The life of Muhammad

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri from 'Ubaydullah b. 'Abdullah b. 'Uba b. Mas'ūd said: The apostle stayed in Mecca after he had occupied it for fifteen nights, shortening prayers. The occupation of Mecca took place on the 20th Ramadan a.h. 8.

The Battle of Ḥunayn, a.h. 8

When Hawāzin heard how God had given the apostle possession of Mecca, Mālik b. 'Auf al-Numārīb® collected them together. There assembled to him also all Thaqif and all Naṣir and Jusham, and Su'd b. Bakr, and a few men from B. Hilāl. There were no others present from Qays' Ayān. Ka'b and Kilāb of Hawāzin kept away and no one of any importance from them was present. Among the B. Jusham was Durayd b. al-Ṣimma, a very old man, whose sole remaining use was his valuable advice and his knowledge of war, for he was an experienced leader. Thaqif had two leaders: Qārīb b. al-Aswad b. Mas'ūd b. Mu'attib commanded the Aḥlāf, and Dhu'l-Khālid Subay b. al-Hārīth b. Mālik and his brother Aḥmar commanded the B. Mālik. The general direction of affairs lay with Mālik b. 'Auf al-Numārīb. When he decided to attack the apostle he placed with the men their cattle, wives, and children. When he halted at Ayyān b. the men assembled to him, among them Durayd b. al-Ṣimma in a sort of howdah in which he was carried. As soon as he arrived he inquired what wadi they were in and when he was told that it was Ayyān he said that it was a fine place for cavalry. 'Not a hill with jagged rocks, nor a plain full of dust; but why do I hear the groaning of camels and the braying of asses, and the crying of children and the bleating of sheep?' They told him that Mālik had brought them with the men, and he immediately inquired for him and said, 'O Mālik, you have become the chief of your people and this is a day which will be followed by great events.' He then inquired about the cattle and the women and children, and Mālik explained that his purpose in bringing them and putting them behind the men was to make them fight to the death in their defence. He made a sound indicative of dismay and said: 'You sheep-tender, do you suppose that anything will turn back a man that runs away? If all goes well nothing will help you but sword and lance; if it goes ill you will be disgraced with your family and property.' Then he asked what had happened to Ka'b and Kilāb; and when he heard that they were not there he said, 'Bravery and force are not here; were it a day of lofty deeds Ka'b and Kilāb would not have stayed away. I wish that you had done what they have done. What claws have you got?' They told him 'Amr b. Amir and 'Auf b. 'Amir and he said, 'These two spurs of 'Amir can do nothing either way. You've done no good, Mālik, by sending forward the mainbody, the mainbody of Hawāzin, to meet the cavalry. Send them up to the high and inaccessible part of their land and meet them there high and inaccessible part of their land and meet them.

1 The language is the oracular style of saj.
2 Lit. 'said Tāb'; other authorities say it means snapping the fingers.
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843. The apostle left in charge of Mecca 'Attāb b. Asīd b. Abū'l-Ṭāb b. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams to look after the men who had stayed behind. Then he went forward to meet Hawāzīn.

'Abbās b. Mirdas al-Sulami said:

This year the ghoul of their people has smitten Rī'ī. In the midst of their tents, for the ghoul has many forms. Alas for the mother of Klāb when the cavalry of Ibn Haudha and Insān came upon them unopposed. Deny not your kindred, strengthen the bonds with your protégés, your cousins are Sa’d and Duhmān. You will not return them though it is a flagrant disgrace (not to do so). As long as milk is in the captured camels. It is a disgrace by whose shame Ḥadāfī has been covered and Dīū Shauqgar and Silwān flow with it. It is no better than what Ḥadāfī roasted when he said, 'All roasted wild ass is inedible.'

Hawāzīn are a good tribe save that they have a Yamānī disease. If they are not treacherous they are deceitful. They have a brother—had they been true to their covenant and had we reduced them by war they would have been kindly. Take to Hawāzīn one and all. A plain message of advice from me. I think God’s apostle will attack you in the morning. With an army extending over all the plain; Among them your brother Sulaym who will not let you go. And the Muslims, God’s servants, Ghassān. On his right are the Banū Asad and the redoubtable Banū ‘Abs and Dhubayn. The earth almost quaked in fear. And in the van are Aṣ i and ‘Uduhmān.

Aṣ i and ‘Uduhmān are two tribes of Muzayyina (820).

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri from Sinān b. Abū Sinān al-Dū‘ālī from Abū Waṣqīd al-Laythī told me that al-Ḫāṣīth b. Mālik said: We went forth with the apostle to Ḥunayn fresh from paganism. The heathen Qurayj and other Arabs had a great green tree called Dārtu Anwāt to which they used to come every year and hang their weapons on it and sacrifice beside it and devote themselves to it for a day. As we were going with the apostle we saw a great lote tree and we called out to the apostle from the sides of the way, ‘Make us a tree to hang things on such as they have.’ He said, ‘Allah akbar! By Him who holds my life in His hand, You have said what Moses’ people said to him: “Make us a god even as they have gods.” He said, “You are an ignorant people. You would follow the customs of those who were before you.”

‘Umām b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda from Abū’l-Ḫāṣīth b. Jābir from his father Jābir b. ‘Abdullāh told me: When we approached Wādi Ḥunayn we came down through a wadi wide and sloping. We were descending gradually in the morning twilight. The enemy had got there before us and had hidden themselves in its bypaths and side tracks and narrow places. They had collected and were fully prepared, and by God we were terrified when, as we were coming down, the squadron against us as one man. The people broke and fled none heeding the other. The apostle withdrew to the right and said, ‘Where are you going, men? Come to me. I am God’s apostle. I am Muhammad the son of ‘Abdullāh.’ And not for nothing did the camels bump one into the other. The men ran away except that a number of Muhājirs and Asnār and men of his family remained with the apostle. Of the Muhājirs who stood firm were Abū Bakr and ‘Umar; of his family ‘Ali and al-Abbās and Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḫūthir and his son; and al-Ḫaṣīth b. Abbas, and Rabī’ b. al-Ḫūthir and ‘Uṣāma b. Zayd and ‘Ayan b. Umm Ayman b. ‘Ubayd was killed that day (821).

There was a man of Hawāzīn on a red camel carrying a black banner at the end of a long spear leading Hawāzīn. When he overtook a man he thrust him with his spear. When he moved out of his reach he lifted his spear to these behind him and they went after them. When the men fled and the rude fellows from Mecca who were with the apostle saw the flight some of them spoke in such a way as to disclose their enmity. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb said, ‘Their flight will not stop before they get to the sea!’ He had his divining arrows with him in his quiver. Jalāl b. al-Ḫanbal cried (822) (he together with his brother Ṣafwān b. Umuyya was a polytheist during the dispute which the apostle had given him): ‘Surely sorcery is vain today.’ Ṣafwān said, ‘Shut up! God smash your mouth! I would rather be ruled by a man of Quraysh than a man of Hawāzīn (823).

Ṣayba b. ‘Uduhmān b. Abū Ṭalḥa, brother of B. ‘Abdullāh-Dār, said: I said, Today I will get my revenge on Muhammad (for his father had been killed at Uḥjad). Today I will kill Muhammad. I went round him to kill him and something happened to stay my purpose so that I could not do it and I knew that he was protected from me.

One of the Mecans told me that when the apostle left Mecca for Ḥunayn and saw the great number of God’s armies that were with him he said, ‘We shall not be worsted today for want of numbers.’ Some people allege that a man of B. Bakr said this.

Al-Zuhri from Katbir b. al-Abbās from his father told me: I was with the apostle holding the ring of the bride which I had put between the jaws

1 Sūn 7, 134.
of his white mule. I was a big man with a powerful voice. The apostle was saying when he saw the army in confusion. 'Where are you going, men?' And not one of them paid heed, and he said, 'Ο 'Abbâs cry loudly, 'Ο Anâsîr, O comrades of the acacia tree!' and they answered 'Here we are,' and a man would try to turn his beast and could not do it; and he would take his mail and throw it on its neck, and take his sword and shield and get off his mount and let it go its way and make for the voice until he came to the apostle. Finally a hundred were gathered by him and they went forward and fought. At first the cry was 'To me, Anâsîr!' and finally 'To me, Khazraj! They were steadfast in the fight and the apostle standing in his stirrups looked down at the mêlée as they were fighting and said, 'Now the oven is hot.'

'Âsîm b. 'Umar b. Qatâda from 'Abdu'l-Rahmân from his father Jâbir b. 'Abdullâtah said. 'While that man with the Hâwajîn standard on his camel was doing as he did 'Ali and one of the Anâsîr turned aside making for him. 'Ali came on him from behind and hamstrung his camel and it fell upon its rump; and the Anâsîr leapt upon him and struck him a blow which sent his foot flying with half his shank and he fell from his saddle. The men went on fighting and, by God, when those who had run away returned they found only prisoners handcuffed with the apostle.

The apostle turned to Abû Sufyân who was one of those who stood firm with the apostle that day and was an excellent Muslim when he accepted the faith, as he was holding on to the back of the saddle of his mule and asked who it was. He replied, 'I am your mother's son, O apostle of God.'

'Abdullâtah b. Abû Bakr told me that the apostle turned and saw Umm Sulaym d. Mîllân who was with her husband Abû Taîhâ. She was wearing a striped girdle and was pregnant with her son 'Abdullâtah b. Abû Taîhâ. She had his husband's camel with her and was afraid that it would be too much for her, so she brought its head near to her and put her hand in the nose ring of hair along with the nose rein. After telling the apostle who she was in response to his question she said, 'Kill those who run away from you as you kill those who fight you, for they are worthy of death.' The apostle said, 'Rather God will save (me the need), O Umm Sulaym!' She had a knife with her and Abû Taîhâ asked why, and she said, 'I took the knife so that if a polytheist came near me I could rip him up with it!' He said, 'Do you hear what Umm Sulaym al-Rumaysî?' says, O apostle?'

When he set out for Hunayn the apostle had joined B. Sulaym to al-Dâhîq b. Sufyân al-Kilâbî so that they went along with him. And when the men fled Mâlik b. 'Auf said, addressing his horse:

Forward, Muhâji! This is a difficult day
Such as I on such as thee turns ever to the fight.

1 Watîl, a play on the name Asîl, he was actually his cousin. Mother here stands for grandmother.
2 The name of his horse.
My father Ishaq b. Yasir told me that he was told from Jubayr b. Mu'tim: Before the people fled and men were fighting one another I saw the like of a black garment coming from heaven until it fell between us and the enemy. I looked, and lo black ants everywhere filled the wadi. I had no doubt that they were the angels. Then the enemy fled.

When God put to flight the polytheists of Hunayn and gave his apostle power over them a Muslim woman said:

Allah's cavalry have beaten Al-Lat's cavalry  
And Allah best deserves to hold fast (826).

When Hawazin were put to flight the killing of Thaqif among the B. Malik was severe and seventy of them were killed beneath their flag, among whom were 'Uthman b. 'Abdullah b. Rabi'a b. Al-Harith b. Habib. Their flag was with Dhul-Khimar. When he was killed 'Uthman b. 'Abdullah took it and fought by it until he was killed.

'Amir b. Wahab b. al-Awsad told me that when news of his death reached the apostle he said, 'God curse him! He used to hate Quraysh.'

Ya'qub b. 'Utba b. al-Mughira b. al-Aswad told me that a young uncircumcised Christian slave was killed with 'Uthman, and while one of the Ansaris was plundering the slain of Thaqif he stripped the slave to plunder him and found that he was uncircumcised. He called out at the top of his voice, 'Look, you Arabs, God knows that Thaqif are uncircumcised.' Mughira b. Shu'ba took hold of his hand, for he was afraid that this report would go out from them among the Arabs, and told him not to say that, for the man concerned was only a Christian slave. Then he began to unclothe the slain and showed that they were circumcised.

The flag of the Aflaf was with Qarib b. al-Awsad, and when the men were routed he leant it against a tree, and he and his cousins and his people fled. Only two men of the Aflaf were killed and one of the B. Ghiyata called Wahab and another of B. Kubba called al-Julah. When the apostle heard of the killing of al-Julah he said, 'The chief of the young men of Thaqif except Ibn Hunayda has been killed today, meaning by him Al-Harith b. Uwaya.

'Abbas b. Mirdas b. al-Sulami, mentioning Qarib b. al-Awsad and his flight from his father's sons, and Dhul-Khimar and his shutting up his people to death, said:

Who will tell Ghaylân and 'Urwa from me  
(I think one who knows will come to him).

I send to tell you something  
Which is different from what you say which will go round  
That Muhammad is a man, an apostle to my Lord  
Who errs not, neither does he sin.

We have found him a prophet like Moses,  
Any who would rival him in goodness must fail.
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Were like a flock of sleep coming bleating to Islam.
We said, ‘Be Muslims; we are your brethren,
For our breasts are free from enmity.’
When the people came to us they seemed
Blind to hatred after peace had come (827).

When the polytheists were routed they came to al-Tā’if. Mālik b. ‘Aufl was with them and others were encamped in Auṣāṣ. Some of them made for Nakhla, but only the B. Ghiyār of Thaqīf. The apostle’s cavalry followed those who took the road to Nakhla, but not those who went to the passes.
Rabi‘a b. Rufay‘ b. Ubbān b. Tha‘labah b. Rabi‘a b. Yarbū‘ b. Surrāl b. ‘Aufl b. Imru‘ul-Qays who was called after his mother Ibn Dughinnah more often (828) overtook Dūrayd b. al-Ṣūmāma and took hold of his camel’s halter, thinking that he was a woman because he was in his howdah. And lo, it was a man; he made the camel kneel and it was a very old man—Dūrayd b. al-Ṣūmāma. The young man did not know him and Dūrayd asked him what he wanted and what was his name. He told him and said that he wanted to kill him, and struck him with his sword without effect. Dūrayd said, ‘What a poor weapon your mother has given you! Take this sword of mine that is behind the saddle in the howdah and strike me with that above the spine and below the head, for that is the way I used to strike men. Then when you come to your mother tell her that you have killed Dūrayd b. al-Ṣūmāma, for many’s the day I have protected your women."
The B. Sulaymān allege that Rabi‘a said, ‘When I smote him he fell and exposed himself, and lo his crotch and the inside of his thighs were like paper from riding horses back and forth. When Rabi‘a returned to his mother he told her that he had killed him and she said, ‘By God, he set free three mothers and grandmothers of yours.’

'Amra d. Dūrayd said of Rabi‘a’s killing him:

I’ faith I did not fear the army of fate
On Dūrayd’s account in the valley of Sumayra.
God repay the B. Sulaymān for him
And may ingratitude rend them for what they have done.
May He give us the blood of their best men to drink
When we lead an army against them.
Many a calamity did you avert from them
When they were at the point of death.
Many a noble woman of theirs did you free
And others you loosed from bonds.
Many a man of Sulaymān named you noble
As he died when you had answered his call.
Our reward from them is ingratitude and grief

1 Māqām, 68 quotes two lines of verse attributed to Dūrayd which may have been in the

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Which melts our very bones.
May the traces of your cavalry after hard travel
In Dhūl Baqr as far as the desert of al-Nuhq be effaced!

‘Amra also said:
They said, ‘We have killed Dūrayd.’ ‘True,’ I said,
And my tears flowed down my garment.
Were it not for Him who has conquered all the tribes
Sulaymān and Ka‘b would have seen what counsel to follow.
A great army of pungent smell
Would have attacked them continuously wherever they were (829).
The apostle sent Abū ‘Amir al-Ash‘ārī on the track of those who had gone towards Auṣāṣ and he overtook some of the fugitives. In the skirmishes which followed Abū ‘Amir was killed by an arrow and Abū Mūṣā al-Ash‘ārī, his cousin, took the standard. He continued the fight and God gave him the victory and routed the enemy. It is alleged that Sulaymān b. Dūrayd shot Abū ‘Amir in the knee and the wound proved fatal. He said:
If you ask about me I am Sulaymān,
The son of Samādīr to one who asks further.
I smite with my sword the heads of the Muslims.

Samādīr was his mother.
The B. Nasr killed many of B. Rī‘āb and they allege that 'Abdullāh b. Qays, called b. al-'Aurā, one of B. Wāb b. Rī‘āb, said to the apostle, ‘B. Rī‘āb have perished,’ and they allege that the apostle said, ‘O God, make good their losses.’
Mālik b. ‘Aufl during the flight stopped with some of his horsemen at a pass on the road and told them to wait until the weak ones passed and those in the rear had caught up, and they did so. Mālik said of that:

Were it not for two charges on Muḥāj
The way would be difficult for the camp followers.
But for the charge of Dūhām b. Naṣr
At the palms where al-Sha‘iqī flows
Ja‘far and Banū Hilāl would have returned discomfited
Riding two on a camel in their distress (830).

Sulaymān b. Dūrayd who was conducting his wife until he escaped them said: 855
You would have me forget though you are unhurt
And though you know that day at the foot of al-‘Aṣrub
That I protected you and walked behind you
Watching on all sides when to ride would have been a boon,
When every well-trained warrior with flowing locks
Fled from his mother and did not return to his friend (831).

1 Accoutrements were often polished with dung.
2 A wadi in the suburbs of al-Tā‘if.
One of our companions told us that the apostle that day passed by a woman whom Khālid b. al-Walid had killed while men had gathered round her. When he heard what had happened he sent word to Khālid and forbad him to kill child, or woman, or hired slave.

One of B. Sa'd b. Bakr told me that the apostle said that day, 'If you hold of Bījād, a man of B. Sa'd b. Bakr, don't let him escape you,' for he had done great wrong. When the Muslims took him they led him away with his family and with him (T. his sister) al-Shayma' d. al-Fārith (T. b. Abdullah) b. Abdu'l-Uzza, foster-sister of the apostle. They treated her roughly as they brought her along and she told the Muslims that she was the foster-sister of the apostle, but they did not believe her until they had brought her to the apostle.

Yazīd b. 'Ubayd al-Sa'dī told me that when she was brought to the apostle she claimed to be his foster-sister, and when he asked for proof she said, 'The bite you gave me in my back when I carried you at my hip.' The apostle acknowledged the proof and stretched out his robe for her to sit on and treated her kindly. He gave her the choice of living with him in affection and honour or going back to her people with presents, and she chose the latter. The B. Sa'dī allege that he gave her a slave called Makhūl and a slave girl; the one married the other and their progeny still exists (832).

The names of those martyred at Ḥunayn were:

- From Quraysh b. Hāshim: Ayman b. 'Ubayd.
- From the Anṣār: Sūrqa b. al-Hārith b. 'Ady from B. 'Ajlān.
- From the Ash'āriyyūn: Abū 'Amir al-Ash'ārī.

The captives of Ḥunayn were brought to the apostle with their property. Mas'ūd b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī (T. al-Qārī) was over the spoils and the apostle ordered that the captives and the animals should be brought to al-Jīrānā and be kept in ward there.

Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abū Sulmā said about Ḥunayn:

- But for God and His servant you would have turned back
- When fear overwhelmed every coward
- On the slope the day our opponents met us
- While the horses galloped at full stretch,
- Some running clutching their garments,
- Others knocked sideways by hooves and cheeks.
- God honoured us and made our religion victorious
- And glorified us in the worship of the Compassionate.
- God destroyed them and dispersed them all
- And humiliated them in the worship of Satan (833).

Abbās b. Mirdās said about the battle of Ḥunayn:

- By the swift horses on the day of Muzdalīfa
- By what the apostle recites from the Book
- I liked the punishment Thaqīf got yesterday on the side of the valley.
- They were the chief of the enemies from Najd
- And their killing was sweeter than drink.
- We put to flight all the army of B. Qasyūn.
- The full weight fell on B. Rīfāb.
- The tents of Hīlāl in Aṣūs
- Were left covered with dust.
- If our horses had met B. Killāb's army
- Their women would have got up as the dust arose.¹
- We galloped among them from Buss to al-Aurāl
- Panting after the spoil
- With a loud-voiced army, among them
- The apostle's squadron advancing to the fray (834).

'Atīya b. 'Umayr al-Naqṣī answered him:

- Does Rīfā'a boast about Ḥunayn?
- And 'Abbās son of her who sucks milkless sheep!
- For you to boast is like a maid who struts about
- In her mistress's robes while the rest of her is bare.²

'Atīya spoke these two verses because of 'Abbās's vehemence against Ḥawāzin. Rīfā'a was of Juhayna.

'Abbās b. Mirdās also said:

- O Seal of the Prophets, you are sen with the truth
- With all guidance for the way.
- God has built up love upon you
- In His creation and named you Muhammad.
- Then those who were faithful to your agreement with them,
- An army over whom you set al-Dulhātk
- A man with sharp weapons as though
- When the enemy surrounded him he saw you.³
- He attacked those of (his) kith and kin
- Seeking only to please God and you.

¹ See, 'tow over the dead.'
² A place in Jashm county. The Aurāl are three black mountains near water belonging to Abūdhabī b. Darām.
³ ḍhūl generally means a hide or skin but can be applied to the skin of a human being.
⁴ This is what the commentators propose, but the line seems impossibly bad. If we understand dhurrah to mean 'wound' and tare ṭarāba as a by-form of arāka with hāma confused to ya (cf. Su'ūl's Musāhir, Cairo, i. 461) we could render:
- A man scarred by weapons
- When the enemy surrounded him he was like an arāk tree.
⁵ I owe this suggestion to Dr. Arafat. The arāk is a thorny tree. The use of the accusative for the nominative is not without parallel. Cf. Wright ii, 83 B.
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I tell you I saw him charging in clouds of dust
Crushing the heads of the polytheists;
Now throttling with bare hands,
Now splitting their skulls with his sharp sword.\(^1\)
The B. Sulaym hastened before him
With continual cuts and thrusts at the enemy.
They walked beneath his banner there
Like lions with a haunt they mean to defend.
They did not hope for consideration of kinship
But obedience to their Lord and your love.
These were our doings for which we are renowned.
And our Helper is your Lord.

He said also:

If you saw, O Umm Farwa, our horses
Some led riderless and lame!
The battle had reduced their fitness,
Blood gushed from deep wounds.
Many a woman whom our prowess protected
From the hardship of war so that she\(^6\) had no fear, said,
'There are none like those who came to make an agreement
Which forged an inseparable link with Muhammad.'
A deputation among them Abû Qa'în, Huzâba
And Abû'1-Ghuyûtah and Wâsî' and al-Miqa'a
And he who led the hundred which brought
The nine hundred to a complete thousand.
Banû 'Auf and the clan of Muhçshín collected six hundred
And four hundred were brought from Khufâf
There when the prophet was helped by our thousand
He handed us a fluttering standard.
We conquered with his flag and his commission bequeathed\(^3\)
A glorious life and authority that will not cease.
The day that we formed the prophet’s flank
In the vale of Mecca when spears were quivering ’twas
Our answer to him who called us to our Lord in truth:
We went helmeted and un mailed alike,
With long mail whose mesh David chose
When he weaved iron, and ’Tubba’ too,
By Ḥunayn’s two wells we had a train
Which slew the hypocrites—an immovable army.
By us the prophet gained victory; we are the people who

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1. Mutâlî is a mountain in Najîd.
2. One MS. has dâbru ‘time’s changes’ which is a cliché that is often used by the poets and may well be right here.
3. The point is that he is of Sulaym who was from Qays to whom Hawâzin belonged. The

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In any emergency inflict loss and do well.
We drove off Hawâzin that day with spears.
Our cavalry was submerged in rising dust
When even the prophet feared their bravery, and as they came en masse
The sun all but ceased to shine thereat.
Banû Jusham were summoned and the hordes of Naṣr
In the midst while the spears were thrusting
Until the apostle Muhammad said,
‘O Banû Sulaym, you have kept your word, now desist.’
We went off and but for us their bravery
Would have injured the believers and they would have kept what they had gained.

He also said:

Mijdal is deserted by its people and Mutâlî\(^1\)
And the plain of Arîk, and its cisterns are empty.
We had homes, O Jumî, when all life was pleasant
And the change of abode\(^2\) brought the tribe together.
Long absence afar has changed my beloved,
But can a happy past ever return?
If you seek the unbelievers I do not blame you,
But I am a helper and follower of the prophet.
The best of embassies I know summoned us to them,
Khuzayma, and al-Marrî and Wâsî’,
So we came with a thousand of Sulaym finely clad
In armour woven by David,
We hailed him lord at the two mountains of Mecca
And it was to God that we paid homage.
We entered Mecca publicly with the guided one by force of arms,
While the dust rose in all directions.
Sweat covered the backs of the horses
And warm blood from within grew hotter.
On the day of Ḥunayn when Hawâzin came against us
And we could scarcely breathe
We stood steadfast with al-Dâhîlak;
Struggle and combat did not dismay us.
In front of the apostle a banner fluttered above us
Like the rapid movement of a cloud.
The night that Dâhîlak b. Sufyân fought with the apostle’s sword
And death was near
We defended our brother from our brother.\(^3\)

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Had we a choice we would have followed our own kin,  
But God's religion is the religion of Muhammad.  
We are satisfied with it; it contains guidance and laws.  
By it he set our affairs right after we had erred  
And none can avert the decree of God.

He also said:
The last link with Umm Mu'ammar is broken,  
She has changed her mind contrary to her promise;  
She had sworn by God she would not break the link,  
But she did not keep her word or fulfil her oath.  
She is of Banû Khufaf who summer in the vale of al-'Aqiq  
And occupy Wajra and 'Urf in the deserts.  
Though Umm Mu'ammar follows the unbelievers  
She has made me love her more despite her distance from me.  
Someone will tell her that we refuse to do so  
And seek only our Lord in alliance;  
And that we are on the side of the guide, the prophet Muhammad,  
And number a thousand which (number) no (other) tribe reached.  
With strong warriors of Sulaym  
Who obey his orders to the letter,  
Khufaf and Dhakwân and 'Auf whom you would think  
Were black stallions walking among the she-camels  
As though our reddish-white mail and helmets  
Clothed long-eared lions which meet one another in their lairs.  
By us God's religion is undeniably strong.  
We added a like number to the clan that was with him.  
When we came to Mecca, our banner  
Was like an eagle soaring to dart on its prey  
(Riding) on horses which gazed upwards,  
You would think when they gallop in their bits there is a sound of  
jinn among them.  
The day we trod down the unbelievers  
And found no deviation or turning from the apostle's order.  
In a battle mid which the people heard only  
Our exhortations to fight and the smashing of skulls  
By swords that sent heads flying from their base  
And severed the necks of warriors at a blow.  
Often have we left the slain cut to pieces

1 A wadi in the Hijaz.
2 The reading here should be bala 'helmet', not bila 'sword' as in C. The word is left untranslated in W. The poet is comparing the chain slaps depending from the helmet to the long ears of lions.
3 This line is difficult. A.Dh. says muradadana means its pegs or pins (coated) while S. suggests that it means 'where animals pasture', i.e. go to and fro. I am indebtred to Dr. W. Arafat for the rendering given above.

And a widow crying Alas! over her husband.  
'Tis God not man we seek to please;  
To Him belongs the seen and the unseen.

He also said:
What ails thine eye painful and sleepless,  
Its lash feeling like a piece of chaff?  
Sorrow brings sleeplessness to the eye  
And tears now cover it, now flow down  
Like a string of pearls with the stringer  
The thread breaks and they are scattered.  
How far off is the home of her you long for,  
Al-Samman and Al-Hafar stand in the way!  
Talk no more of the days of youth.  
Youth is gone and scant white locks have come,  
And remember the fighting of Sulaym in their settlements;  
And Sulaym have something to boast about:  
They are the people who helped God  
And followed the apostle's religion while men's affairs were confused.  
They do not plant young palms in their midst  
And cows do not low in their winter quarters.  
But steeds like eagles are kept near them  
Surrounded by multitudes of camels.  
Khufaf and 'Auf were summoned on their flanks  
And the clan of Dhakwân armed and keen to fight.  
They smote the armies of the polytheists openly  
In Mecca's vale, and killed them quickly,  
Until we departed, and their dead  
Were like uprooted palms in the open valley.  
On Hunayn's day our stand strengthened religion  
And with God that is stored up.  
Then we risked death in the gloom  
As the black scattered dust cleared away from the horses  
Under the banner with al-Dhâhâk leading us  
As a lion walks when he enters his thicket  
In a narrow place where war pressed hard.  
Sun and moon were almost blotted out by it.  
We devoted our labours to God in Aštâs,  
We helped whom we would and we became victorious  
Until certain people returned to their dwellings, who  
But for us and God would not have returned.  
You will see no tribe great or small  
But we have left our mark upon them.

1 Bevan queried this hemistich. Reckendorff, Ar. Syntax, 173 reads kathalâdâ and renders: 'in einer Ecke wo der Kampf seine Brust hin und her setzt', and refers to Nöldeke, Z. Gramm. 75 and Fleischer, I. 184 f.
He also said:

O rider with whom there hastens
A strong, sturdy, firm footed she-camel,
If you come to the prophet say to him as you should
When the assembly is quiet,
'Of best that ever rode a camel
Or walked the earth, if souls are weighed,
We were faithful to our covenant with you
When the cavalry were driven off by warriors and wounded
When there flowed from all the sides of Buitha
A multitude which shook the mountain paths
Until we came on the people of Mecca with a squadron
Glittering with steel, led by a proud chief
Composed of Sulaym's sturdiest men
Capped in strong iron mesh with iron top
Blooding their shafts when they dashed into battle.
You would think them glowing lions,
They engaged the squadron wearing their badges,
Sword and spear in hand.

At Ḥunayn we were a thousand strong
By which the apostle was reinforced.
They defended the believers in the vanguard.
The sun was reflected a thousand times from their steel.
We went forward, God guiding us,
And God does not lose those He guards.
We made a stand in Manāqib,²
Which pleased God, what a fine stand it was!
On the day of Auṭās we fought so fiercely
That the enemy had enough and cried Stop!
Hawāzin appealed to the brotherhood between us—
The breast that supplied them with milk, is dry—
Until we left them like wild asses
Which wild beasts have continually preyed upon (835).

He also said:

We helped God's apostle, angry on his account,
With a thousand warriors apart from unarmed men,
We carried his flag on the end of our lances,
His helper protecting it in deadly combat.
We dyed it with blood, for that was its colour,
The day of Ḥunayn when Ṣafwān thrust with his spear.
We were his right wing in Islam,
We had charge of the flag and displayed it.

¹ A clan of Sulaym. ² On the Mecca-Tu'if road.

We were his bodyguard before other troops,
He consulted us and we consulted him.
He summoned us and named us intimates first of all
And we helped him against his opponents.
God richly reward that fine prophet Muhammad
And strengthen him with victory, for God is his helper! (836)

He also said:

Who will tell the peoples that Muhammad, God's apostle,
Is rightly guided wherever he goes?
He prayed to his Lord and asked His help alone.
He gave it graciously fulfilling His promise.
We journeyed and met Muhammad at Qudayd,
He intending to do with us what God had determined.
They doubted about us in the dawn and then
They saw clearly warriors on horseback with levelled lances,
Firmly clad in mail, our infantry
A strong force like a rushing torrent.
The best of the tribe if you must ask
Were Sulaym and those who claimed to be Sulaym,
And an army of Helpers who did not leave him
Obeying what he said unquestioningly.
Since you have made Khalid chief of the army
And promoted him he has become a chief indeed
In an army guided by God whose commander you are
By which you smite the wicked with every right.
I swore a true oath to Muhammad
And I fulfilled it with a thousand bridled horses.
The prophet of the believers said, Advance!
And we rejoiced that we were the vanguard.
We passed the night at the pool of Mustadur;
There was no fear in us but desire and preparedness (for war).
We obeyed you till all the enemy surrendered
And until the morning we overtook the crowd, the people of Yalamām.¹

The piebald steed with reddish barrel went astray²
And the chief was not content till it was marked.
We attacked them like a flock of grouse the morning affrights.
Everyone was too concerned to see to his fellow,
From morn till eve till we left Ḥunayn
With its watercourses streaming with blood.
Wherever you looked you could see a fine mare

¹ A halt two marches distant from Mecca for pilgrims coming from the Yaman,
² Even such a conspicuous animal was lost in the great crowd. The meaning of the next line may be: 'The old man was not content until he wore a distinguishing mark.'
And its rider lying beside a broken lance.
Hawâzin had recovered their herds from us
And it pleased them that we should be disappointed and deprived of them.

Dâdâm b. al-Hârîth b. Jushâm b. 'Abd b. Ḥâbib b. Mâlik b. 'Auf b. Yaqâza b. 'Uṣayya al-Sulâmî said concerning Ḥunayn (Thaqîf had killed Kinâmâ b. al-Ḥâkam b. Khâlid b. al-Sharîd, so he killed Mîjân and a nephew of his, both of Thaqîf):

We brought our horses without overdriving them
To Jurash from the people of Zayyâm and al-Fām,
Killing the young lions and making for the temples
Built before our day and not yet destroyed.
If you boast of the killing of Ibn al-Sharîd
I have left many widows in Wajâ.
666

I killed the two of them avenging Ibn al-Sharîd
Whom your promise of protection deceived and he blameless.
Our spears slew the men of Thaqîf
And our swords inflicted grievous wounds.

He also said:
Tell the men with you who have wives,
Never trust a woman
After what a woman said to her neighbour,
'Had the raiders not returned I should have been in the house.'
When she saw a man whom the fierce heat of a torrid land
Had left with blackened face and fleshless bones.
You could see his leanness at the end of the night
As he was clad in his mail for a raid.
I am always in the saddle of a thick short-haired mare,
My garment touching my belt.
One day in quest of booty,
Another, fighting along with the Ṭâṣrâr,
How much fertile land have I travelled,
How much rough uneven ground at gentle pace
That I might change her state of poverty,
And she did not want me to return, the baggage! (837)

Mâlik b. 'Auf excusing his flight said:
Slit-eared camels straying from the track
Prevented sleep for even an hour.
Ask Hawâzin do I not injure their enemy

1 In the Yaman.
2 A place in al-Ṭîf.
3 I.e. at the disposal of callers.
4 As the horse rushed forward sword and belt and garments would face the same direction. The husband is speaking at this point.

And help any of them who suffers a loss?
Many a squadron did I meet with a squadron
Half of them mailed, half of them without armour.
Many a place which would appal the bold
Did I occupy first, as my people well know.
I came down to it and left brothers coming down
To its waters—waters of blood; 2
When its waters rolled away they bequeathed to me
The glory of life and spoil to be divided.
You charged me with the fault of Muhammad’s people,
But God knows who is more ungrateful and unjust.
You forsook me when I fought alone
You forsook me when Khath’am fought.
When I built up glory one of you pulled it down.
Builder and destroyer are not equal.
Many a man who becomes thin in winter, hasting to glory,
Generous, devoted to lofty aims,
I stabbed with a black shaft of Yazan’s work 3
Headed by a long blade.
I left his wife turning back his friend
And saying, You cannot come at so-and-so.
Fully armed I opposed the spears
Like a target which is pierced and split.

An anonymous poet also said about Hawâzin mentioning their expedition against the apostle with Mâlik b. ‘Auf after he had accepted Islam:
Recall their march against the enemy when they assembled
When the flags fluttered over Mâlik.
None was above Mâlik on the day of Ḥunayn 4
When the crown glittered on his head
Until they met courage when courage led them
Wearing their helmets, mail, and shields.
They smote the men till they saw none
Round the prophet and until dust hid him.
Then Gabriel was sent down from heaven to help them
And we were routed and captured.
If any other but Gabriel had fought us
Our noble swords would have protected us.
‘Umar al-Fârûq escaped me when they were put to flight
With a thrust that soaked his saddle in blood. 4

1 Glamour sometimes, as here, means 'the thick of the fight'.
2 Dîh Yazan, one of the kings of Ḥimyar; v.s.
3 Or 'Mâlik was a king, none above him'.
4 This is the natural translation of the line, but as there is no record of 'Umar having been wounded in this battle the meaning may be that he escaped a thrust which would have soaked his saddle in blood.
A woman of B. Jusham lamenting two of her brothers who were slain at Ḥunayn said:

O eyes, be generous with your tears
For Mālik and al-ʿAlī; be not niggardly.
They were the slayers of Abū Ṭāmir
Who held a sword with streaky marks.
They left him a bleeding lump
Staggering, feebly unsupported.

Abū Thawbī Zayd b. Ṣuḥār, one of B. ʿAīd b. Bakr, said:
Have you not heard that Quraysh conquered Ḥavazin (Misfortunes have their causes).
There was a time, Quraysh, when if we were angry
Red blood flowed because of our rage.
There was a time, Quraysh, when if we were angry
It seemed as though snuff were in our nostrils.
And now Quraysh drive us
Like camels urged on by peasants.
I am not in a position to refuse humiliation
Nor am I disposed to give in to them (828).

ʿAbdullah b. Wāḥb, one of B. Ṭāmīm of the clan of Usayyid, answered him:

By God’s command we smote those we met
In accordance with the best command.
When we met, O Ḥawāzin,
We were saturating heads with fresh blood.
When you and B. Qasīy assembled
We crushed opposition like beaten leaves.
Some of your chiefs we slew
And we turned to kill both fugitive and standfast.
Al-Muṭtāthī lay with outstretched hands,
His dying breath sounding like a gasping young camel.
If Qays Ṭaylān be angry
My snuff has always subdued them.

Khadij b. al-ʿAuḍāʾal-Nasirī said:
When we drew near to the waters of Ḥunayn
We saw repellant black and white shapes
In a dense well-armed throng; if they had thrown them
At the peaks of ʿUṣwā they would have become flat.
If my people’s chiefs had obeyed me
We should not then have met the thick cloud

1 Ḥabīr, a sort of testudo.
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Till you turn to Islam, humbly seeking refuge.
We will fight not caring whom we meet
Whether we destroy ancient holdings or newly gotten gains.
How many tribes assembled against us
Their finest stock and allies!
They came at us thinking they had no equal
And we cut off their noses and ears
With our fine polished Indian swords,
Driving them violently before us
To the command of God and Islam,
Until religion is established, just and straight, and
Al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā and Wudd are forgotten
And we plunder them of their necklaces and earrings.
For they had become established and confident,
And he who cannot protect himself must suffer disgrace.

Kināna b. 'Abdu Yāliū b. 'Amr b. 'Umayr answered him:
He who covets us wishing to fight us (let him come).
We are in a well-known home which we never leave.
Our fathers were here long since
And we hold its wells and vineyards.
'Amr b. 'Amir put us to the test aforetime
And the wise and intelligent told them about it.
They know if they speak the truth that we
Bring down the high looks of the proud.
We force the strong to become meek
And the wrongdoer to become known to the discerning.
We wear light mail the legacy of one who burned men
Glamming like stars in the sky,
We drive them from us with sharp swords,
When they are drawn from the scabbard we do not sheathe them.

Shaddād b. 'Ariḍ al-Jushamī said about the apostle's expedition to al-Ṭā'if:
Don't help al-Lāt for God is about to destroy her.
How can one who cannot help herself be helped?
She that was burned in black smoke and caught fire,
None fighting before her stones, is an outcast.
When the apostle descends on your land
None of her people will be left when he leaves.

1 The meaning of this hemistich may be: 'And then they professed (Islam) and left peace'.
2 This is a hit at the Ansār through their common descent.
3 'Amir b. 'Amir.
4 i.e. 'Amr b. 'Amir.
5 Lāt. 'not one for whom bloodwit must be paid'.

The apostle journeyed by Nakhlatu'l-Yamānīya, and Qarn, and al-Melayh and Buḥratu'l-Rughā of Liya.1 A mosque was built there and he prayed in it.

'Amr b. Shu'ayb told me that when he came there that day he allowed retaliation for homicide, and that was the first time such a thing happened in Islam. A man of B. Layth had killed a man of Hudhayl and he killed him in retaliation. When he was in Liya the apostle ordered that the fort of Mālik b. 'A'f should be destroyed. Then he went on a road called al-Dayqa,2 As he was passing along it he asked its name. When he was told that it was 'the strait' he said, 'No, it is the easy'.3 Then he went by Nakĥbīl' where he halted under a lone tree called al-Sādira near the property of a man of Thaqīf. The apostle sent word to him, 'Either come out or we will destroy your wall'.4 He refused to come out so the apostle ordered his wall to be destroyed.

He went on until he halted near al-Tā'if and pitched his camp there. Some of his companions were killed by arrows there because the camp had come too close to the wall of al-Tā'if and the arrows were reaching them. The Muslims could not get through their wall for they had fastened the gate. When these men were killed by arrows he (T. withdrew and) pitched his camp near where his mosque stands today. He besieged them for some twenty days (839).

He had two of his wives with him: Umm Salama d. Abū Umayya (T. and another with her). He struck two tents for them and prayed between the tents. Then he stayed there. When Thaqīf surrendered 'Amr b. Umayya b. Wabh b. Mu‘attib b. Mālik built a mosque over the place where he prayed. There was a pillar in the mosque. Some allege that the sun never rises over it any day but a creaking noise4 is heard from it. The apostle besieged them and fought them bitterly and the two sides exchanged arrows (846), until when the day of storming came at the wall of al-Tā'if a 873 number of his companions went under a testudo and advanced up to the wall to breach it. Thaqīf let loose on them scraps of hot iron so they came out from under it and Thaqīf shot them with arrows and killed some of them. The apostle ordered that the vineyards of Thaqīf should be cut down and the men fell upon them cutting them down.

Abū Sufyān b. Harb and al-Mughīra b. Shu‘bā went up to al-Tā'if and called to Thaqīf to grant them safety so that they could speak to them. When they agreed they called on the women of Quraysh and B. Kināna to come out to them for they were afraid that they would be captured, but they refused to come. They were Amīna d. Abū Sufyān who was married to 'Urwā b. Mas‘ūd by whom she gave birth to Dā‘ūd b. 'Urwā (844); and

1 These are places in the area of Tā'if.
2 As we should say 'a tight corner' and therefore an insuspicious name which has to be altered.
3 al-Yusīrī.
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al-Firâsîsâ d. Suwayd b. 'Amr b. Thâlabâ whose son was 'Abdu'l-Rahîm b. Qârîb; and al-Fugaymiyya Umayma d. the intercalator Umayya b. Qalî. When they refused to come out Ibn al-Awsad b. Mas'ûd said to the two men, 'Let me tell you of something better than that which you have come about. You know where the property of B. Awsad is.' (The apostle was between it and al-Tâ'if in a valley called al-'Aqiq.) 'There is no property in al-Tâ'if more laborious to water, harder to cultivate, and more difficult to maintain than this property of B. Awsad. If Muhammad cuts down its trees it will never be cultivated again, so speak to him and let him take it for himself or leave it to God and his men, for there is a well-known relationship between us.' They allege that the apostle left it to them. I have heard that the apostle said to Abû Bakr while he was besieging al-Tâ'if, 'I saw (in a dream) that I was given a bowl of butter and a cock pecked at it and split it.' Abu Bakr said, 'I don't think that you will attain your desire from them today.' The apostle said that he did not think so either.

Then Khawwayla d. Ḥâkîm b. Umayya b. Ḥârîthâ b. al-Auqâs al-Sulaymîya, wife of 'Uthmân b. Maqânî, asked the apostle to give her the jewellery of Bâdiyâ d. Ghaylân b. Salama, or the jewellery of al-Fârsî's d. 'Aqîf if God gave him victory over al-Tâ'if, for they were the best bejewelled women of Thaqîf. I have been told that the apostle said to her, 'And if Thaqîf is not permitted to me, O Khawwayla?' She left him and went and told 'Umar, who came and asked the apostle if he had really said that. On hearing that he had, she asked him, he should have the order to give the soldier to break camp, and receiving his permission he did so.

When the army moved off Sa'd b. 'Ubayd b. Asîd b. Abû 'Amr b. 'Allâj called out, 'The tribe is holding out.' 'Urayna b. Ḥâjîn said, 'Yes nobly and gloriously.' One of the Muslims said to him, 'God smile you, Urayna! Do you praise the polytheists for holding out against the apostle when you have come to help him?' 'I did not come to fight Thaqîf with you,' he answered, 'but I wanted Muhammad to get possession of al-Tâ'if so that I might get a girl from Thaqîf whom I might tread (T. make pregnant) so that she might bear me a son, for Thaqîf are a people who produce intelligent children.'

During his session there some of the slaves besieged in al-Tâ'if came to him and accepted Islam and he freed them. One whom I do not suspect from Abdullah b. Mukaddam from men of Thaqîf said that when al-Tâ'if surrendered some of them talked about these slaves, but the apostle refused to do anything saying that they were God's free men. One of those who spoke about them was al-Hârîth d. Kâlada (842).

Now Thaqîf had seized the family of Marwân b. Qays al-Dausi, he having become a Muslim and helped the apostle against Thaqîf. Thaqîf allege—and Thaqîf is the ancestor on whom the tribe's claim to be of Qays is based—that the apostle said to Marwân b. Qays, 'Seize in revenge for your family the first man of Qays that you meet.' He met Ubayy b. Mâlik al-Qushayrî and took him until they should return his family to him. Al-Dâlîb b. Sufyân al-Kâlîbî took the matter in hand and spoke to Thaqîf until they let Marwân's family go, and he freed Ubayy. Al-Dâlîb in reference to what passed between him and Ubayy said:

Will you forget my kindness, O Ubayy b. Malik, The day the apostle looked away from you? Marwân b. Qays led you by his rope Submissive as a well-trained beast. Some of Thaqîf behaved badly to you, (If anyone comes to them asking for trouble they get it!) Yet they were your relatives and their minds turned to you When you were almost in despair (843).

These are the names of the Muslims who were martyred at al-Tâ'if: From Quraysh: the clan of B. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams: Sa'd b. Sa'id b. al-'Aṣ b. Umayya; and 'Urfuţa b. Jânnâb, an ally from al-Asd b. al-Ghauth (844); the clan of B. Taym b. Murra: 'Abdullâh b. Abû Bakr was shot by an arrow and died of it in Medina after the death of the apostle; the clan of Makkûn: 'Abdullâh b. Abû Umayya b. al-Mughînra from an arrow that day; the clan of B. 'Adî b. Ka'b: 'Abdullâh b. 'Amir b. Rabi'a in an ally; the clan of B. Sahm b. 'Amr; Al-Sâ'îb b. al-Hârîth b. Qays b. 'Adî and his brother 'Abdullâh; the clan of B. Sa'd b. Layth: Julayyâ b. Abdullah.


Twelve of the apostle's companions were martyred at al-Tâ'if, seven from Quraysh, four from the Anüs, and a man from B. Layth.

When the apostle left al-Tâ'if after the fighting and the siege Buayr b. Zuhayr b. Abû Sulmâ said commemorating Hunayn al-Tâ'îf: (Al-Tâ'if) was a sequel to the battle of Hunayn And Abûsals and al-Abraaq when Hawâzân gathered their force in theirFully armed glittering with death-dealing weapons; Compact, dark green, (if one threw them at Hâlân) It would become as though it had not been created)
DIVISION OF THE SPOIL OF HAWAZIN AND GIFTS TO GAIN MEN'S HEARTS

When he left al-Ṭa'if the apostle went by way of Dahrā until he stopped at al-Jirāna with his men, having a large number of Hawāzin captives. One of his companions on the day he left Thaqīf asked him to curse them but he said, 'O God, guide Thaqīf and bring them to (Islam).'

Then a deputation from Hawāzin came to him in al-Jirāna where he held 6,000 women and children, and sheep and camels innumerable which had been captured from them. 'Amr b. Shu'ayb from his father from his grandfather 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr said that the deputation from Hawāzin came to the apostle after they had accepted Islam, saying that the disaster which had befallen them was well known and asking him to have pity on them for God's sake. One of the Hawāzin of the clan B. Sa'd b. Bakr (Ṭ. it was they who had provided the fostermother for the apostle) called Zuhayr Abū Śurad said: 'O Apostle of God, in the enclosures are your paternal and maternal aunts and the women who cuckolded you who used to look after you. Had we acted as fosterparents for al-Hārith b. Abū Shimr or al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir and then got into the position in which you hold us we could hope for his kindness and favour, and you are the best of trustworthy men' (845).

(Ṭ. Then he said:

Have pity on us, apostle of God, generously,
For you are the man from whom we hope and expect pity.
Have pity on a people whom fate has frustrated,
Their well-being shattered by time's misfortunes.)

The apostle said, 'Which are dearest to you? Your sons and your wives or your cattle?' They replied, 'Do you give us the choice between our cattle and our honour? Nay, give us back our wives and our sons, for that is what we most desire.' He said, 'So far as concerns what I and the B. Abūl-Mu'tṭalib have you are theirs. When I have prayed the noon prayer with the men then get up and say, "We ask the apostle's intercession with the Muslims, and the Muslims' intercession with the apostle for our sons and our wives." I will then give them to you and make application on your behalf.' When the apostle had ended the noon prayers they did as he had ordered them, and he said what he had promised to say. Then the Makhāris said that what was theirs was the apostle's, and the Anṣār said the same. But al-Aqra' b. Hābiš said, 'So far as I and B. Tamīm are concerned, No.' 'Uyyāna b. Ḥisn said No on behalf of himself and B. Fazārā and so did 'Abbās b. Mīrdās for himself and B. Sulaym; but B. Sulaym said, 'Not so; what is ours is the apostle's.' 'Abbās said to B. Sulaym, 'You have put me to shame.' Then the apostle said, 'He who holds to his right to these captives shall have six camels for every man from the first booby I (Ṭ. we) take.' Then the women and children were returned to their men.

Abū Wajza Yāzīd b. 'Ubayd al-Sa'dī told me that the apostle gave 'Amm a girl called Raya d. Hilāl b. Hayyān b. 'Umayra b. Hilāl b. Nāṣira b. Quiyayya b. Nasr b. Sa'd b. Bakr; and he gave 'Uthmān a girl called Zaynab d. Hayyān; and he gave 'Umar a girl whom 'Umar gave to his son 'Abdul-lah.

Nāfi', a client of 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar from 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar, told me: I sent her to my aunts of B. Jumāh to prepare and get her ready for me until I had circumambulated the temple and could come to them, wanting to take her when I returned. When I had finished I came out of the mosque and lo the men were running about, and when I asked why they told me that the apostle had returned their wives and children to them, so I told them that their woman was with B. Jumāh and they could go and take her, and they did so. 'Uyyāna b. Ḥisn took an old woman of Hawāzin and said as he took her, 'I see that she is a person of standing in the tribe and her ransom may well be high.' When the apostle returned the captives at a price of six camels each he refused to give her back. Zuhayr Abū Śurad told him to let her go, for her mouth was cold and her breasts flat; she could not conceive and her husband would not care and her milk was not rich. So he let her go for the six camels when Zuhayr said this. They allege that when 'Uyyāna met al-Aqra' b. Hābiš he complained to him about the matter and he said: By God, you didn't take her as a virgin in her prime nor even a plump middle age!

The apostle asked the Hawāzin deputation about Mālik b. 'Auf and they said that he was in al-Ṭa'if with Thaqīf. The apostle told them to tell Mālik that if he came to him as a Muslim he would return his family and property to him and give him a hundred camels. On hearing this Mālik came out from al-Ṭa'if. He had been afraid that Thaqīf would get to know what the apostle had said and imprison him, so he ordered that his camel should be got ready for him and that a horse should be brought to him in al-Ṭa'if. He came out by night, mounted his horse, and rode hard until he got to the place where his camel was tethered, and rode off to join the apostle, overtaking him in al-Jirāna or Mecca. He gave him back his family and property and gave him a hundred camels. He became an excellent Muslim and at the time he said:

1 Or 'boulders'.
2 Following C. qubr which the commentators say means 'horses that put the hind leg where the foreleg has trod'. W. has judur 'camels' or 'wild goats'. It may be that sarrēb meant.
3 I.e. 'Amr b. Hind, King of Ḥira.
The Life of Muhammad

I have never seen or heard of a man
Like Muhammad in the whole world;
Faithful to his word and generous when asked for a gift,
And when you wish he will tell you of the future.
When the squadron shows its strength
With spears and swords that strike,
In the dust of war he is like a lion
Guarding its cubs in its den.

The apostle put him in command of those of his people who had
accepted Islam, and those tribes (T. round al-Ta'if) were Thumātā,
Salīna, and Fahm. He began to fight Thaqqif with them: none of their
flocks could come out but he raided them until they were in sore straits.
Abū Mūhjjan b. Ḥabīb b. 'Amr b. 'Umayr al-Thaqāfī said:
Enemies have always dreaded our neighbourhood.
And now the Banū Salīma raid us!
Mālik brought them on us
Breaking his covenant and solemn word.
They attacked us in our settlements
And we have always been men who take revenge.

When the apostle had returned the captives of Ḥunayn to their people
he rode away and the men followed him, saying, 'O apostle, divide our
spoils of camels and herds among us' until they forced him back against
a tree and his mantle was torn from him and he cried, 'Give me back my
mantle, men, for by God if you had (T. I had) as many sheep as the trees
of Thāmā I would distribute them among you; you have not found me
niggardly or cowardly or false.' Then he went to his camel and took a hair
from its hump and held it aloft in his fingers, saying, 'Men, I have nothing
but a fifth of your booty even to this hair, and the fifth I will return to you;
so give back the needle and the thread; for dishonesty will be a shame and
a flame and utter ignominy to a man on the resurrection day.' One of the
Anṣār came with a barrel of camel hair, saying, 'O apostle, I took this barrel
to make a pad for a sore camel of mine.' He answered, 'As for my share in
that you can keep it! If it has come to that,' he said, 'I do not want it,'
and he threw it away (846).

The apostle gave gifts to those whose hearts were to be won over, notably
the chiefs of the army, to win them and through them their people. He
gave to the following 100 camels: Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb; his son Mu'taṣiyya;
Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām; al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥārith b. Kalada brother of B. 'Abdūl-
Dār (847); al-Ḥārith b. Ḥishām; Suhayl b. 'Amr; Ḥuwaiyṭib b. 'Abdūl-
'Uzza b. Abū Qays; al-'Alī b. Jariya al-Thaqāfī an ally of B. Zuhra; 'Uyay-
na b. Ḥiṣām b. Ḥudhayfah b. Badr; al-Aqrā b. Ḥabīs al-Tamīmī; Mālik
b. 'Aṣūl al-Naṣṣī; and Ṣafwān b. Umayrā.
He gave less than 100 camels to the following men of Quraysh: Makh-
rāma b. Naufal al-Zuhri; 'Umayr b. Waḥb al-Jumāḥ; Ḥishām b. 'Amr
brother of B. 'Amr b. Lu'ayy and others. He gave 50 to Sa'īd b. Yarba'
and Ankatha b. 'Amr b. Makhzūm and to al-Sahmī (848).
He gave 'Abbās b. Mirdās some camels and he was dissatisfied with them
and blamed the apostle in the following verses:

It was spoil that I gained
When I charged on my horse in the plain
And kept the people awake lest they should sleep
And when they slept kept watch.
My spoil and that of 'Ubayd my horse
Is shared by 'Uyayna and al-Aqrā'.
Though I protected my people in the battle,
Myself unprotected I was given nothing
But a few small camels
To the number of their four legs!
Yet neither Ḥabīs nor Ḥiṣām1
Surpass my father in the assembly,
And I am not inferior to either of them.
And he whom you demean today will not be exalted (849).

The apostle said, 'Get him away and cut off his tongue from me,' so they
gave him (camels) until he was satisfied, this being what the apostle meant
by his order (850).2

Muhammad b. Ḥabībīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Ṭaymī told me that a companion
said to the apostle: 'You have given 'Uyayna and al-Aqrā' a hundred camels
each and left out Ju'ayl b. Surāqa al-Ḍamīr.' He answered, 'By Him in
whose hand is the soul of Muhammad, Ju'ayl is better than the whole world
full of men like those two; but I have treated them generously so that they
may become Muslims, and I have entrusted Ju'ayl to his Islam.'
Abū 'Ubaydāl b. Muhammad b. 'Ammār b. Yāsir from Miṣṣam Abūl-
Qāsim, freed slave of 'Abdullah b. al-Ḥārith b. Naufal, told me: I went in
company with Taḥlīd b. Kīlāb al-Laythiy to 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. al-'
Aṣ as he was going round the temple with his sandals in his hand, and we asked him
whether he was with the apostle when the Tamīmī spoke to him on the
day of Ḥunayn. He said that he was and that a man of Tamīm called
Dhīl-Khuwyasiya came and stood by the apostle as he was making gifts to
the men and said, 'Muhammad, I've seen what you have done today.'
'Well, and what do you think?' he answered. He said, 'I don't think you have
been just.' The prophet was angry and said, 'If justice is not to be

1 They were the fathers of the two men mentioned in line 6.
2 L.H.'s note in which Sūra 36. 69 is quoted rests on the absurd statement of an anonym-
ous traditionist that Muhammad was so ignorant of verse that he could not recognize
verse when he heard it, a poor compliment to the greatest Arab of all time. Here, for want
of a better place, I cite I. I. from al-Zuhri via Yūnus (Sūra 36. 69): 'We have not taught him
verse. That does not befit him.' The meaning is 'What We have taught him is not verse. It
is not fitting that he should bring verse from Us.' The apostle only uttered verse which had
been spoken by others before him.' Abūbārī's Nahwiyīn al-Baqriyīn, by al-Staṭīfī, ed. F.
Krenkow, Beyrut, 1936, pp. 72 f.
found with me then where will you find it?" 'Umar asked to be allowed to kill him, but he said, 'Let him alone, for he will have a following that will go so deeply into religion that they will come out of it as an arrow comes out of the target; you look at the head and there is nothing on it; you look at the butt end and there is nothing on it; then at the notch and there is nothing on it. It went through before flesh and blood could adhere to it.'

Muhammad b. 'Ali b. al-Hasayn, Abū Ja'far, told me a similar story and named the man Dhu'l-Khawāysi光芒. 'Abdullah b. Abū Najīh told me the same from his father (851).

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(T. 'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr told me that one of the apostle's companions who was at Hunayn with him said, 'I was riding my camel by the side of the apostle, wearing a rough sandal, when my camel jostled his and the sole of my sandal hit the apostle's shank and hurt him. He hit my foot with his whip, saying, 'You hurt me. Get behind!' so I went behind him. The next morning the apostle was looking for me and I thought it was because I had hurt his leg, so I came expecting (punishment); but he said, 'You hurt my leg yesterday and you struck your foot with my whip. Now I have summoned you to compensate me for it,' and he gave me eighty shekels for the one blow he struck me.'

885 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda from Māshād b. Labid from Abū Sa'īd al-Khuḍrī told me: When the apostle had distributed these gifts among Quraysh and the Bedouin tribes, and the Āsārīs got nothing, this tribe of Āsārīs took the matter to heart and talked a great deal about it, until one of them said, 'By God, the apostle has met his own people.' Sa'd b. 'Uthmān went to the apostle and told him what had happened. He asked, 'Where do you stand in this matter, Sa'd?' He said, 'I stand with my people.' 'Then gather your people in this enclosure,' he said. He did so, and when some of the Muhājirīns came, he let them come, while others he sent back. When he had got them altogether he went and told the apostle, and he came to them, and after praising and thanking God he addressed them thus: 'O men of Āsārī, what is this I hear of you? Do you think ill of me in your hearts? Did I not come to you when you were erring and God guided you; poor and God made you rich; enemies and God softened your hearts? They answered, 'Yes indeed, God and His apostle are most kind and generous.' He continued: 'Why don't you answer me, O Āsārī? They said, 'How shall we answer you, O Kindness and generosity belong to God and His apostle.' He said, 'Had you so wished you could have said—and you would have spoken the truth and have been believed—You came to us discredited and we believed you; deserted and we helped you; a fugitive and we took you in; poor and we comforted you. Are you disturbed in mind because of the good things of this life by which I win over a people that they may become Muslims while I entrust you to your Islam? Are you not satisfied that men should take away flocks and herds while you take

back with you the apostle of God? By Him in whose hand is the soul of Muhammad, but for the migration I should be one of the Āsārīs myself. If all men went one way and the Āsārīs another I should take the way of the Āsārī. God have mercy on the Āsārī, their sons and their sons' sons.'

The people wept until the tears ran down their beards as they said: 'We are satisfied with the apostle of God as our lot and portion'. Then the apostle went off and they dispersed.

THE APOSTLE MAKES THE LESSER PILGRIMAGE FROM AL-ṬIR'ANA

Then the apostle left al-Ṭir'āna to make the lesser pilgrimage. He gave orders that the rest of the spoil should be kept back in Māshād near Marwārīn-Zahrān. Having completed the pilgrimage he returned to Medina. He left 'Abdāb b. Aṣad in charge of Mecca. He also left behind with him 'Abdāb b. Jabal to instruct the people in religion and to teach them the Qurān. He himself was followed by the rest of the spoil (852).

The apostle's pilgrimage was in Dhu'l-Qa'da, and he arrived in Medina towards the end of that month or in Dhu'l-Hijja (853).

The people made the pilgrimage that year in the way the (pagan) Arabs used to do. 'Abdāb made the pilgrimage with the Muslims that year, A.H. 8. The people of al-Ṭir'āna continued in their polytheism and obstinacy in their city from the time the apostle left in Dhu'l-Qa'da of the year 8 until Ramadān of the following year.

THE AFFAIR OF KA'B B. ZUHAYR AFTER THE DEPARTURE FROM AL-ṬARIF

When the apostle arrived (at Medina) after his departure from al-Ṭir'āna, Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abū Sulmā wrote to his brother Ka'b telling him that the apostle had killed some of the men in Mecca who had satirized and insulted him and that the Quraysh poets who were left—Ibn al-Zibārī and Hubayra b. Abū Wahab—had fled in all directions. 'If you have any use for your life then come quickly to the apostle, for he does not kill anyone who comes to him in repentance. If you do not do that, then get to some safe place.' Ka'b had said:

Give Bujayr a message from me:

Do you accept what I say, confound you?
Tell us plainly if you don't accept what I say
For what reason other than that he has led you
To a religion I cannot find his fathers ever held
And you cannot find that your father followed?

1 Some MSS. have here a gloss in which I.H. takes up the narrative of I.I. which he broke off when he cut out the passage from Ṭabarī that contains what I.I. wrote.

2 Similarly Mūsā b. 'Uqba, No. 16.
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If you don't accept what I say I shall not grieve
Nor say if you stumble God help you!
Al-Ma'mūn has given you a full cup to drink
And added a second draught of the same (854).

Bujahr said to Ka'b:

Who will tell Ka'b that that for which you wrongly blame me
Is the better course?
To God alone not al-'Uzza' and al-Lat
You will escape and be safe while escape is possible,
On a day when none will escape
Except a Muslim pure of heart.
Zuhayr's religion is a thing of naught
And the religion of Abū Sulma is forbidden to me.

Ka'b used the title al-Ma'mūn (855) simply for the reason that Quraysh used to name the apostle thus.

889 When Ka'b received the missive he was deeply distressed and anxious for his life. His enemies in the neighbourhood spread alarming reports about him saying that he was as good as slain. Finding no way out, he wrote his ode in which he praised the apostle and mentioned his fear and the slanderous reports of his enemies. Then he set out for Medina and stayed with a man of Juhayna whom he knew, according to my information. He took him to the apostle when he was praying morning prayers, and he prayed with him. The man pointed out the apostle to him and told him to go and ask for his life. He got up and went and sat by the apostle and placed his hand in his, the apostle not knowing who he was. He said, 'O apostle, Ka'b. Zuhayr has come to ask security from you as a repentant Muslim. Would you accept him as such if he came to you?' When the apostle said that he would, he confessed that he was Ka'b. Zuhayr.

'Aṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda told me that one of the Anṣār leapt upon him asking to be allowed to behead the enemy of God, but the apostle told him to let him alone because he had come repentant breaking away from his past. Ka'b was angry at this tribe of the Anṣār because of what this man had done and moreover the men of the Muhājirīn spoke only well of him. In his ode which he recited when he came to the apostle he said:

Su'ād is gone, and today my heart is love-sick, in thrall to her, unrequited, bound with chains;
And Su'ād, when she came forth on the morn of departure, was but as a gazelle with bright black downcast eyes.
When she smiles, she lays bare a shining row of side-teeth that seems to have been bathed once and twice in (fragrant) wine—
Wine mixed with pure cold water from a pebbly hollow where the north-wind blows, in a bend of the valley,
From which the winds drive away every speck of dust, and it brings

over with white-foamed torrents fed by showers gushing from a cloud of morn.
Oh, what a rare mistress were she, if only she were true to her promise and would hearken to good advice!
But hers is a love in whose blood are mingled paining and lying and faithlessness and inconstancy.
She is not stable in her affection—even as ghous change the hue of their garments—
And she does not hold to her plighted word otherwise than as sieves hold water.
The promises of 'Urqūb were a parable of her, and his promises were naught but vanity.
I hope and expect that women will ever be ready to keep their word; but never, methinks, are they ready.
Let not the wishes she inspired and the promises she made beguile thee: Lo, these wishes and dreams are a delusion.
In the evening Su'ād came to a land whither none is brought save by camels that are excellent and noble and fleet.
To bring him there, he wants a stout she-camel which, though fatigued, loses not her wonted speed and pace;
One that largely bedews the bone behind her ear when she sweats, one that sets herself to cross a trackless unknown wilderness;
Scanning the high grounds with eyes keen as those of a solitary white oryx, when stony levels and sand-hills are kindled (by the sun);
Big in the neck, fleshy in the hock, surpassing in her make the other daughters of the sire;
Thick-necked, full-cheeked, robust, male-like, her flanks wide, her front (tall) as a milestone;
Whose tortoise-shell skin is not pierced at last even by a lean (hungry) tick on the outside of her back;
A hardy beast whose brother is her sire by a noble dam, and her sire's brother is her dam's brother; a long-necked one and nimble.
The qurūd1 crawls over her: then her smooth breast and flanks cause it to slip off.
Onager-like is she; her side slabb'd with firm flesh, her elbow-joint2 far removed from the ribs;
Her nose aquiline; in her generous ears are signs of breeding plain for the expert to see, and in her cheeks smoothness.
Her muzzle juts out from her eyes and throat, as though it were a pick-axe.
She lets a tail like a leafless palm-branch with small tufts of hair hang down over a sharp-edged (unrounded) udder from which its teats do not take away (milk) little by little.3

1 A large species of tick.  2 i.e. the middle joint of the foreleg.  3 i.e. she is a camel for riding, not for milking.
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Though she be not trying, she races along on light slender feet that
skim the ground as they fall,
With tawny hock-tendons—feet that leave the gravel scattered and are
not shod so that they should be kept safe from the blackness of the
heaped stones,
The swift movement of her forelegs, when she sweats and the mirage
enfolds the hills—
On a day when the chameleon basks in some high spot until its exposed
part is baked as in fire,
And, the grey cicadas having begun to hop on the gravel, the camel-
driver bids his companions take the siesta—
Resembles the beating of hand on hand by a bereaved grey-haired
woman who rises to lament and is answered by those who have lost
many a child,
One wailing shrilly, her arms weak, who had no understanding when
news was brought of the death of her firstborn son:
She tears her breast with her hands, while her tunic is rent in pieces
from her collar-bones.
The fools walk on both sides of my camel, saying, 'Verily, O grandson
of Abi Sulma, thou art as good as slain';
And every friend of whom I was hopeful said, 'I will not help thee out;
I am too busy to mind thee.'
I said, 'Let me go my way, may ye have no father! for whatever the
Merciful hath decreed shall be done.
Every son of woman, long though his safety be, one day is borne upon
a gibbous bier.'
I was told that the Messenger of Allah threatened me (with death), but
with the Messenger of Allah I have hope of finding pardon.
Gently! mayst thou be guided by Him who gave thee the gift of the
Koran, wherein are warnings and a plain setting-out (of the matter).
Do not punish me, when I have not sinned, on account of what is said
by the informers, even should the (false) sayings about me be many.
Ay, I stand in such a place that if an elephant stood there, seeing
(what I see) and hearing what I hear,
The sides of his neck would be shaken with terror—if there be no
forgiveness from the Messenger of Allah.
I did not cease to cross the desert, plunging betimes into the darkness
when the mantle of Night is fallen,
Till I laid my right hand, not to withdraw it, in the hand of the
avenger whose word is the word of truth.
For indeed he is more feared by me when I speak to him—and they
told me I should be asked of my lineage—

1 Referring to his journey to the Prophet, who had already given the order for his death.

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He goes in the morning to feed two cubs, whose victual is human flesh
rolled in the dust and torn to pieces;
When he springs on his adversary, 'tis against his law that he should
leave the adversary ere he is broken;
From him the asses of the broad dale flee in affright, and men do not
walk in his wadi,
Albeit ever in his wadi is a trusty fere, his armour and hardworn
raiment smeared with blood—ready to be devoured.

2 Truly the Messenger is a light whence illumination is sought—a drawn
Indian sword, one of the swords of Allah,
Amongst a band of Kuraiš, whose spokesmen said when they pro-
fessed Islam in the valley of Mecca, 'Depart ye!'
They departed, but no weaklings were they or shieldless in battle or
without weapons and courage;
They march like splendid camels and defend themselves with blows
when the short black men take to flight;

3 Warriors with noses high and straight, clad for the fray in mail-coats
of David's weaving;

4 Bright, ample, with pierced rings strung together like the rings of the
qaf'a.
They are not exultant if their spears overtake an enemy or apt to
despair if they be themselves overtaken.
The spear-thrust falls not but on their throats: for them there is no
shrinking from the ponds of death (856).

'Aṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda said: When Ka'b said, 'When the short black
men take to flight,' he meant us, the Anṣār, because of the way one of us
had treated him. He singled out the Muhājirīn among the apostle's com-
panions for praise. This excited the Anṣār's anger against him. After he
had become a Muslim he spoke in praise of the Anṣār and mentioned their
trials with the apostle and their position among the Yaman tribes:

He who loves a glorious life
Let him ever be with the horsemen of the righteous Anṣār,
Who transmit glorious deeds from father to son.
The best men are they, sons of the best men
Who launch with their arms spears
Like long Indian swords,
Who peer forward unweariedly
With eyes red as burning coals.

1 Probably a hit at the people of Medina, some of whom had urged Muhammad to show
the poet no mercy.
2 David is described in the Quran (xxi. 80) as a maker of coats of mail.
3 Name of a plant.
4 I.e. places where draughts of death are drunk. By the courtesy of the Cambridge
University Press I take this translation from Translations of Eastern Poetry and Prose
by my old friend R. A. Nicholson.
Who devote their lives to their prophet
On the day of hand-to-hand fighting and cavalry attacks.
They purify themselves with the blood of infidels;
They consider that an act of piety.
Their habit is that of thick-necked lions
Accustomed to hunt in a valleyed thicket.
If you come to them for protection
You are as it were in the inaccessible haunts of mountain goats.
They smote 'Ali such a blow on the day of Badr
As brought the downfall of all Nizār.
If people knew all that I know about them
Those that dispute with me would recognize the truth of what I say.
They are a people who richly feed the night-travellers,
Who arrive in a time of dearth (857).

THE RAID ON TABŪK, A.H. 9

The apostle stayed in Medina from Dhūl-Hijja to Rajab, and then gave orders to prepare to raid the Byzantines. The following account is based on what al-Zuhri and Yazīd b. Rūmān and 'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr and 'Aṣīm b. Umar b. Qatāda and other authorities told me; some supplied information which others lacked.

The apostle ordered his companions to prepare to raid the Byzantines at a time when men were hard pressed; the heat was oppressive and there was a drought; fruit was ripe (T. and shade was eagerly sought) and the men wanted to stay in the shade with their fruit and disliked travelling at that season. Now the apostle nearly always referred allusively to the destination of a raid and announced that he was making for a place of that which he actually intended. This was the sole exception, for he said plainly that he was making for the Byzantines because the journey was long, the season difficult, and the enemy in great strength, so that the men could make suitable preparations. He ordered them to get ready and told them that he was making for the Byzantines. (T. So the men got ready in spite of their dislike for the journey itself in saying nothing of their respect for the reputation of the Byzantines.)

One day when he was making his arrangements the apostle said to Jād b. Qays of B. Salima: ‘Would you like to fight the B. Aṣfar, Jād?’ He replied, ‘Will you allow me to stay behind and not tempt me, for everyone knows that I am strongly addicted to women and I am afraid that if I see the Byzantine women I shall not be able to control myself.’ The apostle gave him permission to remain behind and turned away from him. It was

1 S. ii. 315 explains that Quraysh is meant by 'All because B. 'Ali = B. Kūnah = Quraysh. On the authorship of these verses see Introduction, xxviii.
2 i.e. ‘the sallow men’. A.Dh. says they are the descendants of Eash who is said to have been of a sallow countenance. He distinguishes between the Byzantines (Rūm) and the old Greeks (Yūnān).

about him that the verse came down, ‘There are some who say Give me leave (to stay behind) and do not tempt me. Surely they have fallen into temptation already and hell encompasses the unbelievers,’ i.e. it was not that he feared temptation from the Byzantine women: the temptation he had fallen into was greater in that he hung back from the apostle and sought to please himself rather than the apostle. God said, ‘Verily hell is behind him.’

The disaffected said one to another, ‘Don’t go forth in the heat,’ disliking strenuous war, doubting the truth, and creating misgivings about the apostle. So God sent down concerning them: ‘And they said, Go not forth in the heat. Say: The fire of hell is hotter did they but understand. Let them laugh a little and let them weep much as a reward for what they were earning’ (858).

The apostle went forward energetically with his preparations and ordered the men to get ready with all speed. He urged the men of means to help in providing money and mounts for God’s work (T. and persuaded them). The wealthy men provided mounts and stored up a reward with God. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān spent a larger sum than any had ever done (859).

Then seven Muslims known as The Weepers, Anṣār, and others from B. ‘Amr b. ‘Aufr came to the apostle and asked him to provide them with mounts for they were without means. Their names were: Sālim b. ‘Umair; ‘Uṯba b. Zayd, brother of B. Hāritha; Abū Laylā ‘Abdul-r-Raḥmān b. Ka‘b, brother of B. Mi‘zān b. al-Najjār; ‘Amr b. ʻUmmān b. al-Janīḥ, brother of B. Salīma; ‘Abdullah b. al-Mughaṭṭal al-Muzāni (or b. ‘Amr); Ḥarānisī b. ‘Abdullāh, brother of B. Wāqīf; and ‘Irībād b. Sāriya al-Fażārī. He said that he had no mount to give them and they turned back, their eyes flowing with tears for grief that they had not the wherewithal to meet the expense of the raid.

I have heard that Ibn Yāmān b. ‘Umair b. Ka‘b al-Najjār met Abū Laylā and ‘Abdullah b. Mughaṭṭal as they were weeping, and when he asked what they were crying for they told him that they had applied to the apostle for a mount but that he had none to give them and they had nothing. Thereupon he gave them a watering camel, and they saddled it and he provided them with some dates and so they went off with the apostle.

Some Bedouin came to apologize for not going, but God would not accept their excuse. I have been told that they were from B. Ghāfīr. (T. One of them was Khūfāf b. Ima‘ b. Raﬀāda.)

When the apostle’s road was clear he determined to set off. Now there was a number of Muslims who were slow to make up their minds so that they lagged behind without any doubt or misgivings. They were Ka‘b b. Mālik b. Abū Ka‘b, brother of B. Salīma; Murārā b. al-Raḥīt, brother of B. ‘Amr b. ‘Aufr; Hilāl b. ‘Umayyā, brother of B. Wāqīf; Abū
Khaythama, brother of B. Sālim b. 'Auf; they were loyal men whose Islam was above suspicion.

When the apostle had set out he pitched his camp by Thanlaytul-Waddi' (866).1

Abdullah b. Ubbayy (T. b. Salūl) pitched his camp separately below him in the direction of Dhubāb (T. a mountain in al-Jabābā below Thanlaytul-Waddi'). It is alleged that it was not the smaller camp. When the apostle went on, 'Abdullāh b. Ubbayy separated from him and stayed behind with the hypocrites and doubters. (T. 'Abdulāh was brother of B. 'Auf b. al-Khaẓraj, and 'Abdullāh b. Nābāt was brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf; and Rūfā'ī b. Zayd b. al-Tāhīt was brother of B. Qaynuqā'). These were the principal men among the hypocrites and wished ill to Islam and its people. Concerning them God sent down: 'They sought rebellion aforetime and upset things for you.' 2

The apostle left 'Ali behind to look after his family, and ordered him to stay with them. The hypocrites spoke evil of him, saying that he had been left behind because he was a burden to the apostle and he wanted to get rid of him. On hearing this 'Ali seized his weapons and caught up with the apostle when he was halting in al-Jurf and repeated to him what the hypocrites were saying. He replied: 'They lie. I leave you behind because of what I had left behind, so go back and represent me in my family and yours. Are you not content, 'Ali, to stand as Aaron stood to Moses, except that there will be no prophet after me?' So 'Ali returned to Medina and the apostle went on his way. Muhammad b. Ṭalīh b. Yāsīd b. Rukāna from Ibrāhim b. Sa'd b. Abū Waqqās from his father Sa'd told me that he heard the apostle saying these words to 'Ali.

Then 'Ali returned to Medina and the apostle went his way. Abū Khaythama (T. brother of B. Sālim) returned to his family on a hot day some days after the apostle had set out. He found two wives of his in huts in his garden. Each had sprinkled her hut and cooled it with water and got ready food for him. When he arrived he stood at the door of the hut and looked at his wives and what they had done for him and said: 'The apostle is out in the sun and the wind and the heat and Abū Khaythama is in a cool shade, food prepared for him, resting in his property with a fair woman. This is not just. By God, I will not enter either of your huts, but join the apostle; so get ready some food for me.' They did so and he went to his camel and saddled it and went out in search of the apostle until he overtook him in Tabūk. 'Umayr b. Wahhāb al-Jumāh had overtaken Abū Khaythama on the road as he came to find the apostle, and they joined forces. When they approached Tabūk Abū Khaythama said to 'Umayr, 'I have done wrong. You can stay behind me if you like until I come to the apostle,' and he did so. When he approached the apostle as he was stopping in Tabūk, the army called attention to a man riding on the way and the apostle said it would be Abū Khaythama, and so it was. Having dismounted he came and saluted the apostle, who said, 'Woe to you, Abū Khaythama!' Then he told the apostle what had happened, and he spoke him well and blessed him (867).

When the apostle passed al-Hijr1 he stopped, and the men got water from its well. When they went the apostle said, 'Do not drink any of its water nor use it for ablutions. If you have used any of it for dough, then feed it to the camels and eat none of it. Let none of you go out at night alone but take a companion.' The men did as they were told except two of them of B. Sā'id; one went out to relieve himself and the other to look for a camel of his. The first was half choked on his way and the second was carried away by a wind which cast him on the two mountains of Tayyit. The apostle was told of this and reminded the men that he had forbidden them to go out alone. Then he prayed for the man who was choked on the way and he recovered; the other man was brought to the apostle in Medina by a man of Tayyit. This story comes from 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr from 'Abbās b. Sāhil b. Sa'd al-Sā'id. 'Abdullāh told me that 'Abbās had told him who they were, but confidentially, so he refused to name them to me (868).

In the morning when the men had no water they complained to the apostle, so he prayed, and God sent a cloud, and so much rain fell that they were satisfied and carried away all the water they needed.

'Āsim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah from Maḥmūd b. Lahīd from Menā of B. 'Abdullāh-Asphalt told me that he said to Maḥmūd, 'Do the men know the hypocrites among them?' He replied that a man would know that hypocrisy existed in his brother, his father, his uncle, and his family, yet they would cover up each other. Then Maḥmūd said: Some of my tribesmen told me of a man whose hypocrisy was notorious. He used to go wherever the apostle went and when the affair at al-Hijr happened and the apostle prayed as he did and God sent a cloud which brought a heavy rain they said, 'We went to him saying “Woe to you! Have you anything more to say after this?” He said, “It is a passing cloud!”'

During the course of the journey the apostle's camel strayed and his companions went in search of it. The apostle had with him a man called 'Umāra b. Ḥaẓm who had been at al-ʿAqabā and Badr, uncle of B. 'Amr b. Ḥaẓm. He had in his company Zayd al-Lūṣayr al-Qaynuqātī who was a hypocrite (869). Zayd said while he was in 'Umāra's camp and 'Umāra was with the apostle, 'Does Muhammad allege that he is a prophet and can tell you news from heaven when he doesn't know where his camel is?' The apostle said while 'Umāra was with him: 'A man has said: Now Muhammad tells you that he is a prophet and alleges that he tells you of heavenly things and yet doesn't know where his camel is. By God, I know

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1 Often called Madla'īn Ṣālib. Dougherty's account of this place in Arabia Deserta, passim, is still the most interesting.

2 The lexicographers say that bhandāqya is a disease which attacks men and horses (and sometimes birds) in the throat.
only what God has told me and God has shown me where it is. It is in
this wadi in such-and-such a glen. A tree has caught it by its halter; so go
and bring it to me.' They went and brought it. 'Umāra returned to his
camp and said: 'By God, the apostle has just told us a wonderful thing
about something someone has said which God has told him of.' Then he
repeated the words. One of his company who had not been present with
the apostle exclaimed, 'Why, Zayd said this before you came.' 'Umāra
advanced on Zayd pricking him in the neck and saying, 'To me, you ser-
vants of God! I had a misfortune in my company and knew nothing of it.
Get out, you enemy of God, and do not associate with me.' Some people
allege that Zayd subsequently repented; others say that he was suspected
of evil until the day of his death.

Then the apostle continued his journey and men began to drop behind.
When the apostle was told that so-and-so had dropped behind he said,
'Let him be; for if there is any good in him God will join him to you; if not
God has rid you of him.' Finally it was reported that Abū Dharr had
dropped behind and his camel had delayed him. The apostle said the same
words. Abū Dharr waited on his camel and when it walked slowly with
him he took his gear and loaded it on his back and went off walking in the
track of the apostle. The apostle stopped at one of his halting-places when a
man called his attention to someone walking on the way alone. The
apostle said that he hoped it was Abū Dharr, and when the people had
looked carefully they said that it was he. The apostle said, 'God have mercy
on Abū Dharr. He walks alone and he will die alone and be raised alone.'

Burayda b. Sufyān al-Aṣlamī from Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Qurashi from
'Abdullāh b. Mas'ūd told me that when 'Uṯmān exiled Abū Dharr to al-
Rabādha and his appointed time came there was none with him but his
wife and his slave. He instructed them to wash him and wind him in his
shroud and lay him on the surface of the road and to tell the first caravan
that passed who he was and ask them to help in burying him. When he
died they did this. 'Abdullāh b. Mas'ūd came up with a number of men
from Iraq on pilgrimage when suddenly they saw the bier on the top of
the road: the camels had almost trodden on it. The slave got up and said,
'This is Abū Dharr the apostle's companion. Help us to bury him.' 'Abdul-
lāh b. Mas'ūd broke out into loud weeping saying, 'The apostle was right.
You walked alone, and you died alone, and you will be raised alone.' Then
he and his companions alighted and buried him and told him their story
and what the apostle had said on the road to Tabūk.

A band of hypocrites, among them Wad'ī b. Thābit, brother of B.
'Amr b. Au[f], and a man of Aṣlāja' an ally of B. Sa[lama called Muḥashshin
b. Ḥumayyir (863) were pointing at (T. going with) the apostle as he was
journeying to Tabūk saying one to another, 'Do you think that fighting the
Byzantines is like a war between Arabs? By God we (T. I) seem to see
you bound with ropes tomorrow' so as to cause alarm and dismay to the

1 A place near Medina.

2 Muḥashshin implies harshness and rudeness, and Ḥumayyir means a little donkey.
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and admiring it, and the apostle said, ‘Do you admire this? By Him in whose hand is my life the napkins of Sa’d b. Mu‘adh in Paradise are better than this.’

Then Khalid brought Ubaydyl the apostle who spared his life and made peace with him on condition that he paid the poll tax. Then he released him and he returned to his town. A man of ‘Ayfy called Bujay b. Bujara remembering the words of the apostle to Khalid, ‘You will find him hunting wild cows,’ said that what the cows did that night in bringing him out of his fort was to confirm what the apostle had said:

Blessed is He who drove out the cows.
I see God guiding every leader.
Those who turn aside from yonder Tabuk, (let them)
For we have been ordered to fight.

The apostle stayed in Tabuk some ten nights, not more. Then he returned to Medina.

On the way there was water issuing from a rock—enough to water two or three riders. It was in a wadi called al-Mushaqqaq. The apostle ordered anyone who should get there before him not to take water from it until he came. A number of the disaffected got there first and drew water from it. When the apostle arrived he halted and saw no water there. He asked who had got there first and was told their names. He exclaimed, ‘Did I not forbid you to take water from it until I came?’ Then he cursed them and called down God’s vengeance on them. Then he slighted and placed his hand under the rock, and water began to flow into his hand as God willed. Then he sprinkled the rock with the water and rubbed it with his hand and prayed as God willed him to pray. Then water burst forth, as one who had heard it said, with a sound like thunder. The men drank and satisfied their need from it, and the apostle said, ‘If you live, or those of you who live, will hear of this wadi that it is more fertile than its neighbours.’

Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. al-Harith al-Taymi told me that Abdallah b. Mas‘ud used to say: I got up in the middle of the night when I was with the apostle in the rain on Tabuk when I saw a light near the camp. I went after it to look at it and lo it was the apostle with Abū Bakr and ‘Umar; and Abdallah Dhibul-Bijadyan had just died and they had dug a grave for him. The apostle was in the grave and Abū Bakr and ‘Umar were letting him down to him as he was saying, ‘Bring your brother near to me, so they let him down and as he arranged him for his niche he said, ‘O God, I am pleased with him; be Thou pleased with him!’ Abdallah b. Mas‘ud used to say, ‘Would that I had been the man in the grave’ (865).

Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri reported from Ibn Umayya al-Laythi from Ibn Akhī Abī Ruḥm al-Ghiṭarī that he heard Abū Ruḥm Kūlhuma b. al-Ḥusayn, who was one of the companions who did homage to the apostle beneath the tree, say: When I made the rain on Tabuk with the apostle I journeyed the night with him. While we were at al-Ākhdar near the apostle God cast a heavy sleep on us and I began to wake up when my camel had come near the apostle’s camel. I was afraid that if it came too near his foot would be hurt in the stirrup. I began to move my camel away from him until sleep overcame me on the way. Then during the night my camel jostled against his while his foot was in the stirrup and I was wakened by his voice saying, ‘Look out.’ I asked his pardon and he told me to carry on. The apostle began to ask me about those who had dropped out from B. Ghifār and I told him. He asked me about the people with long straggling red beards and I told him that they had dropped out. Then he asked about the men with short curly hair and I confessed that I did not know that they were of us. ‘But yes,’ he said, ‘they are those who own camels in Shababat Shadakb.’ Then I remembered that they were among B. Ghifār, but I did not remember them until I recalled that they were a clan of Aslam who were allies of ours. When I told him this he said, ‘What prevented one of these when he fell out from mounting a zealot man in the way of God on one of his camels? The most painful thing to me is that mulāhirūn from Quraysh and the Ansār and Ghifār and Aslam should stay behind.’

The Opposition Mosque

The apostle went on until he stopped in Dhū Āwān a town an hour’s daylight journey from Medina. The owners of the mosque of opposition had come to the apostle as he was preparing for Tabuk, saying, ‘We have built a mosque for the sick and needy and for nights of bad weather, and we should like you to come to us and pray for us there.’ He said that he was on the point of travelling, and was preoccupied, or words to that effect, and that when he came back if God willed he would come to them and pray for them in it.

When he stopped in Dhū Āwān news of the mosque came to him, and he summoned Mālik b. al-Dukhshum, brother of B. Sālim b. ‘Auf, and Ma‘n b. ‘Ady (or his brother ‘Asim) brother of B. al-‘Ajlan, and told them to go to the mosque of those evil men and destroy and burn it. They went quickly to B. Sālim b. ‘Auf who were Mālik’s clan, and Mālik said to Ma‘n, ‘Wait for me until I can bring fire from my people.’ So he went in and took a palm-branch and lighted it, and then the two of them ran into the mosque where its people were and burned and destroyed it and the people ran away from it. A portion of the Quran came down concerning them: ‘Those who chose a mosque in opposition and unbelief and to cause division among believers’ to the end of the passage.

The twelve men who built it were: Khidrām b. Khalid of B. ‘Abiyyad b. 907 Zayd, one of B. ‘Amr b. ‘Auf; his house opened on to the schismatic mosque; Tha‘labab b. Ḥātim of B. Umayya b. Zayd; Mu‘attib b. Qushayr; Abū Ḥabība b. al-Aṣ‘ar, both of B. Ḥubayb b. Zayd; ‘Abbād b. Ḥunayf, 1 Sura 9. 108.

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brother of Sahl of B. 'Ar b. 'Auf; Jārmiya b. 'Amir and his two sons Mījāmmī and Zayd; Naštāl b. al-Hārith; Bahzāj; and Bījād b. 'Uthmān, all of B. Dūbā'ayy; and Wādīl b. Thābit of B. Umayya b. Zayd, the clan of Abū Lubābā b. 'Abdullāh-Mundhir.

The apostle's mosques between Tabūk and Medina are well known and named. They are the mosques in Tabūk; Thaniyat Midrān; Dhib‘ul-Zirāb; al-Akhdâr; Dhib‘ul-Khiṭ|m; Al'a; besides, al-Batrâ at the end of Kawâkib; Shiqiq, Shiqiq Târâ; Dhib‘ul-Jifa; Sâdr Hâdâl; al-Hijj; al-Sâ‘id; the wadi known today as Wâdīl-Qurâ; al-Ru‘qâ of Shiqqa, the Shiqqa of B. 'Udhra; Dhib‘ul-Marwâ; Faya‘; and Dhib‘ Khushub.

THE THREE MEN WHO ABSTAINED FROM THE RAID ON TABÛK

When the apostle came to Medina he found that some disaffected persons had stayed behind. Among them were three Muslims who had not held back through doubt or disaffection, namely Ka‘b b. Mālik, Murâra b. al-Rabî‘, and Hilâl b. Umayya. The apostle told his companions not to speak to these three. The disaffected who had stayed behind came and made excuses with oaths and he forgave them, but neither God nor His apostle accepted their excuse. The Muslims withdrew from these three and would not speak to them (T. until God sent down His word concerning them). Muhammad b. Mus‘lim b. Shihâb al-Zuhry from 'Abdullāh al-Qaymân b. 'Abdullâh b. Ka‘b b. Mālik said that his father, whom he used to lead about when his sight failed, said: I heard my father Ka‘b telling his story of how he held back from the apostle in his raid on Tabūk, and the story of his two companions:

I had never held back from any raid the apostle had undertaken except the battle of Badr, and that was an engagement which none was blamed either by God or His apostle for missing because the apostle had gone out only to find the Quraysh caravan when God brought him and his enemies together without previous intent. I was present with the apostle at al-‘Aqaba when we pledged our faith in Islam, and I should not prefer to have been at Badr rather than there even if the battle of Badr is more famous. The fact was that when I stayed behind in the raid on Tabūk I had never been stronger and wealthier. Never before had I possessed two camels. Seldom did the apostle intend a raid but he pretended that he had another objective except on this occasion. He railed it in violent heat and faced a long journey and a powerful enemy and told men what they had to do so that they might make adequate provision, and he told them the direction he intended to take. The Muslims who followed him were many and he did not enrol them in a book. (He meant by that a register; he did not enrol them in a written register). The few who wanted to absent themselves

1 In Vâq‘it 'al-Kawâkib’.
2 Sûra 9, 118-20.
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the same case and they said that there were two men who had said what I had said, and they got the same answer. They were Murâzâ b. al-Ridâ, al-'Amîr b. B.'Amr b. 'Auf, and Hilâl b. Abû 'Umayya al-Wâqiîf, two honest men of exemplary character. When they mentioned them I was silent. The apostle forbade anyone to speak to us three out of those who had stayed behind, so men avoided us and showed an altered demeanour, until I hated myself and the whole world as never before. We endured this for fifteen nights. As for my two companions in misfortune they were humiliated and stayed in their houses, but I was younger and harder, so I went out and attended prayers with the Muslims, and went round the market while no one spoke to me; and I would go to the apostle and salute him while he sat after prayers, asking myself if his lips had moved in returning the salutation or not; then I would pray near him and steal a look at him. When I performed my prayer he looked at me, and when I turned towards him he turned away from me. When I had endured much from the harshness of the Muslims I walked off and climbed over the wall of Abû Qatâda's orchard. He was my cousin and the dearest of men to me. I saluted him and by God he did not return my salâm so I said, 'O Abû Qatâda, I salute you by God, do you not know that I love God and His apostle?'; but he answered me not a word. Again I saluted him and he was silent; again, and he said, 'God and His apostle know best.' At that my eyes swam with tears and I jumped up and climbed over the wall.

In the morning I walked in the market and there was one of the Nabat traders from Syria who came to sell food in Medina asking for me. When he asked for me the people pointed me out to him, and he came and gave me a letter from the king of Ghassân which he had written on a piece of silk which read as follows: 'We hear that your master has treated you badly. God has not put you in a house of humiliation and loss, so come to us and we will provide for you.' When I read it I thought that this too was part of the ordeal. My situation was such that a polytheist hoped to win me over; so I took the letter to the oven and burned it.

Thus we went on until forty of the fifty nights had passed and then the apostle's messenger came to me and told me that the apostle ordered that I should separate myself from my wife. I asked whether this meant that I was to divorce her, but he said No, I was to separate myself and not approach her. My two companions received similar orders. I told my wife to join her family until such time as God should give a decision in the matter. The wife of Hilâl came to the apostle and told him that he was an old man, lost without a servant, was there any objection to her serving him? He said there was not provided that he did not approach her. She told the apostle that he never made a movement towards her and that his weeping was so prolonged that she feared that he would lose his sight. One of my family suggested that I should ask for similar permission from the apostle, but I declined to do so because I did not know what he would say in reply since I was a young man. Ten more nights passed until fifty nights since the apostle had forbidden men to speak to us were complete. I prayed the morning prayer on the top of one of our houses on the morrow of the fiftieth night in the way that God had prescribed. The world, spacious as it is, closed in on us and my soul was deep distressed.1 I had set up a tent on the top of a crag and I used to stay there when suddenly I heard the voice of a crier coming over the top of the crag shouting at the top of his voice 'Good news, Ka'b b. Mâlik!' I fell down prostrate, knowing that relief had come at last.

The apostle announced God's forgiveness when he prayed the dawn prayer and men went off to tell us the good news. They went to my two fellows with the news and a man galloped off to me on a horse, and a runner from Aslam ran until he came over the mountain, and the voice was quicker than the horse. When the man whom I had heard shouting the good news came, I tore off my clothes and gave them to him as a reward for good tidings, and by God at the time I had no others and had to borrow more and put them on. Then I set off towards the apostle and men met me and told me the good news and congratulated me on God's having forgiven me. I went into the mosque and there was the apostle surrounded by men. Ta'la b. 'Ubaydullâh got up and greeted me and congratulated me, but no other muhâjsir did so. (Ka'b never forgot this action of Ta'la's.)

When I saluted the apostle he said as his face shone with joy, 'This is the best day of your life. Good news to you!' I said, 'From you or from God?' 'From God, of course,' he said. When he told good news his face used to be like the moon, and we used to recognize it. When I sat before him I told him that as an act of penitence I would give away my property as alms to God and His apostle. He told me to keep some of it for that would be better for me. I told him that I would keep my share in Khaybar booty, and I said, 'God has saved me through truthfulness, and part of my repentance towards God is that I will not speak anything but the truth so long as I live; and by God I do not know any man whom God has favoured in speaking the truth since I told the apostle that more graciously than He favoured me. From the day I told the apostle that to the present day I never even purposed a lie, and I hope that God will preserve me in the time that remains.'

God sent down: 'God has forgiven the prophet and the emigrants and the helpers who followed him in the hour of difficulty after the hearts of a party of them had almost swerved; then He forgave them. He is kind and merciful to them and to the three who were left behind as far as the words 'And be with the truthful.' 1

Ka'b said: 'God never showed me a greater favour after He had guided me to Islam than when I told the apostle the truth that day so that I did not lie and perish like those who lied; for God said about those who lied to him when He sent down the revelation "They will swear to you by God when

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1 The language is borrowed from Sûrât al-Nâs 9. 119 v.d.
2 Cf. Sûrât al-Nâs 9. 4. 'Detest' is a possible alternative.
3 Sûrât al-Nâs 9. 118.
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you return to them that you may turn from them. Do turn from them for they are unclean and their resting place is hell, in reward for what they have earned. They swear to you that you may be satisfied with them, and if you are satisfied with them God is not satisfied with an evil people. 100

We three were kept back from the affair of those from whom the apostle accepted an apology when they swore an oath to him and he asked forgiveness for them. And the apostle postponed our affair until God gave His judgement, and about that God said, ‘And to the three who were left behind.’ 101

When God used the word khulūfi it had nothing to do with our holding back from the raid, but to his holding us back and postponing our affair from those who swore to him and made excuses which he accepted.

THE ENVOYS OF THAQIF ACCEPT ISLAM, A.H. 9

The apostle returned from Tabi in Ramaḍān and in that month the deputation of Thaqif came to him. When the apostle came away from them ‘Urwa b. Mas‘ūd al-Thaqif followed him until he caught up with him before he got to Medina, and accepted Islam. He asked that he might go back to his people as a Muslim, but the apostle said—so his people say—‘They will kill you,’ for the apostle knew the proud spirit of opposition that was in them. ‘Urwa said that he was dearer to them than their firstborn (866).

He was a man who was loved and obeyed and he went out calling his people to Islam and hoping that they would not oppose him because of his position among them. When he went up to an upper room and showed himself to them after he had invited them to Islam and shown his religion to them they shot arrows at him from all directions, and one hit him and killed him. The B. Mālik allege that one of their men killed him; his name was Aūs b. ‘Aff, brother of B. Sālim b. Mālik. The Aḥlāf allege that one of their men from B. ‘Aṭāb b. Mālik called Wāḥib b. Jābir killed him. It was said to ‘Urwa, ‘What do you think about your death?’ He said, ‘It is a gift which God has honoured me with and a martyrdom which God has led me to. I am like the martyrs who were killed with the apostle before he went away from you; so bury me with them.’ They did bury him with them and they allege that the apostle said about him, ‘Among his people he is like the hero of Yā Sīn among his people.’

Thaqif delayed some months after the killing of ‘Urwa. Then they took counsel among themselves and decided that they could not fight the Arabs all around them, who had paid homage and accepted Islam.

Ya‘qūb b. ‘Utbah b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhmas told me that ‘Amr b. Umayya, brother of B. Ilā, was not on speaking terms with ‘Abdū Yāllī b. ‘Amr and there was bad feeling between them. ‘Amr was a most crafty man and he walked to ‘Abdū Yāllī and entered his dwelling and sent word to him to come out to him. ‘Abdū Yāllī expressed great surprise that ‘Amr who was so careful of his life should come to him, so he came out, and when he saw him he welcomed him. ‘Amr said to him: ‘We are in an impasse. You have seen how the affair of this man has progressed. All the Arabs have accepted Islam and you lack the power to fight them, so look to your case.’ Thereupon Thaqif took counsel and said one to another, ‘Don’t you see that your herds are not safe; none of you can go out without being cut off.’ So after conferring together they decided to send a man to the apostle as they had sent ‘Urwa. They spoke to ‘Abdū Yāllī, who was a contemporary of ‘Urwa, and laid the plan before him, but he refused to act, fearing that on his return he would be treated as ‘Urwa was. He said that he would not go unless they sent some men with him. They decided to send two men from al-Aḥlāf and three from B. Mālik, six in all. They sent with ‘Abdū Yāllī, al-Hakam b. ‘Amr b. Wāḥib b. Mu‘attib, and Shurahbīl b. Ghaylān b. Salīma b. Mu‘attib; and from B. Mālik, ‘Uthmān b. Abū-l-‘Āṣ b. Bāhr b. ‘Abdū Duhmān, brother of B. Ya‘ṣār, and Aus b. ‘Aff, brother of B. Sālim b. ‘Aff, and Numayr b. Khaṭasha b. Rabi‘a, brother of B. al-Hārith. ‘Abdū Yāllī went with them as leader in charge of the affair. He took them with him only out of fear of meeting the same fate as ‘Urwa and in order that each man on his return could secure the attention of his clan.

When they approached Medina and halted at Qa‘nat they met there al-Mughīra b. Shu‘aib whose turn it was to pasture the camels of the apostle’s companions, for the companions took this duty in turn. When he saw them he left the camels with the Thaqif and jumped up to run to give the apostle the good news of their coming. Abū Bakr met him before he could get to the apostle and he told him that riders of Thaqif had come to make their submission and accept Islam on the apostle’s conditions provided that they could get a document guaranteeing their people and their land and animals. Abū Bakr implored al-Mughīra to let him be the first to tell the apostle the news and he agreed, so Abū Bakr went in and told the apostle while al-Mughīra rejoined his companions and brought the camels back. He taught them how to salute the apostle, for they were used to the salutation of paganism. When they came to the apostle he pitched a tent for them near his mosque, so they al ante. Khalid b. Sa‘d b. al-‘Āṣ acted as intermediary between them and the apostle until they got their document; it was he who actually wrote it. They would not eat the food which came to them from the apostle until Khalid ate some and until they had accepted Islam and had got their document.

Among the things they asked the apostle was that they should be allowed to retain their idol Al-Lat undestroyed for three years. The apostle refused, and they continued to ask him for a year or two, and he refused; finally they asked for a month after their return home; but he refused to agree to any set time. All that they wanted as they were trying to show was to be safe from their fanatics and women and children by