leaving her, and they did not want to frighten their people by destroying her until they had accepted Islam. The apostle refused this, but he sent Abū Sufyān b. Harb and al-Mughira b. Shu‘ba to destroy her. They had also asked that he would excuse them from prayer and that they should not have to break their idols with their own hands. The apostle said: ‘We excuse you from breaking your idols with your own hands, but as for prayer there is no good in a religion which has no prayers.’ They said that they would perform them though it was demeaning.

When they had accepted Islam and the apostle had given them their document he appointed 'Uthmān b. Abū'l-‘Āṣ over them although he was the youngest of them. This was because he was the most zealous in studying Islam and learning the Quran. Abū Bakr had told the apostle this.

918 Sa‘d b. Abī Hind from Mu‘ārrif b. 'Abdullah b. al-Shakhkhārīrī from 'Uthmān b. Abū'l-‘Āṣ said: The last thing the apostle enjoined on me when he sent me to Thaqīf was to be brief in prayer, to measure men by their weakest members; for there were old and young, sick and infirm among them.

When they had accomplished their task and had set out to return to their country the apostle sent with them Abū Sufyān and al-Mughira to destroy the idol. They travelled with the deputation and when they neared al-Ṭā‘if, al-Mughira wanted to send on Abū Sufyān in advance. The latter refused and told him to go to his people while he stayed in his property in Dhu‘l-Haram.2 When al-Mughira entered he went up to the idol and struck it with a pickaxe. His people the B. Mu‘āttib stood in front of him fearing that he would be shot or killed as ‘Urwa had been. The women of Thaqīf came out with their heads uncovered bewailing her and saying:

O weep for our protector
Poltroons would neglect her
Whose swords need a corrector (868).

Abū Sufyān, as al-Mughira smote her with the axe, said ‘Alas for you, alas!’ When al-Mughira had destroyed her and taken what was on her and

1 The last clause may be an explanatory gloss from I.I.
2 I.H. here has bid‘īl‘hadam, but the true reading given above is in T. 1692. r. There is no doubt about this because the rhyming word of the sup' given in Yaq. iv. 969 requires the letter r.

919 The text of the document the apostle wrote for them runs: ‘In the name of God the Compassionate the Merciful. From Muhammad the prophet, the apostle of God, to the believers: The acacia trees of Wajj’ and its game are not to be injured. Anyone found doing this will be scourged and his garments confiscated. If he repeats the offence he will be seized and brought to the prophet Muhammad. This is the order of the prophet Muhammad, the apostle of God.’ Khalid b. Sa‘d has written by the order of the apostle Muhammad b. Abdullah, so let none repeat the offence to his own injury in what the apostle of God Muhammad has ordered.

ABŪ BAKR LEADS THE PILGRIMAGE, A.H. 9

The apostle remained there for the rest of the month of Ramadān and Shawwāl and Dhu‘l-Qa‘dā. Then he sent Abū Bakr in command of the hajj in the year 9 to enable the Muslims to perform their hajj while the polytheists were at their pilgrimage stations. Abū Bakr and the Muslims duly departed.

A discharge came down permitting the breaking of the agreement between the apostle and the polytheists that none should be kept back from the temple when he came to it, and that none need fear during the sacred month. That was a general agreement between him and the polytheists; meanwhile there were particular agreements between the apostle and the Arab tribes for specified terms. And there came down about it and about

1 A place in al-Ṭā‘if.
the disaffected who held back from him in the raid on Tabūk, and about what they said (revelations) in which God uncovered the secret thoughts of people who were assembling. We know the names of some of them, or others we do not. He said: ‘A discharge from God and His apostles towards those polytheists with whom you made a treaty,’ i.e. those polytheists with whom you made a general agreement. ‘So travel through the land for four months and know that you cannot escape God and that God will put the unbelievers to shame. And a proclamation from God and His apostle to men on the day of the greater pilgrimage that God and His apostle are free from obligation to the polytheists,’ i.e. after this pilgrimage, ‘So if you repent it will be better for you; and if you turn back know that you cannot escape God. Inform those who disbelieve, about a painful punishment except those polytheists with whom you have made a treaty, i.e. the special treaty for a specified term, since they have not come short in anything in regard to you and have not helped anyone against you. So fulfil your treaty with them to their allotted time. God loves the pious. And when the sacred months are passed,’ He means the four which he fixed as their time, ‘then kill the polytheists wherever you find them, and seize them and besiege them and lie in wait for them in every ambush. But if they repent and perform prayer and pay the poor-tax, then let them go their way. God is forgiving, merciful. If one of the polytheists, i.e. one of those whom I have ordered you to kill, asks your protection, give it him so that he may hear the word of God; then convey him to his place of safety. That is because they are a people who do not know.’

Then He said: ‘And how can there be for the polytheists with whom you had a general agreement that they should not put you in fear and that you would not put them in fear neither in the holy places nor in the holy months’ a treaty with God and His apostle except for those with whom you made a treaty at the sacred mosque?’ They were the tribes of B. Bakr who had entered into an agreement with Quraysh on the day of al-Hudaybiya up to the time agreed between the apostle and Quraysh. It was only this clan of Quraysh who had broken it. They were al-Dil of B. Bakr b. W. who had entered into the agreement of Quraysh. So he was ordered to fulfill the agreement with those of B. Bakr who had not broken it, up to their allotted time. ‘So long as they are true to you be true to them. God loves the pious.’

Then He said: ‘And how, if when they have the upper hand of you, i.e. the polytheists who have no agreement up to a time under the general agreement with the polytheists ‘they regard not pact or compact in regard to you’ (866).

“They satisfy you with their lips while their hearts refuse. Most of them are wrongdoers. They have sold the revelations of God for a low price and debarred (men) from His way. Evil is that which they are wont to do. They observe neither pact nor compact with a believer. Those are the transgressors,’ i.e. they have transgressed against you. ‘But if they repent and perform prayer and pay the poor tax, then they are your brothers in religion. We make clear the revelations for a people who have knowledge.’

Hākim b. Hākim b. ‘Abdī b. Ḥunayf from ‘Abū Ja’far Muhammad b. ‘Ali told me that when the discharge came down to the apostle after he had sent ‘Abū Bakr to superintend the hajj, someone expressed the wish that he would send news of it to ‘Abū Bakr. He said, ‘None shall transmit it from me but a man of my own house.’ Then he summoned ‘Ali and said: ‘Take this section from the beginning of “The Discharge” and proclaim it to the people on the day of sacrifice when they assemble at Mina. No unbeliever shall enter Paradise, and no polytheist shall make pilgrimage after this year, and no naked person shall circumambulate the temple. He who has an agreement with the apostle has it for his appointed time (only). ‘Ali went forth on the apostle’s slit-cared camel and overtook ‘Abū Bakr on the way. When ‘Abū Bakr saw him he asked whether he had come to give orders or to convey them. ‘Ali said: ‘To convey them.’ They went on together and ‘Abū Bakr superintended the hajj, the Arabs in that year doing as they had done in the heathen period. When the day of sacrifice came ‘Ali arose and proclaimed what the apostle had ordered him to say, and he gave the men a period of four months from the date of the proclamation to return to their place of safety or their country; afterwards there was to be no treaty or compact except for one with whom the apostle had an agreement for a period, and he could have it for that period. After that year no polytheist went on pilgrimage or circumambulated the temple naked. Then the two of them returned to the apostle. This was the Discharge in regard to the polytheists who had a general agreement, and those who had a respite for the specified time.

Then the apostle gave orders to fight the polytheists who had broken the special agreement as well as those who had a general agreement after the four months which had been given them as a fixed time, save that if any one of them showed hostility he should be killed for it. And He said, ‘Will you not fight a people who broke their oaths and thought to drive out the apostle and attacked you first? Do you fear them when God is more worthy to be feared if you are believers? Fight them! God will punish them by your hands, and put them to shame and give you the victory over them and will heal the breasts of a believing people, and He will remove the anger of their hearts and God will relent,’ i.e. after that ‘towards whom He will, for God is knowing, wise.’ ‘Or do you think that you will be left (idle) when God does not yet know those of you who bestir yourselves and choose none for friend but God and His apostle and the believers? God is informed about what you do’ (879).

Then He mentioned the words of Quraysh, ‘We are the people of the sanctuary, the waterers of the pilgrims, and the tenders of this temple and none is superior to us,’ and He said: ‘He only shall tend God’s sanctuaries who believes in God and the last day,’ i.e. your tending was not thus. Only"
those who tend God's sanctuaries means tend them as they ought to be
tended 'who believe in God and the last day and performs prayer and pays
the poor tax and fears only God,' i.e. those are its tenders, 'perhaps those
may be the rightly guided.' 'Perhaps' coming from God means a fact. Then
he said: 'Would you make the watering of the pilgrims and the tending of the
sacred mosque equal to one who believes in God and the last day and
fights in the way of God? They are not equal with God.'

Then comes the story of their enemy until he arrives at the mention of
Ijurnayn and what happened there and their turning back from their
enemy and how God sent down help after they had abandoned one
another. Then He said (v. 28): 'The polytheists are nothing but unclear,
so let them not approach the sacred mosque after this year of theirs, and if
you fear poverty' that was because the people said 'the markets will be cut
off from us, trade will be destroyed, and we shall lose the good things we
used to enjoy,' and God said, 'If you fear poverty God will enrich you
from His bounty,' i.e. in some other way, 'if He will. He is knowing wise.
Fight those who do not believe in God and the last day and forbid not that
which God and His apostle have forbidden and follow not the religion of
truth from among those who have been given the scripture until they pay
the poll tax out of hand being humbled,' i.e. as a compensation for what you
fear to lose by the closing of the markets. God gave them compensation
for what He cut off from them in their former polytheism by what He gave
them by way of poll tax from the people of scripture.

Then He mentioned the two peoples of scripture with their evil and their
lies against Him until the words 'Many of the rabbis and monks devour
men's wealth wickedly and turn men from the way of God. Those who
hoard up gold and silver and do not spend it in the way of God, announce
to them a painful punishment.'

Then He mentioned the fixing of the sacred months and the innovations
of the Arabs in the matter. 'Nasi' means making profane months which
God has declared holy and vice versa. 'The number of the months with
God is twelve in the book of God on the day He created heaven and earth:
Four of them are sacred; that is the standing religion, so wrong not yours-
elves therein,' i.e. do not make the sacred profane or the profane sacred
as the polytheists did. 'Postponement (of a sacred month) which they
used to practise 'is excess of infidelity whereby those who disbelieve are
misled; they allow it one year and forbid it another year that they may
make up the number of the months which God has made sacred so that
they allow that which God has forbidden, the evil of their deeds seeming
good to them. But God does not guide a disbelieving people.'

Then He mentioned Tabuk and how the Muslims were weighed down
by it and exaggerated the difficulty of attacking the Byzantines when the
apostle called them to fight them; and the disaffection of some; then how
the apostle upbraided them for their behaviour in Islam. God said, 'O you
who believe, what was the matter with you that when it was said to you,
punishment for those who vex God's apostle.' According to my information the man who said these words was Natabl, b. al-Harith, brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, and this verse came down about him because he used to say, 'Muhammad is only an ear. If anyone tells him a thing he believes it.'

God said, 'Say: An ear of good to you,' i.e. he hears good and believes it.

Then He said, 'They swear by God to you to please you, but God and His apostle have more right that they should please Him if they believe.' Then He said, 'If you ask them they will say we were but talking and jesting. Say: Do you scoff at God and his signs and His apostle?' as far as the words 'If We pardon a party of you We will punish a party.'

The one who said these words was Wadi b. Thabit, brother of B. Umayya b. Zayd b. B. 'Amr b. 'Auf. The one who was pardoned, according to my information, was Mukhashshib b. humayr al-Asbaha, an ally of B. Salima, because he disapproved of what he heard them saying.

The description of them continues to the words, 'O prophet, fight the unbelievers and disbelievers, and deal roughly with them. Their abode is hell, an evil resting-place. They swear by God that they did not say it but they did say the word of unbelief and disbelieve after their Islam and planned what they could not attain. They sought revenge only because God and His apostle had enriched them from His bounty' to the words 'no friend and no helper.'

The one who said these words was al-Jilal b. Suwayd b. 'Atit, and a man of his family called 'Umair b. Sa'id reported them and he denied that he had said them and swore an oath by God. But when the Quran came down concerning them he repented and changed his mind. His repentance and his state became excellent as I have heard.

Then He said, 'And of them is he who made a covenant with God: If He gives us of His bounty we will give alms and become of the righteous.' The ones who made a covenant with God were Tha'alaba b. Hafid and Mua'it bin Qushair, both of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf.

Then He said, 'Those who defame such of the believers as give freely in alms and such as can only give them their efforts and scoff at them, God will scoff at them and they will have a painful punishment.'

The believers who freely gave alms were 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Auf and 'Asim b. 'Abiy, brother of B. 'Ajam, because the apostle incited and urged men to almsgiving. 'Abdu'l-Rahman arose and gave 4,000 dirhams, and 'Asim arose and gave 100 loads of dates, and they defamed them and said, 'This is nothing but ostentation.' The man who gave in alms all he could was Aba 'Aqil, brother of B. Unayf, who brought a measure of dates and cast it all into the alms. They laughed at him saying, 'God can do without Abu 'Aqil's alms measure.'

Then He mentioned what they said one to another when the apostle ordered war and the expedition to Tabuk in great heat and sterile conditions. 'They said, Go not forth in the heat. Say: The fire of hell is much hotter did you but understand. But let them laugh a little and weep much!' But as far as the words 'and let not their wealth and children astonish you,' Al-Zuhri from Ubayy b. 'Abdurrahman b. 'Abdullah b. Utba from b. 'Abbas b. 'Abdullah from B. Ubayy said: I heard 'Umar saying, 'When 'Abdullah b. Ubayy died the apostle was called to pray over him; and when he went and stood by him about to pray I changed my position so as to confront him and said 'Are you going to pray over your enemy 'Abdullah b. Ubayy, the man who said so-and-so an such-and-such occasions?' 'The apostle smiled when I had made a long story and said, 'Get behind me, 'Umar. I have been given the choice and I have chosen. It was said to me, Ask pardon for them or ask it not. If you ask pardon for them seventy times God will not pardon them.' Did I know that if I added to the seventy he would be forgiven I would add thereto.' Then he prayed over him and walked with him till he stood over his grave until he was disposed of. I was astonished at myself and my boldness when God and His apostle know best. It was not long before these two verses came down 'And never pray for any one of them who dies and do not stand by his grave for they disbelieved in God and His apostle and died as evil-doers.' Afterwards the apostle never prayed over a disaffected person until the day of his death.'

Then He said: 'And when a sira is sent down: Believe in God and strive along with His apostle, men of wealth among them asked your permission (to stay behind). Ibn Ubayy was one of them and God upbraided him for it, then He said: But the apostle and those who believe with him strive with their wealth and their lives; for them are the good things; they are the successful. God has prepared for them gardens beneath which rivers flow wherein they shall abide for ever; that is the great triumph. And the excuse-offering Bedouin came to ask leave and those who disbelieved God and His apostle stayed at home' to the end of the recount. The men with excuses so I have heard were a number of B. Ghifar among whom was Khudf b. Ayma b. Raha; He goes on with the story of these to the words 'nor to those who when they came to you to mount them you said I cannot find a beast on which to mount you, turned back, their eyes flowing with tears for grief that they could not find the wherewithal to spend.' Those were the weepers.

Then He said: 'The way (of blame) is only against those who asked leave, they being rich. They wanted to be with the women. God sealed their hearts and they do not know.' The Khurafat were the women. 'Then He mentioned their oath and their excuse to the Muslims and said, Turn away from them to His words 'And if you are satisfied with them God will not be satisfied with an evil people.'

Then He mentioned the Bedouin and the disaffected among them and how they waited for (the discomfiture of) the apostle and the believers: 'And of the Bedouin there is he who regards what is spent,' i.e. of the alms or expenses in the way of God 'as a tax and awaits evil fortune for you. The evil fortune will be theirs and God is hearing, knowing.'
Then He mentioned the sincere and faithful Bedouin among them and said: 'And of the Bedouin there is he who believes in God and the last day and regards what he spends and the prayers of the apostle as acceptable offerings with God. It is an acceptable offering for them.'

Then He mentioned the first emigrants and helpers and their merit and the goodly reward which God promised them. Then he joined with them their later followers in goodness and He said, 'God is pleased with them and they are pleased with Him.' Then He said: 'And of the Bedouin, round you there are the disaffected and of the people of Medina there are those who are stubborn in disaffection,' i.e., persist in it and refuse to be otherwise; 'we shall punish them twice.' The punishment with which God threatened them twice according to my information is their grief over their position in Islam and their inward rage at not getting a (heavenly) reward; then their punishment in the grave when they get there; then the great punishment to which they will be brought, the punishment of hell, eternally. Then He said: 'And there are others who acknowledged their faults. They mixed a good deed with another that was bad; perhaps God will relent towards them, for He is forgiving, merciful.'

Then He said, 'Take alms from their wealth wherewith to purify and cleanse them' to the end of the passage. Then He said: 'And there are others who are postponed to God's decree; either He will punish them or relent towards them.' They are the three who were left in abeyance and the apostle postponed their case until their forgiveness came from God. Then He said, 'And as for those who chose a mosque out of opposition to the end of the passage. Then He said: 'God has bought from the believers their lives and their wealth for the Garden that will be theirs.' Then comes the narrative dealing with Tabuk to the end of the chapter.

In the time of the prophet and afterwards Bara'a was called al-Mubtithir because it laid bare the secret thoughts of men. Tabuk was the last raid that the apostle made.

THE POETRY OF HASSAN ENUMERATING THE BATTLES

Hassan b. Thabit, enumerating the battles and campaigns in which the Ansar fought in company with the apostle, said: (872)

Am I not the best of Ma'add in family and tribe? If all of them be reckoned and counted?
A people all of whom witnessed Badr with the apostle
Neither falling short nor deserting.
They gave him their fealty, not one betrayed it,
And there was no deceit in their plighted word.
On the day when in the glen of Uhud

1 Cf. Sura 83. 4 and 100. 9.
2 S. explains that Hassan who was not of Ma'add means men in general and says 'Ma'add' because of their great number.

Well-aimed blows blazing like a hot fire met them
And the day of Dhul Qarad when dust rose above them as they rode
They did not flinch nor fear.
At Dhul'Unushayra they overrode them with the apostle
Armed with sword and spear.
At Waddan they drove out its people
Galloping along till hill and mountain stopped us.
And the night when they sought their enemy for God's sake
(And God will reward them for what they did).
And the raid on Najd, where with the apostle
They gained much spoil and booty.
And the night in Hunayn when they fought with him
He gave them a second taste of combat.
And the raid of al-Qa' when we scattered the enemy
As camels are scattered before their drinking-place.
They were the people who paid him homage
To the point of war—they succoured him and left him not.
In the raid on Mecca they were on guard among his troops
Neither light-minded nor hasty.
At Khaybar they were in his squadron
Each man walking like a hero facing death
With swords quivering in their right hands
Sometimes bent through striking, sometimes straight.
The day the apostle went to Tabuk seeking God's reward
They were his first standard-bearers.
They had the conduct of war if it seemed good to them
Until advance or retreat seemed the best.
Those are the people, the prophet's Ansar,
And they are my people—to them I belong when my descent is searched.
They died honourably, faith unbroken,
And when they were killed it was for God's sake (873).

Hassan also said:

We were kings of men before Muhammad
And when Islam came we had the superiority.
God the only God honoured us with
Bygone days that have no parallel
In our help to God and His apostle and His religion,
And God has given us a name which has no equal.
Those people of mine are the best of all people.
Whatever is counted good my people are worthy of it.
They surpass all their predecessors in generosity
And the way to their generosity is never barred.
When men come to their assemblies they do not behave unseemly,
Nor are they mean when asked for a gift.  
They are inimitable in war and peace.  
To fight them is death; to make peace ease.  
Their sojourner's house is high and inaccessible.  
While staying with us he enjoys respect and hospitality.  
If one of them assumes a debt he pays it  
Without defaulting or running into debt.  
He who speaks speaks the truth,  
Their clemency is constant, their judgement just.  
He whom the Muslims trusted while he lived  
And he whom the angels washed of his impurity were of us (874).  

Hassān also said:  
These are my people if you ask,  
Generous when a guest arrives.  
Large are the cooking-pots for the gamesters  
Wherein they cook the fat-humped camels.  
They give the sojourner a life of plenty  
And protect their friend when he is wronged.  
They were kings in their lands,  
They call for the sword when injustice is flagrant.  
They were kings over men—never by others  
Have they been ruled even for a short time.  
Tell about 'Ad and its peoples:  
Of Thamūd and the survivors of Iram,  
Of Yathrib where they had built forts among the palms  
And cattle were housed there,  
Watering camels which the Jews trained  
Saying: Off with you, and Come!  
They had what they wanted of wine and pleasure,  
An easy life free of care.  
We came to them with our equipment  
On our white war-loving camels;  
Beside them we led war-horses  
Covered with thick leather.  
When we halted on the sides of Sirār  
And made fast the saddles with twisted ropes  
They were scared by the speed of the horses  
And the sudden attack from the rear.  
They fled swiftly in terror  
As we came on them like lions of the jungle.

1 Sa’d b. Mu‘ādh according to A.Dh.  
2 The word generally rendered 'apostles'. The story of Hanṣala has been given above, p. 377.  
3 Another reading is 'they display anger'.  
4 Or, 'They told', &c.  
5 A mountain at Medina.

On our long, carefully tended mares  
Which were not out of condition from long stabling.  
Dark bays, spirited,  
Strong jointed like arrows,  
Carrying horsemen accustomed to fighting warriors  
And to smiting down brave foes;  
Kings when (others) behaved as tyrants in the land,  
Never retreat but always advancing.  
We came back with their leading men  
And their women and children also were divided among the victors.  
We inherited their houses when they had gone  
And remained there as owners.  
When the rightly guided apostle brought us the truth  
And light after darkness  
We said, 'You speak the truth, O God's apostle;  
Come and dwell with us.  
We bear witness that you are the slave of God  
Sent in light with an upright religion.  
We and our children are a protection for you  
And our wealth is at your disposal.  
Such are we if others give you the lie,  
So shrink not from proclaiming aloud,  
Proclaim what you have hidden  
Openly without concealing it.'  
The erring ones came with their swords  
Thinking that he would be slain.  
We attacked them with our swords,  
Fighting the miscreants of the peoples in his defence  
With our brightly polished swords  
Fine-edged, biting, cutting.  
When they encountered hard bones  
They did not recoil or become blunted.  
Such have our nobles bequeathed us  
In ancestral glory and proud fame.  
When one passes another takes his place  
And he leaves a scion when he dies.  
There is none who is not indebted to us,  
Though he may have been disloyal (875).

THE YEAR OF THE DEPUTATIONS, A.H. 9  

When the apostle had gained possession of Mecca, and had finished with Ṭabīk, and Ṭhaqīf had surrendered and paid homage, deputations from the Arabs came to him from all directions (876).  

1 Act as a judge in our affairs (or property).
In deciding their attitude to Islam the Arabs were only waiting to see what happened to this clan of Quraysh and the apostle. For Quraysh were the leaders and guides of men, the people of the sacred temple, and the pure stock of Ishmael son of Abraham; and the leading Arabs did not contest this. It was Quraysh who had declared war on the apostle and opposed him; and when Mecca was occupied and Quraysh became subject to him and he subdued it to Islam, and the Arabs knew that they could not fight the apostle or display enmity towards him they entered into God's religion 'in batches' as God said, coming to him from all directions. God said to His prophet: 'When God's help came and the victory, and you saw men entering into God's religion in batches, then glorify God with praise and ask His pardon for He is most forgiving,' i.e. praise God for His having made your religion victorious, and ask His pardon, for He is most forgiving.

THE COMING OF THE DEPUTATION OF BANU TAMIM


And in the deputation of Banû Tamim were Nu'aym b. Yazid and Qays b. al-Hârîth and Qays b. 'Âshîm brother of B. Sa'd with a great delegation from Banû Tamim (878). With them was 'Uuyayna b. Hîsh b. Hudhayfa b. Badr al-Fazîrî.

Al-Aqra' and 'Uuyayna had been with the apostle at the occupation of Mecca and Hunayn and al-Tâ'îf; and when the deputation came they were among them. When the deputation entered the mosque they called out to the apostle who was behind in his private apartments, 'Come out to us, Muhammad!' This loud call annoyed the apostle and he came out to them, and they said, 'Muhammad, we have come to compete with you in boasting, so give permission to our poet and our orator.' The apostle did so, and 'Uthâr b. Hâjib got up and said:

934 'Praise belongs to God for His favour to us and He is worthy to be praised, who has made us kings and given us great wealth wherewith we are generous, and has made us the strongest people of the east and the greatest in number, and the best equipped, so who among mankind is our equal? Are we not the princes of men and their superiors? He who would compete with us let him enumerate what we have enumerated. If we wished we could say more, but we are too modest to say much of what He has given us and are well known for that. I say this that you may bring forward the like and anything better.' Then he sat down. The apostle said to 'Thâbit:

b. Qays b. al-Shamâmî, brother of B. al-Hârîth b. al-Khazraj, 'Get up and answer the man's speech'; so 'Thâbit got up and said:

935 'Praise belongs to God Who created heaven and earth and established His rule therein, and His knowledge includes His throne; nothing exists but by His bounty. By His power He made us kings and chose the best of His creation as an apostle, and honoured him with lineage, made him truthful in speech, and favoured him with reputation, and sent down to him His book and entrusted it with it above (all) that He had created. He was God's choice from the worlds. Then He summoned men to believe in him, and the emigrants from his people and his kinsmen believed in God's apostle; the most noble men in reputation, the highest in dignity, and the best in deeds. The first of creatures to answer and respond to God when the apostle called them were ourselves. We are God's helpers and the assistants of His apostle, and will fight men until they believe in God; and he who believes in God and His apostle has protected his life and property from us; and he who disbelieves we will fight in God unceasingly and killing him will be a small matter to us. These are my words and I ask God's pardon for myself and the believers both men and women. Peace upon you.' (T. Then they said, 'Give permission to our poet to speak' and he did so,) and al-Zibîrîn got up and said:

We are the nobles, no tribe can equal us.
From us kings are born and in our midst churches are built.
How many tribes have we plundered,
For excellence in glory is to be sought after.
In time of dearth we feed our meat to the hungry
When no rain cloud can be seen.
You can see chiefs coming to us from every land,
And we feed them lavishly.
We slaughter fat-humped young camels as a matter of course;
Guests when they come are satisfied with food.
You will see whenever we challenge a tribe's superiority
They yield and abandon leadership.
He who challenges us we know the result;
His people withdraw and the news is noise abroad.
We forbid others but none forbid us.
Thus we are justly exalted in pride (879).

Hassân was absent at the time and the apostle sent a messenger to tell him to come and answer the B. Tamîm's poet. Hassân said, As I went to the apostle I was saying:

We protected God's apostle when he dwelt among us
Whether Ma'add liked it or not.

1 Sûra 110. For a criticism of this translation (demanded by I.I.'s exegesis) and of I.I.'s explanation see Suhaîl in loc.

1 Lit. 'become as a head that is cut off'.
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We protected him when he dwelt among our houses
With our swords against every evil wretch
In a unique house whose glory and wealth
Is in Jâbiyatu'l-Jaulân among the foreigners.
Is glory aught but ancient lordship and generosity,
The dignity of kings and the bearing of great burdens?

When I came to the apostle and the tribal poet had said his say, I made allusions to what he had said on the same pattern. When al-Zibrîqûn had finished the apostle said to Ḥassân, 'Get up and answer the man,' and Ḥassân arose and said:
The leaders of Fîh and their brothers
Have shown a way of life to be followed.
Everyone whose heart is devout
And does all manner of good approves them.
Such a people when they fight injure their enemies
Or gain the advantage of their adherents which they seek.
Such is their nature—no recent habit.
(The worst of characteristics is innovation.)
If there are men who surpass those who come after them
Then they would be behind the last of them.
Men do not repair what their hands have destroyed in fighting,
Nor destroy what they have repaired.
If they compete with others they take the lead.
If weighed against men famous for liberality they send down the scale.
Chaste men whose chastity is mentioned in revelation,
Undefiled, no impurity can injure them.
Not mean with their wealth towards the sojourner
And no stain of covetousness touches them.
When we attack a tribe we do not go softly to them
Like a calf running to the wild cow.
We rise up when the claws of war reach us
When good-for-naughts are humbled by its nails.
They do not boast when they overcome their enemy,
And if they are beaten they are not weak nor despairing.
In battle when death is at hand
They are like lions in Halya with crooked claws.
Take what you can get if they are enraged
And seek not what they have forbidden.
To fight them is to meet poison and bane
So do not antagonize them.
How noble the people who have God's apostle with them!
When sects and parties differ!
My heart sings their praises

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Aided in its beloved task by an eloquent and ready tongue,
For they are the best of all creatures
In matters grave and gay (880).

When Ḥassân had ended al-Aqrâ' said: 'By my father, this man has a ready helper. His orator and his poet are better than ours and their voices are sweeter than ours.' In the end they accepted Islam and the apostle gave them valuable gifts.
They had left 'Amr b. al-Ahtam behind with their camels, he being the youngest of them. Qays b. 'Aşim, who hated 'Amr, said, 'O apostle of God, there is one of our men with the camels, a mere youngster,' and he spoke disparagingly of him. But the apostle gave him the same as he gave the others. When 'Amr heard that Qays had said that, he satirized him thus:
You exposed yourself to contempt when you defamed me to the apostle.
You were a liar and spoke not the truth.
(T. You may hate us, for Roman is your origin
But Rome does not hold hatred for the Arabs.)
We ruled you with a wide authority, but your authority
Is that of one sitting on his behind and showing his teeth! (881)
Concerning them the Quran came down: 'Those who call you from behind the private apartments most of them have no sense.'

The Story of 'Amîr b. al-Ṭufayl and Arbad b. Qays

Among the deputation from B. 'Amîr was 'Amîr b. al-Ṭufayl and Arbad b. Qays b. Jâz b. Khâlid b. Ja'far, and Jabbâr b. Salmâ b. Mâlik b. Ja'far. These three were the chiefs and leaders of the tribe.
'Amîr, the enemy of God, came to the apostle intending to kill him treacherously. His people had urged him to accept Islam because others had done so, but he said: 'I have sworn that I will not stop until the Arabs follow me. Am I to follow in the steps of this fellow from Quraysh?' Then he said to Arbad: 'When we get to the man I will distract his attention from you, and when I do that smite him with your sword.' When they got to the apostle 'Amîr said, 'Muhammad, come apart with me.'

1 So C. (əhād). W. has əlid 'rise above ours'.
2 I.e. a dog. In T. 1717 the verse runs:

   We ruled and our authority is ancient, but your authority
   Is behind at the root of the rump and the tail.

3 If we may suppose that there is a play on the word 'aud which should be read as 'i'd and understood as a synonym of qa'id (cf. Ibn Ṭufayl, Ḥāyya b. Yaqṣar, 85), it is easy to see why L.H. cut out one verse and bowdlerized the next.
4 T. has ""Those of the Baru Tamim who call you from behind the private apartments have no sense" and that is the preferable reading. Sûra 49. 4. Cf. Wellhausen, Muhammad in Medina, 387.
5 T. omits the label.
6 A less likely meaning, as the commentators point out, is 'make friends with me'.

Rasūlullâhi shi'atūhum.
replied, ‘No, I will not until you believe in God alone.’ He repeated the request and went on talking to him expecting that Arbad would do as he had told him but he remained inactive. He again repeated his request and got the same answer. When the apostle refused he said, ‘By God I will fill the land against you with horses and men.’ When they went away the apostle said, ‘O God, rid me of ʿAmir b. al-Ṭufayl.’ On their way back ʿAmir said to Arbad, ‘Confound you, Arbad, why didn’t you do what I ordered? By God there is no man on the face of the earth whom I fear more than you, but by God I shall never fear you after today.’ He answered, ‘Don’t be hasty with me. Whenever I tried to get at him as you ordered you got in the way so that I could see only you. Was I to smite you with the sword?’

T. 1747  (T. ʿAmir b. al-Ṭufayl said:)

The apostle sent word about what you know and it was as though
We were making a planned raid on the squadrons
And our worn-out horses had brought us to Medina
And we had killed the Anšār in its midst.

As they were on their way back God sent a bubonic plague in ʿAmir’s neck, and God killed him in the house of a woman of B. ʿAlā. He began to say, ‘O Banu ʿAmir, A boil like the boil of a young camel in the house of a woman of Banū ʿAlā.’ (882)  
When they had buried him his companions returned to the B. ʿAmir country to winter and the people asked Arbad what had happened. ‘Nothing, by God,’ he said; ‘he asked us to worship something. I wish he were here now and I would kill him with an arrow.’ A day or two after saying this he went out with his camel behind him and God sent on him and his camel a thunderbolt which consumed them. Arbad was brother of Labid b. Rabī’ by the same mother (883).

Labid said, weeping Arbad:

The fates spare none,
Neither anxious father nor son.
I feared a violent death for Arbad
But I did not fear the blow of Pisces and Leo.
O eye, why do you not weep for Arbad
Since we and the women rise in sorrow?
If men blistered he took no notice,
If they were moderate in judgement he showed moderation.
Sweet, astute, withal in his sweetness bitter,
Gentle in bowels and liver.
O eye, why do you not weep for Arbad
When the winter winds strip the leaves from the trees
And make pregnant camels milkless

1 These words are proverbial; see Freytag, Prov. ii. 172.

Labid also said:

Gone is the guard and protector
Who saved her from shame on the day of battle.
I was sure we had parted (for ever) the day they said,
‘Arbad’s property is being divided by lot.’
The shares of the heirs fly off in double and single lots
And authority goes to the young man.
Bid farewell to Abū Hurayz with a blessing,
Though farewell to Arbad brings little of that.
You were our leader and organizer,
For beads must be held together by a string;
And Arbad was a warlike knight
When the howdahs with their coverings were overthrown;
When in the morning the women were carried pillion
With faces unveiled and legs bare;
On that day men fled to him for safety
As a man at large flees to the sanctuary.
He who came to Arbad’s cooking-pot praised it
And those who had much meat were not reproached.
If a woman were his guest.
She had gifts and a share of the best meat;
If she stayed she was honoured and respected;
If she went forth ’twas with a kind farewell.
Have you ever heard of two brothers who endured for ever
Save the two sons of Shamām? ²

² Another explanation of ʿarāʾim is ‘the best of the inheritance’.
² Two mountains.
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Or the two stars of the polar region and the Great Bear Everlasting, their destruction unthinkable.¹

Labid also said:

Announce to the noble the death of noble Arbad,
Announce the death of the chief, the kind-hearted,
Giving away his wealth that he might gain praise,
Camels like wild untaught cows,
Abundant in virtues if they were reckoned,
Who filled the platter again and again.
Whenever a poor man came he ate at will
As when a lion finds water in a barren land.
The more he is threatened the nearer he comes.
You have left us no paltry inheritance,
And wealth newly acquired and sons,
Youths like hawks, young men, and beardless boys.

Labid also said:

You will never exhaust the good deeds of Arbad, so weep for him continually.
Say, He was the protecting warrior when armour was donned.
He kept wrong-doers from us when we met insolent enemies.
The Lord of creation took him away since He saw there was no long stay on earth.

He died painlessly without hurt and he is sorely missed.

Labid also said:

Every bitter opponent whose way seemed harmful reminds me of Arbad.
If they were fair, then he was nobly fair: if they were unfair so was he.
He guided the people carefully when their guide went astray in the desert (885).

Labid also said:

I went walking after (the death of) Salmā b. Malik
And Abū Qays and 'Urwa like a camel whose hump is cut off.²
When it sees the shadow of a raven it shoos it away
Anxious for the rest of its spine and sinews (886).

THE COMING OF DIMĀM B. THA'LABA AS A DEPUTY FROM BANū SA'D B. BAKR

The B. Sa'd b. Bakr sent one of their men called Dimām b. Tha'laba to the apostle. Muhammad b. al-Walid b. Nuwayfi from Kurayb client of

¹ In Brockelmann's edn. the poem (xviii) has 31 verses. The text in Chalid, p. 17, is better sequence.
² By its starving owners in their hunger.

THE COMING OF AL-JĀRŪD IN THE DEPUTATION FROM 'ABDU'L-QAYS

Al-Jārūd b. 'Amr b. Hanash, brother of 'Abdu'l-Qays, came to the apostle (887). One of whom I have no suspicion told me from al-Hasan that when he came to the apostle he spoke to him, and the apostle explained Islam to him and invited him to enter it with kindly words. He replied: 'Muhammad,

¹ The expression may have a coarser meaning.
I owe a debt. If I leave my religion for yours will you guarantee my debt? The apostle said, 'Yes, I guarantee that what God has guided you is better than that,' so he and his companions accepted Islam. Then he asked the apostle for some mounts, but he told him that he had none available. Al-Jārūḍ pointed out that there were some stray beasts lying between Medina and his country and could he not ride away on them? He replied, 'No, beware of them, for that would lead to hell fire.'

Al-Jārūḍ went off to his own tribe, a good Muslim, firm in his religion until his death, having lived to the time of the Apostasy. And when some of his people who had become Muslims returned to their former religion with al-Gharūr b. al-Mundhir b. al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir, al-Jārūḍ got up and spoke and confessed his faith and called them to Islam. He pronounced the shahāda and declared that he would regard anyone who refused to do likewise as an infidel (888).

The apostle had sent al-'Āli b. al-Ḥadrāmī to al-Mundhir b. Siwāl al-'Abdi before the conquest of Mecca, and he became a good Muslim. He died after the apostle but before the apostasy of the people of al-Bahrayn. al-'Āli was with him as governor for the apostle over al-Bahrayn.

THE DEPUTATION FROM BANŪ ḤANIFA WITH WHOM WAS MUSAYLIMA

The deputation of B. Ḥanifa came to the apostle bringing with them Musaylima b. Ḥabīb b. Ḥanāfi, the arch liar (889). They lodged in the house of d. al-Ḥarith, a woman of the Angār of B. al-Najjār. One of the scholars of Medina told me that B. Ḥanifa brought him to the apostle hiding him in garments. The apostle was sitting among his companions having a palm-branch with some leaves on its upper end. When he came to the apostle as they were covering him with garments he spoke to him and asked him (for a gift). The apostle answered: 'If you were to ask me for this palm branch (T. which I hold) I would not give it to you.'

A shaykh of B. Ḥanifa from the people of al-Yamāmā told me that the incident happened otherwise. He alleged that the deputation came to the apostle having left Musaylima behind with the camels and the baggage. When they had accepted Islam they remembered where he was, and told the apostle that they had left a companion of theirs to guard their stuff. The apostle ordered that he should be given the same as the rest, saying, 'His position is no worse than yours,' i.e. in minding the property of his companions. That is what the apostle meant.

Then they left the apostle and brought him what he had given him. When they reached al-Yamāmā the enemy of God apostatized, gave himself out as a prophet, and played the liar. He said, 'I am a partner with him in the affair,' and then he said to the deputation who had been with him, 'Did he not say to you when you mentioned me to him "His position is no worse than yours"? What can that mean but that he knows that I am a partner with him in the affair?' Then he began to utter rhymes in saj' and speak in imitation of the style of the Quran: 'God has been gracious to theough pregnant woman, He has brought forth from her a living being that can move; from her very midst.' He permitted them to drink wine and fornicate, and let them dispense with prayer, yet he was acknowledging the apostle as a prophet, and Ḥanifa agreed with him on that. But God knows what the truth was.

ZAYDU’L-KHAYL COMES WITH THE DEPUTATION FROM TĀYYI'

The deputation of Tāyyi containing Zaydu’l-Khayl who was their chief came to the apostle, and after some conversation he explained Islam to them and they became good Muslims. A man of Tāyyi whom I have no reason to suspect told me that the apostle said, 'No Arab has ever been spoken of in the highest terms but when I have met him I have found that he falls below what was said of him except Zaydu’l-Khayl, and he exceeds all that has been said about him.' Then the apostle named him Zaydu’l-Khayl and allotted to him Fayd and some lands with it and gave him a deed accordingly.

As Zayd went back to his tribe the apostle said that he hoped he would escape the Medina fever. The apostle did not call it Ḥummār or Umm Maldam; my informant could not say what. When he reached one of the watering-places of Najd called Farda the fever overcame him and he died. When he felt his end coming he said:

Are my people to travel eastwards tomorrow
While I’m to be left in a house in Farda in Najd?
How often if I were sick would women visit me
If not worn out by the journey at least tired.

When he was dead his wife got the deeds which the apostle had given him and burnt them in the fire.

’ADĪY B. ḤĀTIM

I have been told that ’Adīy b. Ḥātim used to say, 'No Arab disliked the apostle when he first heard of him more than I. Now I was a chief of noble birth, a Christian, and I used to travel about among my people to collect a quarter of their stock. I was my own master in religious matters and was a king among my people and treated as such. When I heard of the apostle I disliked him and said to an Arab servant of mine who was looking after my camels, ‘Prepare some of my well-trained, well-fed camels, and keep them near me, and when you hear of Muhammad’s army coming
into this country bring me word." One morning he came to me and said, "Whatever you are going to do when Muhammad’s cavalry comes upon you, do it now, for I have seen flags and I learn that they are the troops of Muhammad." I ordered him to bring my camels and I put my family and children on them and decided to join my fellow Christians in Syria. I went as far as al-Jaushiya (892) and I left one of Hātim’s daughters in the settlement. When I reached Syria I stopped there.

In my absence the apostle’s cavalry came and among the captives they took was Hātim’s daughter, and she was brought to the apostle among the captives of ‘Tyūl’. The apostle had heard of my flight to Syria. Hātim’s daughter was put in the enclosure by the door of the mosque in which the captives were imprisoned and the apostle passed by her. She got up to meet him, for she was a courteous woman, and said, ‘O apostle of God, my father is dead and the man who should act for me has gone. If you spare me God will spare you.’ He asked her who her mother was and when she told him it was ‘Adly b. Hātim he exclaimed, ‘The man who runs away from God and His apostle.’ Then he went on and left her. Exactly the same thing happened the next day, and on the following day she was in despair. Then a man behind him motioned to her to get up and speak to him. She said the same words as before and he replied, ‘I have done so, but do not hurry away until you find one of your people whom you can trust who can take you to your country, then let me know.’ I asked the name of the man who had beckoned to me to speak and was told that it was ‘Ali. I stayed until some riders came from Bali or Qudā’a. All I wanted was to go to my brother in Syria. I went to the apostle and told him that some trustworthy man of reputation from my people had come for me. The apostle gave me clothing and put me on a camel and gave me money and I went away with them until I came to Syria.

‘Adly said: ‘I was sitting among my people when I saw a howdah making for us and I said ‘It is Hātim’s daughter’ and so it was, and when she got to me she reviled me, saying, ‘You evil rascal, you carried away your family and children and abandoned your father’s daughter.’ I said, ‘Do not say anything that is bad, little sister, for by God I have no excuse. I did do what you say.’ Then she alighted and stayed with me; and as she was a discreet woman I asked her what she thought of this man and she said, ‘I think that you should join him quickly, for if the man is a prophet then those who get to him first will be preferred; and if he is a king you will not be shamed in the glory of al-Yaman, you being the man you are.’ I said that this was a sound judgement I went to the apostle when he was in his mosque in Medina and saluted him and told him my name and he got up to take me to his house. As we were making for it there met him an old feeble woman who asked him to stop and he stopped for a long time

while she told him of her needs. I said to myself ‘This is no king.’ Then he took me into his house and took hold of a leather cushion stuffed with palm leaves and threw it to me saying, ‘Sit on that.’ I said, ‘No, you sit on it,’ and he said ‘No, you!’ So I sat on it and he sat on the ground. I said to myself, ‘This is not the way a king behaves.’ Then he said, ‘Now ‘Adly, are you not half a Christian?’ When I said that I was he said, ‘Don’t you go among your people collecting a quarter of their stock?’ When I admitted that he said: ‘But that is not permitted to you in your religion.’ ‘Quite true,’ I said, and I knew that he was a prophet sent by God knowing what is not generally known. Then he said, ‘It may well be that the poverty you see prevents you from joining this religion but, by God, wealth will soon flow so copiously among them that there will not be the people to take it. But perhaps it is that you see how many are their enemies and how few they are? But, by God, you will hear of a woman coming on her camel from Qādisiyah to visit this temple unafraid. But perhaps it is that you see that others have the power and sovereignty, but by God you will soon hear that the white castles of Babylon have been opened to them.’ Then I became a Muslim.

‘Adly used to say that the two things happened and the third remained to be fulfilled. I saw the white castles of Babylon laid open and I saw women coming from Qādisiyah on camels unafraid to make the pilgrimage to this temple; and, by God, the third will come to pass: wealth will flow until there will not be the people to take it.

THE COMING OF FARWA B. MUSAYYK AL-MURĀDĪ

Farwa b. Musayk al-Murādī came to the apostle, separating himself from the kings of Kinda. Shortly before Islam there had been a battle between Murād and Handān in which the former suffered a severe defeat, losing many men in the engagement called al-Radm (T. al-Razm). The leader of Handān was al-Ajdâ’ b. Mūlik (891).

Farwa said about the battle:

They passed by Lufāt1 with sunken eyes
Tugging at the reins as they turned to one side.

If we conquer we were conquerors of old
And if we are conquered we were not often conquered.

Cowardice is not our habit,
But our fate and the fortune of others (caused our defeat).

Thus fate’s wheel turns

1 ‘Rudī is defined as a man midway between a Christian and a Šabi’ which latter, as we have seen, means a man who changes his religion. Thus ‘Adly would seem to be, like so many of the Arabs at this time, a convert but not a practicing Christian in the full sense.

2 The words imply the Ka’ba at Mecca and the next paragraph makes this certain. As this conversation is said to have taken place in Medina the authenticity of the tradition is suspect, unless dīdā means no more than ‘you’.

3 In Murād territory.
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Now for and now against a man.
While we are happy and rejoice in it,
Though we have enjoyed its favour for years,
Suddenly fate's wheel is turned
And you find those who were envied ground to pieces.
Those whom men envy for fate's favours
Will find time's changes deceitful.
If kings were immortal we should be so;
And if the noble persisted so should we;
But the chiefs of my people are swept away
Like the generations before them (892).

When Farwa set out to go to the apostle, leaving the kings of Kinda, he said:

When I saw the kings of Kinda had failed to go right,
Like a man whose leg sinew lets him down,
I brought up my camel to go to Muhammad
Hoping for its welfare and good ground (893).

When he reached the apostle he asked him, so I have been told, 'Are you upset at what befell your people on the day of al-Radm?' He answered that such a tribal defeat as that would distress any man, and the apostle said that if that were so Islam could bring them only good. The prophet appointed him governor over Murād and Zubayd and Mādīnā, and sent with him Khālid b. Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ in charge of the poor tax; he remained with him in his land until the death of the apostle.

The Coming of Ma‘dikārīb from the Banū Zubayd

‘Amr b. Ma‘dikārīb came to the apostle with some men of B. Zubayd and accepted Islam. He had said to Qays b. Makṣūḥ al-Murādī when news of the apostle reached them, 'You are the chief of your tribe, Qays. We have heard that a man of Quraysh called Muhammad has appeared in the Hijaz claiming to be a prophet, so come with us so that we may find out the facts. If he is a prophet as he says, it will be apparent to you and when we meet him we will follow him. If he is not a prophet we shall know.' But Qays refused and declared his advice to be folly. Thereupon ‘Amr rode off to the apostle and accepted Islam. When Qays heard of this he was enraged and threatened ‘Amr, saying that he had gone against him and rejected his advice. ‘Amr said concerning that:

I gave you an order on the day of Dhū Ṣān‘ā',
An order that was plainly right.
I ordered you to fear God and to practise goodness.
You went off after pleasure like a young ass
Whose lust beguiled him.

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He wished to meet me on a horse on which I sat as a lion
Wearing a loose coat of mail glittering like a pool
On hard ground which makes the water clear.
Mail that turns back the lances with bent points
With broken shafts flying apart.
Had you met me you would have met a lion with flowing mane.
You would meet a ravening beast
With mighty paws and lofty shoulders
Matching his adversary whom he overthrows if he makes for him:
Seizes him, picks him up, throws him down and kills him;
Dashes out his brains and shatters him;
Tears him in pieces and devours him,
Admitting none a share in the prey his teeth and claws hold fast (894).

‘Amr stayed with his people the B. Zubayd while Farwa b. Musayk was over them. When the apostle died ‘Amr revolted, and said:

We have found Farwa’s rule the worst of rules,
An ass sniffing at a female ass.
If you were to look at Abū ‘Umayr
You would think he was a caul with its filthy discharge (895).

Al-As‘āth b. Qays Comes With the Deputation of Kinda

Al-As‘āth b. Qays came to the apostle with the deputation of Kinda. Al-Zuhri told me that he came with eighty riders from Kinda and they went in to the apostle in the mosque. They had combed their locks and blackened their eyes with kabīl, and they were striped robes bordered with silk. The apostle asked them if they had accepted Islam and when they said that they had he asked why this silk was round their necks. So they tore it off and threw it away.

Then Al-As‘āth said, 'We are the sons of the eater of bitter herbs and so are you.' The apostle smiled and said that to Al-‘Abbās b. ’Abdu’l-Muṭṭalib and Rabī’a b. al-Hārith that ancestry was attributed. These two men were merchants and when they went about among the Arabs and were asked who they were they would say that they were sons of the eater of bitter herbs, taking pride in that because Kinda were kings. Then he said to them, 'Nay, we are the sons of Al-Nāḍr b. Kinānā; we do not follow our mother's line and disown our father.' Al-As‘āth said 'Have you finished [T. Do you know], O men of Kinda? By God if I hear a man saying that [T. after today] I will give him eighty strokes' (896).

1 This throws light on Robertson Smith's theory of a primitive matriarchy in ancient Anabīa.
The Coming of Şurad b. 'Abdullah Al-Azdi

Şurad came to the apostle and became a good Muslim with the deputation from al-Azdi. The apostle put him in command of those of his people who had accepted Islam and ordered him to fight the neighbouring polytheists from the tribes of the Yaman with them. Şurad went away to carry out the apostle's orders and stopped at Jurash, which at that time was a closed town containing some of the tribes of the Yaman. Khath'am had taken refuge with them and entered it when they heard of the approach of the Muslims. The latter besieged them for about a month, but they could not force an entry. Şurad withdrew as far as one of their mountains (now called Shakar) and the inhabitants of Yaman, thinking that he had fled from them, went out in pursuit of him, and when they overtook him he turned on them and killed a large number of them.

Now the people of Jurash had sent two of their men to the apostle in Medina to look about them and see (what was happening), and while they were with the apostle after the afternoon prayer he asked where Shakar was. The two men got up and told him that there was a mountain in their country called Kashar by the people of Jurash, to which he replied that it was not Kashar but Shakar. 'Then what is the news of it?' they asked. 'Victims offered to God are being killed there now,' he said. The two men went and sat with Abi Bakr or it may have been 'Uthman and he said, 'Woe to you! the apostle has just announced to you the death of your people, so get up and ask him to pray to God to spare your people.' They did so, and he did so pray. They left the apostle and returned to their people and found that they had been smitten on the day that Şurad attacked them on the very day and at the very hour in which the apostle said these words.

The deputation of Jurash came to the apostle and accepted Islam and he gave them a special reserve round their town with definite marks for horses, riding camels, and ploughing oxen. The cattle of any other man who pastured it could be seized with impunity. One of the Azd in reference to that raid said: (Khath'am used to assail Azd in pagan times and attack them in the sacred month):

What a successful raid we had! Mules, and horses and asses.

Until we came to Himyar with its forts.

Where Khath'am had been given full warning.

If I could satisfy the rancour I feel

I should not care whether they were Muslims or heathen.

The Deputation of the Kings of Himyar

On his return from Tabik a messenger brought a letter from the kings of Himyar with their acceptance of Islam: al-Hārith b. 'Abdu Kulāī, and

The old word hamā, meaning a sacred area, has lost its force here.

Nu'ayn b. 'Abdu Kulāī, and al-Nu'mān prince of Dhū Ru'ayn and Ma'āfir and Hamdān. Zur'a Dhū Yazan sent Mālik b. Murra al-Rahwī with their submission to Islam and abandonment of polytheism and its adherents. Then the apostle wrote to them: 'In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful, from Muhammad the apostle of God, the prophet, to al-Hārith b. 'Abdu Kulāī and to Nu'ayn b. 'Abdu Kulāī and to al-Nu'mān prince of Dhū Ru'ayn and Ma'āfir and Hamdān. I praise God the only God unto you. Your messenger reached me on my return from the land of the Byzantines and he met us in Medina and conveyed your message and your news and informed us of your Islam and of your killing the polytheists. God has guided you with His guidance. If you do well and obey God and His apostle and perform prayer, and pay alms, and God's fifth of booty and the apostle's share and selected part, and the poor tax which is incumbent on believers from land, namely a tithe of that watered by fountains and rain; of that watered by the bucket a twentieth; for every forty camels a milch camel; for every thirty camels a young male camel; for every five camels a sheep; for every ten camels two sheep; for every forty cows one cow; for every thirty cows a bull calf or a cow calf; for every forty sheep at pasture one sheep. This is what God has laid upon the believers. Anyone who does more it is to his merit. He who fulfills this and bears witness to his Islam and helps the believers against the polytheists he is a believer with a believer's rights and obligations and he has the guarantee of God and His apostle. If a Jew or a Christian becomes a Muslim he is a believer with his rights and obligations. He who holds fast to his religion, Jew or Christian, is not to be turned (T. seduced) from it. He must pay the poll tax—for every adult, male or female, free or slave, one full dinar calculated on the valuation of Ma'āfir (T. or its value) or its equivalent in clothes. He who pays that to God's apostle has the guarantee of God and His apostle, and he who withholds it is the enemy of God and His apostle.

The apostle of God, Muhammad the prophet, has sent to Zur'a Dhū Yazan: When my messengers Mu'ādh b. Jabal, and 'Abdullah b. Zayd, and Mālik b. 'Ubāda, and 'Uqba b. Nime, and Mālik b. Murra and their companions come to you I commend them to your good offices. Collect the alms and the poll tax from your provinces and hand them over to my messengers. Their leader is Mu'ādh b. Jabal, and let him not return unless satisfied. Muhammad witnesses that there is no God but Allah and that he is His servant and apostle.

Mālik b. Murra al-Rahwī has told me that you were the first of Himyar to accept Islam and have killed the polytheists, and I congratulate you and order you to treat Himyar well and not to be false and treacherous, for the apostle of God is the friend both of your people and your rich. The

1 Bal, 77 adds 'and to Shaq b. 'Abdu Kulāī and omits all words after 'Hamdān' as far as 'polytheists'.

2 i.e. the part he chooses as his before the property is divided.
The Life of Muhammad

alm tax is not lawful to Muhammad or his household; it is alms to be
given to the poor Muslims and the wayfarer. Malik has brought the news
and kept secret what is confidential, and I order you to treat him well.
I have sent to you some of the best of my people, religious and learned men,
and I order you to treat them well, for they must be respected.' Peace
upon you and the mercy and blessings of God.'

THE APOSTLE'S INSTRUCTIONS TO MU'ÂDH WHEN HE
SENT HIM TO THE YAMAN

Abdullah, Abu Bakr told me that he was told that when the apostle sent
Mu'âdh he gave him instructions and orders and then said: Deal gently
and not harshly; announce good news and do not repel people. You are
going to one of the people with scripture who will ask you about the key
of heaven. Say to them it is the witness that there is no God but Allah.
Who has no partner. Mu'âdh went off to the Yamani and did as he was
ordered and a woman came to him and said, 'O companion of God's
apostle, what rights has a husband over his wife? He said, 'Woe to you, a
woman can never fulfill her husband's rights, so do your utmost to fulfill
his claims as best you can.' She said, 'By God, if you are the companion
of God's apostle you must know what rights a husband has over his wife.'
He said, 'If you were to go back and find him with his nostrils running
with pus and blood and sucked until you got rid of them you would not
have fulfilled your obligation.'

FARWA B. 'AMR AL-JUDHÂMI BECOMES A MUSLIM

Farwa b. 'Amr b. al-Nâfir al-Judhâmi of the clan of Nufâtha sent to the
apostle that he had accepted Islam, and gave him a white mule. Farwa
was governor for the Byzantines of the Arabs lying near the Byzantine
border based on Ma'ân and the surrounding land of Syria. When the
news reached the Byzantines they went after him, caught him, and im-
prisoned him. In his imprisonment he said:

Sulaymân came to my companions by night
When the Romans were between the door and the water troughs.
The spectre shrank away at what it saw,
And I thought to sleep but it had made me weep.
Paint not thine eye with halîf, Salmâ, after I am dead
And do not approach for intercourse.
You know, Abû Kubaysha, that among the great ones
My tongue is not silent.

1. A difficult expression. Perhaps they are people of importance', or even 'they will be
watched', i.e. to see how they fare.
2. Subayl offers no comment.
And if they did not surrender I was to fight them. I duly came to them and invited them to Islam three days as the apostle ordered me, and I sent riders among them with your message. They have surrendered and have not fought and I am staying among them instructing them in the apostle’s positive and negative commands and teaching them the institutions of Islam and the prophet’s *sunna* until the apostle writes to me. Peace upon you &c. 

The apostle wrote to him with the same preamble as before, saying: ‘I have received your letter which came with your messenger telling me that the B. al-Ḫārith surrendered before you against them and responded to your invitation to Islam and pronounced the *shahāda*, and that God had guided them with His guidance. So promise them good and warn them and come. And let their deputation come with you. Peace upon you &c.’


When they came to the apostle he asked who these people who looked like Indians were, and was told that they were the B. al-Ḫarīth b. Kāb. When they came to the apostle they said, ‘We testify that you are the apostle of God and that there is no God but Allah.’ But he said, ‘And I testify that there is no God but Allah and that I am the apostle of Allah.’ Then he said, ‘You are the people who when they were driven away pushed forward, and they remained silent, and none of them answered him. He repeated the words three times without getting an answer, and the fourth time Yazīd b. ’Abdu’l-Madān said, ‘Yes, we are,’ and said it four times. The apostle said, ‘If Khālid had not written to me that you had accepted Islam and had not fought I would throw your heads beneath your feet.’ Yazīd answered, ‘We do not praise you and we do not praise Khālid.’ Then whom do you praise?’ he asked. He said: ‘We praise God who guided us by you.’ ‘You are right,’ he said, and asked them how they used to conquer those they fought in the pagan period. They said that they never conquered anyone. ‘Nay, but you did conquer those who fought you,’ he said. They replied, ‘We used to conquer those we fought because we were united and had no dissenters, and never began an injustice.’ He said, ‘You are right,’ and he appointed Qays b. al-Ḫuṣayn as their leader.

The deputation returned to their people towards the end of Shawwāl or at the beginning of Dhūl-Qa’da, and some four months after their return the apostle died.

961 Now the apostle had sent to them after their deputation had returned, ’Amr b. Ḥāzm to instruct them in religion and to teach them the *sunna* and the institutions of Islam and to collect their alms; and he wrote him a letter in which he gave him his orders and injunctions as follows: In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful. This is a clear announcement from God and His apostle. O you who believe, be faithful to your agreements.1 The instructions of Muhammad the prophet the apostle of God to ’Amr b. Ḥāzm when he sent him to the Yaman. He orders him to observe piety to God in all his doings for God is with those who are pious and who do well;2 and he commanded him to behave with truth as God commanded him; and that he should give people the good news and command them to follow it and to teach men the Quran and instruct them in it and to forbid men to do wrong so that none but the pure should touch the Quran and should instruct men in their privileges and obligations and be lenient to them when they behave aright and severe on injustice, for God hates injustice and has forbidden it. ‘The curse of God is on the evildoers.’3 Give men the good news of paradise and the way to earn it, and warn them of hell and the way to earn it, and make friends with men so that they may be instructed in religion, and teach men the rites of the *hajj*, its customs and its obligation and what God has ordered about it: the greater *hajj* is the greater *hajj* and the lesser *hajj* is the *umra*; and prohibit men from praying in one small garment unless it be a garment whose ends are double over their shoulders, and forbid men from squatting in one garment which exposes their person to the air, and forbid them to twist the hair of the head († if it is long) on the back of the neck;4 and if there is a quarrel between men forbid them to appeal to tribes and families, and let their appeal be to God; they who do not appeal to God but to tribes and families let them be smitten with the sword until their appeal is made to God; and command men to perform the ablutions, their faces, and their hands to the elbows and their feet to the ankles, and let them wipe their heads as God has ordered; and command prayer at the proper time with bowing, prostration, and humble reverence; prayer at daybreak, at noon when the sun declines, in the afternoon when the sun is descending, at even when the night approaches not delaying it until the stars appear in the sky; later at the beginning of the night; order them to run to the mosques when they are summoned, and to wash when they go to them, and order them to take from the booty God’s fifth and what alms are enjoined on the Muslims from land—a tithe of what the fountains water († the *ba‘al* waters)5 and the sky waters, and a twentieth of what the bucket waters; and for every ten camels two sheep; and for every twenty camels four sheep; and for every forty cows one cow; and for every thirty cows a bull or cow calf; for every forty sheep at grass one sheep; this is what God has enjoined on the believers in the matter of alms. He who adds thereto it is a merit to him. A Jew or a Christian who becomes a sincere Muslim

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1 Sūra 2, v. 10
2 Sūra 16, v. 128
3 Sūra 2, v. 5
4 i.e. to wear a pigtail.
5 Here undoubtedly † and Bal. 70 retain the original text. For the original sense of † see W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 98 f. Probably it means land watered by underground streams.
of his own accord and obeys the religion of Islam is a believer with the
same rights and the same obligations. If one of them holds fast to his
religion he is not to be turned (T. seduced) from it. Every adult, male or
female, bond or free, must pay a golden dinar or its equivalent in clothes.
He who performs this has the guarantee of God and His apostle; he who
withholds it is the enemy of God and His apostle and all believers.

THE COMING OF RIṢĂ'Ā B. ZAYD AL-JUḌHĀMĪ

Riṣā'ā b. Zayd al-Judhami of the clan of al-Dubayb came to the apostle
during the armistice of al-Hudaybiya before Khaybar. He gave the apostle a
slave and he became a good Muslim. The apostle gave him a letter to
his people in which he wrote:2

To Riṣā'ā b. Zayd whom I have sent to his people and those who have
joined them to invite them to God and His apostle. Whosoever comes
forward is of the party of God and His apostle, and whosoever turns back
has two months' grace.

When Riṣā'ā came to his people they responded and accepted Islam;
then they went to al-Ḥarrā', the Ḥarra of al-Rajā', and stopped there (897).

THE LIARS MUSAYLIMA AL-ḤANAFĪ AND AL-ASWĀD AL-ʾANSĪ

Now the two arch-liars Musaylima b. Ḥabīb and al-Aswad b. Ka'b al-ʾAnsī
had spoken during the apostle's lifetime, the first in al-Yamāma among
the B. Ḥanifa, and the second in San'a'. Yazid b. ʿAbdullāh b. Qusayy told
me from ʿAjīb b. Yasār, or his brother Sulaymān, from Abū Saʿīd al-
Khuḍrī, saying: 'I heard the apostle as he was addressing the people from
his pulpit saying 'I saw the night of al-qadr and then I was made to
forget it; and I saw on my arms two bracelets of gold which I disliked
so I blew on them and they flew away. I interpreted it to mean these
two liars, the man of al-Yamāma and the man of al-Yaman.' 1

One whom I do not suspect on the authority of Abū Hurayra said:
'I heard the apostle say: 'The hour will not come until thirty anticlists
come forth, each of them claiming to be a prophet.'

THE SENDING OUT OF COLLECTORS OF THE POOR-TAX

The apostle sent out his officials and representatives to every district
subject to Islam to collect the poor-tax. He sent al-Muhājir b. Abū
Umayyā b. al-Mughīra to San'a', and al-ʾAnsī came out against him while
he was there. Ziyād b. Labīb, brother of B. Bāyāḍa al-ʾAnsārī, he sent to
Ḥadramaut. ʿAdī b. Ḥātim he sent to ʿĀsī and B. Aṣad; Mālik b. Nuwayra
(898), to B. Ḥanṣāla. The poor-tax of B. Saʿīd he divided between

MUSAYLIMA'S LETTER AND THE APOSTLE'S ANSWER THERETO

Musaylima had written to the apostle: 'From Musaylima the apostle of God
to Muhammad the apostle of God. Peace upon you. I have been
game partner with you in authority. To us belongs half the land and to
Quraysh half, but Quraysh are a hostile people.' Two messengers brought
this letter.

A shaykh of Ashja' told me on the authority of Salama b. Nuʿaym b.
Masʿūd al-Asḥa'ī from his father Nuʿaym: I heard the apostle saying to
them when he read his letter 'What do you say about it?' They said that
they said the same as Musaylima. The apostle replied, 'By God, were it not that
heralds are not to be killed I would behead the pair of you!' Then he wrote to
Musaylima: 'From Muhammad the apostle of God to Musaylima the
liar. Peace be upon him who follows the guidance.' 1 The earth is God's.
He lets whom He will of His creatures inherit it and the result is to the
pious. 2 This was at the end of the year 10.

THE FAREWELL PILGRIMAGE

In the beginning of Dhu'l-Qa'da the apostle prepared to make the pil-
grimage and ordered the men to get ready.

'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. al-Qāsim from his father al-Qāsim b. Muhammad
from A'isha the prophet's wife told me that the apostle went on pil-
grimage on the 25th Dhu'l-Qa'da (899).
Neither he nor the men spoke of anything but the pilgrimage, until
when he was in Sarif and had brought the victims with him as also some
dignitaries had done, he ordered the people to remove their pilgrim gar-
ments except those who brought victims. That day my menses were upon
me and he came in to me as I was weeping and asked me what ailed me,
guessing correctly what was the matter. I told him he was right and said I
wished to God that I had not come out with him on the journey this year.
He said (T. Don't do that) 'Don't say that, for you can do all that the
pilgrims do except go round the temple.' The apostle entered Mecca and
everyone who had no sacrificial victim, and his wives, took off the pilgrim
garment. When the day of sacrifice came I was sent a lot of beef and it
was put in my house. When I asked what it was they said that the apostle
had sacrificed cows on behalf of his wives. When the night that the pebbles

1 Cf. Sūra 20. 49.
2 Cf. Sūra 7. 125.
were thrown duly came the apostle sent me along with my brother 'Abdu'l-Rahmān and let me perform the 'umra from al-Tā'īm in place of the 'umra which I had missed.

Nāfi', client of 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar from 'Abdullāh, from Ḥāfaṣa d. 'Umar, said that when the apostle ordered his wives to remove the pilgrim garments they asked him what prevented him from doing the same and he said: 'I have sent on my victims and have matted my hair, but I shall not be free of the ḥabrīm until I slaughter my victims.'

'Abdullāh b. Abū Najīb told me that the apostle had sent 'Ali to Najāb, and met him in Mecca when he was still in a state of ḥabrīm. He went in to Fāṭima the apostle's daughter and found her dressed in her ordinary clothes. When he asked why, she told him that the apostle had ordered his wives so to do. Then he went to the apostle and reported the result of his journey and he told him to go and circumambulate the temple and remove the pilgrim garb as the others had done. He said that he wanted to slaughter a victim as the apostle did. The apostle again told him to remove the pilgrim garb. He replied: "I said when I put on the pilgrim garb, 'O God, I will invoke thy name over a victim as your prophet and your slave and your apostle Muhammad does.'" When he asked him if he had a victim he said that he had not, and the apostle gave him a share in his, so he retained the pilgrim garb with the apostle until both of them had completed the pilgrimage and the apostle slaughtered the victim on behalf of them both.

Yahyā b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. Abū 'Amrā from Yazid b. Ṣa‘d b. Yazid b. Rukāna told me that when 'Ali came from the Yaman to meet the apostle in Mecca he hurried to him and left in charge of his army one of his companions who went and covered every man in the force with clothes from the linen 'Ali had. When the army approached he went out to meet them and found them dressed in the clothes. When he asked what on earth had happened the man said that he had dressed the men so that they might appear seemly when they mingled with the people. He told him to take off the clothes before they came to the apostle and they did so and put them back among the spoil. The army showed resentment at their treatment.

'Abdullāh b. 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. Ma‘āmar b. Ḥāzim from Sulaymān b. Muhammad b. Ka‘b b. 'Ujra from his aunt Zaynab d. Ka‘b who was married to Abī Sa‘d al-Anṣāri, on the authority of the latter told me that when the men complained of 'Ali the apostle arose to address them and he heard him say: 'Do not blame 'Ali, for he is too scrupulous in the things of God, or in the way of God, to be blamed.'

Then the apostle continued his pilgrimage and showed the men the rites and taught them the customs of the hajj. He made a speech in which he made things clear. He praised and glorified God, then he said: 'O men, listen to my words. I do not know whether I shall ever meet you in this place again after this year. Your blood and your property are sacrosanct until you meet your Lord, as this day and this month are holy. You will surely meet your Lord and He will ask you of your works. I have told you. He who has a pledge let him return it to him who entrusted him with it; all usury is abolished, but you have your capital. Wrong not and you shall not be wronged. God has decreed that there is to be no usury and the usury of 'Abdāb b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib is abolished, all of it. All blood shed in the pagan period is to be left unavenged. The first claim on blood I abolish is that of b. Rabī’a b. al-Hārith b. Abīd-Muṭṭalib (who was fostered among the B. Līth and whom Hudhayl killed). It is the first blood shed in the pagan period which I deal with. Satan despairs of ever being worshiped in your land, but if he can be obeyed in anything short of worship he will be pleased in matters you may be disposed to think of little account, so beware of him in your religion. "Postponement of a sacred month is only an excess of disbelief whereby those who disbelieve are misled; they allow it one year and forbid it another year that they may make up the number of the months which God has hallowed, so that they permit what God has forbidden, and forbid what God has allowed." This has completed its cycle and is as it was on the day that God created the heavens and the earth. The number of months with God is twelve; four of them are sacred, three consecutive and the Rajab of Muṣṭar, which is between Jumādā and Sha'bān. You have rights over your wives and they have rights over you. You have the right that they should not defile your bed and that they should not behave with open unseemliness. If they do, God allows you to put them in separate rooms and to beat them but not with severity. If they refrain from these things they have the right to their food and clothing with kindness. Lay injunctions on women kindly, for they are prisoners with you having no control of their persons. You have taken them only as a trust from God, and you have the enjoyment of their persons by the words of God, so understand (T. and listen to) my words, O men, for I have told you. I have left with you something which if you will hold fast to it you will never fall into error—a plain indication, the book of God and the practice of His prophet, so give good heed to what I say.

Know that every Muslim is a Muslim's brother, and that the Muslims are brethren. It is only lawful to take from a brother what he gives you willingly, so wrong not yourselves. O God, have I not told you?"

1 Sura 9. 37.
2 A.Dh. explains that it was so called because Muṣṭar used to treat it as sacred while other Arabs did not. (I suspect that in Bohn's edition, p. 449, habbādānaha is a mistake for habbādānaha.)
3 Yumānītulāh. This is a difficult phrase. It is probably to be understood in the sense of Sura 8. 37 and more particularly 32, 33 where the Qur'anic commentators differ widely. See Lane, 1022.
I was told that the men said 'O God, yes,' and the apostle said 'O God, bear witness.'

Yahyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr from his father told me that the man who used to act as crier for the apostle when he was on 'Arafā was Rabi'a b. Umayyā b. Khalāf. The apostle said to him, 'Say: O men, the apostle of God says, Do you know what month this is?' and they would say the holy month. Then he said, 'Say to them: God has bidden you to declare your blood and your property until you meet your Lord like the sanctity of this month. Do you know what country this is?' And they said, 'This is the holy land' and he said the same as before. Do you know what day this is? and they said the day of the great hajj, and he said the same again.

Layth b. Abbās Sulaymān from Shahr b. Ḥašib al-Ashʿarī from 'Amr b. Khārīja told me: 'Attab b. Usayd sent me to the apostle on a matter while the apostle was standing on 'Arafā. I came to him and stood beneath his camel and its foam was falling on my head. I heard him say: 'God has assigned to everyone his due. Testamentary bequests to an heir are not lawful. The child belongs to the bed and the adulterer must be stoned. He who claims as father him who is not his father, or a client of a master who is not his master, on him rests the curse of God, the angels, and men everywhere. God will not receive from him compensatory atonement, however great.'

'Abdullāh b. Abū Najīlī told me that when the apostle stood on 'Arafā he said, 'This station goes with the mountain that is above it and all 'Arafā is a station.' When he stood on Qusṭah on the morning of al-Muzdāliifa he said, 'This is the station and all al-Muzdāliifa is a station.' Then when he had slaughtered in the slaughtering place in Minā he said, 'This is the slaughtering place and all al-Minā is a slaughtering place.' The apostle completed the hajj and showed men the rites, and taught them what God had prescribed as to their hajj, the station, the throwing of stones, the circumambulation of the temple, and what He had permitted and forbidden. It was the pilgrimage of completion and the pilgrimage of farewell because the apostle did not go on pilgrimage after that.

THE SENDING OF USĀMA B. ZAYD TO PALESTINE
Then the apostle returned and stopped in Medina for the rest of Dhul-Ḥijja, Muḥarram, and Safar. He ordered the people to make an expedition to Syria and put over them Usāma b. Zayd b. Ḥāritha, his freed slave. He ordered him to lead his cavalry into the territory of the Balqūs and al-Dārum in the land of Palestine. The men got ready and all the first emigrants went with Usāma (900).

MESSengers Sented to the Various Kingdoms

T. 1560

(Ṭ. As to I. I. according to what I. Hamīd alleged and told us saying that Salamā had it from him, he said: The apostle had sent out some of his companions in different directions to the kings of the Arabs and the non-Arabs inviting them to Islam in the period between al-Ḥudaybiya and his death.

Yaṣīr b. Abū Ḥašib al-Maṣrī told me that he found a document in which was a memorandum (Ṯ. the names) of those the apostle sent to the countries and kings of the Arabs and non-Arabs and what he said to his companions when he sent them. I sent it to Muhammad b. Shīhāb al-Zubārī (Ṯ. with a trusty countryman of his) and he recognized it. It contained the statement that the apostle went out to his companions and said: 'God has sent me as a mercy to all men, so take a message from me, God have mercy on you. Do not hang back from me!' as the disciples hung back from Jesus son of Mary.' They asked how they had hung back and he said, 'He called them to a task similar to that to which I have called you. Those who had to go a short journey were pleased and accepted; those who had a long journey before them were displeased and refused to go, and Jesus complained of them to God. (Ṯ. From that very night) every one of them was able to speak the language of the people to whom he was sent.' (Ṯ. Jesus said 'This is a thing which God has determined that you should do, so go.'

Those whom Jesus son of Mary sent, both disciples and those who came after them, in the land were: Peter the disciple and Paul with him, (Paul belonged to the followers and was not a disciple) to Rome; Andrew and Matthew to the land of the cannibals; Thomas to the land of Babel which is in the land of the east; Philip to Carthage which is in Africa; John to Ephesus the city of the young men of the cave; James to Jerusalem which is Aelia the city of the sanctuary; Bartholomew to Arabia which is the land of the Hijāz; Simon to the land of the Berbers; Judah who was not one of the disciples was put in the place of Judas.

(Ṯ. Then the apostle divided his companions and sent Salīḥ b. Ṭā'īr b. 'Amr b. Ṭ. 1560 'Abdul Shams b. 'Abdu Wudd, brother of B. 'Amīr b. Lu'ayy, to Haudha b. 'Alī ruler of al-Yamānā; al-'Alī b. al-Hādrāmi to al-Mundhir b. Saiwā, brother of B. 'Abdu'l-Qays, ruler of al-Bahrain; 'Amīr b. al-‘Āṣ to Jaybar b. Julandā and 'Abbād his brother the Aṣids, rulers of ‘Uman; Ḥāfīz b. Abū Balā'a to the Muqawqis ruler of Alexandria. He handed over to him the apostle's letter and the Muqawqis gave to the apostle four slave girls, one of whom was Mary mother of Ibrahim the apostle's son; Dīyā b. Khalīfa al-Kalbi al-Khaṭrajī he sent to Caesar, who was Heraclius king of Rome. When he came to him with the apostle's letter he looked at it and then put it between his thighs and his ribs.'

(Ṯ. Ibn Shīhāb al-Zubārī from 'Ubaydullāh b. Abūdullāh b. Uṭba b. Ṭ. 1561 1 Or, perhaps, 'differ in your response to me'.
2 The forms of the names shows that the source was Greek. It probably came to I. I. through Byzantium.
3 From this point to the summary of the prophet's said T.'s extracts, pp. 1560 f., from the last work of I. I. are given. Doubtless I. I. omitted them for the reasons given in his introduction.)
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Mas'ud from ‘Abdullah b. ‘Abbas from Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb told me, saying, 'We were a merchant people and the war between us and the apostle had shut us in until our goods were stale. When there was an armistice between us we felt sure that we should be safe. So I went out with a number of Quraysh merchants to Syria making for Gaza. We got there when Heraclius had conquered the Persians who were in his territory and driven them out and recaptured from them his great cross which they had plundered. When he had thus got the better of them and heard that his cross had been recovered, he came out from Hisn, which was his headquarters, walking on foot in thanks to God for what He had restored to him, so that he could pray in the holy city. Carpets were spread for him and aromatic herbs were thrown on them. When he came to Aelia and had finished praying there with his patricians and the Roman nobles he became sorrowful, turning his eyes to heaven, and his patricians said, 'You have become very sorrowful this morning, O king.' He said, 'Yes, in a vision of the night I saw the kingdom of a circumcised man victorious.' They said that they did not know a people who circumcised themselves except the Jews and they were under his sovereignty. They recommended him to send orders to everyone of authority in his dominions to behead every Jew and thus rid himself of his anxiety. And by God as they were trying to induce him to do this, lo, the messenger of the governor of Busra came in leading a man while the princes were exchanging news, and said, 'This man, O king, is from the Arabs, people of sheep and camels. He speaks of something wonderful that has happened in his country, so ask him about it.' Accordingly the king asked his interpreter to inquire what had happened and the man said, 'A man appeared among us alleging that he was a prophet. Some followed and believed him; others opposed him. Fights between them occurred in many places, and I left them thus.' When he had given his news the king told them to strip him; they did so, and lo he was circumcised. Heraclius said, 'This, by God, is the vision I saw; not what you say. Give him his clothes. Be off with you.' Then he summoned his chief of police and told him to turn Syria upside down until he brought him a man of the people of that man, meaning the prophet. We were in Gaza when the chief of police came down upon us asking if we were of the people of this man in the Hijaz; and learning that we were he told us to come to the king, and when we came to him he asked if we were of the clan of this man and which was the nearest of kin to him. I said that I was, and by God I have never seen a man whom I consider more shrewd than that uncircumcised man, meaning Heraclius. He told me to approach and sat me in front of him with my companions behind me. Then he said, 'I will interrogate him, and if he lies confute him.' But by God, if I were to lie they could not confute me. But I am a man of high birth too honourable to lie and I knew that it was only too easy for them, if I lied to him, to remember it against me and to repeat it in my

name, so I did not lie to him. He said, 'Tell me about this man who has appeared among you making these claims.' I began to belittle him and to speak disparagingly of his affair and to say, 'Don't let him cause you anxiety; his importance is less than you have heard,' butt he took no heed. Then he said, 'Tell me what I ask you about him.' I told him to ask what he liked and he asked about his lineage among us. I told him it was pure; our best lineage. Then he asked if any of his house had made the same claims which he was copying. When I said No he asked if he possessed any sovereignty among us which we had robbed him of and had he made this claim so that we might return it to him? Again I said No. Then he asked about the character of his followers. I told him that they were the weak and poor and young slaves and young women; not one of the elders and nobles of his people followed him. Then he asked whether those who followed him loved him and stuck to him or despised him and left him, and I told him that none of his followers had left him. Then he asked about the war between us and him. I said that its fortunes varied. Then he asked if he was treacherous. This was the only question of his which I found fault with. I said No, and that while we had an armistice with him we did not fear treachery; but he paid no attention to what I said. Then he summed up and said: 'I asked you about his lineage and you alleged that it was pure and of your best and God chooses only a man of the noblest lineage as a prophet. Then I asked if any man of his family made similar claims and you said No. Then I asked if he had been robbed of dominion and made this claim to recover it, and you said No. Then I asked you about his followers and you said that they were the weak and poor and young slaves and women, and such have been the followers of the prophets in all ages. Then I asked if his followers left him and you said None. Thus is the sweetness of faith: it does not enter the heart and depart. Then I asked if he was treacherous and you said No; and truly if you have told me the truth about him he will conquer me on the ground that is beneath my feet, and I wish that I were with him that I might wash his feet. Go about your business.' So I got up rubbing my hands together and saying that the affair of Ibn Abi Kabsha had become great in that the kings of the Greeks dreaded him in their sovereignty in Syria. The apostle's letter with Dihya b. Khalifa al-Kalbi came to him saying, 'If you accept Islam you will be safe; if you accept Islam God will give you a double reward; if you turn back the sin of the husbandmen will be upon you,' i.e. the burden of it.

From al-Zuhri from Uhaydullah from 'Abdullah b. 'Uthba from Ibn 'Abbás, who said: Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb told me practically the same story. Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri told me that he met a Christian bishop in the time of 'Abdul-Malik b. Marwān who told him that he knew about the affair of the apostle and Heraclius and understood it. When the apostle's letter by Dihya came to him he took it and put it between his thighs and his

1 This appears to be an allusion to Matt. xxii. 33 f.
Then he wrote to a man in Rome who used to read in Hebrew what they read telling him about his affair and describing his circumstances and telling him about what had come from him. The man in Rome replied that he is the prophet whom we expect: there is no doubt about it, so follow him and believe in him. So Heraclius ordered the Roman generals to assemble in a room and commanded that the doors should be fastened. Then he looked down on them from an upper chamber (for he was afraid of them) and said: 'O Romans, I have brought you together for a good purpose. This man has written me a letter summoning me to his religion. By God, he is truly the prophet whom we expect and find in our books, so come and let us follow him and believe in him that it may be well with us in this world and the next.' As one man they uttered cries of disgust and ran to the doors to get out, but found them bolted. He ordered that they should be brought back to him, fearing for his life, and said: 'I spoke these words that I might see the firmness of your religion in face of what has happened, and I am delighted with what I have seen of your behaviour. They fell down in obeisance and he ordered that the doors should be opened and they went off.

A traditionist said that Heraclius said to Dihya b. Khalīfa when he brought the apostle's letter: 'Alas, I know that your master is a prophet sent (by God) and that it is he whom we expect and find in our book, but I go in fear of my life from the Romans; but for that I would follow him. Go to Dāghāṭir the bishop and tell him about your master, for he is greater among the Romans than I, and his word counts for more than mine. See what he says to you.' So Dihya went and told him about what he had brought from the apostle and of his invitation to Heraclius. Dāghāṭir said: 'Your master is a prophet who has been sent; we know him by his description, and we find him mentioned by name in our scriptures.' Then he went and discarded his black clothes and put on white garments and took his staff and went out to the Romans who were in church and said: 'O Romans, a letter has come to us from Ahmad in which he calls us to God and I bear witness that there is no God but Allah and that Ahmad is his slave and apostle.' They heaped upon him with one accord and beat him until he was dead. When Dihya returned to Heraclius and told him the news he said: 'I told you that we feared death at their hands and Dāghāṭir was greater among them and his word counted for more than mine.'

From Khālid b. Yāṣâr from one of the first people of Syria: When Heraclius wanted to go from Syria to Constantinople when he heard about the apostle he gathered the Romans together and said: 'I am lying before you some matters which I want to carry out. You know that this man is a prophet who has been sent; we find him in our book; we know him by his description, so come and let us follow him that it may be well with us in this world and the next.' They said, 'Are we to be under the hands of the Arabs when we are a people with a greater kingdom, a larger population, and a finer country?' He said, 'Come and I will pay him the poll-tax every year and avert his onslaught and get rest from war by the money I pay him.' They replied, 'Are we to pay the low and insignificant T. 1568 Arabs a tax when we are more numerous, with greater sovereignty and a stronger country? By God, we will never do it.' He said, 'Then come and let me make peace with him on condition that I give him the land of Syria while he leaves me the land of Sha'm.' Syria with them meant Palestine, Jordan, Damascus, Hims, and what is below the Pass of the land of Syria, while what was beyond the Pass meant Sha'm. They said, 'Are we to give him the land of Syria, when you know that it is the navel of Sha'm? By God, we will never do it.' At this refusal he said, 'You will see that you will be conquered when you protect yourselves against him in your province.' Then he got on his mule and rode off until he looked down on the Pass facing Sha'm and said, 'Farewell for the last time, O land of Syria.' Then he rode off rapidly to Constantinople.


(T. via Salama: The apostle sent 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī to the T. 1569 Negus about Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib and his companions and sent a letter with him... From Muhammad the apostle of God to the Negus al-ʿĀṣhām king of Abyssinia, Peace. I praise Allah unto you the King, the Holy, the Peace, the Faithful, the Watcher, and I bear witness that Jesus son of Mary is the spirit of His Word and His word which He cast to Mary the Virgin, the god, the pure, so that she conceived Jesus. God created him from His spirit and His breathing as He created Adam by His hand and His breathing. I call you to God the Unique without partner and to His obedience, and to follow me and believe in that which came to me, for I am the apostle of God. I have sent to you my nephew Ja'far with a number of Muslims, and when they come to you entertain them without loss and for me invite you and your armies to God. I have accomplished (my work) and my admonitions, so receive my advice. Peace upon all those that follow true guidance.')

The Negus replied: '... From the Negus al-ʿĀṣhām b. Abjar, Peace upon you, O prophet of Allah, and mercy and blessing from Allah beside Whom there is no God, who has guided me to Islam. I have received your letter in which you mention the matter of Jesus and by the Lord of heaven and earth he is not one scrap more than what you say. We know that with which you were sent to us and we have entertained your nephew and his companions. I testify that you are God's apostle, true and confirming (those before you). I have given my fealty to you and to your nephew and I have surrendered myself through him to the Lord of the

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1. These are precisely the boundaries of Sha'm in the early days of the Arab conquest. Yield I added the fund of Qinnisira. The Pass (darb) may mean that over Arama or the Taurus or the Cilician Gates.
2. An extract from Sura 59. 43.
worlds. I have sent to you my son Abū Ḥabīb. I have control only over myself and if you wish me to come to you, O apostle of God, I will do so. I bear witness that what you say is true."

I was told that the Negus sent his son with sixty Abyssinians by boat, and when they were in the middle of the sea the boat foundered and they all perished.)¹

T. 1573
(T. via Salama. From 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr from al-Zuhri from Abū Salama from 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. 'Auf. 'Abdullāh b. Hudhāfa brought the apostle's letter to Chosroes and when he had read it he tore it up. When the apostle heard that he had torn his letter up he said, 'His kingdom will be torn in pieces."

(T. via Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb. Then Chosroes wrote to Bādhān, who was governor of the Yaman, 'Send two stout fellows to this man in the Hijaz and tell them to bring him to me.' So Bādhān sent his steward Bābawayh who was a skilled scribe with a Persian called Kharkharshah to carry a letter to the apostle ordering him to go with them to Chosroes. He told Bābawayh to go to this man's country and speak to him and then come back and report. When they got as far as al-Ṭā'īf they found some men of the Quraysh in (wadi) Nakib and inquired about him. They told them that he was in Medina. They rejoiced at meeting these men, saying, 'This is good news, for Chosroes king of kings is moved against the man and you will be rid of him."

The two men came to the apostle and Bābawayh told him that Shāhēshāh king of kings Chosroes had written to the governor Bādhān ordering him to send men to bring him to him and that they had been sent to take him away. If he obeyed, Bādhān would write to the king of kings on his behalf and keep him from him; but if he refused to come he knew what sort of man he was: he would destroy his people and lay waste his country. They had come in to the apostle's presence with shaven beards and long moustaches, so that he could not bear to look at them. He advanced on them and said, 'Who ordered you to do this?' To which they replied, 'Our Lord' meaning Chosroes. The apostle answered, 'But my Lord has ordered me to let my beard grow long and to cut my moustache.' Then he told them to come back in the morning.

News came from heaven to the apostle to the effect that God had given Shīrāzāy power over his father Chosroes and he had killed him on a certain night of a certain month at a certain hour. Thereupon he summoned them and told them. They said: 'Do you know what you are saying? We can take revenge on you. What is easier? Shall we write this as from you and tell the king of it?' He said, 'Yes, tell him that from me and tell him that my religion and my sovereignty will reach limits which the kings of Chosroes never attained. Say to him, "If you submit I will give you what you already hold and appoint you king over your people in the Yaman."' Then he gave Kharkharshah a girdle containing gold and silver which one of the kings had given him.

They left him and came to Bādhān and reported. He exclaimed, 'This is not the speech of a king. In my opinion he is a prophet as he says, We will see what happens. If what he said is true then he is a prophet who has been sent by God; if it is not, we must consider the matter further.' Hardly had he finished speaking when there came a letter from Shīrāzāy saying that he had killed Chosroes because he had angered the Persians by killing their nobles and keeping them on the frontiers. He must see that his men pledged their obedience to the new king. He must see the man about whom Chosroes had written, but not provoke him to war until further instructions came.

When Bādhān received this letter he said, 'Without doubt this man is an apostle,' and he became a Muslim as did the Persians with him in the T. 1573 Yaman.

The men of Hīmyar used to call Kharkharshah 'Dhū'l-Mījāza' because of the girdle which the apostle gave him, because 'girdle' in the Hīmyarī tongue is mījāza. To this day his sons keep the nickname. Bābawayh said to Bādhān, 'I never spoke to a man for whom I felt more respectful awe.' Bādhān inquired, 'Did he have any police with him?' He answered No.

A SUMMARY OF THE APOSTLE'S FIGHTS
The apostle took part personally in twenty-seven (T. six) raids:
Waddān which was the raid of al-Abwāṭ.
Buwīt in the direction of Raḍawāṭ.
'Ushayrā in the valley of Yanbu'.
The first fight at Badr in pursuit of Kurz b. Jābir.
The great battle of Badr in which God slew the chiefs of Quraysh (T. and their nobles and captured many).
Bānū Sulaym until he reached al-Kudr.
Ghā fatsān (T. towards Najd), which is the raid of Dhū Amarr.
Bahran, a mine in the Hijāz (T. above al-Furūṭ).
Uḥūd.
Hamrā'u'l-Asad.
Bānū Naḍīr.
Dhātu'l-Riqā' of Nakhl.
The last battle of Badr.
Dūmatu'l-Jandal.

¹ I.H. has counted the pilgrimage as a raid.

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¹ It will be seen that there is no inād for this tradition. I.H. has dealt with it in his summary to this section. I have omitted T. 1574. 4-1575. 5 because it is unintelligible without the preceding story from Ya‘zīd b. Abū Ḥabīb which evidently ran parallel with what I.H. had said.
Al-Khandaq.
Banū Qurayza.
Banū Liyūn of Hudhayl.
Dhi Qirad.
Banū l-Muṣṭaliq of Khuzā‘a.
Al-Hudaybiyya not intending to fight where the polytheists opposed his passage.
Khaybar.
Then he went on the accomplished pilgrimage.
The occupation of Mecca.
Hunayn.
Al-Tā‘if.
Tabūk.

He actually fought in nine engagements: Badr; Uḥud; al-Khandaq; Qurayza; al-Muṣṭaliq; Khaybar; the occupation; Hunayn; and al-Tā‘if.

A SUMMARY OF THE EXPEDITIONS AND RAIDING PARTIES

These were thirty-eight (T. thirty-five) in number (T. between the time of his coming to Medina and his death). ‘Ubayda b. al-Hārith was sent to the lower part (T. to the tribes) of Thaniyati‘-l-Māra (T. which is a well in the Hijaz); Hamza b. ‘Abdul-Muṣṭafā to the coast in the direction of Al-Ṭā‘if. (Some people date Ḥanūza’s raid before that of ‘Ubayda); Ṣā‘d b. Abū Waqqaṣ to al-Kharrār (T. in the Hijaz); ‘Abdullāh b. Jahlāh to Nakhl; Zayd b. Ḥāritha to al-Qardaha; (T. a well in Najd); Muhammad b. Maslama’s attack on Ka‘b b. al-Ashrafa; Marthad b. Abū Marthad Al-Ghanawī to al-Raji‘; al-Mundhir b. ‘Amr to Bi‘r Ma‘īna; Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ to Dhī‘l-Qasqa on the Iraq road; ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to Ṭurba in the B. ‘Amir country; ‘Alt b. Abū ‘Āthāb to the Yanama; Ghālib b. ‘Abdullāh al-Kalbī, the Kalb of Layth, to al-Kadid where he smote B. al-Mulawwah.

GHĀLĪB’S RAID ON THE B. AL-MULAWWAḤ

Ya‘qūb b. ‘Utbah b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas from Muslim b. ‘Abdullāh b. Khubayyab al-Juhrān from al-Mundhir from Juundab b. Makth al-Juhrān told me that the latter said: The apostle sent Ghālib b. ‘Abdullāh al-Kalbī, Kalb of B. ‘Auf b. Layth, on a night raid in which I took part. He ordered him to make a cavalry raid on B. al-Mulawwah who were in al-Kadid. We went out and when we reached Qudayd we fell in with al-Hārith b. Mālik b. al-Barṣāl al-Laythī and seized him. He said that he had come to be a Muslim and was going to the apostle. We told him that if he was a Muslim it would not hurt him to be tied up for a night, and if he were not we should make sure of him; so we bound him tightly and left him in charge of a young negro and told him to cut off his head if he tried to attack him.

We went on until we came to (T. the valley of) al-Kadid at sunset. We were in the wadi and my companions sent me on to scout for them. So I left them and went on until I came to a hill overlooking the enemy’s camp. I went up to the top and looked down at the camp; and by God as I was lying on the hill out came a man from his tent and said to his wife, ‘I see something black on the hill which I didn’t see at the beginning of the day. Look and see if any of your gear is missing; perhaps the dogs have dragged off something.’ She went to look and told him that nothing was missing. He then told her to fetch him his bow and a couple of arrows and he shot me in the side. I pulled out the arrow and laid it aside and kept my place (T. did not move). Then he shot me again in my shoulder. Again I pulled it out and kept my place. He said to his wife, ‘If this had been a scout of some party he would have moved, for both my arrows hit him; in the morning go and get them. Don’t let the dogs gnaw them.’ Then he went inside his tent.

We gave them time until they quieted down and went to sleep (T. until their cattle returned in the evening and they milked them and lay down quietly, and a third of the night passed) and towards dawn we attacked them and killed some and drove off the cattle. They cried out to one another for aid, and a multitude that we could not resist came at us (T. omits and has ‘and we went on quickly until we passed al-Hārith’) and we went on with the cattle and passed Ibn al-Barṣāl and his companion and carried them along with us. The enemy were hard on our heels and only the Wadi Qudayd was between us, when God sent a flood in the wadi from whence He pleased, for there were no clouds that we could see and 975 no rain. It brought such water that none could resist it and none could pass over. And there they stood looking at us as we drove off their cattle. Not one of them could cross to us as we hurried off with them until we got away; they could not pursue us, and we brought them to the apostle.

A man of Aslam on the authority of another of them told me that the war-cry of the apostle’s companions that night was Slay! Slay! A ráfīj of the Muslims who was driving the cattle rhymed:

Abūl-Qāsim refused to let you graze
On lushous herbs which you amaze
With yellow tops the colour of maize (901).

I will now continue the summary of the night raids and raiding parties:

‘Ali to B. ‘Abdullāh b. Sa‘d of Fadak; Abūl‘-A‘ajūt al-Sulami to B. Sulaym country where he and all his companions were killed; ‘Ukkāshā b. Miṣḥaṣan to al-Ghamra; Abū Sāhama b. Abūl‘-Asad to Qatā‘an, a well

1 From C. The whole passage in T. 1908 f. differs in phraseology though not in content from I.H. who has apparently edited the text freely.
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of B. Asad in the direction of Najd. Mas'ūd b. 'Urwa was killed there; Muhammad b. Maslama, brother of b. Hāritha, to al-Qurātā of Hawazin; Bashīr b. Sa'd to B. Murra in Padak; Bashīr b. Sa'd in the direction of Khaybar; Zayd b. Hāritha to al-Jumān b. B. Sulaym country; Zayd also to Judhmah in Khushayn country. So says Ibn Hishām, but al-Shāfi'i from 'Amr b. Ḥabib from Ibn Ishaq say ‘in Hismā country’.

The Raid of Zayd b. Hāritha Against Judhmāh

One whom I can trust told me from some men of Judhmah who knew about the affair that Rifi'ā b. Zayd al-Judhmān when he came to his people with the apostle's letter inviting them to Islam and they accepted it, was soon followed by Dīyā b. Khalifa al-Kalbī who came from Caesar, king of the Greeks, whom the apostle had sent having with him some merchandise of his. When he reached one of their wadis called Shanārī, al-Hunayd b. Ḍūs and his son Ḍūs of Dulay' a clan of Judhmah attacked Dīyā and seized everything he had with him. News of this reach some of al-Ḍubayb of the kin of Rifi'ā b. Zayd who had become Muslims and they went after al-Hunayd and his son; al-Nu'mān b. Abū Ji'āl of B. al-Ḍubayb was among them. They fell in with them and a skirmish took place. On that day Qurra b. Ashqar al-Ḍīfārī of the clan al-Dulay' proclaimed his origin and said, 'I am the son of Lubnāh,' and shot al-Nu'mān b. Abū Ji'āl with an arrow, hitting him in the knee, saying, 'Take that! I am the son of Lubnāh.' Lubnāh was his mother. Now Ḥassān b. Milla al-Ḍubaybī had been a friend of Dīyā before that and he had taught him the first sūra of the Quran (962). They recovered what Hunayd and his son had taken and restored it to Dīyā, and Dīyā went off and told the apostle what had happened and asked him to let him kill al-Hunayd and his son. The apostle sent Zayd b. Hāritha against him and that was what provoked the raid of Zayd on Judhmah. He sent a force with him. Ghaṣafūn of Judhmah and Wā'il and they of Salāmān and Sa'd b. Hudhaym set off when Rifi'ā b. Zayd came to them with the apostle's letter and halted in the lava belt of al-Rajjāl, while Rifi'ā was in Kūra' Rabba, knowing nothing, with some of the B. al-Ḍubayb while the rest of B. al-Ḍubayb were in Wādī Madān in the region of the lava belt where it flows to the east. Zayd's force came up from the direction of al-Aulāj and attacked al-Manṣūr from the barra. They rounded up the cattle and men they found and killed al-Hunayd and his son and two men of B. al-Ahnāf (963), and one of B. al-Khāṣib. When B. al-Ḍubayb and the force in Fayf'ū Madān heard of this some of them went off, among those who rode with them being Ḥassān b. Milla on a horse belonging to Sueyway b. Zayd called al-'Ajāja, and Unayf b. Milla on a horse of Milla's called Rīhāl, and Abū Zayd b. 'Amr on a horse called Shamīr. They went on until they came near the army when Abū Zayd and Ḥassān said to Unayf b. Milla, 'Leave us and go for we are afraid of your tongue.' (T. So he withdrew) and stopped near them. Hardly had they left him when his horse began to paw the ground and rear and he said (to it), 'I am more interested in the two men than you in the two horses.' He let her go over he overtook them and they said to him, 'Seeing that you have behaved thus, spare us your tongue and don't bring us bad luck today.' They agreed among themselves that only Ḥassān should speak. Now they had a word which they used in the pagan period which they learned one from another: if one wanted to smite with his sword he said Būrī or Thīrī. When they came near the army the men came running to them and Ḥassān said to them, 'We are Muslims.' The first man to meet them was on a black horse (T. with lance outstretched, the man who displayed it had as it were fixed it on the withers of his horse as he cried, 'Forward, outstrip them!') and he advanced driving them. Unayf said Būrī, but Ḥassān said 'Gently.' When they stopped by Zayd b. Hāritha Ḥassān said, 'We are Muslims.' Zayd said, 'Then recite the first sūra.' When he did so Ḥassān ordered that it should be proclaimed through the army that God had declared their land sacrosanct except as regards those who had broken their covenant.

Ḥassān's sister, the wife of Abū Wahr b. 'Adiy b. Umayya b. al-Ḍubayb, was among the prisoners and Zayd told him to take her and she clasped him by the waist. Ummu'l-Fīr of Dulay' said, 'Are you taking your daughters and leaving your mothers?' One of B. al-Khāṣib said, 'She is (of) B. al-Ḍubayb and their tongue utters all the day long.' Some of the army heard this and told Zayd and he gave orders that the hands of Ḥassān's sister should be loosed from his waist and told her to sit with the daughters of her uncle until God should decide what should be done with them. So they went back. He forbade the army to go down into the valley whence they had come and they passed the night with their people. They sought their night draught of milk from a herd belonging to Sueyway b. Zayd and when they had drunk it they rode off to Rifi'ā b. Zayd. Among those who went were Abū Zayd b. 'Amr; Abū Shamām b. 'Amr; Sueyway b. Zayd; Ba'ja and Bardha' and Tha'lab, sons of Zayd; Mukharrība b. 'Adiy; Unayf b. Milla; and Ḥassān b. Milla, until in the morning they came up with Rifi'ā in Kūra' Rabba behind the barra by a well there of Ḥarrā Laylā. Ḥassān said to him, 'Tiere you sit milking goats while the women of Judhmah (T. are dragged as) prisoners. The letter which you brought has deceived them.' Rifi'ā called for his camel, and as he began to saddle it he said: 'Are you alive or do you call the living?' When morning came they and he with Umayya b. Ḍafār, the brother of the slain Khāṣib, departed early from behind the barra; they journeyed for three nights to Medina and when they entered it and came to the mosque a man looked at them and told them not to make their camels kneel lest their legs should be cut off. So they dismounted, leaving them standing. When they entered the mosque and the apostle saw them he beckoned to them to advance; and as Rifi'ā began to speak a man said, 'Apostle, these 1

1 Or 'on the top of'.

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men are sorcerers,' and repeated the accusation twice. Rifa‘a said, ‘God be gracious to him who treats us well today.’ Then he handed the apostle the letter which he had written to him, saying, ‘Take it, O apostle; it was written long since but its violation is recent.’ The apostle told a young man to read it openly, and when he had done so he asked what had happened, and they told him. ‘Three times he said, ‘What am I to do about the slain?’ Rifa‘a answered, ‘You know best, O apostle. We do not regard as wrong what you think is right or the converse.’ Abū Zayd b. ‘Amr said, ‘Give us back those who are alive and those who are dead I disregard.’ The apostle said that Abū Zayd was right and told ’Ali to ride with them. ’Ali objected that Zayd would not obey him, whereupon the apostle told him to take his sword and give it to him. ‘Ali then said that he had no beast to ride, so they (the apostle) mounted him on a beast belonging to Thā‘labā b. ‘Amr called al-Mikẖal and they went off, when a messenger from Zayd b. Hāritha came on a camel of Abū Wahb called al-Shāmir. They made him dismount and he asked ‘Ali how he stood. ‘Ali said that they knew their property and they took it. They went on and fell in with the army in Fay‘a‘l-fil-Fāhlatayn and took their property which they held even to the smallest pad from a woman’s saddle. When they had finished their task Abū Jī‘l said:

| There’s many a woman who scolds unkindly,  
| Who but for us would be feeding her captor’s fire  
| Pushed about with her two daughters among the captives  
| With no hope of an easy release.  
| Had she been entrusted to ‘Uṣh and Aus  
| Circumstances would have prevented her release.  
| Had she seen our camels in MIX  
| She would have dreaded a repetition of the journey.  
| We came to the waters of Yathrib in anger.  
| (After four nights, search for water is painful)  
| With every hardened warrior like a wolf  
| Dour on the saddle of his swift camel  
| May every force in Yathrib be a ransom  
| For Abū Sulaymān when they meet breast to breast  
| The day you see the experienced warrior humbled,  

Zayd b. Hāritha also raided al-Ṭaraf in the region of Nakhl on the road to Iraq.

ZAYD B. HĀRITHA’S RAID ON B. FAZĀRĀ AND THE DEATH OF UMM QIRFA

Zayd also raided Wādī‘l-Qurā, where he met B. Fazārā and some of his 980 companions were killed; he himself was carried wounded from the field.

1 A.Dh. in Brönle’s text has jīb with the explanation ‘rascal’.

The Life of Muhammad

Ward b. ’Amr b. Madīnah, one of B. Sa‘d b. Hudhayl, was killed by one of B. Badr (whose name was Sa‘d b. Hudhaym—T. and I.H.). When Zayd came he swore that he would use no ablation1 until he raided B. Fazāra; and when he recovered from his wounds the apostle sent him against them with a force. He fought (T. he met) them in Wādī‘l-Qurā and killed some of them. Qays b. al-Muṣāhir b. Ya‘murī killed Mas‘āda b. Hakamā b. Mālik b. Hūdhayyā b. Badr, and Umm Qirfa Fāṭima d. Rabī‘a b. Badr was taken prisoner. She was a very old woman, wife of Mālik. Her daughter and Abdullah b. Mas‘āda were also taken. Zayd ordered Qays b. al-Muṣāhir to kill Umm Qirfa and he killed her cruelly (T. by putting a rope to her two legs and to two camels and driving them until they rent her in two). Then they brought Umm Qirfa’s daughter and Mas‘āda’s son to the apostle. The daughter of Umm Qirfa belonged to Salama b. ’Amr b. Al-Kwā who had taken her. She held a position of honour among her people, and the Arabs used to say, ‘Had you been more powerful than Umm Qirfa you could have done no more.’ Salama asked the apostle to let him have her and he gave her to him and he presented her to his uncle Ḥazān b. Abū Wahb and she bore him ‘Abdul-Raḥmān b. Ḥazān.

Qays b. al-Muṣāhir said about the killing of Mas‘āda:

I tried as his mother’s son would to get revenge for Ward.  
As long as I live I will avenge Ward.  
When I saw him I attacked him on my steed,  
That doughty warrior of the family of Badr.  
I impaled him on my lance of Qa‘dābī make  
Which seemed to flash like a fire in an open space.

ABDULLAH B. RAWĀḤA’S RAID TO KILL AL-YUSAYR RIZĀM

Abdullah b. Rawāḥa raided Khaybar twice; on one occasion he killed al-Yusayr b. Rizām (905). Now al-Yusayr (T. the Jew) was in Khaybar collecting Ghafafān to attack the apostle. The latter sent Abdullah b. 981 Rawāhā with a number of his companions, among whom were Abdullah b. Unays, an ally of B. Salīma. When they came to him they spoke to him (T. and made him promises) and treated him well, saying that if he would come to the apostle he would give him an appointment and honour him. They kept on at him until he went with them with a number of Jews. Abdullah b. Unays mounted him on his beast (T. and he rode behind him) until when he was in al-Qārqa, about six miles from Khaybar, al-Yusayr changed his mind about going to the apostle. Abdullah

1 i.e. abstain from sexual intercourse. The Semites, like other ancient peoples, tabooed intercourse during war. Cf. 1 Sam. 21, 5, 6 and Robertson Smith, Religion of the Semites, 454 et passim.