with their evening drink among Ghāṭafān.' The apostle divided a butchered camel among every hundred men, and after a while he returned to Medina. The wife of the Ghifārī came upon one of the apostle's she-camels and told him what had happened. Having done so she said, 'I vowed to Allah that I would slaughter her if Allah let me escape on her.' The apostle smiled and said: 'You would repay her badly when God mounted you on her and delivered you by her and then you would slaughter her! No vow in disobedience to God nor concerning property that is not your own is valid. She is one of my camels, so go back to your family with God's blessing.' This story of the Ghifārī's wife comes from Abū'l-Zubayr al-Makki from al-Ḥasan b. Abīl-Ḥasan al-Baqir.

Among the verse composed about Dhū Ḍurrah is the following from Ḥassān b. Thālib:

Were it not for what our horses suffered and what hurt their legs,
As they were led to the south of Saya last night,
They would have met you as they carried well-armed warriors,
Noble in ancestry protecting their standard,
And the horses would have rejoiced that we
Did not fight when Miqṣād's horsemen came.
We were eight; they were a great force
Loud-voiced yet pricked by (our) lances (and) scattered.
We were of the people who followed them
And we gave free rein to every noble steed.
Yes, by the Lord of the camels that go to Minā
Traversing the great mountain passes (we will pursue you)
Till we make the horses stale in the midst of your dwellings
And come back with your women and children,
Walking gently with every swift horse and mare

1 Reading mubāla with C, and Dīwān exxvii. 4 This line is obscure. Perhaps the 'sacred property' means the prophet's camels. Possibly the verb is an optative.

Hassān also said:

Did 'Uyayna think when he visited it
That he would destroy its castles?
In what you said you were made a liar.
You said, 'We will take great spoil.'
You loathed Medina when you visited it
And met roaring lions there.
Back they turned running fast like ostriches
Without getting near a single camel.
God's apostle was our amīr,
What a beloved amīr to us!
An apostle whose message we believe
Who recites a luminous light-bringing book.

Kā'b b. Mālik said concerning the day of Dhū Ḍurrah with reference to the horsemen:

Do the hastards think that we
Are not their equals in horsemanship?
We are men who think killing no shame,
We turn not from the piercing lances.
We feed the guest with choicest camels' meat
And smite the heads of the haughty.
We turn back the conspicuous warriors in their pride
With blows that quash the zeal of the unyielding.
With heroes who protect their standard,
Noble, generous, fierce as jungle wolves.
They preserve their honour and their goods
With swords that smash the heads beneath the helms.
Ask the Bānū Bādir if you meet them
What the brethren did on the day of battle.
Tell the truth to those you meet whenever you come out.
Conceal not the news in assemblies.
Say, We slipped away from the claws of the angry lion
With rage in his heart which he could not work off (736).

Shaddād b. ‘Ārid said concerning the day of Dhū Qarad with reference to 'Uyayna who was surnamed Abū Mālik:

Why, O Abū Mālik, did you not return to the fight
When your cavalry were in flight and being slain?
You mentioned going back to 'Asjar.¹
Nonsense! It was too late to return,
You trusted yourself to a spirited horse
Quickly covering the ground when given free rein.
When your left hand reined him in
He reared like a flaming cauldron.
And when you saw that God's servants
Did not wait for those behind to come up
You knew that horsemen had been trained
To chase warriors when they took to the plain.
When they chase the cavalry they bring disgrace on them,
And if they are pursued they dismount
And protect themselves in evil case
With swords which the polisher has made bright.

The apostle stayed in Medina during the latter part of Jumādā‘I–Khaita and Rajab; then he attacked B. al-Muṣṭaliq of Khuzā‘a in Sha‘bān A.H. 6 (737).

‘Āsim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda and ‘Abdullah b. Abū Bakr and Muhammad b. Yahyā b. Ḥabbān each told me a part of the following story: The apostle received news that B. al-Muṣṭaliq were gathering together against him, their leader being al-Ḥarith b. Abū Ḍirār, the father of Juwayriyya d. al-Ḥarith (afterwards) wife of the apostle. When the apostle heard about them he went out and met them at a watering place of theirs called al-Murrayašt in the direction of Qudayd towards the shore. There was a fight and God put the B. al-Muṣṭaliq to flight and killed some of them and gave the apostle their wives, children, and property as booty. A Muslim of B. Kalb b. ‘Auf b. ‘Amir b. Layth b. Bakr called Ḥishām b. Šubāba was killed by a man of the Anṣār of the family of ‘Ubāda b. al-Sāmit who thought he was an enemy and killed him in error.

While the apostle was by this water a party came down to it. ‘Umar had a hired servant from B. Ghalīr called Jahāh b. Mas‘ūd who was leading his horse. This Jahāh and Sinān b. Wabar al-Juḥānī, an ally of B. ‘Auf b.

¹ Reading fāṣduqūṣ with C. against W.’s faktmūn.
² A place near Mecca.
took hold of Zayd b. Arqam's ear, saying, 'This is he who devoted his ear to Allah.' 'Abdullah, 'Abdullah b. Ubayy's son, heard about his father's affair.

'Asim b. Umar b. Qatada told me that 'Abdullah came to the apostle, saying, 'I have heard that you want to kill 'Abdullah b. Ubayy for what you have heard about him. If you must do it, then order me to do it and I will bring you his head, for al-Khazraj know that they have no man more dutiful to his father than I, and I am afraid that if you order someone else to kill him my soul will not permit me to see his slayer walking among men and I shall kill him, thus killing a believer for an unbeliever, and so I should go to hell.' The apostle said: 'Nay, but let us deal kindly with him and make much of his companionship while he is with us.' After that happened that if any misfortune befell it was his own people who reproached and upbraided him roughly. The apostle said to 'Umar when he heard of this state of things: 'Now what do you think, 'Umar? Had I killed him on the day you wanted me to kill him the leading men would have trembled with rage. If I ordered them to kill him today they would kill him.' 'Umar replied, 'I know that the apostle's order is more blessed than mine.'

Miyyas b. Ṣubāba came from Mecca as a Muslim, so he professed, saying, 'I come to you as a Muslim seeking the bloodwit for my brother who was killed in error.' The apostle ordered that he should have the bloodwit for his brother Ḥishām and he stopped a short while with the apostle. Then he attacked his brother's slayer and killed him and went off to Mecca an apostate. He spoke the following lines:

It ceased my soul that he died in the lowland,
The blood of his neck veins dyeing his garments.
Before I killed him I was beset by cares
Which prevented me from seeking my couch.
I gave free vent to my vengeance
And was the first to return to the idols.
I avenged Fīhr on him and laid his bloodwit
On the chiefs of B. al-Najjār, the lords of Fārī'.

He also said:

I fetched him a stroke in vengeance
Which drew blood that ebbed and flowed.
I said as the wrinkles of death covered him
'You can't be safe from B. Bakr when they are wronged' (738).

Of B. Muṣṭāliq who were slain that day 'Aṭī killed two—Mālik and his son. 'Abdu'l-Ramān b. 'Aṭī killed one of their horsemen called Ahmad.

or Ḥāymir. The apostle took many captives and they were distributed among the Muslims. One of those taken was Juwayriya d. al-Ḥārith b. Abī Dirār, the apostle's wife.

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from 'Aṭīsha said: When the apostle distributed the captives of B. al-Muṣṭāliq, Juwayriya fell to the lot of Thabit b. Qaya b. al-Sharmās, or to a cousin of his, and she gave him a deed for her redemption. She was a most beautiful woman. She captivated every man who saw her. She came to the apostle to ask his help in the matter. As soon as I saw her at the door of my room I took a dislike to her, for I knew that he would see her as I saw her. She went in and told him who she was—d. of al-Ḥārith b. Abī Dirār, the chief of his people. You can see the state to which I have been brought. I have fallen to the lot of Thabit or his cousin and have given him a deed for my ransom and have come to ask your help in the matter.' He said, ‘Would you like something better than that? I will discharge your debt and marry you,' and she accepted him.

The news that the apostle had married Juwayriya was blazed abroad and now that B. Muṣṭāliq were the prophet's relations by marriage the men released those they held. When he married her a hundred families were released. I do not know a woman who was a greater blessing to her people than she (739).

Yazid b. Rūmān told me that the apostle sent al-Walīd b. 'Uqba b. 739 Abī Muṣṭā'ī to them after they had accepted Islam. When they heard of him they rode out to meet him, but when he heard of them he was afraid and went back to the apostle and told him that the people had determined to kill him and had withheld their due poor tax. The Muslims talked a lot about raiding them until the apostle himself meditated doing so. While this was going on an embassy of theirs came to the apostle, saying: 'We heard about your messenger when you sent him to us and we went out to meet him to show him respect and to pay the poor tax that was due, and he went back as fast as he could. Now we hear that he has alleged that we went out to kill him. By Allah we did not go out with such intent.' So God sent down concerning him and them: 'O you who believe if an evil man comes to you with a report examine it closely lest you do ill to a people in ignorance and he sore for what you have done. Know that the apostle of God is among you. If he were to obey you in much of the government you would be in trouble.'

THE LIE THAT WAS UTTERED ON THE RAID OF B. AL-MUṢṬĀLIQ

According to what a man I do not suspect told me from al-Zuhri from 'Urwa from 'Aṭīsha the apostle had gone forward on that journey of his until he was near Medina, 'Aṭīsha having been with him on the journey, when the liars spoke about her.

1 Sura 49. 6.
The Life of Muhammad

Al-Zuhri told us from 'A'qama b. Waqqas, and from Sa'id b. Juhayr, and from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, and from Ubaydullah b. Abdullah b. Uthman, each contributing a part of the story, one remembering more of it than another, and I (Zuhri) have put together for you what the people told me.

Yahyā b. 'Abīd b. Abdullah b. al-Zubayr told me from his father from 'A'isha; and Abdullah b. Abu Bakr from 'Amra d. 'Abdul-Rahmān from 'A'isha from her own words when the liars said what they did. The whole of her story rests on these men as a whole. One relates what another does not. All of them are trustworthy witnesses, and all of them related what they heard from her. She said: "When the apostle intended to go on an expedition he cast lots between his wives which of them should accompany him. He did this on the occasion of the raid on B. al-Mustalqil and the lot fell on me, so the apostle took me out. The wives on these occasions used to eat light rations; meat did not fill them up so that they were heavy. When the camel was being saddled for me I used to sit in my howdah; then the men who saddled it for me would come and pick me up and take hold of the lower part of the howdah and lift it up and put it on the camel's back and fasten it with a rope. Then they would take hold of the camel's head and walk with it.

"When the apostle finished his journey on this occasion he started back and halted when he was near Medina and passed a part of the night there. Then he gave permission to start and the men moved off. I went out for a certain purpose having a string of Za'fār beads on my neck. When I had finished, it slipped from my neck without my knowledge, and when I returned to the camel I went feeling my neck for it but could not find it. Meanwhile the main body had already moved off. I went back to the place where I had been and looked for the necklace until I found it. The men who were saddling the camel for me came up to the place I had just left and having finished the saddling they took hold of the howdah thinking that I was in it as I normally was, picked it up and bound it on the camel, not doubting that I was in it. Then they took the camel by the head and went off with it. I returned to the place and there was not a soul there. The men had gone. So I wrapped myself in my smock and then lay down where I was, knowing that if I were missed they would come back for me, and by Allah I had but just lain down when Sa'ād b. al-Mu'attal al-Sulami passed me; he had fallen behind the main body for some purpose and had not spent the night with the troops. He saw my form and came and stood over me. He used to see me before the veil was prescribed for us, so when he saw me he exclaimed in astonishment "The apostle's wife!" while I was wrapped in my garments. He asked me what had kept me behind but I did not speak to him. Then he brought up his camel and told me to ride it while he kept behind. So I rode it and he took the camel's head going forward quickly in search of the army, and by Allah we did not overtake them and I was not missed until the morning. The men had halted and when they were rested up came the man leading me and the liars spread their reports and the army was much disturbed. But by Allah I knew nothing about it.

"Then we came to Medina and immediately I became very ill and so said nothing of the matter. The story had reached the apostle and my parents, yet they told me nothing of it though I missed the apostle's accustomed kindness to me. When I was ill he used to show compassion and kindness to me, but in this illness he did not and I missed his attentions. When he came in to see me when my mother was nursing me (740), all he said was, "How is she?" so that I was pained and asked him to let me be taken to my mother so that she could nurse me. "Do what you like," he said, and so I was taken to my mother, knowing nothing of what had happened until I recovered from my illness some twenty days later. Now we were an Arab people: we did not have those privies which foreigners have in their houses; we loathe and detest them. Our practice was to go out into the open spaces of Medina. The women used to go out every night, and one night I went out with Umm Mistah d. Abū Ruḥm b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abdul Manāf. Her mother was d. Sahhā b. 'Amir b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Abī Bakr. As she was walking with me she stumbled over her gown and exclaimed, "May Mistah stumble," Mistah being the nickname of 'Amīr. I said, "That is a bad thing to say about one of the emigrants who fought at Badr." She replied, "Haven't you heard the news, O daughter of Abū Bakr?" and when I said that I had not heard she went on to tell me of what the liars had said, and when I showed my astonishment she told me that all this really had happened. By Allah, I was unable to do what I had to do and went back. I could not stop crying until I thought that the weeping would burst my liver. I said to my mother, "God forgive you! Men have spoken ill of me (T. and you have known of it) and have not told me a thing about it." She replied "My little daughter, don't let the matter weigh on you. Seldom is there a beautiful woman married to a man who loves her but her rival wives gossip about her and men do the same."" The apostle had got up and addressed the men, though I knew nothing about it. After praising God he said: "What do certain men mean by worrying me about my family and saying false things about them? By Allah, I know only good of them, and they say these things of a man of whom I know nothing but good, who never enters a house of mine but in my company."

"The greatest offenders were 'Abdullāh b. Ubayy among the Khazraj and Mistah and Ḥammā d. Jarsh, for the reason that her sister Zaynab d. Jarsh was one of the apostle's wives and only she could rule me in his favour. As for Zaynab, Allah protected her by her religion and she spoke nothing but good. But Ḥammā spread the report far and wide opposing me (T. rivaling me) for the sake of her sister, and I suffered much from that.

1 *sa'īna*, a woman carried in a howdah.
2 Or 'she (Zaynab) suffered'.
'And, by God, the apostle had not moved from where he was sitting when there came over him from God what used to come over him and he was wrapped in his garment and a leather cushion was put under his head. As for me, when I saw this I felt no fear or alarm, for I knew that I was innocent and that God would not treat me unjustly. As for my parents, as soon as the apostle recovered I thought that they would die of fear; that confirmation would come from God of what men had said. Then the apostle recovered and sat up and they fell from him as it were drops of water on a winter day, and he began to wipe the sweat from his brow, saying, "Good news, 'A'isha! God has sent down (word) about your innocence." I said, "Praise be to God," and he went out to the men and addressed them and recited to them what God had sent down concerning that (T., "me"). Then he gave orders about Miṣṭāḥ b. Uthāḥa and Hassān b. Thābit and Hamma d. Jaḥsh who were the most explicit in their slander and they were flogged with the prescribed number of stripes.  

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'My father Jaḥsh b. Yāsār told me from some of the men of B. al-Najār that the wife of Abū Ayyūb Khalīl b. Zayd said to him, "Have you heard what people are saying about 'A'isha?" "Certainly, but it is a lie," he said. "Would you do such a thing?" She answered "No, by Allah, I would not." He said, "'A'isha is a better woman than you."

'A'isha continued: When the Quran came down with the mention of those of the slanderers which repeated what the liars had said, God said: "Those who bring the lie are a band among you. Do not regard it as a bad thing for you; nay it is good for you. Every man of them will get what he has earnings from the sin, and he who had the greater share therein will have a painful punishment," meaning Hassān b. Thābit and his companions who said what they said (741).

Then God said, "Why did not the believing men and women when they heard it think good of themselves? i.e. say what Abū Ayyūb and his wife said. Then He said, "When you welcomed it with your tongues and spoke with your mouths that of which you had no knowledge you thought it a light thing, yet with God it is grave."

When this came down about 'A'isha and about those who spoke about her, Abū Bakr who used to make an allowance to Miṣṭāḥ because he was of his kin and needy said, 'Never will I give anything to Miṣṭāḥ again, nor will I ever help him in any way after what he said about 'A'isha and brought evil on us.' She continued: 'So God sent down concerning that 'And let 737 not those who possess dignity and ease among you swear not to give to kinmen and the poor and those who emigrate for God's sake. Let them forgive and show forbearance. Do you not wish that God should forgive you? And God is forgiving, merciful!'" (742).

Abū Bakr said, 'Yes, by Allah, I want God to forgive me,' so he continued the allowance that he was accustomed to give to Miṣṭāḥ, saying, 'I will never withdraw it from him.'
Then Ṣafwān b. al-Mu‘āṭṭal met Ḥassān b. Thābit with a sword when he heard what he was saying about him, for Ḥassān had also uttered some verse alluding to him and the Arabs of Muṣr who had accepted ʿIslām:

The vagabond immigrants have become powerful and numerous
And Iṣnāṭ-Furay‘a has become solitary in the land.⁴
As good as bereaved is the mother of the man I fight
Or caught in the claws of a lion.
The man I kill will not be paid for
By money or by blood.
When the wind blows in the north and the sea rides high
And bespatters the shore with foam
'Tis no more violent than I when you see me in a rage
Devastating as a cloud of hail,
As for Quraysh, I will never make peace with them
Until they leave error for righteousness
And abandon al-Lūṭ and al-[Uzza] and al-Lat and the One, The Eternal,
And testify that what the apostle said to them is true,
And faithfully fulfil the solemn oath with ʿIslām.²

Ṣafwān met him and smote him with his sword, saying according to ʿIshāra b. ʿUtbah:

Here's the edge of my sword for you!
When you lampoon a man like me you don't get a poem in return!

Muḥammad b. ʿIbrahīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymi told me that Thābit b. Qays b. al-Shammās leapt upon Ṣafwān when he smote Ḥassān and tied his hands to his neck and took him to the quarter of B. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj. ʿAbdullāh b. Ṭāwāḥa met him and had happened, and he said: 'Do I surprise you? He smote Ḥassān with the sword and by Allāh he must have killed him.' ʿAbdullāh asked if the apostle knew about what he had done, and when he said that he did not tell him that he had been very daring and that he must free the man. He did so. Then they came to the apostle and told him of the affair and he summoned Ḥassān and Ṣafwān. The latter said, 'He insulted and satirized me and rage so overcame me that I smote him.' The apostle said to Ḥassān, 'Do you look with an evil eye on my people because God has guided them to ʿIslām?' He added, 'Be charitable about what has befallen you.' Ḥassān said, 'It is yours, O apostle' (743).

The same informant told me that the apostle gave him in compensation Bir Ḥā, today the castle of B. Hudaylā in Medina. It was a property belonging to Abū Ṭalḥa b. Saḥil which he had given as alms to the apostle.

¹ Here in a bad sense. He is speaking of himself submerged in a sea of refugees.
² The language is reminiscent of the Qurān. The point of the reference to Ṣafwān is not clear to me.
sacrificial victims with him and donned the pilgrim garb so that all would
know that he did not intend war and that his purpose was to visit the
temple and to venerate it.

Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhri from ‘Urwa b. al-Zuhri
from Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwân b. al-Ukam told me: The
apostle went out in the year of al-Hudaybiya with peacefull intent to
visit the temple, and took with him seventy camels for sacrifice. There
were seven hundred men so that each camel was on behalf of ten men.
Jâbir b. ‘Abdullah, so I have heard, used to say, ‘We, the men of al-Huday-
biya, were fourteen hundred.’

741 Al-Zuhri continued: When the apostle was in ‘Usfân, Bishr b. Sufyān,
al-Ka’bî met him (747) and said: ‘There are Quraysh who have heard of
your coming and have come out with their milch-camels and have put up
on leopards’ skins, and have encamped at Dhû Ṭuwa swearing that you will
never enter Mecca in defiance of them. This man Khâlid b. al-Walîd is
with their cavalry which they have sent in advance to Kura‘a’l-Ghami‘. The
apostle said: ‘Alas, Quraysh, war has devoured them! What harm
would they have suffered if they had left me and the rest of the Arabs to
go our own ways? If they should kill me that is what they desire, and if
God should give me the victory over them they would enter Islam in hark.
If they do not do that they will fight while they have the strength, so what
are Quraysh thinking of? By Allah, I will not cease to fight for the mission
with which God has entrusted me until He makes it victorious or I perish.’
Then he said, ‘Who will take us out by a way in which we shall not meet
them?’

‘Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that a man of Aslam volunteered to do
so and he took them by a rugged, rocky track between passes which was
very hard on the Muslims, and when they emerged from it on to the easy
ground at the end of the wadi the apostle said to the men, ‘Say, We ask
God’s forgiveness and we repent towards Him.’ They did so and he said,
“That is the “putting away” that was enjoined on the children of Israel;
but they did not say the words.”

The apostle ordered the force to turn to the right through the silt
growth4 on the road which leads by the pass of al-Murâr to the declivity of
al-Hudaybiya below Mecca. They did so, and when the Quraysh cavalry
saw from the dust of the army that they had turned aside from their path
they returned at a gallop to Quraysh. The apostle went as far as the pass
of al-Murâr and when his camel knelt and the men said, ‘The camel won’t
get up,’ he said: ‘It has not refused and such is not its nature, but the One

1 This passage and 744, line 5, imply that leopard skins were actually worn. The language
in Hami‘a 82, 13 and Ma‘bud, 640, 6 appears to be figurative. For ‘milch-camels’ see
substitute ‘women and children’.
2 A wadi about 8 miles from ‘Usfân.
3 Bitta is said to mean ‘take away our sins’. Cf. Sûras 2, 55 and 7, 161.
4 Dum is a known place-name, but the place of this name in Yaq. ii. 339 is much too
far away from Mecca.

who restrained the elephant from Mecca is keeping it back. Today whatever
condition Quraysh make in which they ask me to show kindness to
kindred I shall agree to.’ Then he told the people to dismount. They
objected that there was no water there by which they could halt, so he took
an arrow from his quiver and gave it to one of his companions and he took
it down into one of the waterholes and prodded the middle of it and the
water rose until the men’s camels were satisfied with drinking and lay
down there.

One of the B. Aslam told me that the man who went into the hole with
the apostle’s arrow was Nâjiya b. Jundub b. ‘Umayr b. Ya‘mar b. Dârîm b.
who drove the apostle’s camels to sacrifice (748).

A traditionist alleged to me that al-Barâ’ b. ‘Azîb used to say that it was he
who went down with the apostle’s arrow, and God knows which it was.
The apostle quoted verses from the lines which Nâjiya made. We think
that it was he who went down with the arrow. Aslam allege that a slave-girl
of the Anṣâr came up with her bucket while Nâjiya was in the well supply-
ing the people with water and said:

O you down below, my bucket is here.
I can hear all our men who wish you good cheer
Praising the one who draws water here (749).

Nâjiya said as he was in the hole getting the water:
The Yamani slave-girl knows
That I’m Nâjiya down below getting water.
Many a wide bloody wound I’ve made
In the breasts of advancing foes.

In his tradition al-Zuhri said: When the apostle had rested Budayl b.
Warqâ’ al-Khuza‘î came to him with some men of Khuza‘î and asked him
what he had come for. He told them that he had not come for war but to
go on pilgrimage and venerate the sacred precipices. Then he said to them
what he had said to Bishr b. Sufyân. Then they returned to Quraysh and
743 told them what they had heard; but they suspected them and spoke roughly
to them, saying, ‘He may have come not wanting war but by Allah he
shall never come in here against our will, nor shall the Arabs ever say that
we have allowed it.’

Khuza‘î were the apostle’s confidants, both their Muslims and their
polytheists. They kept informed of everything that happened in
Mecca.

Then Quraysh sent ‘Ummâr b. Ḥâfîz b. al-Akhya‘f brother of B. ‘Amr b.
Lû‘ayy to him. When he saw him approaching the apostle said, ‘This is a
traitorous fellow!’ When he came up and spoke to him the apostle gave
him the same reply as he had given Budayl and his companions, and he
returned and told the Quraysh what the apostle had said.
Then they sent to him al-Hulays b. 'Alqama or Ibn Zabbi'n, who was a that time chief of the black troops, being one of B. al-Harih b. 'Abd Manât b. Kinâna. When he saw him the apostle said, 'This is one of our devout people, so send the sacrificial animals to meet him so that he can see them!' When he saw them going past him from the side of the wadi with their festal collars round their necks and how they had eaten their hair because they had been so long kept back from the place of sacrifice, he went back to Quraysh and did not come to the apostle, so greatly was he impressed by what he had seen. When he told them that, they said, 'Send down! You are only a Bedouin, utterly ignorant.'

'Abdullah b. Abû Bakr told me that this enraged al-Hulays, who said: 'You men of Quraysh, it was not for this that we made an alliance and agreement with you. Is a man who does to honour to God's house to be excluded from it? By him who holds my life in his hand, either you let Muhammad do what he has come to do or I shall take away the black troops to the last man.' They said, 'Be quiet, Hulays! until we obtain for ourselves acceptable terms.'

In his narrative al-Zuhâ'î said: Then they sent 'Urwa b. Mas'ûd al-Thaqafi to the apostle and he said: 'You men of Quraysh, I have seen the harshness and rude words with which you have received those you sent to Muhammad when they returned to you. You know that you are the father and I am the son—for 'Urwa was the son of Subay'a d. 'Abdu Shams—heard of what befell you and I collected those of my people who obeyed me; then I came to you to help you.' They agreed and said that they did not suspect him. So he came to the apostle and sat before him and said: 'Muhammad, have you collected a mixed people together and then brought them to your own people to destroy them? Quraysh have come out with their milch-camels clad in leopard skins swearing that you shall never enter Mecca by force. By God I think you deserted by these people (here) tomorrow.' Now Abû Bakr was sitting beside the apostle and he said, 'Suck al-Lâ's nipples! Should we desert him?' He asked who had spoken, and when he heard it was Ibn Abû Quhâifa he said, 'By Allah, did I not owe you a favour I would pay you back for that, but now we are quits.' Then he began to take hold of the apostle's beard as he talked to him. Al-Mughîra b. Shu'ba was standing by the apostle's head clad in mail and he began to hit his hand as he held the apostle's beard saying: 'Take your hand away from the apostle's face before you lose it.' 'Urwa said, 'Confound you, how rough and rude you are!' The apostle smiled and when 'Urwa asked who the man was he told him that it was his brother's son, al-Mughîra b. Shu'ba and he said, 'O wretch, it was only yesterday that I washed your dirty parts!' (750).

The apostle told him what he had told the others, namely that he had not come out for war. He got up from the apostle's presence having seen

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1 It is just possible that anâbî is the pl. of anâbâr, a bitter salty herb with thorns (qatla). In that case it would support the rendering of Hadîn on p. 741.
cringing as he tried to hide himself from the men.' Then the apostle heard that the news about 'Uthmān was false (751).

**THE ARMISTICE**

Al-Zuhri said: 'Then Quraysh sent Suhayl b. 'Amr brother of B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy to the apostle with instructions to make peace with him on condition that he went back this year, so that none of the Arabs could say that he made a forcible entry. When the apostle saw him coming he said, 'The people want to make peace seeing that they have sent this man.' After a long discussion peace was made and nothing remained but to write an agreement. 'Umar jumped up and went to Abū Bakr saying, 'Is he not God's apostle, and are we not Muslims, and are they not polytheists?' to which Abū Bakr agreed, and he went on: 'Then why should we agree to what is demeaning to our religion?' He replied, 'Stick to what he says, for I testify that he is God's apostle.' 'Umar said, 'And so do I.' Then he went to the apostle and put the same questions to which the apostle answered, 'I am God's slave and His apostle. I will not go against His commandment and He will not make me the loser.' 'Umar used to say, 'I have not ceased giving alms and fasting and praying and freeing slaves because of what I did that day out of fear of what I had said, and I hoped that (my plan) would be better.'

Then the apostle summoned 'Afi and told him to write 'In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful.' Suhayl said 'I do not recognize this; but write 'In thy name, O Allah.' The apostle told him to write the latter and he did so. Then he said: 'Write 'This is what Muhammad, the apostle of God has agreed with Suhayl b. 'Amr.' Suhayl said, 'If I witnessed that you were God's apostle I would not have fought you. Write your own name and the name of your father.' The apostle said: 'Write 'This is what Muhammad b. 'Abdullāh has agreed with Suhayl b. 'Amr; they have agreed to lay aside war for ten years during which men can be safe and refrain from hostilities on condition that if anyone comes to Muhammad without the permission of his guardian he will return him to them; and if anyone of those with Muhammad comes to Quraysh they will not return him to him. We will not show enmity one to another and there shall be no secret reservation or bad faith. He who wishes to enter into a bond and agreement with Muhammad may do so and he who wishes to enter into a bond and agreement with Quraysh may do so.''

Khuza'ā leapt up and said, 'We are in a bond and agreement with Muhammad,' and B. Bakr leapt up and said the same with regard to Quraysh, adding 'You must retire from us this year and not enter Mecca against our will, and next year you will make way for you and you can enter it with your companions, and stay there three nights. You may carry a rider's weapons, the swords in their scabbards. You can bring in nothing more.'

While the apostle and Suhayl were writing the document, suddenly Abū Jandal b. Suhayl appeared walking in fetters, having escaped to the apostle. The apostle's companions had gone out without any doubt of occupying Mecca because of the vision which the apostle had seen, and when they saw the negotiations for peace and a withdrawal going on and what the apostle had taken on himself they felt depressed almost to the point of death. When Suhayl saw Abū Jandal he got up and hit him in the face and took hold of his collar, saying, 'Muhammad, the agreement between us was concluded before this man came to you.' He replied, 'You are right.' He began to pull him roughly by his collar and to drag him away to return him to Quraysh, while Abū Jandal shrieked at the top of his voice, 'Am I to be returned to the polytheists that they may entice me from my religion and I Muslims?' and that increased the people's dejection. The apostle said, 'Abū Jandal, be patient and control yourself, for God will provide relief and a means of escape for you and those of you who are helpless. We have made peace with them and we and they have invoked God in our agreement and we cannot deal falsely with them.' 'Umar jumped up and walked alongside Abū Jandal saying, 'Be patient for they are only polytheists; the blood of one of them is but the blood of a dog,' and he brought the hilt of his sword close up to him. 'Umar used to say, 'I hoped that he would take the sword and kill his father with it, but the man spared his father and so the matter ended.'

When the apostle had finished the document he summoned representatives of the Muslims and polytheists to witness to the peace, namely Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Abdul-Rahmān b. 'Afi, 'Abdullāh b. Suhayl b. 'Amr, and Sa'd b. Abū Waqqās, Māmūd b. Maslama, Mirkāz b. Hāfṣ who was a polytheist at the time, and 'Afi who was the writer of the document.

The apostle was encamped in the profane country, and he used to pray in the sacred area. When the peace was concluded he slaughtered his victims and sat down and shaved his head. I have heard that it was Khūrās b. Umayya b. al-Faṣīl al-Khuza'ī who shaved him then. When the men saw what the apostle had done they leapt up and did the same. 'Abdullāh b. Abī Najīf from Mujāhid from Ibn 'Abbās told me, 'Some men shaved their heads on the day of al-Hudaybiyya while others cut their hair.' The apostle said, 'May God have mercy on the shavers.' They said, 'The cutters, too, O apostle?' Three times they had to put this question until finally he added 'and the cutters.' When they asked him why he had repeatedly confined the invocation of God's mercy to the shavers he replied, 'Because they did not doubt.'

The same authorities told me that the apostle sacrificed in the year of al-Hudaybiyya among his victors a camel belonging to Abū Jahl which had a silver nose-ring, thus enraging the polytheists.

Zuhri continued: The apostle then went on his way back and when he was half-way back the surā al-Fath came down: 'We have given you a plain victory that God may forgive you your past sin and the sin which is
and the believers and imposed on them the word of piety, for they were meet and worthy of it, i.e. the declaration of God’s unity, the witness that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is His slave and His apostle.

Then He said: ‘God has fulfilled the vision to His apostle in truth. You shall enter the sacred mosque if God will, safely with heads shaved and hair cut short fearing not. For He knows what you do not know,’ i.e. the vision which the apostle saw that he would enter Mecca safely without fear. He says ‘with your heads shaved and hair cut short’ along with him without fear, for He knows what you do not know of that, and more than that He has wrought a near victory, the peace of al-Hudaybiya.

No previous victory in Islam was greater than this. There was nothing but battle when men met; but when there was an armistice and war was abolished and men met in safety and consulted together none talked about Islam intelligently without entering it. In those two years double as many or more than double as many entered Islam as ever before (754).

THE CASE OF THOSE LEFT HELPFLESS AFTER THE PEACE

When the apostle arrived in Medina Abū Başr ‘Uthāb b. Asīd b. Jāriya, one of those imprisoned in Mecca, came to him. Azhar b. ‘Abdu’l-‘Aţf b. ‘Abd b. al-Ĥāriqīb, Zuhra and al-Ĥānīnas b. Shārīq b. ‘Āmir b. Wāhhab al-Thaqāfī wrote to the apostle about him, and they sent a man of B. ‘Āmir b. Lūray with a freed slave of theirs. When they came to the apostle with the letter he said, ‘You know the undertaking we gave these people and it ill becomes us that treachery should enter our religion. God will bring relief and a way of escape to those helpless like you, so go back to your people.’ He said, ‘Would you return me to the polytheists who would seduce me from my religion?’ He said, ‘Go, for God will bring relief and a way of escape for you and the helpless ones with you.’ So he went with them as far as Dhūl-Hulayfah1 where he and the two men sat against a wall. Abū Baṣr said, ‘Is your sword sharp, O brother of B. ‘Āmir?’ When he said that it was he said that he would like to look at it. ‘Look at it if you want to,’ he replied. Abū Baṣr unsheathed it and dealt him a blow that killed him. The freedman ran off to the apostle who was sitting in the mosque, and when the apostle saw him coming he said, ‘This man has seen something frightful.’ When he came up the apostle said, ‘What’s the matter, woe to you?’ He said: ‘Your man has killed my man,’ and almost at once Abū Baṣr came up girt with the sword, and standing by the apostle he said, ‘Your obligation is over and God has removed it from you. You duly handed me over to the men and I have protected myself in my religion lest I should be seduced therein or scooped at.’ The apostle said, ‘Woe is his mother, he would have kindled a war had there been others with him.’2 from the Hebrew shekhinah, possibly through the medium of Syriac. A summary of what has been said about it with a bibliography is given by A. Jeffery, Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur’ān, 174.

1 About six or seven miles from Medina.

1 Sura 48.

2 This is (a) a genuine Arabic word meaning ‘tranquillity’, ‘calm’; and (b) a borrowing

750

751

754
Then Abu Baṣr went off until he halted at al-Ṭis in the region of Dhūl Marwa by the sea-shore on the road which Quraysh were accustomed to take to Syria. The Muslims who were confined in Mecca heard what the apostle had said of Abū Baṣr so they went out to join him in al-Ṭis. About seventy men attached themselves to him, and they so harried Quraysh, killing everyone they could get hold of and cutting to pieces every caravan that passed them, that Quraysh wrote to the apostle begging him by the ties of kinship to take these men in, for they had no use for them; so the apostle took them in and they came to coincide in Medina (755).

When Suhayl heard that Abū Baṣr had killed his 'Āmirī guard he learnt his back against the Ka'ba and swore that he would not remove it until his man's blood wit was paid. Abū Suffān b. Ḥarb said, 'By God, this is sheer folly. It will not be paid.' Three times he said it.

Mauhab b. Riyāḥ Abū Unays, an ally of B. Zuhra, said (756):

A brief word from Suhayl reached me
And woke me from my sleep.
If you wish to reproach me
Then reproach, for you are not far from me.
Would you threaten me when 'Abdu Manāf is round me
With Makhzūm? Alas, whom are you attacking?
If you put me to the test you will not find me
A weak support in grave misfortunes.
I can rival in birth the best of my people,
When the weak are ill-treated I protect them.
They defend the heights of Mecca without doubt
As far as the valleys and the wadi sides
With every blood mare and fiery horse
Grown thin from long fighting.
Ma'add know they have in al-Khayf!
A pavilion of glory exalted high.

'Abdullāh b. al-Ziba'rat answered him:

Mauhab has become like a poor donkey
Braying in a village as he passes through it.
A man like you cannot attack Suhayl.
Vain is your effort. Whom are you attacking?
Shut up, you son of a blacksmith,
And stop talking nonsense in the land.
Don't mention the blame of Abū Yazid.
There's a great difference between oceans and puddles.

\[1\] A place in Mina.


[2] He was the principal authority on apostolic tradition. His father was a cousin of the prophet, his mother Asma' was a daughter of Abū Bakr, and his brother was a candidate for the caliphate, and he was closely associated with 'Uthba, who was his aunt. He was born in 44 and died in 94.
take from you, then compensate them from any booty that you secure. When this verse came down, 'O you who believe when believing women come to you as emigrants,' as far as the words 'and hold not to the cords of disbelieving women' it referred to 'Umar's divorcing his wife Qurayba b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughira. Mu'āwiyah b. Abū Sufyān married her afterwards while they were both polytheists in Mecca; and Umrn Kuthaim the Khuzā'īte woman d. Jarwal mother of Ubayy b. 'Umar whom Abū Jahl b. Hudhayfa b. Ghānim a man of 'Umar's people married while they both were polytheists (758).

THE EXPEDITION TO KHAYBAR, A.H. 7

After his return from al-Hudaybiya the apostle stayed in Medina during Dhūl-Hijja and part of al-Muharram, the polytheists superintending the pilgrimage. Then he marched against Khaybar (759).

Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Hārith b. Taymī from Abū-l-Haytham b. Nagr b. Duhr al-Aslami from his father who said that he heard the apostle as he journeyed say to 'Āmir b. al-Akwa' who was the uncle of Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa' who was named Sinān: 'Dismount, Ibn al-Akwa', and chant one of your camel-songs for us'; so he got down and recited this rough rhyme:

But for Allah we should not have been guided
Nor given alms nor prayed.
If people treat us unjustly
And if they wish to seduce us we resist.
Send down Sakina1 upon us
And make our feet firm when we meet our enemies.

The apostle said, 'May God have mercy on you!' 'Umar said, 'You have made his death inevitable, O apostle of God. Would that you had let us enjoy him longer.' He was killed at Khaybar as a martyr. I have heard that his sword turned upon him as he was fighting and gave him such a grievous wound that he died of it. The Muslims were in doubt as to whether he died a martyr, saying that he had died by his own weapon. But his nephew Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa' asked the apostle about it, telling him what men were saying, and he said, 'Certainly he is a martyr,' and he and the Muslims prayed over him.

One whom I do not suspect told me from 'Atta' b. Abū Marwān al-Aslami from his father from Abū Mu'āttab b. 'Amr that when the apostle looked down on Khaybar he told his companions, among whom I was one, to stop. Then he said:

'O God, Lord of the heavens and what they o'ershadow
And Lord of the lands and what they make to grow
And Lord of the devils and what into error they throw
And Lord of the winds and what they winnow,

We ask Thee for the good of this town and the good of its people and the good of what is in it, and we take refuge in Thee from its evil and the evil of its people and the evil that is in it. Forward in the name of Allah.' He used to say that of every town he entered.

One whom I do not suspect told me from Anas b. Mālik: When the apostle raided a people he waited until the morning. If he heard a call to prayer1 he held back; if he did not hear it he attacked. We came to Khaybar by night, and the apostle passed the night there; and when morning came he did not hear the call to prayer,2 so he rode and we rode with him, and I rode behind Abī Talha with my foot touching the apostle's foot. We met the workers of Khaybar coming out in the morning with their spades and baskets. When they saw the apostle and the army they cried, 'Muhammad with his force,' and turned tail and fled. The apostle said, 'Allah akbar! Khaybar is destroyed. When we arrive in a people's square it is a bad morning for those who have been warned.' Hārūn told us from Ḥumayd from Anas similarly.

When the apostle marched from Medina to Khaybar he went by way of 'Ir,3 and a mosque was built for him there; then by way of al-Sahba'.4 Then he went forward with the army until he halted in a wadi called al-Raj', halting between the men of Khaybar and Ghaṭafān so as to prevent the latter reinforcing Khaybar, for they were on their side against the apostle.

I have heard that when Ghaṭafān heard about the apostle's attack on Khaybar they gathered together and marched out to help the Jews against him; but after a day's journey, hearing a rumour about their property and families, they thought that they had been attacked during their absence, so they went back on their tracks and left the way to Khaybar open to the apostle.

The apostle seized the property piece by piece and conquered the forts one by one as he came to them. The first to fall was the fort of Nā'im; then Maḥmūd b. Malaika was killed by a millstone which was thrown on him from it; then al-Qāmūs the fort of B. Abū-l-Hujayqy. The apostle took captives from them among whom was Ṣafīya d. Huwayy b. Akhṭab who had been the wife of Kā'ān b. al-Rabi' b. Abū-l-Hujayqy, and two cousins of hers. The apostle chose Ṣafīya for himself.

Diliya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī had asked the apostle for Ṣafīya, and when he chose her for himself he gave her two cousins. The women of Khaybar were distributed among the Muslims. The Muslims ate the meat of the domestic donkeys and the apostle got up and forbade the people to do a number of things which he enumerated.

'Abdullāh b. 'Amr b. Damra al-Afzārī told me from 'Abdullāh b. Abī Sa'īd from his father: The apostle's prohibition of the flesh of domestic donkeys reached us as the pots were boiling with it, so we turned them upside down.

1 This is the usual meaning of adhāb, but probably here a more general term is indicated: 'call to get up and work'.
2 A mountain between Medina and Wādī-l-Fur'.
3 An evening's journey from Khaybar.
The Life of Muhammad

'Abdullah b. Abū Najīb told me from Makhūl that the apostle prohibited four things that day: carnal intercourse with pregnant women who were captured; eating the flesh of domestic donkeys; eating any carnivorous animal; and selling booty before it had been duly allotted.

Ṣallām b. Kūkirā told me from 'Amr b. Dīnār from Jābir b. 'Abdullah al-Ansāri (Jābir had not been present at Khaybar) that when the apostle forbade the flesh of donkeys he allowed them to eat horseflesh.

Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb told me from Abū Marzūq client of Tūhīb from Ḥanash al-Sānīni: With Ruwayfi b. Thābit al-Anṣāri we attacked the Maghrib, and one of its towns called Jīrba was conquered. A man arose as a preacher and said, ‘Let me tell you what I heard the apostle say on the day of Khaybar. He got up among us and said: ‘It is not lawful for a man who believes in Allah and the last day to mingle his seed with another man’s (meaning to approach carnally a pregnant woman among the captives), nor is it lawful for him to take her until he has made sure that she is in a state of cleanliness; nor is it lawful for him to sell booty until it has been properly divided; nor is it lawful for him to ride an animal belonging to the booty of the Muslims with the intention of returning it to the pool when he has worn it out; nor is it lawful for him to wear a garment belonging to the booty of the Muslims with the intention of returning it to the pool when he has reduced it to rags.”

Yazīd b. 'Abdullāh b. Qusayrāt told me that he was told from 'Ubāda b. al-Sāmīn: On the day of Khaybar the apostle forbade us to buy or sell gold ore for gold coin or silver ore for silver coin. He said, ‘Buy gold ore with silver coin and silver ore with gold coin.’ Then the apostle began to take the forts and the property one by one.

'Abdullāh b. Abū Bākṛ told me that one of Aslam told him that B. Sāhīb of Aslam came to the apostle and complained that they had fought and got nothing and found nothing with the apostle which he could give them. He said: ‘O God, You know their condition and that they have no strength, and that I have nothing to give them, so confer on them the wealth of the enemy’s forts with the richest food.’ The following day God conquered the fort of al-Ṣa'b b. Mu'ādh which contained the richest food in Khaybar.

When the apostle had conquered some of their forts and got possession of some of their property he came to their two forts al-Waṭīfi and al-Sūllim, the last to be taken, and the apostle besieged them for some ten nights (760).

'Abdullāh b. Sahl b. 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. Sahl, brother of B. Ḫārīthah, told me from Jābir b. 'Abdullāh: Marḥāb the Jew came out from their fort carrying his weapons and saying:

Khaybar knows that I am Marḥāb,
An experienced warrior armed from head to foot,

1 An island near Qābris.
The Life of Muhammad

O Ya‘sir, let not all the unbelievers deceive you,
For all of them are like a slowly moving mirage).

When the two met al-Zubayr killed Ya‘sir.
Hishām b. ‘Urwa told me that it was said to al-Zubayr, ‘By God, you must have had a sharp sword that day,’ to which he replied that it was not sharp, but he used it with great force.

Burayda b. Su‘fāyān b. Farwa al-Aslāmī told me from his father Su‘fāyān from Salama b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Akwa’: ‘The apostle sent Abū Bakr with his banner (762) against one of the forts of Khaybar. He fought but returned having suffered losses and not taken it. On the morrow he sent ‘Umar and the same thing happened. The apostle said, “Tomorrow I will give the flag to a man who loves Allah and his apostle. Allah will conquer it by his means; he is no runaway.’ So he called ‘Ali who was suffering from ophthalmitis at the time and spat in his eye, saying, ‘Take this flag and go with it until God gives victory through you.’ So ‘Ali went off with it, gasping as he hurried, while we followed behind in his tracks until he stuck the flag in a pile of rocks under the fort. A Jew looked at him from the top of the fort and asked who he was, and when he told him he said, ‘You have won, by what was revealed to Moses!’ or words to that effect. He did not return until God had conquered by his hands.”

Abdullāh b. al-Ḥasan told me from one of his family from Abū Ṭālib, a freed slave of the apostle: We went with ‘Ali when the apostle sent him with his flag and when he got near the fort the garrison came out and he fought them. A Jew struck him so that his shield fell from his hand, so ‘Ali laid hold of a door by the fort and used it as a shield. He kept it in his hand as he fought until God gave victory, throwing it away when all was over. I can see myself with seven others trying to turn that door over, but we could not.

Burayda b. Su‘fāyān al-Aslāmī told me from one of B. Salīma from Abū-l-Yāsara b. ‘Amr: We were with the apostle one evening at Khaybar when along came some sheep belonging to a Jew, making for their fort while we were besieging them. The apostle asked who would get the food for us and Abū-l-Yāsara volunteered to go. He said, ‘I went out running like an ostrich, and when the apostle saw me coming back he said “O God, may we long enjoy him.” I had overtaken the flock as the first sheep entered the fort and I seized the two last and carried them off under my arms, bringing them back at a run as though I carried nothing until I cast them down before the apostle. They were duly killed and eaten.’ Abū-l-Yāsara was the last of the apostle’s companions to die. Whenever he told this story he used to weep, saying, ‘They did enjoy me a long time; indeed I am the last of them.’

When the apostle had conquered al-Qamūs the fort of B. Abū-l-Huqayqī, Sa‘fīya d. Ḥuyayyā b. Ākhṭāb was brought to him along with another woman.

Bil‘lāh who was bringing them led them past the Jews who were slain; and when the woman who was with Sa‘fīya saw them she shrieked and slapped her face and poured dust on her head. When the apostle saw her he said, ‘Take this she-devil away from me.’ He gave orders that Sa‘fīya was to be put behind him and threw his mantle over her, so that the Muslims knew that he had chosen her for himself. I have heard that the apostle said to Bil‘lāh when he saw this Jewess behaving in that way, ‘Had you no compassion, Bil‘lāh, when you brought two women past their dead husbands?’ Now Sa‘fīya had seen in a dream when she was the wife of Kīnānā b. al-Rā‘bī’ b. Abī-l-Huqayqī that the moon would fall into her lap. When she told her husband he said, ‘This simply means that you covet the king of the Hijāz, Muhammad.’ He gave her such a blow in the face that he blacked her eye. When she was brought to the apostle the mark was still there, and when he asked the cause of it she told him this story.

The Rest of the Affair of Khaybar

Kīnānā b. al-Rā‘bī’, who had the custody of the treasure of B. al-Nadīr, was brought to the apostle who asked him about it. He denied that he knew where it was. A Jew came (T. was brought) to the apostle and said that he had seen Kīnānā going round a certain ruin every morning early. When the apostle said to Kīnānā, ‘Do you know that if we find you have it I shall kill you?’ he said Yes. The apostle gave orders that the ruin was to be excavated and some of the treasure was found. When he asked him about the rest he refused to produce it, so the apostle gave orders to al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awzā‘ī, ‘Torture him until you extract what he has,’ so he kindled a fire with flint and steel on his chest until he was nearly dead. Then the apostle delivered him to Muhammad b. Maslama and he struck off his head, in revenge for his brother Māhmūd.

‘The apostle besieged the people of Khaybar in their two forts al-Wajīf and al-Sulā‘īm until when they could hold out no longer they asked him to let them go, and spare their lives, and he did so. Now the apostle had taken possession of all their property—al-Ṣaqqāq, Natā‘, and al-Katība and all their forts—except what appertained to these two.* When the people of Fadak heard of what had happened they sent to the apostle asking him to let them go and to spare their lives and they would leave their property, and he did so. The one who acted as intermediary was Muhāy-yīsā b. Mas‘ūd, brother of B. Hārithah.† When the people of Khaybar surrendered on these conditions they asked the apostle to employ them on the property with half share in the produce, saying, ‘We know more about it than you and we are better farmers.’ The apostle agreed to this arrangement on the condition that ‘if we wish to expel you we will expel you.’ He made a similar arrangement with the men of Fadak. So Khaybar became

† Cf. Bāl. 29 f.