the prey of the Muslims, while Fadak was the personal property of the
apostle because they had not driven camels against it.1

When the apostle had rested Zaynab d. al-Ḫirith, the wife of Sallām b.
Mishkam prepared for him a roast lamb, having first inquired what joint
he preferred. When she learned that it was the shoulder she put a lot of
poison in it and poisoned the whole lamb. Then she brought it in and
placed it before him. He took hold of the shoulder and chewed a morsel of
it, but he did not swallow it. Bishr b. al-Barāʾ b. Maʾrūr who was with him,
took some of it as the apostle had done, but he swallowed it, while the
apostle spat it out, saying, "This bone tells me that it is poisoned." Then he
called for the woman and she confessed, and when he asked her what had
induced her to do this she answered: "You know what you have done to my
people. I said to myself, 'If he is a king I shall cease myself of him and if he
is a prophet he will be informed (of what I have done)." So the apostle let
her off. Bishr died from what he had eaten.

Marwān b. Ḫūtham b. Abī Saʿīd b. al-Muʿallā told me: The apostle
had said in his illness of which he was to die when Umm Bishr d. al-Baqʿ
came to visit him, 'O Umm Bishr, this is the time in which I feel a deadly
pain from what I ate with your brother at Khaybar.' The Muslims con-
considered that the apostle died as a martyr in addition to the propitious of
the apostle and the men of Medina, who had never been present in a
battle and thus were not permitted to attend the funeral. The man in the
apostle went to Wādī l-Quṣār and besieged its people for some nights, then he left to return to Medina.

Thaur b. Zayd told me from Sālim, freed slave of ʿAbdullāh b. مت from Abū Hurayra, who said: When we left Khaybar to go to Wādī l-Quṣār
with the apostle we halted there in the evening as the sun was setting.
The apostle had a slave which Rifaʿa b. Zayd al-Judhami, of the clan al-
Ḏubayrī, had given him (765). He was laying down the apostle's saddle
when suddenly a random arrow hit him and killed him. We congratulated
him on paradise, but the apostle said, "Certainly not. His cloak is even
burning on him in Hell. He had surreptitiously stolen it on the day of
Khaybar from the spoil of the Muslims." One of his companions heard this
and came to him saying, 'I too took two sandals thongs.' He said, 'Two thongs
of fire will be cut for you like them.'

One I do not suspect told me from ʿAbdullāh b. Mughaffal al-Muṣāfin:
'I took a bag of lard from the booty of Khaybar and carried it off on my
shoulder to my companions, when the man who had been put over the
spoil met me and laid hold of the end of it, saying, 'He! This we must
divide among the Muslims.' I said that I would not give him it and he
began to try and pull the bag away from me. The apostle saw what was
happening and laughed. Then he said to the officer in charge of the spoil
"Let him have it, confound you," so he let go of it and I went off to my
companions and we ate it.'

When the apostle married Ṣafīya in Khaybar or on the way, she having

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1 Cf. Sūra 17, 66, i.e. captured it by force of arms.

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been beautified and combed, and got in a fit state for the apostle by Umm
Ṣuhaym d. Mīlḥān mother of Anas b. Mālik, the apostle passed the night
with her in a tent of his. Abū Ayyūb, Khaṭāb b. Zayd brother of B. al-
Najjār passed the night girt with his sword, guarding the apostle and going
round the tent until in the morning the apostle saw him there and asked
him what he meant by his action. He replied, 'I was afraid for you with this
woman for you have killed her father, her husband, and her people, and till
recently she was in unbelief, so I was afraid for you on her account.' They
allege that the apostle said 'O God, preserve Abū Ayyūb as he spent the
night preserving me.'

Al-Zuhri told me from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab: When the apostle left
Khaybar and was on the way he said towards the end of the night: 'Who
will watch over us till the dawn so that we may sleep?' Bilāl volunteered
to do so, so all lay down and slept. Bilāl got up and prayed as long as God
willed that he should; then he propped himself against his camel, and there
was the dawn as he was looking at it, and his eyes were heavy and he slept.
The first thing to wake the others was the feel of the sun. The apostle was
the first to wake up and he asked Bilāl what he had done to them. He said
that the same thing had happened to him as had happened to the apostle,
and he admitted that he was right. Then the apostle let himself be taken a
short distance; then he made his camel kneel, and he and the men per-
formed their ablutions. Then he ordered Bilāl to call to prayer, and the
apostle led them in prayer. Having finished he went to them and said, 'If
you forget your prayers, pray them when you remember them, for God has
dsaid, "Perform prayer for My remembrance.'"

I have heard that the apostle gave Ibn Luqaym al-ʿAbī the hens and
domestic animals which were in Khaybar. The conquest took place in
Ṣafār. Ibn Luqaym said:

Bilāl was stormed by the apostle's squadron
Fully armed, powerful, and strong.
It was certain of humiliation when it was split up
With the men of Aslam and Ghifār in its midst.
They attacked B. ʿAmr b. Zurʿa in the morning
And Shāqqī's people met a day of gloom.
They trailed their cloaks in their plains
And left only hens cackling among the trees.
Every fort had a man of ʿAbduʿl-ʿAshūl or B. al-Najjar
Busy with their horses,
And Emigrants who had displayed their badges
Above their helms, never thinking of flight.
I knew that Muhammad would conquer
And would stay there many Ṣafārs.

1 Sūra 20. 14.
2 W.'s reading 'They made the cockls run' may be right.
3 C. aifar.
The Jews in the fighting that day
Opened their eyes in the dust (764).1

Some Muslim women were with the apostle at Khaybar, and the apostle
allowed them a small portion of the booty. He did not give them a definite
share.

Sulaymān b. Suḥaym told me from Umayya b. Abū-l-Ṣalt from a
woman of B. Ghifār whom he named to me: She said, 'I came to the
apostle with some women of B. Ghifār and we told the apostle, as he was
going to Khaybar, that we wanted to go with him where he went, to tend
the wounded and to help the Muslims as far as we could. He told us to go
with God's blessing, and so we went with him. I was a young girl and the
apostle took me on the back of his saddle. When the apostle dismounted
for morning prayer and I got off the back of his saddle, lo, some of my
blood was on it. It was the first time that this had happened to me. I
rushed to the camel in my shame. When the apostle saw my distress and
the blood he guessed the reason and told me to cleanse myself; then to take
water and put some salt in it, and then to wash the back of the saddle and
go back to my mount.'

She added: 'When the apostle conquered Khaybar he gave us a small
part of the booty. He took this necklace which you see on my neck and
gave it to me and hung it round my neck with his own hand, and by God it
will never leave me.' It was on her neck until she died when she gave
instructions that it was to be buried with her. She never cleansed herself
but she put salt in the purifying water, and gave instructions that it should
be put in the water with which she was washed when she was dead.

The names of the Muslims who met martyrdom at Khaybar are: of
Quraysh of the clan of B. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams of their allies: Rabī'a b.
Asad, and Ṭaḥqī b. 'Amr and Rīfā'ī b. Masūṭī. Of B. Asad b. 'Abdul-
Uzza; 'Abdullāh b. al Ḥubayy (765). Of the Anṣār of B. Salma; Bīr b.
al-Barā'ī b. Ma'rūr who died of the mutton with which the apostle was
poisoned, and Ṭuḍy b. al-Nu'mān, 2 men. Of B. Zarayq; Masūd b. Sa'd
'Auf; al-Ḩārīth b. Ḥātib; 'Urwa b. Murra b. Surqā; Aus b. al-Qālid;
'Uṣā, shot by an arrow. Of Aṣṣam: 'Amir b. al-Akva', and al-Aswad the
shepherd whose name was Aslam (766).

Of those who found martyrdom at Khaybar according to what Ibn
Shihāb al-Zuhārī said was Masūd b. Rabī'a, an ally of B. Zuhra from al-
Qārā; and from the Anṣār of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, Aus b. Qādāa.

1 The glassy eyes of the dead are meant. The reading 'āma'īma li-amīrīn wa ḥarān'
understood as 'fled' seems much inferior.

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The Affair of Al-Aswad the Shepherd

According to what I have heard al-Aswad came to the apostle with his
flock of sheep as he was besieging Khaybar. He was the hired servant of a
Jew there. He asked the apostle to explain Islam to him, and when he did
so he accepted it, for the apostle never thought too little of anyone to invite
him to accept Islam. Having become a Muslim he told the apostle that he
was the hired servant of the owner of the sheep which were entrusted to
his care, and what was he to do with them? He told him to him in the face
and they would go back to their owner. So al-Aswad got up and took a
handful of pebbles and threw them in their faces, saying, 'Go back to
your master, for I will look after you no more.' They went off in a body as
though someone were driving them, until they went into the fort. After-
wards he advanced to the fort with the Muslims and was struck by a stone
and killed, never having prayed a single prayer. He was brought to the
apostle and laid behind him and covered by his shepherd's cloak. The
apostle, who was accompanied by a number of his companions, turned
towards him and then turned away. When they asked him why, he said,
'He has with him now his two wives from the dark-eyed hoursi.'

Abūl-Aswad Abū Naṣīf told me that he was told that, when a martyr is
slain, his two wives from the dark-eyed hoursi will pet him, wiping the dust from
his face, saying the while, 'May God put dust on the face of the man who
put dust on your face, and slay him who slew you!'

The Affair of Al-Ḥajjāj B. Ḥālāt Al-Sulāmī

When Khaybar had been conquered al-Ḥajjāj b. Ḥālāt Al-Sulāmī of the clan
al-Bāzīh said to the apostle, 'I have money with my wife Umm Shayba d.
Abū Ṭaḥla—when they had lived together he had a son called Mu'ārid by
her—and money scattered among the Meccan merchants, so give me per-
mission to go and get it.' Having got his permission he said, 'I must tell
lies, O apostle.' He said, 'Tell them.' Al-Ḥajjāj said, 'When I came to
Mecca I found in the pass of al-Baydā' some men of Quraysh trying to get
news and asking how the apostle fared because they had heard that he
gone to Khaybar. They knew that it was the principal town of the Hijaz
in fertility, fortifications, and population, and they were searching for news
and interrogating passing riders. They did not know that I was a Muslim
and when they saw me they said, 'It is al-Ḥajjāj b. Ḥālāt. He is sure to
have news. Tell us, O Abū Muhammad, for we have heard that the high-
wayman has gone to Khaybar which is the town of the Jews and the garden
of the Hijaz.' I said, 'I have heard that and I have some news that will
please you.' They came up eagerly on either side of my camel, saying,
'Out with it, Ḥajjāj!' I said, 'He has suffered a defeat such as you have
never heard of and his companions have been slaughtered; you have never
heard the like, and Muhammad has been captured.' The men of Khaybar
said, "We will not kill him until we send him to the Meccans and let them kill him among themselves in revenge for their men whom he has killed." They got up and shouted in Mecca, "Here's news for you! You have only to wait for this fellow Muhammad to be sent to you to be killed in your midst." I said, "Help me to collect my money in Mecca and to get in the money owed to me, for I want to go to Khaybar to get hold of the fugitives from Muhammad and his companions before the merchants got there" (767). They got up and collected my money for me quicker than I could have supposed possible. I went to my wife and asked her for the money which she had by her, telling her that I should probably go to Khaybar and seize the opportunity to buy before the merchants got there first. When 'Abbās heard the news and heard about me he came and stood at my side as I was in one of the merchants' tents, asking about the news which I had brought. I asked him if he could keep a secret if I entrusted it to him. He said he could, and I said, "Then wait until I can meet you privately, for I am collecting my money as you see, so leave me (T. and he left me) until I have finished"; and so, when I had collected everything I had in Mecca and decided to leave, I met 'Abbās and said, "Keep my story secret for three nights, then say what you will for I am afraid of being pursued." When he said that he would, I said, "I left your brother's son married to the daughter of their king, meaning 'Abbās, and Khaybar has been conquered and all that is in it removed and become the property of Muhammad and his companions." He said, "What are you saying. Haji-jāf?" I said, "Yes, by Allah, but keep my secret. I have become a Muslim and have come only to get my money fearing that I may be deprived of it. When three nights have passed publish the news as you will." When the third day came 'Abbās put on a robe of his and scented himself and took his stick, and went to the Ka'ba and went round it. When the people saw him they said, "O Abūl-Fadl, this is indeed steadfastness in a great misfortune!" He answered, "By no means, by Allah by whom you swear, Muhammad has conquered Khaybar and was left married to the daughter of their king. He has seized all that they possess and it is now his property and the property of his companions." They asked, "Who brought you this news?" He said, "The man who brought you your news. He came to you as a Muslim and has taken his money and gone off to join Muhammad and his companions and to be with him." They said "O men of Allah, the enemy of Allah has escaped. Had we known we would have dealt with him." Almost at once the true news reached them.

Among the verses about the day of Khaybar are the following from Ḥassān b. Thabit:

How badly the Khaybaris fought
To preserve their crops and dates!

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They disliked the thought of death and so their preserve became a spoil
And they behaved like miserable cowards.
Would they flee from death?
The death of the starved is not seemly.

Ḥassān also said, excusing Ayman b. Umm Ayman b. 'Ubayd who had stayed behind from Khaybar (he was of B. 'Auf b. al-Khazraj. His mother Umm Ayman was a freed slave of the apostle, the mother of Usāma b. Zayd who was thus brother to Ayman by his mother):

At the time when Ayman's mother said to him
You are a coward and were not with the horsemen of Khaybar
Ayman was no coward, but his horse
Was sick from drinking fermented barley-water.
Had it not been for the state of his horse
He would have fought with them as a horseman with his right hand.
What stopped him was the behaviour of his horse
And what had happened to it seemed to him more serious (768).

Nājiya b. Jundub al-Aslami said:

O servants of Allah, why do you prize
What is nothing but food and drink
When Paradise has amazing joy?

He also said:

I am Ibn Jundub to one who does not know me.
How many an adversary when I charged turned aside.
He perished in the feeding-place of vultures and jackals (769).

The Account of the Division of the Spoil of Khaybar

When the spoil of Khaybar was divided, al-Shaqq and Naṭā fell to the Muslims while al-Katiba was divided into five sections: God's fifth; the prophet's share (T. fifth); the share of kindred, orphans, the poor (T. and T. 1588 wayfarers); maintenance of the prophet's wives; and maintenance of the men who acted as intermediaries in the peace negotiations with the men of Fadak. To Muḥayyisa, who was one of these men, the apostle gave thirty loads of barley and thirty loads of dates. Khaybar was apportioned among the men of al-Hudaybiya without regard to whether they were present at Khaybar or not. Only Jābir b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr b. Ḥarīm was absent and the apostle gave him the same share as the others. Its two wadis, al-Sunayr and Khāṣṣ, formed the territory into which Khaybar was divided. Naṭā and al-Shaqq formed 18 shares of which Naṭā formed 5 and al-Shaqq 13. These two places were divided into 1,800 shares.
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The number of the companions among whom Khaybar was divided was 1,800 with shares for horse and foot; 1,400 men and 200 horses; every horse got two shares and his rider one; every footman got one share. There was a chief over every allotment for every 100 men, i.e., 18 blocks of shares (770).

The chiefs were 'Ali b. al-Zubayr b. al-Awwām; 'Āṣim b. 'Abbās; 'Umar; 'Abdūl-Rahmān; 'Āṣim b. 'Adiy; 'Usayd b. Ḥudayr. Then the share of al-Ḥārith b. al-Khaḍir; then the share in Nā'im; then the share of B. Bayāda; B. 'Ubayd, B. Ḥārīm of B. 'Amr, and 'Ubayd of the share (771); Sā'īda, Ghifār and Aslam, al-Najjār, Ḥārisa, and Ans. They followed it; the second to B. Bayāda; the third to 'Usayd; the fourth to B. al-Ḥārid; the fifth in Nā'im to B. 'Aff. b. al-Khaḍraz and Muzayyin and their partners. In it Maḥmūd b. Mūsā was killed. So much for Nā'im.

Then they went down to al-Shaqq: the first fell to 'Āṣim b. 'Adiy brother of B. al-ʿAjlān and with it the apostle's share; then the shares of 'Abdu'l-Rahmān, Sā'iḍa, al-Najjār, 'Āṣim, 'Abbās, Ghifār and Aslam, 'Umar, Salama b. 'Ubayd and B. Ḥārīm, Ḥārisa, 'Ubayd of the shares'; then the share of Ans which was the share of al-Laṭif to which Juhayna and the rest of the Arabs who were at Khaybar was joined; opposite it was the apostle's share which he got with 'Āṣim's share (772).

Then the apostle distributed al-Kitaba which is Wadi Khāṣ between his kindred and wives and to other men and women. He gave his daughter Fīṭima 200 loads; 'Ālī 100; Usāma b. Zayd 200 and 50 loads of dates; 'Aṣya 200; 'Abū Bakkār 100, 'Asīl b. 'Abū Tālib 140; B. Ja'far 50; Raḥfā b. al-Ḥārid 100; al-Salṭ b. Makhrama and his two sons 100, 40 of them for al-Salṭ himself; 'Abbās Nabiqā 50; Rukāna b. 'Abdu Yazīd 50; Qays b. Makhrama 30; his brother Abūl-Qasim 40; the daughters of 'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārid and the daughter of al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥārid 100; B. 'Ubayd b. 'Abdu Yazīd 60; Ibn Ans b. Makhrama 30; Miṣṣāḥ b. Uthmān and Ibn Ilyās 50; ʿUmm Rumayṭa 40; Nuʿaym b. Ḥind 50; Buḥayna d. al-Ḥārid 30; 'Uṣayr b. 'Abdu Yazīd 30; ʿUmm Ḥakim d. al-Ｚubayr b. Abū Muṣṭafīḥ 30; ʿUmmāna b. Abū Tālib 30; ʿUmm al-ʿArqam 50; 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. Abū Bakkār 40; Ḥamra d. Jaḥsh 50; ʿUmm I-l-Zubayr 40; Dūṭa a. d. al-Zubayr 40; ʿAbū Khunaysa 50; ʿUmm Tālib 40; Abū Bāṣra 20; Nuṣayyida al-Kalbī 50; 'Abdullāh b. Waḥib and his two daughters 90 of which 40 were

1 This complicated and unsystematic account can be understood thus: the 18,000 shares were divided into 18 which were allotted
(a) to the chief distributors, viz. 'Abbās b. al-Zubayr, 'Abbās, 'Abdu'l-Rahmān, 'Āṣim and ʿUsayd
(b) to tribal 'shareholders', viz. al-Ḥārid b. al-Khaḍraz, B. Bayāda, B. 'Ubayd, B. Ḥārīm, Sā'iḍa, Ghifār and Aslam, B. al-Najjār, Ḥārisa, B. Ans, and other elements
(c) By the name of the property itself, Nā'im
(d) By the name of the owner 'Ubayd, who bought up the shares

Total 18

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for his two sons; ʿUmm Ḥabīb d. Jaḥsh 30; Malik b. Abda 30; and to his own wives 700 (772).

In the Name of Allah the Compassionate the Merciful. A memorandum of what Muhammad the apostle of Allah gave his wives from the wheat of Khaybar. He distributed to them 180 loads. He gave his daughter Fīṭima 85, Usāma b. Zayd 40, al-Miqālīd b. al-Aswad 15, ʿUmm Rumayṭa 5, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān was witness and Abūhāb wrote the document. Ǧabd b. Kaysān told me from Ibn Shihāb al-Zubayrī and ʿUmmal-Zubayr b. Abdulb, ʿUtba b. Masʿūd: The only dispositions that the apostle made at his death were these: He bequeathed to the Rāḥūsān land which produced a hundred loads in Khaybar, to the Darayis, the Sābāʿīs, and the Aṣḥābis the same. He also gave instructions that the mission of Usāma b. Zayd b. Ḥārisa should be carried through and that two religions should not be allowed to remain in the peninsula of the Arabs.

The Affair of Fadak

When the apostle had finished with Khaybar, God struck terror to the hearts of the men of Fadak when they heard what the apostle had done to the men of Khaybar. They sent to him an offer of peace on condition that they should keep half of their produce. Their messengers came to him in Khaybar or on the road or after he came to Medina, and he accepted their terms. Thus Fadak became his private property, because it had not been attacked by horse or camel.

The Names of the Darīyun

They were B. al-Dār b. Ḥāni b. Ḥabīb b. Numāra b. Lakhm who had come to the apostle from Syria, namely, Tamūm b. Aṣūr and Nuʿaym his brother, Yazīd b. Qays, and ʿArif b. Malik whom the apostle named 'Abdu'l-Rahmān (773), and his brother Murrān b. Malik, and Fākh b. Nuʿmān, Jabala b. Malik, and Abū Hind b. Barr and his brother al-Tayyib whom the apostle named Abdullah.

According to what 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakkār told me the apostle used to send to Khaybar ʿAbdullāh b. Rawāḥa to act as assessor between the Muslims and the Jews. When he made his assessment they would say, 'You have wronged us,' and he would say, 'If you wish it is yours and if you like it is ours,' and the Jews would say, 'On this (foundation) Heaven and earth stand.' But 'Abdullāh acted as assessor for one year only before he was
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killed at Mu'at. After him Jabbar b. Sakhr b. Umayya b. Khasan' brother of B. Salima took over the work. All went well and the Muslims found no fault in their behaviour until they attacked 'Abdullah b. Sahl brother of J. Haritha and killed him in violation of their agreement with the apostle, and the Muslims suspected them on that account.

Al-Zubair and Bushayr b. Yasir told me from Sahl b. Abū Ḥathim. 'Abdullah b. Sahl was killed in Khaybar. He had gone there with friends of his to take away the dates and was found in a pool with his neck broken, having been thrown there. So they took him and buried him and that came to the apostle and told him about the affair. His brother 'Abdul- Rahman came to him accompanied by his two cousins Huwayyiṣa and Muhayyiṣa the sons of Mas'ud. Now 'Abdu'l-Rahman was the youngest of them and the avenger of blood and a prominent man among his people and when he spoke before his two cousins the apostle said, 'The eldest first, the eldest first!' (774) and he became silent. The two cousins then spoke and he spoke after them. They told the apostle of the killing of their relative and he said, 'Can you name the killer, then swear fifty oaths against him that we should deliver him up to you?' They said that they could not swear to what they did not know. He said, 'If they swear fifty oaths that they did not kill him and do not know the slayer, will they be free from the guilt of his blood?' They answered, 'We cannot accept the oaths of Jews. Their infidelity is so great that they would swear falsely.' The apostle paid the bloodwit of a hundred she-camels from his own property. Sahl said, 'By Allah, I shall not forget a young red camel who kicked me as I was leading her.'

Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥarith a-Taymi told me from 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. Bujayd b. Qayl b. brother of B. Haritha. Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm said: 'By God, Sahl did not know more than he, but he was the elder. He said to him, 'By Allah, the affair was not thus but Sahl misunderstood. The apostle did not say 'Swear to something you have no knowledge of,' but he wrote to the Jews of Khaybar when the Anṣār spoke to him: 'A dead man has been found among your dwellings. Pay his bloodwit.' The Jews wrote back swearing by Allah that they had not killed him and do not know who had, so the apostle paid the blood-money.'

Amr b. Shu'ayb told me the same story as 'Abdu'l-Rahman except that he said, 'Pay the blood-money or be prepared for war.'

I asked Ibn Shihab al-Zubair. 'How was it that the apostle gave the Jews of Khaybar their palms when he gave them on a tax basis? Did he assign to them until he was taken or did he give them for some other necessary reason?' He told me that the apostle took Khaybar by force qinat... al-ard with Pirgē Aḥbāth 1, 10 'on three things the world stands (palm): justice, truth, and peace' one can hardly doubt that 'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr has preserved an accurate account of what took place.

1 Sahl is the transmitter of the story. The avenger of blood was 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. Sahl.
2 This incident is reported by al-Tabari from I. via al-Bakrī in an abbreviated form. There is no significant difference.

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after fighting and Khaybar was part of what God gave to him as booty. The apostle divided it into five parts and distributed it among the Muslims, and after the fighting the population surrendered on condition that they should migrate. The apostle called them and said that if they wished they would let them have the property on condition that they worked it and the produce was equally divided between both parties and he would leave them there as long as God let them stay. They accepted the terms and used to work the property on those conditions. The apostle used to send 'Abdullah b. Rawahah and he would divide the produce and make a just assessment. When God took away His prophet, Abū Bakr continued the arrangement until his death, and so did 'Umar for the beginning of his amirate. Then he heard that the apostle had said in his last illness, 'Two religions shall not remain together in the peninsula of the Arabs' and he made inquiries until he got confirmation. Then he sent to the Jews saying, 'God has given permission for you to emigrate,' quoting the apostle's words. 'If anyone has an agreement with the apostle let him bring it to me and I will carry it out; he who has no such agreement let him get ready to emigrate.' Thus 'Umar expelled those who had no agreement with the apostle.

Nāfi' client of 'Abdullah b. 'Umar told me from 'Abdullah b. 'Umar: With al-Zubair and al-Miqdād b. al-Awsad I went out to our property in Khaybar to inspect it, and when we got there we separated to see our individual affairs. In the night I was attacked as I was asleep on my bed and my arms were dislocated at the elbows. In the morning I called my companions to my aid and when they came and asked me who had done this I had to say that I did not know. They reset my arms and then took me to 'Umar who said, 'This is the work of the Jews.' Then he got up and addressed those present saying that the apostle had arranged with the Jews of Khaybar that we could expel them if we wished; that they had attacked 'Abdullah b. 'Umar and dislocated his arms, as they had heard, in addition to their attack on the Anṣār previously. There was no doubt that they were the authors of these outrages because there was no other enemy on the spot. Therefore if anyone had property in Khaybar he should go to it, for he was on the point of expelling the Jews. And he did expel them.

'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr told me from 'Abdullah b. Maknaf brother of B. Haritha: When 'Umar expelled the Jews from Khaybar he rode with the Muhājirūn and Anṣār and Jabbar b. Sakhr b. Umayya b. Khasan' brother of B. Salima who was the assessor and accountant of the Medinans and Yazid b. Thābit; and these two divided Khaybar among its owners according to the original agreement of the lots.

'Umar divided Wādīl-Qārā into shares: one each to 'Uthmān, 'Abdul-

8 Khurṣ. I. I. (note 777) says that the word means 'share'. My colleague, Dr. R. B. Segal, Le Musulon, XIX, 1953, p. 130, writes of the Hadramaut: 'The main bund or channel leading the flood water from the wadi to the fields is called khurṣ (pl. khurs), a word known to Ibn Ḥabīb, Sira, p. 780. If I.L. meant 'irrigation channel', as is very
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They obeyed the commands of women concerning us
And assisted the very enemies we were fighting.

Khalid answered him and said:
I do not insult my brother's honour since he is my brother
Though he does not refrain from evil words.
When affairs went ill with him he said:
'Would that a man dead in Žurayba would rise from the grave!
Leave the dead in peace, for he has gone his way,
And deal with the man at hand who has more need of you.

And Mu'ayqib b. Abū Fātimah who became 'Umar's guardian of the public purse; he belonged to the family of Sa'id b. al-Âş; and Abū Mūsā al-Âsh'ârî 'Abdullâh b. Qays, an ally of the family of 'Utba b. Rabi'â b. 'Abdu Sham's.


5. From B. 'Abdul-I-Dâr: 'Abdul-Qays with his two sons 'Amr and Khuzayma. His wife Umm Ḥarmâl b. al-Âsh'ârî (she died in Abyssinia) with her two children. 1.


7. From B. Taym b. Murra: Al-Âhârî b. Khâlid whose wife Rayyâ b. al-


9. From B. Sahm b. 'Amr: Ma'an b. al-Jaz', an ally of theirs from B. Zubayd. The apostle put him in charge of the fifth of the Muslims. 1.


11. From B. 'Amr: 'Abdul-Hâtim b. 'Amr; Malik b. Rabi'â with his wife Hanây b. al-Sa'dî b. Waqâdân. 2.


THE RETURN OF THOSE WHO HAD MIGRATED TO ABBYSSINIA (778)

These are the names of the prophet's companions who stayed in Abyssinia until he sent 'Arâf b. Umayya al-Damîrî to the Negus to fetch them back in two boats and who eventually rejoined him in Khaybar after al-Hudaybiyya.

From B. Hâshim: 'Amr b. Abû Talib with his wife Aṣma'î d. 'Umayyâ; and his son 'Abdullâh who was born to him in Abyssinia. 'Arâf was killed at Mu'ta in Syria when acting as the apostle's amir. 1 man.

From B. Abu Sham's: Khâlid b. Sa'id b. al-Âş b. Umâyaa with his wife Umâyaa b. Khalaf b. As'ad (779); his two children Sa'id and Abu begotten in Abyssinia (Khalid was killed at Marj al-Sufar in the caliphate of Abu Bakr); his brother 'Amr whose wife, Fâtimah d. Sa'âdân b. Umâyaa b. Muhammad al-Kinâî, died in Abyssinia (Arâf was killed at An-Nâid in Syria during the caliphate of Abu Bakr).

With reference to 'Amr b. Sa'id his father Sa'id b. al-Âş b. Umâyaa Abû Uba'yba said:
O 'Amr, I wish that I knew about you whether
When you carry arms when your arms have grown strong
Will you leave your people's affairs in such disorder
As will disclose the rage they retain in their breasts?

With reference to 'Amr and Khalid, their brother Abû Sa'id b. al-Âş b. Umâyaa who became Muslims, and their father Sa'id had died in al-Zurayba in the region of Tâ'il:

Would that a dead man in Žurayba could see
What 'Amr and Khalid are falsely introducing into religion!

probable, then the channels would mark out the limits of each man's property or 'share'. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that such an unusual word was used in a technical sense. It is not astonishing that a word of external origin should be used in this context because the Arabs of the Hijaz in this epoch looked down on agriculture, and most of the terms they used were borrowed from their neighbours.

1  The genealogies I have drastically shortened. Full details have already been given.

A place in Damascus.
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We can see clearly but you are only trying to see: you can’t yet see clearly, the metaphor being taken from a puppy who tries to open its eyes and flutters them before he can do so, i.e. We have opened our eyes and we see, but you have not opened your eyes to see though you are trying to do so.

And Qays b. 'Abdullah of B. Asad b. Khuzayma who was father of Umayya d. Qays who was with Umm Ḥabiba, and his wife Baraka d. Yasār, the freed slave of Abū Sufyān. They were the two foster-mothers of 'Ubaydullah b. Ja'āsh and Umm Ḥabība d. Abū Sufyān. They took them with them when he migrated to Abyssinia. 2 men.

From B. Asad b. 'Abdulla'ı-Uzza: Yāṣīd b. Zama'a who was killed a martyr with the apostle at Hunayn; and 'Amr b. Umayya b. al-Ḥārith who died in Abyssinia. 2 men.

From B. 'Abdulla'ı-Dār: Abūl-Rūm b. 'Umayr and Firās b. al-Nāḍr. 2

From B. Zuhr b. Kilāb: Abūl-Mutanabī b. Azhar with his wife Ramla d. Abū 'Aub b. Dubayra who died in Abyssinia. She bore him there 'Abdullāh b. al-Mutanabī. It was said that he was the first man in Islam to inherit his father’s property. 1

From B. Taym b. Murra: 'Amr b. 'Uṯmān who was killed at Qādiyya with Sa'd b. Abū Waqās. 1

From B. Makẖūm b. Yaqyya: Ḥabbār b. Sufyān b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Abdulla'ı-Asad killed at Ajnāḍayn in Abū Bakr’s caliphate; and his brother 'Abdullāh killed in the year of the Yarmūk in 'Umar’s caliphate. (There is doubt as to whether he was killed there or not); and Ḥabīb b. Abū Ḥudhayfā. 3

From B. Junāḥ b. 'Amr: Ḥāṭīb b. al-Ḥārith and his two sons Muhammad and al-Ḥārith with his wife Fatīma d. al-Muqallad. Ḥāṭīb died in Abyssinia as a Muslim and his wife and his two sons came in one of the boats; and his brother Ḥāṭīb with his wife Fukayha d. Yāṣīr. He died there as a Muslim and his wife Fukayha came in one of the boats; and Sufyān b. Ma’mar b. Ḥabīb and his two sons Junāḍa and Jābir with their mother Ḥabība, and their half-brother by their mother Shurabīl b. Ḥabība. Sufyān and his two sons Junāḍa and Jābir died in the caliphate of 'Umar. 6

From B. Sahm b. 'Amr: 'Abdullāh b. al-Ḥārith who died in Abyssinia; and Qays b. Ḥudraḥa; and Abū Qays b. al-Ḥārith who was killed at al-Yamāma in the caliphate of Abū Bakr; and 'Abdullāh b. Ḥudraḥa who was the apostle’s envoy to Chosroes; and al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥārith b. Qays; and Ma’mar b. al-Ḥārith; and Bishr b. al-Ḥārith and a son of his mother from B. Tāmīm called Sa’d b. 'Amr who was killed at Ajnāḍayn in the caliphate of Abū Bakr; and Sa’d b. al-Ḥārith who was killed in the year of the Yarmūk in the caliphate of 'Umar; and al-Sā’īb b. al-Ḥārith who was wounded at al-Tā’īf and the apostle and killed in the battle of Fīlī in the caliphate of 'Umar—others say in the fight at Khaybar; and 'Umar b. Ri’āb who was killed at 'Ayn al-Ṭamār with Khālid b. al-Walid when he came from al-Yamāma in the caliphate of Abū Bakr. 11 men. 2

1 In Syria. Cf. Yṣq. 833.

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From B. 'Adīb b. Ka’b: ‘Urwa b. ‘Abdu’l-Uzza who died in Abyssinia; and 'Adīb b. Nāḍla who also died there. 2

'Adīb had a son called al-Nu’mān who returned with the Muslims. In the caliphate of 'Umar he was put over Maysān in the district of Baara. He composed some verses:

Hasn’t al-Hasnā’i heard that her husband in Maysān
Is drinking from glasses and jars?
If I wished, the chief men of the city would sing to me
And dancing-girls pirouette on tiptoe.
If you’re my friend, give me a drink in the largest cup,
Don’t give me the smallest half broken!
Perhaps the commander of the faithful will take it amiss
That we’re drinking together in a tumbledown castle!

When 'Umar heard of these verses he said: ‘He’s right, by God, I do take it amiss! Anyone who sees him can tell him that I have deposed him.’

After his deposition he came to ‘Umar and pleaded that he had never acted in the way that his verses implied, but that he was a poet who wrote in their exaggerated way. ‘Umar replied that as long as he lived he would never act as his governor after having used such words.

From B. Ṭāmīn b. Ḥabīb: Saḥīḥ b. ‘Amr who was the apostle’s envoy to Ḥadība. ‘Alī al-Hanafī in al-Yamāma. 1

From B. al-Ḥārith b. Fīhr: ‘Uṯmān b. ‘Abdu Gham; and Sa’d b. ‘Abdu Qays; and ‘Iyād b. Zuhayr. 3

The total number of those who were not at Badr and did not come to the apostle in Mecca, and those who came afterwards, and those whom the 787 Negus did not send in the two boats was 34 men.

The names of those who died in Abyssinia and their children were:

From B. Junāḥ: Ḥāṭīb b. al-Ḥārith and his brother Ḥāṭīb.


The total number of women who migrated to Abyssinia, those who came back and those who died there was 16 women besides their daughters whom they bore there who came back and who died there and who went along with them:

From Quraysh of B. Ḥāshim: Ṭuqayya d. of the apostle.
From B. Umayya: Umm Ḥabība d. Abū Sufyān with her daughter Ḥabība. She took her with her from Mecca and they returned together.
From B. Makẖūm: Umm Salama d. Abū Umayya. She brought back her daughter Zaynab whom she bore there.

2 Or ‘the beauty’.
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From B. Taym b. Murra: Ra'ya d. al-Hāriz b. Jubayla who died on the journey and her two daughters 'A'isha and Zaynab by al-Hāriz born in Abyssinia. They all, together with their brother Mūsā b. al-Harīth, died on the journey from drinking foul water. Only her daughter Fātimah, born there, survived to return.

From B. Sahm b. 'Amr: Ramla d. Abū 'Aṣy b. Dūbabayra.


From B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy: Saudah d. Zama'b a. Qays; and Sāliha d. Suhayl b. 'Amr and his daughter al-Mujallal; and 'Amra d. al-Sā'di b. Wāqdān; and Umm Kulthūm d. Suhayl b. 'Amr.

From distant Arab tribes: Asmād, 'Umays b. al-Nu'mān al-Khathā'iyya; and Fātimah d. Sa'wān b. Umayya b. Muḥarrith al-Kinānīya; and Fūkhayla d. Yasr; and Barak d. Yasr; and Ḥasan Umm Shurabīl b. Ḥasan.

These are the names of the children who were born to them in Abyssinia.


From B. 'Abdu Shams: Muhammad b. Abū Ḥudhayfah; and Sād b. Khālid b. Sa'd and his sister Ama.


From B. Tayy: Mūsā b. al-Hāriz b. Khālid and his sisters 'A'isha and Fātimah and Zaynab. 5 boys and 5 girls.

The Fulfilled Pilgrimage, 1 A.H. 7

When the apostle returned from Khaybar to Medina he stayed there from the first Râbi' until Shawwâl, sending out raiding parties and expeditions. Then in Dhū-l-Qa'da—the mouth in which the polytheists had prevented him from pilgrimage—he went out to make the 'fulfilled pilgrimage' (780) in place of the 'umra from which they had excluded him.

Those Muslims who had been excluded with him went out in A.H. 7, and when the Meccans heard of it they got out of his way. Quraysh said among themselves, 'Muhammad and his companions are in destitution, want, and privation.'

A man I have no reason to suspect told me that Ibn 'Abbas said: 'They gathered at the door of the assembly house to look at him and his companions, and when the apostle entered the mosque he threw to the end of his cloak over his left shoulder leaving his right upper arm free. Then he said: 'God have mercy on a man who shows them today that he is strong.' Then he kissed the stone, and went out trotting as did his companions until when the temple concealed him from them and he had kissed the southern corner he walked to kiss the black stone. Then he trotted similar.

1 The 'umra which can be performed at any time during the year, not the hijj which must include a visit to 'Arafât.

2 Itlālama means to embrace with outstretched arms; to stroke with the hand; and to kiss.

3 harwâla, says Burton, Pilgrimage (London, 1949, 167), is 'very similar to the French har compagitique, or tarammad, that is to say, 'moving the shoulders as if walking in sand.'

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latly three circuits and walked the rest.' Ibn 'Abbas used to say, 'People used to think that this practice was not incumbent on them because the apostle only did it for this clan of Quraysh because of what he had heard about them until when he made the farewell pilgrimage he adhered to it and the sunna carried it on.'

'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr told me that when the apostle entered Mecca on that pilgrimage 'Abdullāh b. Rawâja was holding the halter of his camel and saying:

Get out of his way, you unbelievers, make way. 2 Every good comes from His apostle. O Lord I believe in your word, I know God's truth in accepting it. We will fight you about its interpretation 3 As we have fought you about its revelation With strokes that will remove heads from shoulders And make friend unmindful of friend (781).

Abūn b. Śāliḥ and 'Abdullāh b. Abū Najîh from 'Atīb b. Abū Rabâh and 790 Mujāhīd Abúl-Hajjâj from Ibn 'Abbas told me that the apostle married 'Amr's daughter Marymā d. al-Hāriz in that journey of his when he was harâm. Abū 'Abdul-Muṭṭalib married him to her (782). 4

The apostle remained three days in Mecca. Ḥuwayyib b. Abúl-'Uzza b. Abū Qays, Abū Wudd b. Naṣr, Abū Malik b. Ḥal with a few Quraysh came to him on the third day because Quraysh had entrusted them with the duty of sending the apostle out of Mecca. They said: 'Your time is up, so get out of us.' The apostle answered: 'How would it harm you if you were to let me stay and I gave a wedding feast among you and we prepared food and you came too?' They replied, 'We don't need your food, so get out.' So the apostle went out and left Abū Râfî his client in charge of Maymâna until he brought her to him in Sarî. 5 (T. The apostle ordered them to change the (normal) sacrificial animal and did so himself. Camels were hard to come by so he allowed them to offer oxen.) The apostle consummated his marriage with her there, and then went on to Medina in Dhūl-Hijja (783).

The Raid on Mu'ta in A.H. 8

He remained there for the rest of Dhūl-Hijja, while the polytheists supervised the pilgrimage, and throughout al-Muḥarram and Şafar and the two

1 Here, for falsâsimâh, T. has farsâmâlâh. See n. 3 above.

2 T. adds a spurious hemistich which destroys the balance of the poem.

3 I.H.'s comment is cogent. S. says the occasion of the poem was Ỉşffîn: in other words it belongs to Šî'a polemic.

4 This is a tradition which is a bone of contention among Muslim lawyers. Cf. J. Schacht, The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence, Oxford, 1950, p. 153.

5 A place near al-Tamîm.
Rabi's. In Jumāda'ī-Ūlā he sent to Syria his force which met with disaster in Mu'ta.

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr said: The apostle sent his expedition to Mu'ta in Jumāda'ī-Ūlā in the year 8 and put Zayd b. Ḥaritha in command; if Zayd were slain then Ja'far b. Abū Talib was to take command, and if he were killed then 'Abdullah b. Rawāḥa. The expedition got ready to the number of 3,000 and prepared to start. When they were about to set off they bade farewell to the apostle's chief, and saluted them. When 'Abdullah b. Rawāḥa took his leave of the chief he wept and when they asked him the reason he said, 'By God, it is not that I love the world and am inordinately attached to you, but I heard the apostle read a verse from God's book in which he mentioned hell: "There is not one of you but shall come to it; that is a determined decree of your Lord," and I do not know how I can return after I have been to it.' The Muslims said, 'God be with you and protect you and bring you back to us safe and sound.' 'Abdullah said:

But I ask the Merciful's pardon
And a wide open wound discharging blood,
Or a deadly lance-thrust from a zealous warrior
That will pierce the bowels and liver;
So that men will say when they pass my grave,
'God guide him, fine raider that he was, he did well!'

Then, when the people were about to start, 'Abdullah came to the apostle to bid him farewell and said:

May God confirm the good things He gave you
As he confirmed them to Moses with victory.¹
I perceived goodness in you by a natural gift.
God knows that I can see deeply.
You are the apostle and he who is deprived of his gifts
And the sight of him has no real worth (784).

Then the people marched forth, the apostle accompanying them until he said farewell and returned. 'Abdullah said:

May peace remain on the best companion and friend,
The man I said good-bye to amid the palms.

They went on their way as far as Ma'ān in Syria where they heard that Heraclius had come down to Ma'āb in the Balqī' with 100,000 Greeks joined by 100,000 men from Lakhm and Judham and al-Qayn and Bahri and Bali commanded by a man of Bali of Irāša called Malik b. Zāhu. When the Muslims heard this they spent two nights at Ma'ān pondering what to do. They were in favour of writing to the apostle to tell him of the enemy's numbers; if he sent reinforcements well and good, otherwise they would await his orders. 'Abdullah b. Rawāḥa encouraged the men saying, 'Men, what you dislike is that which you have come out in search of, viz. martyrdom. We are not fighting the enemy with numbers, or strength or multitude, but we are confronting (Ṭ. fighting) them with this religion with which God has honoured us. So come on! Both prospects are fine: victory or martyrdom.' The men said, 'By God, Ibn Rawāḥa is right.' So they went forward and 'Abdullah said concerning their holding back:

We urged on our horses from Ajā' and Far',¹ Their bellies gorged with the grass they had eaten.
We gave them as shoes the smooth hard ground,
Its surface smooth as leather.
They stayed two nights at Ma'ān;
After their rest they were full of spirit.
We went forward, our horses given free rein,
The hot wind blowing in their nostrils.
I swear that we will come to Ma'āb
Though Arabs and Greeks be there.
We arranged their bridles and they came furiously,
Their dust arose in streamers
With an army whose helmets as their points appeared
Seemed to shine like stars.
The woman who enjoys life our spears divorced.
She can remarry or remain a widow (785).

Then the army went forward, and 'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr told me that he was told that Zayd b. Arqa' said: I was an orphan child of 'Abdullah b. Rawāḥa and he took me with him on this expedition riding on the back of his saddle, and as he journeyed by night I heard him reciting these verses of his:²

When you have brought me and carried my gear
A four nights' journey from the swampy ground,
Then enjoy life and bear no blame
And may I never return to my people at home. (And when)
The Muslims have gone and left me
In Syria where I wish to be,
And a near relative of mine in God,
Though no blood relation, has brought you back,
There I shall not care for fruit that depends on rain
Or palms whose roots are watered by man.

I wept on hearing these words and he fiddled with his whip and said,

¹ Sūra 33. 72
² The dubious syntax and faulty rhyme in these lines is rightly corrected by L.H.¹
² Two mountains of Tuyyil.²
³ He addresses his carol.
794 ‘Why worry, wretched fellow, if God grants me martyrdom and you return firmly in the saddle?’ Then in one of his ḥajj poems he said:

O Zayd, Zayd of the swift lean camels,
Long is the night you have been led, so dismount.

The people went forward until when they were on the borders of the Balqū the Greek and Arab forces of Heraclius met them in a village called Masḥārīf. When the enemy approached, the Muslims withdrew to a village called Muṭa‘. There the forces met and the Muslims made their dispositions, putting over the right wing Qūṭba b. Qatāda of the B. ‘Udha‘ra, and over the left wing an Ḥanāfīs called ‘Ubayya b. Malik (786).

When fighting began Zayd b. Hāritha fought holding the apostle’s standard, until he died from loss of blood among the spears of the enemy. Then Ja‘far took it and fought with it until when the battle hemmed him in he jumped off his roan and hamstrung her and fought till he was killed. Ja‘far was the first man in Islam to hamstring his horse.

Yahyā b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abdullāh al-Zubayr from his father who said, ‘My foster-father, who was of the B. Murra b. ‘Auf, and was in the Mu‘ta’ raid said, “I seem to see Ja‘far when he got off his sorrel and hamstrung her and then fought until he was killed as he said:

Welcome Paradise so near,
Sweet and cool to drink its cheer.
Greeks will soon have much to fear
Infidels, of descent unclear
When we meet their necks I’ll shear.”’ (787)

795 Yahyā b. ‘Abdullāh on the same authority told me that when Ja‘far was killed ‘Abdullāh b. Rawāḥa took the standard and advanced with it riding his horse. He had to put pressure on himself as he felt reluctant to go forward. Then he said:

I swear, my soul, you shall come to the battle;
You shall fight or be made to fight.
Though men shout and scream aloud,
Why should you spurn Paradise?
Long have you been at ease.
You are nothing but a drop in a worn-out skin!

He also said:

O soul, if you are not killed you will die.
This is the fate of death which you suffer.
You have been given what you hoped for.
If you do what those two did you will have been guided aright—
meaning his two companions Zayd and Ja‘far. Then he dismounted and

1 There is a play on the words here.

796 cousin of his came up with a meat bone, saying, ‘Strengthen yourself with this, for you have met in these battles of yours difficult days.’ He took it and ate a little. Then he heard the sounds of confusion in the force and threw it away, saying, ‘And you are still living?’ He seized his sword and died fighting. Then Thābit b. Aqrām took the standard. He was brother of B. al-‘Ajālān. He called on the Muslims to rally round one man, and when they wanted to rally to him demurred and they rallied to Khalīd b. al-Waladā. When he took the standard he tried to keep the enemy off and to avoid an engagement. Then he retreated and the enemy turned aside from him until he got away with the men.

According to what I have been told, when the army was smitten the apostle said: ‘Zayd took the standard and fought with it until he was killed as a martyr; then Ja‘far took it and fought until he was killed as a martyr.’ Then he was silent until the faces of the Ḥanāfī fell and they thought that something disastrous had happened to ‘Abdullāh b. Rawāḥa. Then he said: ‘Abdullāh took it and fought by it until he was killed as a martyr. I saw in a vision that they were carried up to me in Paradise upon beds of gold. I saw ‘Abdullāh’s bed turning away from the beds of the other two, and when I asked why, I was told that they had gone on but he hesitated before he went forward.’

(T. ‘Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr told me that when the news of Ja‘far’s death reached the apostle he said, ‘Ja‘far went by yesterday with a company of angels making for Bishā in the Yamān. He had two wings whose fore-feathers were stained with blood.’)

‘Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr from Umm Ḥaṣan b. Abī Ṭālib from Umm Ja‘far, Muhammad b. Ja‘far b. Abū Ṭālib from her grandmother Asmā‘ d. ‘Umayzah said: When Ja‘far and his companions were killed, the apostle came in to me when I had just tanned forty skins (788) and kneaded my dough and washed and oiled and cleaned my children. He asked me to bring him Ja‘far’s sons and when I did so he smelt them and his eyes filled with tears. I asked him whether he had heard bad news about Ja‘far and his companions, and he said that he had and that they had been killed that day. I got up and cried aloud and the women gathered to me. The apostle went out to his family saying, ‘Do not neglect Ja‘far’s family so as not to provide them with food, for they are occupied with the disaster that has happened to their head.’

1 Abdu’l-Rahmān b. al-Qāsim b. Muhammad told me from his father from ‘A‘isha the prophet’s wife who said: When news of Ja‘far’s death came we saw sorrow on the apostle’s face. A man went to him and said, ‘The women trouble us and disturb us.’ He told him to go back and quieten them. He went but came back again saying the same words.

1 Some MSS. have waḥālaḥa kibim ‘took precautions for their safety’, a reading which is supported by 789, 10, and may well be right.

2 A reference to the practice of sending cooked food to a bereaved family to provide a meal for the mourners and their visitors.
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797 'A'isha here commented, 'Meddling often injures the meddler.' The apostle said, 'Go and tell them to be quiet, and if they refuse throw dust in their mouths.' 'A'isha added: 'I said to myself, God curse you, for you have neither spared yourself the indignity of a snub nor are you able to do what the apostle said. I knew he could not throw dust in their mouths.'

Qutba b. Qat'da al-'Udhrî who was over the right wing had attacked Malik b. Zâfla (T. leader of the mixed Arabs) and killed him, and said:

I pierced Ibn Zâfla b. al-Irîsh with a spear
Which went through him and then broke.
I gave his neck a blow
So that he bent like a bough of mimosa.
We led off the wives of his cousins
On the day of Raqîqâyn as sheep (789).

A hâhina of Ḥadâs who heard about the advance of the apostle's army had said to her people who were a clan called B. Ghamm:

I warn you of a proud people
Who are hostile in their gaze.
They lead their horses in single file
And shed turgid blood.

They took heed to her words and separated themselves from Lakîm. Afterwards Ḥadâs remained a large and prosperous tribe. Those who took part in the war that day, the B. Tha'ab'a a clan of Ḥadâs, remained insignificant. When Khâlid went off with the men he took the homeward road.

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr that when they got near Medina the apostle and the Muslims met them and the boys came running while the apostle came with the people on his heast. He said, 'Take the boys and carry them and give me Ja'far's son.' They gave him 'Abdullah and he took him and carried him in front of him. The men began to throw dirt at the army, saying, 'You runaways, you fled in the way of God!' The apostle said, 'They are not runaways but come again if God will.'

'Abdullah b. Abi Bakr told me from 'Amir b. 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr from one of the family of al-Hârîth b. Ḥishâm who were his maternal uncles, from Umm Salama the prophet's wife who said to the wife of Salama b. Ḥishâm b. al-'As b. al-Mughira, 'Why is it that I do not see Salama at prayers with the apostle with the rest of the Muslims?' She replied, 'By God, he can't go out. Whenever he goes out the men call out "Runaway! You ran away when in the path of God!" until he has taken to sitting in his house and not going out at all.'

Qays b. al-Musatîb b. Ya'muri composed the following verses in which he made excuses for what he and the other men did that day and

shows how Khâlid took precautions for their safety and got away with them:

By God, I never cease to blame myself for stopping
When the horses were leaping forward1 with bolting eyes.
I stopped there neither asking help nor acting decisively
Nor protecting those for whom death was decreed.
However, I did but imitate Khâlid
And Khâlid has no equal in the army.
My heart was moved for Ja'far in Mu'ta
When an arrow was no good to an archer.
And he linked up their two wings to us
Muhâjîrs not polytheists nor unarmed.

Thus Qays made clear in his verses the facts which people dispute, namely that the army kept their distance and were afraid of death, and established the fact that Khâlid and his men avoided battle (790).

Among the lamentations over the apostle's companions who died at 799 Mu'ta are the lines of Hassân b. Thâbit:

A miserable night I had in Yathrib,
Anxiety that robbed me of sleep when others slept soundly.
At the thought of a friend my tears ran fast.
(Memory is oft the cause of weeping.
Nay, the loss of a friend is a calamity.
And how many a noble soul is afflicted and endures patiently.)
I saw the best of the believers follow one another to death,
Though some held back behind them.2
May God receive the slain at Mu'ta who went one after another.
Among them Ja'far now borne on wings,
And Zayd and 'Abdullah when they too followed
When the cords of death were active
On the day they went on with the believers,
The fortunate radiant one leading them to death.
Bright as the full moon—of Ḥâshim's sons,
Haughty against wrong, daringly bold,
He fought till he fell unpillowed
On the battlefield, a broken shaft in his body.
He has his reward with the martyrs,
Gardens and green spreading trees.
We saw in Ja'far a man loyal to Muhammad,
One who gave decisive orders.
May there ever be in Islam of Ḥâshim's line
Pillars of strength and an endless source of pride;

1 The readings vary: qâ'îa leaping; nadâ'îa lifting up their heads; qubâ'îa panting.
2 This is balâs. The Dihâns (xxi) 'for I had been kept back with those who were left behind' is better.
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In Islam they are a mountain and the people round them
Are rocks piled up to a mountain majestic and lofty.
Splendid leaders: of them Ja'far and his brother 'Ali
And of them Ahm Mad the chosen one.
And Hamza and al-'Abbās and 'Aqīl
And the sap of the wood from which he was squeezed.1
By them relief comes in every hard dusty fight
Whenever men are in a tight corner.
They are the friends of God Who sent down His wisdom to them,
And among them is the purified bringer of the Book.2

Ka'b b. Malik said:

While the eyes of others slept my eye shed tears
Like the dripping of a faulty water-skin.
In the night when sorrows came upon me
When I was not sobbing3 I turned restlessly on my couch.
Grief came repeatedly and I passed the night
As though I had to shepherd Ursas and Phases.4
'Twas as though between my ribs and bowels
A burning piercing pain afflicted me,
Sorrowing for those who one after another
Were left lying that day in Mu'ta.
God bless them, the heroes,
And may plenteous rains refresh their bones!
They forced themselves for God's sake
To ignore the fear of death and cowardly failure.
They went in front of the Muslims
Like stallion foals, clad in long mail
When they were led by Ja'far and his flag
In front of their leader, and what a fine leader.
Until the ranks were breached and Ja'far
Where the ranks were trapped lay prostrate,
The moon lost its radiance at his death,
The sun eclipsed and wellnigh dark.
A chief of high lineage from Hashim,
In lofty eminence and authority immovable,
A people by whom God protected His servants,
To them was sent down the revealed book,
They excelled other tribes in glory and honour
And their enlightened minds covered up the ignorance of others.
They would not embark on a vicious enterprise,
You could see their speaker deciding justly.

1 In popular language: a chip of the old block.
2 All this reads like Alide propaganda.
3 Or, reading alhima 'yearning' or 'moaning'.
4 i.e. he watched the stars in their passage across the sky while others slept. A cliché.

Hassan b. Thabit mourning Ja'far:

I wept, and the death of Ja'far the prophet's friend
Was grievous to the whole world.
I was distressed, and when I heard of your death said,
Who is for fighting by the flag Hawk and its shadow
With swords drawn from scabbards
Striking and lances piercing again and again?
Now Ja'far, Fatima's blessed son, is dead,
The best of all creatures, most heavy is his loss,
Noblest of all in origin, and most powerful
When wronged, most submissive to right
When it was indubitably true;
Most open-handed, least in unseemliness;
Most lavish in generosity and kindness,
Always excepting Muhammad,
Whom no living being can equal.

Mourning Zayd b. Haritha and 'Abdullah b. Rawaha he said:

O eye, be generous with the last drop of thy tears
And remember in thy ease those in their graves.
Remember Mu'ta and what happened there
When they went to their defeat,
When they returned leaving Zayd there.
Happy be the abode of the poor one, imprisoned (in the grave),1
The friend of the best of all creatures,
The lord of men whose love fills their breasts.
Ahmad who has no equal,
My sorrow and my joy are for him.
Zayd's position with us
Was not that of a man deceived.
Be generous with thy tears for the Khazrajite,2
He was a chief who gave freely there.
We have suffered enough by their death
And pass the night in joyless grief.

A Muslim poet who returned from Mu'ta said:

Enough cause for grief that I have returned while Ja'far
And Zayd and 'Abdullah are in the dust of the grave!

1 Or 'That fair refuge of the poor and the captive'.
2 i.e. 'Abdullah b. Rawaha.'
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They met their end when they went their way
And I with the survivors am left to life's sorrows.
Three men were sent forward and advanced.
To death's loathed pool of blood.

The names of those who died a martyr's death at Mu'āta:
Of Quraysh: of the clan of B. Hashim, Jaffar and Zayd.

THE CAUSES THAT LED TO THE OCCUPATION OF MECCA, A.H. 8

After he had sent his force to Mu'āta the apostle stayed in Medina during the latter Jumād and Rajab. Then the B. Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kināna attacked Khuzā'ah while they were at a well of theirs in the lower region of Mecca called al-Wafir. The cause of the quarrel was that a man of B. al-Ḥadrami called Malik b. 'Abbad— the Ḍā'im being at that time allies of al-Aswad b. Razn—had gone out on a trading journey; and when he reached the middle of the Khuzā'ah country they attacked and killed him and took his possessions. So B. Bakr attacked a man of Khuzā'ah and killed him; and just before Islam Khuzā'ah attacked the sons of al-Aswad b. Razn al-Dīlī who were the most prominent chiefs of B. Kināna—Salim, Kūthum, and Dhu'ayb—and killed them in 'Arfa at the boundary stones of the sacred area.

One of the B. al-Dīlī told me that B. al-Aswad during the pagan era were paid double bloodwit because of their position among them, while they only got a single bloodwit.

While B. Bakr and Khuzā'ah were thus at enmity Islam intervened and occupied men's minds. When the peace of Ḥudaybiya was concluded between the apostle and Quraysh one of the conditions—according to what al-Zuhri told me from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and other traditionalists—was that anyone who wanted to enter into a treaty relationship with either party could do so; the B. Bakr joined Quraysh and Khuzā'ah joined the apostle. When the armies were established B. al-Dīlī of B. Bakr took advantage of it against Khuzā'ah in their desire to revenge themselves on them for the sons of Aswad whom they had killed. So Naufal b. Mu'awiyah al-Dīlī, who was their leader at the time, went out with the B. al-Dīlī, though all the B. Bakr did not follow him, and attacked Khuzā'ah by night while they were at al-Wafir their well, killing one of their men. Both parties fell back and continued the fight. Quraysh helped B. Bakr with weapons and some of them fought with them secretly under cover of the night until they drove Khuzā'ah into the sacred area. When they reached it the B. Bakr said, 'O Naufal, we are in the sacred area. Remember your God, remember your God!' He replied in blasphemous words that he had no god that day. 'Take your revenge, ye sons of Bakr. By my life, if you used to steal in the sacred area, won't you take vengeance in it?' Now on the night they attacked them in al-Wafir they killed a man called Munabbih who had gone out with one of his tribesmen called Tamīm b. Asad. Munabbih had a weak heart and he told Tamīm to escape for he was as good as dead whether they killed him or let him go, for his heart had given out. So Tamīm made off and escaped and Munabbih was overtaken and killed. When Khuzā'ah entered Mecca they took refuge in the house of Budayl b. Warqa and the house of a freed slave of theirs called Rāfi'. Tamīm in excuse himself for running away from Munabbih said:

When I saw the B. Nuťātha had advanced
Covering every plain and hill,
Rock and upland, no one else in sight,
Leading their swift wide-nostrilled horses
And I remembered the old blood feud between us,
A legacy of years gone by;
And I smelt the odour of death coming from them
And feared the stroke of a sharp sword
And knew that they would leave him they smote
Meat for mother lions and carrion for crows,
I set my feet firmly not fearing stumbling
And threw my garments on the bare ground.
I ran—no wild ass strong, lean-flanked, ran as I ran.
She may blame me, but had she been there
Her disapproval would have been urine wetting her.
Men well know that I did not leave Munabbih willingly.
Ask my companions (if you do not believe me) (792).

Al-Akhzār b. Luṯ al-Dīlī describing the fight between Kināna and Khuzā'ah said:

Have not the most distant Aḥābiḥ heard
That we repulsed B. Ka'b in impotent disgrace?
We made them keep to the dwelling of the slave Rāfi'
And they were confined helpless with Budayl
In the house of a low person who accepts humiliation
After we had slaked our vengeance on them with the sword.
We held them there for many a day

1 Possibly the Abyssinians are meant.
2 'with arrows snapped off near the feathered end.'
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Until from every pass we charged down on them. We slaughtered them like goats. They were like lions racing to get our teeth in them. They had wronged us and behaved as enemies. And were the first to shed blood at the sacred boundary. When they pursued them with their vanguard in the wadi’s bend they were like young ostriches in full flight.1

Budayl b. 'Abdu Manāt b. Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Ajabb who was called Budayl b. Umm Asram answered him thus:

May those people lose one another who boast since we left them no chief to call them to assembly save Nāfīl. Was it for fear of a people you scorned what you past al-Watīr fearful, never to return? Every day we give to others to pay bloodwit for those they have killed while we take no help in paying our bloodwit. We came to your home in al-Tal‘a.2 Our swords silenced all complaints. From Bayd and ‘Itwā to the slopes of Radwān we held off the attacks of horsemen. On the day of al-Ghammām 3 Ubays ran away. We terrified him with a doughty leader. Was it because the mother of one of you defecated in her house in her trepidation while you were leaping about that we met no opposition? By God’s house you lie, you did not fight but we left you in utter confusion (793).

When Quraysh and B. Bakr had combined against Khuzā‘a and killed some of them, thereby breaking their covenanted word with the apostle in violating Khuzā‘a who were in treaty with him, ‘Amr b. Sālim al-Khuzā‘i of the clan of B. Ka‘b went to the apostle in Medina. (This led to the conquest of Mecca.) He stood by him as he was sitting among the men in the mosque and said:

O Lord, I come to remind Muhammad Of the old alliance between our fathers. You are sons for whom we provided the mother, then we made peace and have not changed our minds.

1 Fāṭihah is a place in Najd as A.Dh. says; but unless the action referred to occurred before they reached the āmir it is hard to see what the combattants were doing. As Fāṭihāh means the contingent that leads the pursuit of a fleeing enemy it is to be preferred here to W.’s ‘Āthār.
2 A well belonging to B. Kinā‘a. The second hemistich is a reference to the poem 3 ‘The sword comes before retribution’.
3 Places belonging to Kinā‘a.
4 Between Mecca and Medina.
5 S. insists on this meaning for al-‘alāmād, despite the last verse, on the ground that Khuzā‘a had not yet become Muslims. The poem is a later invention and the natural translation then we became Muslims’ is to be preferred.
daughter who had with her 'Ali's little son Ḥasan crawling in front of her. He appealed to 'Ali on the ground of their close relationship to intercede with the apostle so that he would not have to return disappointed; but he answered that if the apostle had determined on a thing it was useless for anyone to talk to him about it; so he turned to Fāṭima and said, 'O daughter of Muḥammad, will you let your little son here act as a protector between men so that he may become lord of the Arabs for ever?' She replied that her little boy was not old enough to undertake such a task and in any case none could give protection against God's apostle. He then asked for 'Ali's advice in the desperate situation. He said, 'I do not see anything that can really help you, but you are the chief of B. Kināna, so get up and grant protection between men and then go back home.' When he asked if he thought that that would do any good he replied that he did not, but that he could see nothing else. Thereupon Abū Sufyān got up in the mosque and said, 'O men, I grant protection between men.' He then mounted his camel and rode off to Quraysh who asked for his news. He said that Muhammad would not speak to him, that he got no good from Abū Qusayr's son, and that he found 'Umar an implacable enemy (795). He had found 'Ali the most helpful and he had done what he recommended, though he did not know whether it would do any good. He told them what he had done and when they asked whether Muhammad had endorsed his words, he had to admit that he had not. They complained that 'Ali had made a fool of him and that his pronouncement was valueless, and he said that he could find nothing else to do or say.

The apostle ordered preparations to be made for a foray and Abū Bakr came in to see his daughter A'isha as she was moving some of the apostle's equipment. He asked if the apostle had ordered her to get things ready, and she said that he had, and that her father had better get ready also. She told him that she did not know where the troops were going. Later the apostle informed the men that he was going to Mecca and ordered them to make careful preparations. He said, 'O God, take eyes and ears' from Quraysh, so that we may take them by surprise in their land,' and the men got themselves ready.

Ḥassān b. Thābit, inciting the men and mentioning the killing of the men of Khuza'a, said:

It pained me though I did not see in Mecca's valley
The men of Banū Ka'b with their heads cut off
By men who had not drawn their swords
And the many dead who were left unburied.

Would that I knew if my help with its biting satire
Would injure Suhayl b. 'Amr, and Saḥwān

1 i.e. reports from travellers and others who have seen the Muslims assembling.
2 He means that Quraysh were really responsible for the death of these men in the sacred territory. This is implied in the r.v. in the Dhad which has gahl bi-qayyin.
3 Ḥassān was no fighter. He relied on his tongue to hurt the enemy.

That old camel who groans from his arse.
This is the time for war—its gibbets are tightened.1
Don't feel safe from us, son of Umm Mujālid,
When its pure milk is extracted and its teeth are crooked.
Don't be disappointed, for our swords
Will open the door to death (796).

Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr and another of our traditionists said that when the apostle decided to go to Mecca Ḥajj b. Abū Balta'a wrote a letter to Quraysh telling them that the apostle intended to come at them. He gave it to a woman whom Muḥammad b. Ja'far alleged was from Muzayna while my other informant said she was Sūra, a freed woman of one of the B. Ḥabdū-l-Muṭṭālab. He paid her some money to carry it to Quraysh. She put the letter on her head and then plaited her locks over it and went off. The apostle received news from heaven of Ḥajj b. Abū An'am. They made her dismount and searched her baggage but found nothing. 'Ali swore that the apostle could not be mistaken nor could they, and that he would not produce the letter they would strip her. When she saw that he was in earnest she told him to turn aside, and then she let down her locks and drew out the letter and gave it to him and he took it to the apostle. The apostle summoned Ḥajjāb and asked him what induced him to act thus. He replied that he believed in God and His apostle and had never ceased to do so, but that he was not a man of standing among Quraysh and he had a son and a family there and that he had to deal prudently with them for their sakes. 'Umar wanted to cut off his head as a hypocrite but the apostle said, 'How do you know, 'Umar; perhaps God looked favourably on those who were at Badr and said, "Do as you please, for I have forgiven you."' Then God sent down concerning Ḥajjāb: 'O you who believe, choose not My enemies and yours as friends so as to show them kindness' as far as the words 'You have a good example in Abraham and those with him when they said to their people: We are quit of you and what you worship beside God; we renounce you and between us and you enmity and hatred will ever endure until you believe in God alone.'2

Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb b. Anṣārī from 'Ubaydullāh b. 'Abdul-lāh b. 'Uthāb b. Mās'ūd from 'Abdullāh b. 'Abbās told me: 'Then the apostle went on his journey and put over Medina Abū Ruhm Kullāb b. Ḥusayn b. 'Uthāb b. Khalaf al-Ghūfārī. He went out on the 10th of Ramāḍān and he and the army fasted until when he reached al-Kudayd between 'Usfān and Amaj he broke his fast. He went on until he came to Marj al-Zahrān with 10,000 Muslims; Sulaym numbered 700 and some say 1,000; and Muzayna 1,000; and in every tribe there was a considerable number and Islam. The Muhājiirs and Helpens were as one man; not one stayed behind.'
When the apostle had reached Marr al-Zahrān Quraysh were completely ignorant of the fact and did not even know what he was doing. On those nights Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām and Budayl b. Wāqṣr went out searching for news by eye or ear when al-Ābās had met the apostle in the way (797).

Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥādhir b. ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAbd Umayyā b. al-Mughirā had met the apostle also in Niqūlī-Uqāl between Mecca and Medina and tried to get in to him. Umm Salama spoke to him about them, calling them his cousin and his brother-in-law. He replied: 'I have no use for them. As for my cousin he has wounded my pride; and for my aunt's son and my brother-in-law he spoke insultingly of me in Mecca.' When this was conveyed to them Abū Sufyān who had his little son with him said, 'By God, he must let me in or I will take this little boy of mine and we will wander through the land until we die of hunger and thirst.' When he heard this the apostle felt sorry for them and let them come in and they accepted Islam. Abū Sufyān recited the following verses about his Islam in which he excused himself for what had gone before:

By thy life when I carried a banner
To give al-Lāt's cavalry the victory over Muhammad
I was like one going astray in the darkness of the night,
But now I am led on the right track.
I could not guide myself, and he who with God overcame me
Was he whom I had driven away with all my might.
I used to do all I could to keep men from Muhammad
And I was called a relative of his, though I did not claim the relation.
They are what they are. He who does not hold with them
Though he be a man of sense is blamed and given the lie.
I wanted to be on good terms with them (Muslims)
But I could not join them while I was not guided.
Say to Thaqif I do not want to fight them;
Say, too, 'Threaten somebody else!'
I was not in the army that attacked ʿĀmir,
I had no part with hand or tongue.
'Twas tribes that came from a distant land,
Strangers from Sāhām and Surdād (798).

'They allege that when he recited his words 'He who with God overcame me was he whom I had driven away with all my might' the apostle punched him in the chest and said, 'You did indeed!'

When the apostle camped at Marr al-Zahrān ʿAbdāl b. Alas, Quraysh, if the apostle enters Mecca by force before they come and ask for protection that will be the end of Quraysh for ever.' I sat upon the apostle's white mule and went out on it until I came to the arak trees, thinking that I might find some woodcutters or milkers or someone who could go to Mecca and tell them where the apostle was so that they could come out and ask for safety before he entered the town by assault. As I was going along with this intent suddenly I heard the sound of Abū Sufyān (Ṭ. and Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām) and Budayl talking together. Abū Sufyān was saying, 'I have never seen such fires and such a camp before.' Budayl was saying, 'These, by God, are (the fires of) Khuzā' which war has kindled.' Abū Sufyān was saying, 'Khuzā' are too poor and few to have fires and camps like these.' I recognized his voice and called to him and he recognized my voice. I told him that the apostle was here with his army and expressed concern for him and for Quraysh: 'If he takes you he will behead you, so ride on the back of this mule so that I can take you to him and ask for you his protection.' So he rode behind me and his two companions returned. Whenever we passed a Muslim fire we were challenged, and when they saw the apostle's mule with me riding it they said it was the prophet's uncle riding his mule until I passed by 'Umar's fire. He challenged me and got up and came to me, and when he saw Abū Sufyān on the back of the beast he cried: 'Abū Sufyān, the enemy of God! Thanks be to God who has delivered you up without agreement or word.' Then he ran towards the apostle and I made the mule gallop, and the mule won by the distance a slow beast will outrun a slow man. I dismounted and went in to the apostle and 'Umar came in saying the same words and adding, 'Let me take off his head.' I told the apostle that I had promised him my protection; then I sat by him and took hold of his head and said, 'By God, none shall talk confidentially to him this night without my being present'; and when 'Umar continued to remonstrate I said, 'Gently, 'Umar! If he had been one of the B. 'Ady b. Ka'b you would not have said this; but you know that he is one of the B. 'Abdul Manāf.' He replied, 'Gently, 'Abdāl b. Alas for by God your Islam the day you accepted it was dearer to me than the Islam of al-Khattab would have been had he become a Muslim. One thing I surely know is that your Islam was dearer to the apostle than my father's would have been.' The apostle told me to take him away to my quarters and bring him back in the morning. He stayed the night with me and I took him in to see the apostle early in the morning and when he saw him he said, 'Isn't it time that you should recognize that there is no God but Allah?' He answered, 'You are dearer to me than father and mother. How great is your clemency, honour, and kindness! By God, I thought that had there been another God with God he would have continued to help me.' He said: 'Woe to you, Abū Sufyān, isn't it time that you recognize that I am God's apostle?' He answered, 'As to that I still have some doubt.' I said to him, 'Submit and testify that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is the apostle of God before you lose your head,' so he did so.

I pointed out to the apostle that Abū Sufyān was a man who liked to have some cause for pride and asked him to do something for him. He said, 'He
who enters Abū Sufyān’s house is safe, and he who locks his door is safe, and 
he who enters the mosque is safe.’ When he went off to go back the apostle 
told me to detain him in the narrow part of the wadi where the mountain 
projected’ so that God’s armies would pass by and he would see them; so 
I went and detained him where the prophet had ordered.

The squadrons passed him with their standards, and he asked who they 
were. When I said Sulaym he would say, ‘What have I to do with Sulaym?’ 
and so with Muzayna until all had passed, he asking the same question 
and making the same response to the reply. Finally the apostle passed with his 
greenish-black squadron (799) in which were Muhājirūn and Anṣār whose 
eyes alone were visible because of their armour. He said, ‘Good heaers, 
‘Abbās, who are these?’ and when I told him he said that none could with-
stand them. ‘By God, O Abū Fadl, the authority of your brother’s son has 
become great,’ I told him that it was due to his prophetic office, and he 
said that in that case he had nothing to say against it.

I told him to hurry to his people. When he came to them he cried at the 
top of his voice: ‘O Quraysh, this is Muhammad who has come to you with 
a force you cannot resist. He who enters Abū Sufyān’s house is safe.’ 
Hind d. ‘Utbah went up to him, and seizing his moustaches cried, ‘Kill this 
fat greasy bladder of lard! What a rotten protector of the people!’ He 
said, ‘Woe to you, don’t let this woman deceive you, for you cannot resist 
what has come. He who enters Abū Sufyān’s house will be safe.’ ‘God 
slay you,’ they said, ‘what good will your house be to us?’ He added, ‘And 
he who shuts his door upon himself will be safe and he who enters the 
mosque will be safe.’ Thereupon the people dispersed to their houses and 
the mosque.

‘Abdullah b. Abū Bakr told me that when the apostle came to Dhū Tūwā 
he halted on his horse turbaned with a piece of red Yāmani cloth and that 
he lowered his head in submission to God, when he saw how God had 
honoured him with victory, so that his beard almost touched the middle of 
the saddle.

Yahyā b. ‘Abdūb b. ‘Abdullah b. al-Zubayry from his father from his 
great-grandfather Asmā’ d. Abū Bakr said: When the apostle stopped in Dhū 
Tūwā Abū Quṭīfa said to a daughter of his, one of his youngest children, 
‘Take me up to Abū Qubays,’ for his sight had almost gone. When they 
got there he asked her what she could see and she told him ‘a mass of 
black.’ ‘Those are the horses,’ he said. Then she told him that she could 
see a man running up and down in front of them and he said that that was 
the adjutant, meaning the man who carries and transmits the orders to the 
cavalry. Then she said, ‘By God, the black mass has spread.’ He said, ‘In 
that case the cavalry have been released, so bring me quickly to my house.’ 
She took him down and the cavalry encountered him before he could get 
to his house. The girl had a silver necklace and a man who met her said 
it from her neck. When the apostle came in and entered the mosque Abū 
Bakr came leading his father. On seeing him the apostle said, ‘Why did 
you not leave the old man in his house so that I could come to him there?’ 
Abū Bakr replied that it was more fitting that he should come to him than 
vice versa. He made him sit before him and stroked his chest and asked 
him to accept Islam and he did so. When Abū Bakr brought his father in 
his head was as white as edelweiss, and the apostle told them to dye it. 
Then Abū Bakr got up and taking his sister’s hand said, ‘I ask in the name 
of God and Islam for my sister’s necklace’ and none answered him, and he 
said, ‘Sister, regard your necklace as taken by God (and look to Him to 
requite you) for there is not much honesty among people nowadays.’

‘Abdullah b. Abū Najīḥ told me that the apostle divided his force at 
Dhū Tūwā ordering al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awām to go in with some of the 
men from Kūth. Al-Zubayr commanded the left wing; Sa’d b. ‘Ubādah he 
ordered to go in with some of the men from Kūth.

Some traditionists allege that when Sa’d started off he said,

‘Today is a day of war, 
Sanctuary is no more,
and one of the muhājirūn (800) heard him and told the apostle that it was to 
be feared that he would resort to violence. The apostle ordered ‘Ali to go 
after him and take the flag from him and enter with it himself.

‘Abdullah b. Abū Najīḥ in his story told me that the apostle ordered 
Kālid to enter from al-Līf, the lower part of Mecca, with some men. Kālīd 
was in command of the right wing with Khulayl, Sulaym, Ghifār, Muz 
ayna, Juhayna, and other Arab tribes. Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrah advanced 
with the troops pouring into Mecca in front of the apostle who entered from 
Adhākhūr” until he halted above Mecca and his tent was pitched 
there.

‘Abdullah b. Abū Najīḥ and ‘Abdullah b. Abū Bakr told me that Sa’fawān 
b. Umayya and ‘Irīma b. Abū Jahl and Suhayl b. ‘Amr had collected 
some men in al-Khandama2 to fight. Himas b. Qays b. Kālid brother of 
B. Bakr was sharpening his sword before the apostle entered Mecca, and 
his wife asked him why he was doing so. When he told her it was for 
Muhammad and his companions she said that she did not think that it 
would do them any harm. He answered that he hoped to give her one of 
them as a slave and said:

I have no excuse if today they advance. 
Here is my weapon, a long-bladed lance, 
A two-edged sword in their faces will dance!

Then he went to al-Khandama with Sa’fawān, Suhayl, and ‘Irīma and 
when the Muslims under Kālid arrived a skirmish followed in which 

1 Lit. ‘at the nose of the mountain’.
2 i.e. it could not provide cover for them all.
3 Not mentioned by Yaqūṭ; Aṣr. l. 146 says it is a peak on Abū Qubays.
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Kurz b. Jābir, one of the B. Muḥārīb b. Fīr, and Khunays b. Kaḥīd b. Rābṭa b. Aṣram, an ally of B. Munkūd, who were in Kaḥīd’s cavalry, were killed. They had taken a road of their own apart from Kaḥīd and were killed together. Khunays was killed first and Kurz put him between his feet and fought in his defence until he was slain, saying meanwhile:

Ṣafārī of the B. Fīr knows
The pure of face and heart
That I fight today in defence of Abū Ṣakhr.

Khunays was surnamed Abū Ṣakhr (801).

Salam al-Ṭaylāmī, one of Kaḥīd’s horsemen, was killed, and the polytheists lost about 12 or 13 men; then they took to flight. Himār ran off and went into his house and told his wife to bolt the door. When she asked what had become of his former words he said:

If you had witnessed the battle of Khandama
When Ṣafwān and Ikrīma fled
And Abū Yazīd was standing like a pillar1
And the Muslims met them with their swords
Which cut through arms and skulls,
Only confused cries being heard
Behind us their cries and groans,
You would not have uttered the least word of blame (802)

The apostle had instructed his commanders when they entered Mecca only to fight those who resisted them, except a small number who were to be killed even if they were found beneath the curtains of the Ka‘ba. Among them was ‘Abdullah b. Sa‘d, brother of the B. ‘Amīr b. Lu‘ayy. The reason he ordered him to be killed was that he had been a Muslim and used to write down revelation; then he apostatized and returned to Quraysh and fled to ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān whose foster-brother he was. The latter hid him until he brought him to the apostle after the situation in Mecca was tranquil, and asked that he might be granted immunity. They allege that the apostle remained silent for a long time till finally he said yes. When ‘Uthmān had left he said to his companions who were sitting around him, ‘I kept silent so that one of you might get up and strike off his head!’ One of the Anṣār said, “Then why didn’t you give me a sign, O apostle of God?” He answered that a prophet does not kill by pointing (803).

Another was ‘Abdullah b. Khatal of B. ‘Amīr b. Ghailīb. He had become a Muslim and the apostle sent him to collect the poor tax in company with one of the Anṣār. He had with him a freed slave who served him. (He was a Muslim.) When they halted he ordered the latter to kill a goat for him and prepare some food, and went to sleep. When he woke up the man had

1 This explanation of muṣṭima is based on S.’s statement that elsewhere I.I. says that such is the meaning. The alternative ‘A widow left with fatherless children’ is supported by Aswāq, 47 ḥuṣayīl al-muṣṭima (quoted by Nūḥde, Gls. 103) and T.’s ḥal-muṣṭima.

Another was Miṣyās b. Ḥubāba1 because he had killed an Anṣārī who had killed his brother accidentally, and returned to Quraysh as a polytheist. And Sāra, freed slave of one of the B. ‘Abdul-Muttalib; and Ikrīma b. Abū Jahl. Sāra had insulted him in Mecca. As for ‘Ikrīma, he fled to the Yaman. His wife Umm Ḥakīm d. al-Hārīth b. Hishām became a Muslim and asked immunity for him and the apostle gave it. She went to the Yaman in search of him and brought him to the apostle and he accepted Islam. (T.) ‘Ikrīma used to relate, according to what they say, that what he turned to Islam when he had gone to the Yaman was that he had determined to cross the sea to Abyssinia on and when he found a ship the master said, ‘O servant of God, you cannot travel in my ship until you acknowledge that God is one and disavow any rival to Him, for I fear that if you do not do so we should perish.’ When I asked if none but such persons was allowed to travel in his ship he replied, ‘Yes, and he must be sincere.’ So I thought, Why should I leave Muhammad when this is what he has brought us? Truly our God on the sea is our God on the dry land. Thereupon I recognized Islam and it entered into my heart.‘Abdullah b. Khatal was killed by Sa‘d b. Ḥurayth al-Makhzūmī and Abū Barza al-Adamī acting together. Miṣyās was killed by Nūmayla b. ‘Abdullāh, one of his own people. Miṣyās’s sister said of his killing:

By my life, Nūmayla shamed his people
And distressed the winter guests when he slew Miṣyās.
Whoever has seen a man like Miṣyās
Who provided food for young mothers in hard times.

As for Ibn Khatal’s two singing-girls, one was killed and the other ran away until the apostle, asked for immunity, gave it her. Similarly Sāra, who lived until in the time of ‘Umar a mounted soldier trod her down in the valley of Mecca and killed her. Al-Huwayrīth was killed by ‘Ali. Sa‘d b. Abū Hind from Abū Murra, freed slave of ‘Aṣqīl b. Abū Ṭālib, told me that Umm Ḥanī‘ d. Abī Ṭālib said: When the apostle halted in the upper part of Mecca two of my brothers-in-law from B. Makhzūm fled to me. (She was the wife of Hubayra b. Abū Wahh al-Makhzūmī.) ‘Ali came in swearin that he would kill them, so I bolted the door of my house on them and went to the apostle and found him washing in a large bowl in which was the remains of dough while his daughter Fāṭima was screening him with his garment. When he had washed he took his garment and wrapped himself in it and prayed eight bendings of the morning prayer.

1 W. Dubūrī. On p. 728 he writes Ṣuhbā which may well be right in spite of C. which follows the Qāmīs.
Then he came forward and welcomed me and asked me why I had come. When I told him about the two men and 'Ali he said: 'We give protection to whomsoever you give protection and we give safety to those you protect. He must not kill them.' (85g).

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr from 'Ubaydullah b. 'Abdullah b. Abī Thaur from Sa'īfa d. Shayba told me that the apostle after arriving in Mecca when the populace had settled down went to the temple and encompassed it seven times on his camel touching the black stone with a stick which he had in his hand. This done he summoned 'Uthmān b. Taḥtā and took the key of the Ka'ba from him, and when the door was opened for him he went in. There he found a dove made of wood. He broke it in his hands and threw it away. Then he stood by the door of the Ka'ba while the men in the mosque gathered to him.1

[1.I. from 'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr from 'Ali b. 'Abdullah b. 'Abbās: The apostle entered Mecca on the day of the conquest and it contained the idols which Ihīsā had strengthened with lead. The apostle was standing by a stick in his hand, saying, 'The truth has come and falsehood has passed away; verily falsehood is sure to pass away' (Sūra 17, 82). Then he pointed at them with his stick and they collapsed on their backs one after the other.

When the apostle prayed the noon prayer on the day of the conquest he ordered that all the idols which were round the Ka'ba should be collected and burned with fire and broken up. Fadlā b. al-Mulawwāḥ al-Layḥā said commemorating the day of the conquest:

Had you seen Muhammad and his troops
The day the idols were smashed when he entered,
You would have seen God's light become manifest
And darkness covering the face of idolatry.

[1.I. from Ḥakīm b. 'Abbād b. Ḥanif and other traditionists: Quraysh had put pictures in the Ka'ba including two of Jesus son of Mary and Mary (on both be peace!). I. Shīhāb said: Asmā'ī d. Shaghrī said that a woman of Ghassān joined in the pilgrimage of the Arabs and when she saw the picture of Mary in the Ka'ba she said, 'My father and my mother be your ransom! You are surely an Arab woman!' The apostle ordered that the pictures should be erased except those of Jesus and Mary.2

A traditionist3 told me that the apostle stood at the door of the Ka'ba and said: 'There is no God but Allah alone; He has no associate. He has made Good His promise and helped His servant. He has put to flight the confederates alone. Every claim of privilege or blood or property are abolished by me except the custody of the temple and the watering of the pilgrims. The unintentionally slain in a quasi-intentional way by club or whip,4 for him the bloodwit is most severe: a hundred camels, forty of them to be pregnant. O Quraysh, God has taken you to the haughtiness of paganism and its veneration of ancestors. Man springs from Adam and Adam sprang from dust.' Then he read to them this verse: 'O men, We created you from male and female and made you into peoples and tribes that you may know one another: of a truth the most noble of you in God's sight is the most pious' to the end of the passage.5 Then he added, 'O Quraysh, what do you think that I am about to do with you?' They replied, 'Good. You are a noble brother, son of a noble brother.' He said, 'Go your way for you are the freed ones.'

[1.T. Thus the apostle let them go though God had given him power over their lives and they were his spoil. For this reason the Meccans were called 'the freed ones'. Then the populace gathered together in Mecca to do homage to the apostle in Islam. As I have heard, he sat (waiting) for them on al-Safā while 'Umar remained below him imposing conditions on the people who paid homage to the apostle promising to hear and obey God and His apostle to the best of their ability. This applied to the men; when they had finished he dealt with the women. Among the Quraysh women who came was Hind d. 'Utbā who came veiled and disguised because of what she had done especially in regard to Ḥamza, for she was afraid that the apostle would punish her. According to what I heard, when they approached him he asked if they gave their word not to associate anything with God, and Hind said, 'By God, you lay on us something that you have not laid on the men and we will carry it out.' He said, 'And you shall not steal.' She said, 'By God, I used to take a little of Abū Sufyān's money and I do not know whether that is lawful for me or not.' Abū Sufyān who was present when she said this told her that so far as the past was concerned it was lawful. The apostle said, 'Then you are Hind d. 'Utbā?' and she said 'I am; forgive me what is past and God will forgive you.' He said, 'And do not commit adultery.' She answered, 'Does a free woman commit adultery, O apostle of God?' He said, 'And you shall not kill your children.' She said, 'I brought them up when they were little and you killed them on the day of Badr when they were grown up, so you are the one to know about them! 'Umar laughed immoderately at her reply. He said, 'You shall not invent slanderous tales.' She said, 'By God, slander is disgraceful, but it is sometimes better to ignore it.' He said, 'You shall not disobey me in carrying out orders to do good.' She said, 'We should not have sat all this time if we wanted to disobey you in such orders.' The apostle said to 'Umar, 'Accept their truth,' and he asked God's forgiveness for them while 'Umar accepted their homage on his behalf. The apostle never used to take the women's hands; he did not touch a woman nor did

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1 Especially inherited authority.
2 i.e. manslaughter.
3 Sūra 49, 13.
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one touch him except one whom God had made lawful to him or was one of his ārām. Ibn Ishāq from Abū b. Sāliḥ said that the women's homage, according to what some traditionists had told him was in this wise: a vessel containing water was put in front of the apostle and when he laid the conditions upon them and they accepted them he plunged his hand into the vessel and then withdrew it and the women did the same. Then after that, he would impose conditions on them and when they accepted them he said, 'Go, I have accepted your homage,' and added nothing further.

Then the apostle sat in the mosque and 'Ali came to him with the key of the Ka'ba in his hand asking him to grant his family the right of guarding the temple as well as the watering of the pilgrims, but the apostle called for 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa and said, 'Here is your key; today is a day of good faith' (806).

822 Sa'id b. Abū Sandar al-Aslamī from one of his tribesmen said: We had with us a brave man called Aḥmār Bāsān. When he slept he snorèd so loudly that everyone knew where he was. When he spent the night with his clan he slept apart. If the clan was attacked at night they would call his name and he would leap up like a lion and nothing could withstand him. It happened that a party of raiders from Hudhayl came, making for the people at their water; and when they drew near Ibn al-Athwā' al-Hudhālī told them not to hurry him until he had looked round; for if Aḥmār was among the group there was no way to get at them. He snored so loudly that one could tell where he was. So he listened and when he heard his snoring he walked up to him and thrust his sword into his breast pressing on it so that he killed him. Then they rushed upon the party who cried 'Aḥmār!' But they had no Aḥmār.

On the morrow of the conquest of Mecca Ibn al-Athwā' came into Mecca to look round and find out what the situation was. Now he was still a polytheist, and Khuzā'īs saw and recognized him, and they surrounded him as he was at the side of one of the walls of Mecca, saying, 'Are you the man who killed Aḥmār?' 'Yes,' he said, 'and what about it?' Thereupon Khiṟāsh b. Umayyya advanced on him with drawn sword saying, 'Get away from the man.' We supposed that he wanted to get the people away from him; but when we drew away he ran at him and thrust his sword in his belly. By God, I can almost see him now with his entrails flowing forth from his belly and his eyes two mere slits in his head the while he said, 'Have you done it, you men of Khuzā'īs?' until he collapsed and fell. The apostle said, 'Stop this killing, Khuzā'īs; there has been too much killing even if there were profit in it. I will pay the bloodwit for the man you have killed.'

'Abdul-Rahmān b. Ḥarmās al-Aslamī from Sa'id b. al-Musayyib told me that when the apostle heard what Khiṟāsh had done he said, 'Khiṟāsh is too prone to kill,' thereby rebuking him.

823 Sa'id b. Abū Sa'id al-Maqburī from Abū Shurayh al-Khuza'ī said: When ʿAmr b. al-Zubayr came to Mecca to fight his brother 'Abdullah I came to him and said, 'Listen! When we were with the apostle the day after the conquest of Mecca, Khuzā'ī attacked a man of Hudhayl and killed him, he being a polytheist. The apostle arose and addressed us, saying, 'God made Mecca holy the day He created heaven and earth, and it is the holy of holies until the resurrection day. It is not lawful for anyone who believes in God and the last day to shed blood therein, nor to cut down trees therein. It was not lawful to anyone before me and it will not be lawful to anyone after me. Indeed, it is not lawful for me except at this time because of (God's) anger against its people. Now it has regained its former holiness. Let those here now tell those that are not here. If anyone should say, The apostle killed men in Mecca, say God permitted His apostle to do so but He does not permit you. Refrain from killing, you men of Khuzā'ī, for there has been too much killing even if there were profit in it. Since you have killed a man I will pay his bloodwit. If anyone is killed after my sojourn here his people have a choice: they can have his killer's life or the blood-money.' Then the apostle paid the bloodwit for the man whom Khuzā'ī had slain. 'Amr replied, 'Be off with you, old man! We know more about its sanctity than you. It does not protect the shedder of blood, nor the man who casts off his allegiance nor him who withholds tax.' Abū Shurayh answered, 'I was there and you were not. The apostle ordered us who were present to tell those who were absent. I have told you and the responsibility now rests with you' (807).

Muhammad b. Jaʿfar from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr told me that Saḥwān b. Umayyya went out to Judda to take ship to the Yaman. 'Umayr b. Wāḥib told the prophet that Saḥwān, who was a chief among his people, had fled from him to cast himself into the sea, and asked him to grant him immunity. The prophet agreed to do so, and 'Umayr asked him for a sign to prove it, and he gave him the turban which with which he had entered Mecca. 'Umayr took it and overtook Saḥwān just as he was about to embark. He begged him not to commit suicide and produced the token of his safety. Saḥwān told him to be off and not to speak to him. He replied, 'My parents be your ransom! He is the most virtuous, most pious, most clement, and best of men, your very cousin. His honour is your honour.' He replied, 'I go in fear of my life because of him.' He answered, 'He is too clement and too honourable to kill you.' So he went back with him to the apostle and told him that 'Umayr had said that he had promised him immunity. He said that that was true. Saḥwān asked for two months in which to make up his mind, and he gave him four months (868).

Al-Zuhir told me that Umm Ḥakīm d. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥishām and Fāḥītah d. al-Walīd (who was married to Saḥwān, while Umm Ḥakīm's husband

1 S. here points out that this is a mistake on the part of I. H. and that the man was 'Amr b. Sa'id b. al-Ās b. Umayyya; that the mistake is due either to I. H. or to al-Bakki'ā; and that the true tradition is given by Yūnus.
was 'Ikrima b. Abū Jahil had become Muslims. The latter asked immunity for her husband and the apostle granted it and she joined him in the Yaman and brought him back. When 'Ikrima and Ṣafwān became Muslims the apostle confirmed their first marriages.

Ṣa'id b. Abdu'l-Rahmān b. Ḥassān b. Thābit told me that Ḥassān directed a single verse and no more at I. al-Zibā'ra who was in Najrān at the time:  

Do not be without a man, hatred of whom  
Has made you live in Najrān in utmost misery!

When this reached I. al-Zibā'ra he went to the apostle and accepted Islam. Then he said:

O apostle of God, my tongue is repairing  
The mischief I did when a perishing (sinner)  
When I followed Satan in going astray.  
(He who turns aside with him must perish.)  
My flesh and my bones believe in my Lord.  
My heart bears witness that you are the warner.  
I will drive the clan of Lu'ayy from you there,  
All of them being deceived.

When he became a Muslim he said also:

Cares and anxieties withheld sleep from me  
And night pitch black was agitated above me  
Because I heard that Ahmad had blamed me;  
I passed the night like a man with fever.  
O best of those, a swift light-footed  
Straight-running camel ever carried,  
Forgive me for what I said and did  
When I went wandering in error,  
What time Ṣahm gave me most misleading orders,  
And Makhzūm did the same;  
When I supported evil courses  
Led by those who erred, whose way was illomened.  
Today my heart believes in the prophet Muhammad.  
He who misses this is a loser,  
Enmity has passed, its ties are ended;  
Kinship and reason call us together.  
Forgive my mistakes—my parents be thy ransom,  
For you are compassionate having found mercy.  
Upon you is the sign of God's knowledge,  
A light most bright and a seal imprinted.

As for Hubayra b. Abū Wabb al-Makhzumī, he lived there until he died 888 an unbeliever. His wife was Umm Háni' d. Abū Tālib whose name was Hind. When he heard that she had become a Muslim he said:

Does Hind long for you or do you know that she has asked about you?  
Thus distance produces many changes.  
On a high inaccessible fort in Najrān she has banished my sleep.  
When night falls her phantom roams abroad.  
O that reproacher who wakes me at night and blames me!  
She reproaches me by night—may her error err utterly!  
Asserting that if I obey my family I shall perish,  
But will anything but the loss of her kill me?  
But I am of a people who if they do their utmost  
They attain their end forthwith.  
I protect the rear of my tribe  
When they wheel beneath the spear points  
And the swords in their hands become like  
The sticks boys play with, no shade but the swords.  
I loathe the envious and their works:  
God will provide food for myself and my family.  
Words spoken without truth  
Are like an arrow without a head.  
If you have followed Muhammad's religion  
And the ties of kinship draw you to your kin,  
Then stay far distant on a high round rock,  
Dry dust its only moisture (810).  

The Muslims who were present at the conquest of Mecca numbered 10,000: of B. Sulaymān 700 (some say 1,000); of B. Ghīfār 400; of Aslām 400; of Muzayya n1,003; and the rest of them were from Quraysh and the Ansār and their allies and parties of Arabs from Tamīm and Qays and Asad.

1 This line is an imitation of 1. 41 in the Mu'allaqah of 'Amr b. Kulthūm:  

ha'amma sayyadun mimmin wallūmin  
makharqūn bi'aydī lālīdīn.

Some lexicographers favour a rendering 'knotted rags'. In either case the meaning is that they regarded the swords as mere toys.

2 The poet apostrophizes himself.
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Among the poems about the conquest is the following from Ḥasan Ibn Thabit:

From Dhāṭu'l-ʿĀshī' and al-Jīwāl to 'Adhārā
Traces have disappeared, their camping-ground is empty.
The camps of B. al-Hashāb are a desert
Obliterated by wind and rain.
There used always to be a friend there;
Its pastures held choice camels and sheep.
But leave that! Who will rid me of the night vision
Which keeps me from sleep when night's first hours have gone,
Of Sha'īnī who fills me with longing
So that my heart cannot be cured of it?
She is like the wine of Bayt Ra's
Mixed with honey and water.
All draughts that could be mentioned
Cannot be compared with that wine.
We blame it for what we do amiss
If we are quarrelsome or insulting to others.
When we drink it we are as kings and lions,
Nothing can keep us from the fray.
May we lose our horses if you do not see them
Raising the dust-clouds, their rendezvous Kada'ī.
They tug at the reins turning their necks to one side,
The thirsty lances crouched above their shoulders.
As our horses raced along,
The women flapped their veils in their faces.
If you don't oppose us we shall celebrate the 'Umra,
The conquest will be completed and the covering removed.
But if you do, expect a fight on the day
When God helps those He pleases.
Gabriel, God's messenger, is with us and
The holy spirit has no equal.
God said, 'I have sent a man
Who speaks the truth if you will profit by experience.

1 These places are in Syria; the latter was the camp of al-Uṣārīn b. Abī Shāhr the Ghassanīn whom Ḥasanīn used to visit.
2 One post distant from Damascus.
3 A clan of B. Asād.
4 Who this woman was is not certain; some say she was d. Sallām b. Mishkam the Jūdāi; others say a woman of Ḥuzāz; others someone else.
5 A place in Jordan noted for its wine.
6 From this point the poem begins its theme.
7 TawZFara in this sense is supported by T. 1630, 126. Gloss, 'Rain-besprayed', suggested by A.Dhīn., gives a poor sense as it is a poetical way of saying that the sides of the horses were covered with foam. The Lider explains that the women flapped their veils to hinder them. The reading in Dihān and in some MSS. yubīn'ātum may be right; 'they try to catch up with the points of the lances whose thirsty shafts were crouched above their shoulders'. The horses could see the lance tips on their right front. Cf. W. 797, 15.
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I bear witness to him, so arise* confess him truthful.'
But you said, 'We will not and we do not wish to.'
And God said, 'I have sent an army,
The Ansār accustomed to the fray.'
Every day we get from Ma'add
Cursing, battle, or lammooing.
We will repulse with verses those who lampoon us
And smite them when war breaks out.
Give Abī Sufyān a message from me,
For what was hidden has become clear,
Namely that our swords have left you a slave,
The heads of the 'Abdūl-Dār mere bondwomen.
You lamponned Muhammad and I answered for him:
There is a reward for that with God.
Would you lampon him whom you cannot equal?
(The worse of you be a ransom for the better of you!) You have lamponned the pure blessed Ḥanīf,
God's trusted one whose nature is loyalty.
Is he who lampons God's apostle
And he who praises and helps him equal?
My father, my grandfather, and my honour
Protect Muhammad's honour against you.
My tongue is a sharp sword without a flaw,
My verse a sea which the buckets cannot make turbid (811).3

Anas b. Zunaym al-Dirr apologizing to the apostle for what 'Amr b. Šālīn al-Ḫuzā'ī said about them said:
Was it you by whose orders Ma'add was led?
Nay God guided them and said to you, Testify!
No camel ever carried a purer man
More true to his promise than Muhammad;
Swifter to do good, more lavish in giving
When he went forth like a polished Indian sword;
More generous in giving a rich Yamani robe hardly worn
And the horse that was easily first in the race.
Know, O apostle of God, that you will get me
And that a threat from you is as good as fulfilled.
Know, O apostle, that you have power
Over them that dwell in highland and plain.
Know that the riders, the riders of 'Uwaymar,
Are liars which break every promise.
They told the apostle that I satirized him.

1 The Dīdān has 'and my people confessed', &c.
2 i.e. Quraysh who were descended from 'Adnān.
3 i.e. however many verses he composes from his inexhaustible stock the well of poetry will not be fooled by bad and ineffectual lines.
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While our horses wheeled among them. We came back plundering as we would While they went back discomfited. We pledged our faith to the apostle In sincere friendship. They heard what we said and determined To depart from us that day of fear (813).

KHĀLID’S EXPEDITION AFTER THE CONQUEST TO THE B. JADHIMA OF KINĀNA AND ‘ALI’S EXPEDITION TO REPAIR KHĀLID’S ERROR

The apostle sent out troops in the district round Mecca inviting men to God; he did not order them to fight. Among those he sent was Khālid b. al-Walīd whom he ordered to go to the lower part of the flat country as a missionary; he did not send him to fight. He subdued the B. Jadhum and killed some of them (814).

Hākim b. Hākim b. ‘Abdāb b. Hunayf from Abū Ja’far Muhammad b. ‘Ali said: When he took possession of Mecca the apostle sent Khālid forth as a missionary. He did not send him to fight. He had with him the Arab tribes, the B. Suaym b. Mansūr and Mudlij b. Murra, and they subdued the B. Jadhum b. ‘Amir b. Abū Manṣūr b. Kināna. When people saw him they grasped their weapons, and Khālid said, ‘lay down your arms, for everybody has accepted Islam.’

A traditionist of B. Jadhum who was one of our companions told me: ‘When Khālid ordered us to lay down our arms one of our men called Jāḥdān said, ‘Woe to you, B. Jadhum! This is Khālid. If you lay down your arms you will be bound, and after you have been bound you will be beheaded. By God, I’ll never lay down my arms.’ Some of his people laid hold of him saying ‘Do you want to shed your blood? Everyone else has accepted Islam and laid down their arms; war is over and everybody is safe.’ They persisted to the point of taking away his arms, and they themselves laid down their arms at Khālid’s word.’

Hākim b. Hākim from Abū Ja’far Muhammad b. ‘Ali told me: As soon as they had laid down their arms Khālid ordered their hands to be tied behind their backs and put them to the sword, killing a number of them. When the news reached the apostle he raised his hands to heaven and said, ‘O God, I am innocent before Thee of what Khālid has done’ (815).

Hakim on the same authority told me that the apostle summoned ‘Ali and told him to go to these people and look into the affair, and abolish the practices of the pagan era. So ‘Ali went to them with the money the apostle had sent and paid the bloodwit and made good their monetary loss even for

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1 A mountain in Mecca.
2 I cannot understand this verse. If ‘the people of al-Ḫaballāq’ were, as S. says, the tribes of Muzayna and Qays, B. Khuffāf being a clan of Sulaym, then we have the extraordinary statement that Muzayna expelled their own tribe. We can take ‘every ravine’ as the subject of the sentence, as C. does, and take nafa‘ in the sense of ‘sent out’; but then we must take Muzayna as an accusative and read Banē Kh. A.Dh. says that ḫaballāq means ‘small sheep’ but that gives little help. What one would expect is some reference to the Muzaynas, but they were not expelled from the town.
3 Lit. ‘trod’. For at-tafa‘aham some MSS. have at-tafa‘aham ‘their flock’.
4 After long hesitation I have adopted this rendering; but it might be that the poet is thinking of the arrows of the opposing forces passing one another in the air.
5 ‘T.’s history (1640) is better arranged. It shows that I.I.’s narrative recorded that the fires halted at al-Ghaumayl, a well belonging to Jadhum, and records the latter’s killing of Khālid’s uncle. I.H. has disturbed the natural flow of events.
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a dog's bowl. When all blood and property had been paid for he still had some money over. He asked if any compensation was still due and when they said it was not he gave them the rest of the money on behalf of the apostle in case claims of which neither he nor they knew at the time should arise. Then he returned and reported to the apostle what he had done and he commended him. Then the apostle arose and faced the Qibla and raised his arms so that his armpits could be seen and said: 'O God, I am innocent before Thee of what Khâlid has done.' This he said three times.

Some who would excuse Khâlid said that he said: 'I did not fight until 'AbdAllah b. Hudhâfa al-Salmi ordered me to do so and he said, "The apostle has ordered you to fight them because they keep back from Islam."' (816).

Ja'hdâm had said to them when they laid down their arms and he saw what Khâlid was doing with the B. Jadhîma: 'O B. Jadhîma, the battle is lost. I gave you full warning of the disaster into which you have fallen. I have heard that Khâlid and Abû'l-Rahmân b. 'Auf had words about this. The latter said to him, 'You have done a pagan act in Islam,' to which he replied that he had only avenged 'Abdu'l-Rahmân's father. He answered that he was a liar because he himself had killed his father's slave; but Khâlid had taken vengeance for his uncle Al-Fâkhi b. Al-Mughira so that there was bad feeling between them. Hearing of this the apostle said: 'Gently, Khâlid, leave your companions alone, for by God if you had a mountain of gold and spent it for God's sake you would not approach the merit of my companions.'

Now Al-Fâkhi b. Al-Mughira b. 'AbdAllah b. Omar b. Makhzûm, and 'Auf b. Abû 'Auf b. 'Abdu'l-Hârîth b. Zuhra, and 'Affân b. Abû-l-Âs b. Umayya b. Abû Sham used to go out trading to the Yaman. 'Affân took his son 'Uthmân and 'Auf took his son 'Abdu'l-Rahmân. When they returned they carried the money of a man of B. Jadhîma b. 'Amir, who had died in the Yaman, to his heirs. One of their men called Khâlid b. Hishâm claimed it and met them in the Jadhîma territory before they could get to the dead man's family. They refused to give it up. A fight for the possession of the money took place during which 'Affân and Al-Fâkhi were killed, 'Affân and his son escaping. They seized the property of Al-Fâkhi and 'Auf and took it away and 'Abdu'l-Rahmân killed Khâlid b. Hishâm the father of his father. Quraysh meditated an attack on B. Jadhîma, but they declared that the assault had not been planned by them and that they did not know of it until afterwards. They offered to pay compensation for blood and property and Quraysh agreed, and so war was avoided.

One of the B. Jadhîma said, though some say it was a woman called Salmâ:

Had not one tribe said to another, Be Muslims, Sulaym, that day, would have met a strong opponent.

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Burr and the men of Ja'hdâm and Murra would have smitten them Until they left the camels groaning in pain.

How many warriors did you see on the day of Ghumayya? Dead, never wounded before, always giving the wounds? (War) made husbandless women remain with the marriagemakers And separated the men who were married from their wives (817).'

'Abûs b. Mirdas answered her; some say it was al-Ja'hdâm b. Hâkim al-Sulâmî:

Stop this idle talk: sufficient opponent Are we always to the hero of the battle. Khâlid was more to be excused than you The day he took the plain way in the affair. Helped by God's command driving towards you (Horses) which stumble not going left and right. They brought the news of Mâlik's death in the plain when they went down to it Stern visaged showing their teeth in clouds of dust. If we have bereaved you, Salmâ, You have left3 men and women to bewail Mâlik.

Al-Ja'hdâm b. Hâkim al-Sulâmî said:

Horses given free rein were with the prophet at Hûmayn Bleeding from their wounds; In Khâlid's raid too their hooves Galloped in the sacred area. We set our faces against the spears Faces never given to be slapped. I am not one to throw my garments from me Whenever a warrior shakes his lance, But my coat beneath me bears me To the heights4 with my sharp sword.

Ya'qûb b. 'Utbâ b. Al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas from al-Zuhrî from Ibn Abî Hadrâ'î al-Aslâmî told me: I was with Khâlid's cavalry that day when a young man of the B. Jadhîma who was about my own age spoke to me. His hands were tied to his neck by an old rope and the women were standing in a group a short distance away. He asked me to take hold of the rope and lead him to the women so that he might say what he had to say and then bring him back and do what we liked with him. I said that that was a

1 Lit. Ubud.

2 C. 'you have been left'. In the absence of further information one can only adopt what seems the more probable sense: you were the aggressors when you killed Mâlik.

3 i.e. to expose himself so as to obtain quarter from his opponent; or, if theyâhî here means 'small', to reduce his weight so that his mount could run away the faster.

4 Perhaps meaning 'to the heights of glory'.
small thing to ask and I led him to them. As he stood by them he said,
'Fare you well, Ḥubayṣa, though life is at an end.'

tell me when I sought and found you in Ḥaylā
Or came on you in al-Khawāniq,
Was I not a lover worthy to be given what he asked,
Who undertook journeys by night and noonday?
I did no wrong when I said when our people were together,
Reward me with love before some misfortune falls!
Reward me with love before distance divides
And the chief goes off with a dear one thus parted,
For I was never disloyal to our secret truth
And my eye never looked admiringly at another.
When the tribe's troubles distracted me from love
Even then the attraction of love was there (818).

The same authority told me that she said: 'May your life be prolonged
seven and ten continuous years and eight thereafter.' Then I took him
away and he was beheaded.
Abū Fira's b. Abū Sunbula al-Āsāmī from some of their šaykhs from
one who was present said: She went to him when he was beheaded and
bent over him and kept on kissing him until she died at his side.
One of the B. Jadhīma said:
God require Mudīlī for the evil they did us
Wherever they go or rest.
They took our goods and divided them;
The spears came at us at once nor twice.
Were it not for the religion of Muhammad's people
Their cavalry would have fled and been driven off.
What hindered them from helping a squadron
Like a swarm of locusts loose and scattered abroad?
If they repent or return to their (right) way
We will not repay them for what the squadron lost. 2

Wahb of the B. Layth answered him:
We called 'Amir to Islam and the truth.
It is not our fault if 'Amir turned their backs.
What happened to 'Amir, confound them, is not our fault
Because their minds were foolish and went astray.

One of the B. Jadhīma said:
Congratulate B. Ka'b on the coming of Khālid and his companions
The morn when the squadrons came on us.
Ibn Khuwāyliš showed no desire for revenge.

1 Reading with C. ḥayahī.
2 Or, reading the passive with W., 'for the squadron having been led astray.'