perceived his intention as he was preparing to draw his sword, so he rushed at him and struck him with his sword cutting off his leg. Al-Yusayr hit him with a stick of shawbak wood which he had in his hand and wounded his head ('I'. and God killed Yusayr). All the apostle's companions fell upon their Jewish companions and killed them except one man who escaped on his feet ('I', his beast). When 'Abdullah b. Unays came to the apostle he spat on his wound and it did not suppurate or cause him pain.

On the second occasion 'Abdullah b. 'Atik raided Khaybar and killed Rāfī b. Abū'l-Huwayq.  

'ABBULLAH B. UNAYS'S RAID TO KILL KHALID B. SUFYAH B. NUBAYH

The apostle sent him against Khalid, who was in Nakhla or 'Urana collecting men to attack the apostle, and he killed him. Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me that 'Abdullah b. Unays said: The apostle called me and said that he had heard that Ibn Sufyān b. Nubayh al-Hudhali was collecting a force to attack him, and that he was in Nakhla or 'Urana and that I was to go and kill him. I asked him to describe him so that I might know him, and he said, 'If you see him you will remind you of Satan. A sure sign is that when you see him you will feel a shudder.' I went out girding on my sword until I came on him with a number of men in a howdah seeking a halting-place for them. It was the time for afternoon prayer, and when I saw him I felt a shuddering as the apostle had said. I advanced towards him fearing that something would prevent my praying, so I prayed as I walked towards him bowing my head. When I came to him he asked who I was and I answered, 'An Arab who has heard of you and your gathering a force against this fellow and has come to you.' He said, 'Yes, I am doing so.' I walked a short distance with him and when my chance came I struck him with my sword and killed him, and went off leaving his women bending over him. When I came to the apostle he saw me and said, 'The aim is accomplished.' I said, 'I have killed him, O Apostle,' and he said, 'You are right.'

Then he took me into his house and gave me a stick telling me to keep it by me. When I went out with it the people asked me what I was doing with a stick. I told them that the apostle had given it to me and told me to keep it, and they said, 'Why don't you go back to the apostle and ask him why?' So I did so, and he said, 'It is a sign between you and me on the resurrection day. There are few men who will be carrying sticks then.' So 'Abdullah b. Unays fastened it to his sword and it remained with him until his death, when he ordered that it should be put in his winding sheet and it was buried with him (906).

To return to the expeditions: The raid of Zayd b. Haritha and Ja'far b. Abū Talib and 'Abdullah b. Rawāḥa to Mu'ta in Syria in which all were killed; and the raid of Ka'b b. 'Umar al-Ghifārī to Dābūt Aţlab in Syria in which he and all his companions were killed; and the raid of 'Umayn b. Ḥiṣn on B. al-'Anbar of B. Tamīm.

THE RAID OF 'UWAYNA B. ḤIṢN ON B. AL-'ANBAR OF B. TAMĪM

The apostle sent him to raid them, and he killed some and captured others. Ḍā'im b. 'Umar b. Qatāda told me that 'A'isha said to the apostle that she must free a slave of the sons of Ismā'il, and he said, 'The captives of B. al-'Anbar are coming now. We will give you one whom you can set free.' When they were brought to the apostle a deputation from B. Tamīm rode with them until they reached the apostle. Among them were Rāfi' b. Rufay'; Sabara b. 'Amr; al-Qa'qā' b. Ma'bād; Wāḏān b. Muẓir; Qays b. 'Āṣim; Mālik b. 'Amr; al-Aqra' b. Ḥābiṣ; and Fīrisa b. Ḥābiṣ. They spoke to the apostle on their behalf and he liberated some and accepted ransom for others.

Among the B. al-'Anbar who were killed that day were 'Abdullah and two brothers of his, sons of Wahb; Shaddād b. Fīris; and Ḥanṣula b. Dāirīm. Among the women who were captured were Asmā' d. Mālik; Ka's d. Artī; Najwa d. Naḥd; Junayd a. Qays; and 'Amra d. Maṭar. Salmā d. 'Attāb said about that day:

'Adīy b. Jundab had a serious fall. From it he was hard to rise.
Enemies surrounded them on every side
And their glory and prosperity disappeared (907).
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'AMR B. AL-'ĂŞ RAIĐS DHA'TU'L-SALĀSIL

The raid of 'Amr on Dhabūl-Salāsil in the country of (T.) Bali and the raid on B. 'Udhra. The apostle sent him to invoke the Arabs to war in Syria. The mother of al-'Āb b. Wa'il was a woman of Bali, so the apostle sent him to them to claim their help. When 'Amr came to water in the country of Judhām called al-Salāsil (T. Salāsil), from which the raid took its name, he took alarm and sent to the apostle for reinforcements. The apostle sent him Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāb with the first Muhājirs among whom were Abū Bakr and 'Umar. He told Abū 'Ubayda when he sent him not to quarrel. Now when he reached 'Amr the latter said, 'You have come only to reinforce me.' 'No,' said Abū 'Ubayda, 'but I have my sphere of command and you have yours'; for he was a man of easy gentle disposition on whom the affairs of this world sat lightly. So when 'Amr insisted that he had come to reinforce him he said, 'The apostle told us not to quarrel, and though you disobey me I will obey you,' to which he replied, 'I am your superior officer and you are here only to reinforce me.' 'Have it your own way,' said he, and 'Amr took the lead in the prayers.

An informant who had it from Rāfī b. Abū Rāfī al-Tā'ī who was Rāfī b. 'Umayr told me that the latter said: I was a Christian called Sarjis, the surest and best guide in the sandy desert. During the pagan period I used to bury water which I had put in ostrich shells in various places in the desert and then raid men's camels. When I had got them into the sand I was safely in possession of them and none dare follow me thither. Then I would go to the places where I had concealed the water and drink it. When I became a Muslim I went on the raid on which the apostle sent 'Amr b. al-'Āb to Dhabūl-Salāsil, and I made up my mind to choose a companion, and selected Abū Bakr with whom I rode. He wore a Fadak cloak and whenever he halted he spread it out, and put it on when we rode. Then he fastened it on him with a packing-needle. That was the reason why the people of Najḍ when they apostatized said, 'Are we to accept as ruler the man with the cloak?' When we approached Medina on our return I told Abū Bakr that I had joined him so that God might profit me by him, and I asked for his advice and instruction. He told me that he would have given this even if I had not asked, and told me to proclaim the unity of God and not to associate with Him; to perform prayer; to pay the poor-tax; to fast in Ramadān; to go on pilgrimage; to wash after impurity; and never to assume authority over two Muslims. I told him that I hoped that I should never associate anyone with God; that I would never abandon prayer if God so willed; that if I had the means I would always pay the poor-tax; that I would never neglect Ramadān; that I would go on pilgrimage if I were able; and would wash after impurity; but as to leadership I observed that only those who exercised it were held in honour with the apostle and the people, so why should he exclude me from it? He answered, 'You asked me for the best advice that I could give you, and I will tell you. God sent Muhammad with this religion and he strove for it until men accepted it voluntarily or by force. Once they had entered it they were God's protégés and neighbours under His protection. Beware that you do not betray God's trust in regard to His neighbours so that He pursue you relentlessly on behalf of His protégé. For if one of you were wronged in this way his muscles would swell with anger if the sheep or camels of his protégé had been seized, and God is more angry on behalf of those under His protection.' Thereupon we parted.

When the apostle died and Abū Bakr was set over men I went to him and reminded him that he had forbidden me to assume authority over two Muslims. He said that he still forbade me to do so, and when I asked him what had induced him to assume authority over every one he said that he had no alternative; he was afraid that Muhammad's community would split up.

Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb told me that he was informed on the authority of 'Aff b. Mālik al-Ashjā'ī that he said: I was in the raid on which the apostle sent 'Amr b. al-'Āb to Dhabūl-Salāsil, in company with Abū Bakr and 'Umar. I passed by some people who were butchering a camel they had slaughtered. They could not dismember it, while I was a skilled butcher; so I asked them if they would give me a share if I divided it between them, and when they agreed I took a couple of knives and cut it up on the spot. I took my share and carried it to my companions and we cooked and ate it. Abū Bakr and 'Umar asked me where I had got the meat, and when I told them they said that I had done wrong in giving it to them to eat, and they got up and forced themselves to expurgitate what they had swallowed. When the army returned from that expedition I was the first to come to the apostle as he was at prayer in his house. When I saluted him he asked if I were 'Aff b. Mālik the butcher of that camel, and he would say nothing more.

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THE RAID OF IBN ABŪ ḤADRĀD ON THE VALLEY OF IDAM AND THE KILLING OF 'ĀMIR B. AL-ADBĀṬ AL-ASHJĀ'I

Yazīd b. 'Abdullāh b. Qaysīt from al-Qaṭī'ī b. 'Abdullāh b. Abū Hadrād from his father said: 'The apostle sent us to Idam with a number of Muslims among whom were Abū Qatāda al-Hārith b. Ribī'ī; and Muhāllim b. Jathāmā b. Qays. We set forth until when we were in the valley of Idam (T. this was before the conquest of Mecca) 'Amir b. Al-ADBĀṬ Al-ASHJĀ'I passed by us on a camel of his with a meagre supply of provisions and a skin of laban. As he passed us he saluted us as a Muslim and we held off from him. But Muhāllim b. Jathāmā attacked and killed him on account of a quarrel they had had, and took his camel and provisions. When we came to the apostle and told him the news there came down concerning us: 'O you who believe, when you go forth in the way of God..."
act circumspectly and do not say to one who salutes you, "You are no believer," coveting the gain of this world;" etc. (909).

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me that he heard Ziyād b. Dumatayn b. Sa'd al-Sulami relating from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from his father from his grandfather who were both present at Ḥunayn with the apostle: The apostle prayed the noon prayer with us, then he sought the shelter of a tree and sat beneath it in Ḥunayn. Al-Aqra' b. Ḥabbas and 'Uuyayna b. Ḥiṣān b. Hudhayfa b. Badr went up to him quarreling about Ṭimār b. al-Adhāb al-Asbī'ī, 'Uuyayna, who was at that time chief of Ghatafan, demanding vengeance for the blood of Ṭimār and al-Aqra' protecting Muḥallām b. Jaththāmah because of his position among Khādīj. The quarrel went on a long time in the apostle's presence and as we listened we heard 'Uuyayna say, 'O apostle, I won't let him off until I make his women taste the burning grief he made my women taste', while the apostle said, 'No, but you will accept fifty camels as blood-money on this journey and fifty on our return.' He went on refusing the offer when up got a man of B. Layth called Mukaythir, a short compact fellow (910), and said, 'O apostle, the only thing to which I can compare this man who has been slain in the beginning of Islam is sheep who come with their leaders shot and the ones behind run away. Let the law of blood stand today and accept blood-wit later.' The apostle lifted up his hand and said, 'No, you must take fifty camels as blood-money on this expedition and fifty more when we return,' and they accepted them. Then they said, 'Where is this fellow of yours that the apostle may ask God's pardon for him?' Thereupon a tall thin man wearing a garment which he had taken to fight in got up and sat in front of the apostle. He admitted that he was Muḥallām b. Jaththāmah and the apostle said three times, 'O God, pardon not Muḥallām b. Jaththāmah.' He got up wiping away his tears with the end of his garment. As for us, we still hoped that the apostle asked for the divine forgiveness for him, but what we saw him do was what has just been said.

One whom I have no reason to suspect told me from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri that the apostle said when he sat before him, 'You gave him security in God and then you killed him!' Then he said the words which have been quoted, and by God Muḥallām died within a week, and the earth I swear rejected him. They buried him again, but the earth rejected him, and yet a third time the same thing happened. Worn out, his people made for two heights (forming a narrow gap) and laid him out between them and then rolled rocks on him until they had covered him. When the apostle heard about this he said, 'The earth has covered worse than he, but God wants to give you a warning of what must not be done by what He has shown you.'

Salīm Ābīl-Naḍr told us that he was informed that 'Uuyayna b. Ḥiṣān and Qays were addressed privately by al-Aqra' thus: 'You men of Qays, you have opposed the apostle about a man slain when he wanted to make peace between people. Are you sure that the apostle will not curse you so that God will curse you with his curse, or that he will not be angry with you so that God will also be angry with you? I swear that unless you submit him to the apostle and let him do with you as he pleases I will bring fifty men of the B. Tamīm who will all call God to witness that your friend who was slain was unbeliever who never prayed at all and thus cause his blood to be disregarded.' When they heard that they agreed to take the bloodwit (911).

The Raid of Ibn Abū Ḥadrah al-Aslāmī on Al-Ghāba to Kill Rifa'ā b. Qays al-Jushāmī

One whom I have no reason to suspect told me from Ibn Ḥadrah as follows: I had married a woman of my tribe and promised her two hundred dirhams as a dowry. I came to the apostle and asked him to help me in the matter and when I told him the amount that I had promised he said, 'Good gracious, if you can get dirhams from the bottom of a valley you could not have offered more! I haven't the money to help you.' I waited for some days when a man of B. Jushām b. Muwāiyā called Rifa'a b. Qays or Qays b. Rifa'a came with a numerous clan of B. Jushām and encamped with them in al-Ghāba intending to gather Qays to fight the apostle, he being a man of high reputation among Jushām. The apostle summoned me and two other Muslims and told us to go to this man (T.) and bring him to him or) bring news of him, and sent us an old thin she-camel. One of us mounted her, but she was so weak that she could not get up until men pushed her up from behind, and even then she hardly managed to do so. Then he said, 'Make the best of her and ride her in turn.'

We set forth taking our arrows and swords until we arrived near the settlement in the evening as the sun was setting. I hid at one end and ordered my companions to hide at the other end of the camp and told them that when they heard me cry 'Allah akbar' as I ran to the camp they were to do the same and run with me. There we were waiting to take the enemy by surprise or to get something from them until much of the night had passed. Now they had a shepherd who had gone out with the animals and was so late in returning that they became alarmed on his behalf. Their chief this Rifa'a b. Qays got up and took his sword and hung it round his neck, saying that he would go on the track of the shepherd, for some harm must have befallen him; whereas upon some of his company begged him not to go alone for they would protect him, but he persisted in going alone. As he went he passed by me, and when he came in range I shot him in the heart with an arrow, and he died without uttering a word. I leapt upon him and cut off his head and ran in the direction of the camp shouting 'Allah akbar' and my two companions did likewise, and by God, shouting

1 i.e. not to be wiped out by the blood of his slayer or tribesmen or to be paid for.
out to one another they all fled at once with their wives and children and such of their property as they could lay hands on easily. We drove off a large number of camels and sheep and brought them to the apostle and I took Rib‘ā’s head to the apostle, who gave me thirteen of the camels to help me with the woman’s dowry, and I consummated my marriage.

‘ABI‘U’RAHMĀN B. ‘AUF’S RAID ON DUMATU’L-JANDAL

One whom I have no reason to suspect told me from ‘Atā‘ b. Abū Rib‘ā that he said that he heard a man of Baṣra ask ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Umarr b. al-Khaṭṭāb about wearing the turban flying loosely behind one. He said that he would give them information on the point. ‘I was’, he said, ‘the tenth of ten of the apostle’s companions in his mosque, namely Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, ‘Ali, ‘Abdul-Raḥmān b. ‘Auf, Ibn Mas‘ūd, Mu‘ādh b. Jabal, Hudhayfa b. al-Yāmān, Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī, and myself. Suddenly one of the Anṣār came and saluted the apostle and sat down and asked the apostle who was the most excellent of the believers. ‘The best in character,’ he replied. ‘And who is the wisest?’ ‘The one who most often remembers death and makes the best preparation for it before it comes to him. Such men are the wise.’ The man remained silent, and the apostle said to us, ‘O Muhājirūn, there are five things which may befall you and I pray God that you may escape them: moral decay never openly shows itself among a people but they suffer from pestilence and disease such as their fathers have never known; they do not use light weights and measures but they are smitten by famine and the injustice of rulers; they do not hold back the poor-tax from their herds but rain is withheld, for but for the beasts there would be no rain sent; they do not break the covenant with God and His apostle but an enemy is given power over them and takes much of their possessions; and their imams do not give judgement about God’s book and behave arrogantly in regard to what God has sent down but God brings upon them the calamity they have engendered."

‘Then he ordered ‘Abdul-Raḥmān b. ‘Auf to make his preparations for the expedition. In the morning he wore a black turban of cotton. The apostle told him to approach and unwound it and then rewound it leaving four fingers or so loose behind him, saying, ‘Turban yourself thus, Ibn ‘Auf, for thus it is better and neater.’ ‘Then he ordered Bilād to give him the standard and he did so. Then he gave praise to God and prayed for himself. He then said, ‘Take it, Ibn ‘Auf; fight everyone in the way of God and kill those who disbelieve in God. Do not be deceitful with the spoil; do not be treacherous, nor mutilate, nor kill children. This is God’s ordinance and the practice of his prophet among you.’ Thereupon ‘Abdul-Raḥmān took the standard’ (912).
I put some rocks at the entrance as a screen and told my companion to keep quiet until the pursuit should die down, for they would search for us that night and the following day until the evening. While we were in the cave up came 'Uthmān b. Mālik b. 'Ubaydullah al-Taymī cutting grass for a horse of his. He kept coming nearer until he was at the very entrance of the cave. I told my friend who he was and that he would give us away to the Meccans, and I went out and stabbed him under the breast with the dagger. He shrieked so loud that the Meccans heard him and came towards him. I went back to the cave and told my friend to stay where he was. The Meccans hastened in the direction of the sound and found him at the last gasp. They asked him who had stabbed him and he told them that it was I, and died. They did not get to know where we were and said, 'By God, we knew 'Amr was up to no good.' They were so occupied with the dead man whom they carried off that they could not look for us, and we stayed a couple of days in the cave until the pursuit died down. Then we went to al-Tan'īm, and lo, Khubayb's cross. My friend asked if we should take him down from the cross, for there he was. I told him to leave the matter to me and to get away from me for guards were posted round it. If he was afraid of anything he must go to his camel and tell the apostle what had happened. I ran up to Khubayb's cross, freed him from it, and carried him on my back. Hardly had I taken forty steps when they became aware of me and I threw him down and I cannot forget the thud when he dropped. They ran after me and I took the way to al-Ṣafīr and when they wearied of the pursuit they went back and my friend rode to the prophet and told us our news. I continued on foot until I looked down on the valley of Dājnān. I went into a cave there taking my bow and arrows, and while I was there in came a one-eyed man of B. al-Dīl driving a sheep of his. When he asked who I was I told him that I was one of B. Bakr. He said that he was also, adding of B. al-Dīl clan. Then he lay down beside me and lifting up his voice began to sing:

I won't be a Muslim as long as I live,
Nor heed to their religion give.

I said (to myself), 'You will soon know!' and as soon as the baddū was asleep and snoring I got up and killed him in a more horrible way than any man has been killed. I put the end of my bow in his sound eye, then I bore down on it until I forced it out at the back of his neck. Then I came out like a beast of prey and took the highroad like an eagle hastening until I came out at a village which, (said the narrator), he described; ibn to Rakūba and al-Naʿqī' where suddenly there appeared two Meccans whom Quraysh had sent to spy on the apostle. I recognized them and called on them to surrender, and when they refused I shot one and killed him, and the other surrendered. I bound him and took him to the apostle.

Ibn Iyāq from Sulaymān b. Wardān from his father from 'Amr b.

\(^1\) See W. 641 supra.

\(^{1}\) LH's account will be found in the section devoted to his additions.

\(^{2}\) Qayla was the putative ancestress of Aun and Khazraj.

\(^{3}\) A gibe at the language of the Quran.

\(^{4}\) i.e. You resisted 'Tuba' who, after all, was a king in fact and a man of great reputation, to why believe in Muhammad's claims?

\(^{5}\) Wellhausen, p. 91, proposed an emendation of the text which hardly seems necessary. This line is not in W.
You obey a stranger who is none of yours, One not of Murād or Madhījī.¹
Do you expect good from him after the killing of your chiefs
Like a hungry man waiting for a cook's broth?
Is there no man of pride who would attack him by surprise
And cut off the hopes of those who expect aught from him?

Hassān b. Thābit answered her:
Banū Wā'il and B. Wāqīf and Katma
Are inferior to B. al-Khaṣṣār.
When she called for folly woe to her in her weeping,
For death is coming.
She stirred up a man of glorious origin,
Noble in his going out and his coming in.
Before midnight he dyed her in her blood
And incurred no guilt thereby.

When the apostle heard what she had said he said, 'Who will rid me of Marwān’s daughter?' ᵃ’Umayr b. Ḍiyār al-Khaṭṭāṭ who was with him heard him, and that very night he went to her house and killed her. In the morning he came to the apostle and told him what he had done and he said, 'You have helped God and His apostle, O ᵃ’Umayr!’ When he asked if he would have to bear any evil consequences the apostle said, 'Two goats won't butt their heads about her,' so ᵃ’Umayr went back to his people.

Now there was a great commotion among B. Katma that day about the affair of Bint Marwān. She had five sons, and when ᵃ’Umayr went to them from the apostle he said, 'I have killed Bint Marwān, O sons of Katma. Withstand me if you can; don't keep me waiting.' That was the first day that Islam became powerful among B. Katma; before that those who were Muslims concealed the fact. The first of them to accept Islam was ᵃ’Umayr b. Ḍiyār who was called 'the Reader', and Abdullah b. Aṣūr and Khuzayma b. Thābit. The day after Bint Marwān was killed the men of B. Katma became Muslims because they saw the power of Islam.

THE CAPTURE OF THUMĀMA B. ᵃTHĀL AL-ḤANAFĪ
I heard on the authority of Abū Sa’īd al-Maqburi from Abū Hurayra that the latter said: The apostle's cavalry went out and captured a man of B. Ḥanīfa not knowing who he was until they brought him to the apostle who told them that he was Thumāma b. ᵃThāl al-Ḥanafī and that they must treat him honourably in his captivity. The apostle went back to his house and told them to send what food they had to him, and ordered that his milch-camel should be taken to him night and morning; but this failed to satisfy Thumāma. The apostle went to him and urged him to accept Islam. He said, 'Enough, Muhammad; if you kill me you kill one whose blood must be paid for; if you want a ransom, ask what you like.' Matters remained thus so long as God willed and then the apostle said that Thumāma was to be released. When they let him go he went as far as al-Baqī', where he purified himself and then returned and paid homage to the prophet in Islam. When evening came they brought him food as usual, but he would take only a little of it and only a small quantity of the camel's milk. The Muslims were astonished at this; but when the apostle heard of it he said, 'Why are you astonished? At a man who at the beginning of the day ate with an unbeliever's stomach and at the end of the day with a Muslim's? An unbeliever eats with seven stomachs: the believer with one only' (915).

THE EXPEDITION OF 'ALQAMA B. MUJAZZIZ
When Waqqās b. Mujazziz al-Mudlijī was killed on the day of Dhū Qarr, 'Alqama b. Mujazziz asked the apostle to send him on the track of the people so that he might take vengeance on them. 'Abdullāh b. Muhammad from Muhammad b. Ḍimār b. 'Alqama from 'Umar b. al-Jāhak b. Tha'bān from Abū Sa’īd al-Khudrī said: The apostle sent 'Alqama b. Mujazziz, I being with the force, and when we were on the way he summoned a part of the force and appointed 'Abdullāh b. Ḍudhāfā al-Sahmī their leader. He was one of the apostle's companions—a facetious fellow, and when on the way he kindled a fire and said to the men: 'Have I not claim on your obedience so that if I order you to do something you must do it?' and when they agreed he said, 'Then by virtue of my claim on your obedience I order you to leap into this fire.' Some of them began to gird up their loins so that he thought that they would leap into the fire, and then he said, 'Sit down, I was only laughing at you!' When the apostle was told of this after they had returned he said, 'If anyone orders you to do something which you ought not to do, do not obey him.'

Muhammad b. Ṭalḥa said that 'Alqama and his companions returned without fighting.

KURZ B. JĀBĪR'S EXPEDITION TO KILL THE BAJILĪS WHO HAD KILLED YASĀR
A traditionist told me from one who had told him from Muhammad b. Ṭalḥa from 'Uthmān b. 'Abdullāh b. Ḍudhāfā al-Sahmī that in the raid of Muḥrib b. Ṭa’labā the apostle had captured a slave called Yasār, and he put him in charge of his milch-camels to shepherd them in the neighbourhood of al-Jammā. Some men of Qays of Kubbah of Bajila came to the apostle suffering from an epidemic and enlarged spleens, and the apostle told them that if they went to the milch-camels and drank their milk and urine they
would recover, so off they went. When they recovered their health and their
bellies contracted to their normal size they fell upon the apostle's shepherd
Yasār and killed him and stuck thorns in his eyes and drove away his
camels. The apostle sent Kurz b. Jābir in pursuit and he overtook them
and brought them to the apostle as he returned from the raid of Dhū
Qarad. He cut off their hands and feet and gouged out their eyes.

"ALI'S RAID ON THE YAMAN"

'Ali raidied the Yaman twice (916).

USĀMA B. ZAYD'S MISSION TO PALESTINE

The apostle sent Usāma to Syria and commanded him to take the cavalry
into the borders of the Baṣā and al-Dārūm in the land of Palestine. So
the men got ready and all the first emigrants went with Usāma (917).

THE BEGINNING OF THE APOSTLE'S ILLNESS

While matters were thus the apostle began to suffer from the illness by
which God took him to what honour and compassion He intended
for him shortly before the end of Šafār or in the beginning of Rabī‘u‘l-
awwal. It began, so I have been told, when he went to Baq‘ī‘l-Charqād
in the middle of the night and prayed for the dead. Then he returned to
his family and in the morning his sufferings began.

'Abdullāh b. 'Umar from 'Ubayd b. Jubayr, a freedman of al-Hakam
b. Abī‘l-‘Aṣ, from 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr b. al-‘Aṣ from Abū Muwayhiba,
a freedman of the apostle, said: In the middle of the night the apostle sent
for me and told me that he was ordered to pray for the dead in this cemetery
and that I was to go with him. I went; and when he stood among them he
said, 'Peace upon you, O people of the graves! Happy are you that you are
so much better off than men here. Descriptions have come like waves of
darkness one after the other, the last being worse than the first.' Then he
turned to me and said, 'I have been given the choice between the keys of the	
treasuries of this world and long life followed by Paradise, and meeting
my Lord and Paradise (at once).' I urged him to choose the former, but
he said that he had chosen the latter. Then he prayed for the dead there
and went away. Then it was that the illness through which God took him
began.

Ya‘qūb b. 'Uthba from Muhammad b. Muslim al-Zuhri from 'Ubay-
dullah b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Uthba b. Mas‘ūd from 'A‘isha, the prophet's wife,
said: The apostle returned from the cemetery to find me suffering from a
severe headache and I was saying, 'O my head!' He said, 'Nay, 'A‘isha,
O my head!' Then he said, 'Would it distress you if you were to die before
me so that I might wrap you in your shroud and pray over you and bury
you?' I said, 'Methinks I see you if you had done that returning to my
house and spending a bridal night therein with one of your wives.' The
apostle smiled and then his pain overcame him as he was going the round
of his wives, until he was overpowered in the house of Maymūnā. He
called his wives and asked their permission to be nursed in my house,
and they agreed (918).

THE APOSTLE'S ILLNESS IN THE HOUSE OF 'A‘ISHA.

The apostle went out walking between two men of his family, one of
whom was al-‘Abd b. al-‘Abbās. His head was bound in a cloth and his
feet were dragging as he came to my house. 'Ubaydullāh told this tradi-
tion to 'Abdullāh b. al-‘Abbās who told him that the other man was 'Alī
(T., but that 'A‘isha could not bring herself to speak well of him though
she was able to do so).

Then the apostle's illness worsened and he suffered much pain. He
said, 'Pour seven skins of water from different wells over me so that I may
go out to the men and instruct them.' We made him sit down in a tub
belonging to Ḥafṣa d. 'Umar and we poured water over him until he cried,
'Enough, enough!'

Al-Zuhri said that Ayyūb b. Bashir told him that the apostle went out
with his head bound up and sat in the pulpit. The first thing he uttered
was a prayer over the men of Uhud asking God's forgiveness for them and
praying for them a long time; then he said, 'God has given one of his
servants the choice between this world and that which is with God and he
has chosen the latter.' Abū Bakr perceived that he meant himself and he
wept, saying, 'Nay, we and our children will be your ransom.' He replied,
'Gently, Abū Bakr,' adding, 'See to these doors that open on to the mosque
and shut them except one from Abū Bakr's house, for I know no one who is
a better friend to me than he' (919).

'Abdullāh-Rajmān b. 'Abdullāh told me from one of the family of Sa‘īd
b. al-Mu‘alla that the apostle said in his speech that day, 'If I were able
to choose a friend on earth I would choose Abū Bakr, but comradeship
and brotherhood in the faith remain until God unites us in His presence.'

Muhammad b. Ja‘far b. al-Zuhayr told me from 'Urwa b. al-Zuhayr and
other learned men that the apostle found the people tardy in joining the
expedition of Usāma b. Zayd while he was suffering, so he went out with
his head bound up until he sat in the pulpit. Now people had criticized the
leadership of Usāma, saying, 'He has put a young man in command of the
best of the emigrants and the helpers.' After praising God as is His due he
said, 'O men, dispatch Usāma's force, for though you criticize his leadership
as you criticized the leadership of his father before him, he is just as worthy
of the command as his father was.' Then he came down and the people
hurried on with their preparations. The apostle's pain became severe and

1 I.L. tradition from 'A‘isha continues.
You are like Joseph's companions; tell him to preside at prayers." My only reason for saying what I did was that I wanted Abū Bakr to be spared this task, because I knew that people would never like a man who occupied the apostle's place, and would blame him for every misfortune that occurred, and I wanted Abū Bakr to be spared this.

Ibn Shihāb said, 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr b. 'Abdūl-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Khālid told me from his father from 'Abdullāh b. Zāma' b. al-Aswād b. al-Muṣṭalib b. Asad that when the apostle was seriously ill and I with a number of Muslims was with him Bīlāl called him to prayer, and he told us to order someone to preside at prayers. So I went out and there was 'Umar with the people, but Abū Bakr was not there. I told 'Umar to get up and lead the prayers, so he did so, and when he shouted Allah Akbar the apostle heard his voice, for he had a powerful voice, and he asked where Abū Bakr was, saying twice over, 'God and the Muslims forbid that.' So I was sent to Abū Bakr and he came after 'Umar had finished that prayer and presided. 'Umar asked me what on earth I had done, saying, 'When you told me to take the prayers I thought that the apostle had given you orders to that effect; but for that I would not have done so.' I replied that he had not ordered me to do so, but when I could not see Abū Bakr I thought that he was most worthy of those present to preside at prayers.

Abū Bakr returned to his wife in al-Sunī. Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith told me from al-Qāsim b. Muhammad that when the apostle heard 'Umar saying Allah Akbar in the prayer he asked where Abū Bakr was. 'God and the Muslims forbid this,' Had it not been for what 'Umar said when he died, the Muslims would not have doubted that the apostle had appointed Abū Bakr his successor; but he said when he died, 'If I appoint a successor, one better than I did so; and if I leave them (to elect my successor) one better than I did so.' So the people knew that the apostle had not appointed a successor and 'Umar was not suspected of hostility towards Abū Bakr.1

Abū Bakr b. 'Abdullāh b. Abū Mulayka told me that when the Monday came the apostle went out to morning prayer with his head wrapped up while Abū Bakr was leading the prayers. When the apostle went out the people's attention wavered, and Abū Bakr knew that the people would not

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1 Abū Bakr appointed 'Umar to succeed him; the prophet made no appointment.
behave thus unless the apostle had come, so he withdrew from his place; but the apostle pushed him in the back, saying, ‘Lead the men in prayer,’ and the apostle sat at his side praying in a sitting posture on the right of Abū Bakr. When he had ended prayer he turned to the men and spoke to them with a loud voice which could be heard outside the mosque: ‘O men, the fire is kindled, and rebellions come like the darkness of the night. By God, you can lay nothing to my charge. I allow only what the Quran allows and forbid only what the Quran forbids.’

When he had ended these words Abū Bakr said to him: ‘O prophet of God, I see that this morning you enjoy the favour and goodness of God as we desire; today is the day of Bint Khārijah. May I go to her?’ The apostle agreed and went indoors and Abū Bakr went to his wife in al-Sunbūh.

Al-Zuhri said, and ‘Abdullāh b. Ka‘b b. Mālik from ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abbās told me: That day ’Alī went out from the apostle and the men asked him how the apostle was and he replied that thanks be to God he had recovered. ‘Abbās took him by the hand and said, ‘’Alī, three nights hence you will be a slave. I swear by God that I recognized death in the apostle’s face as I used to recognize it in the faces of the sons of ‘Abdu’l-Muṭṭalib. So let us go to the apostle; if authority is to be with us, we shall know it, and if it is to be with others we will request him to join the people to treat us well.’ ’Alī answered: ‘By God, I will not. If it is withheld from us none after him will give it to us.’ The apostle died with the heat of noon that day.

Ya‘qīb b. ‘Ubtā from al-Zuhri from ‘Urwā from ‘A‘isha said: ‘The apostle came back to me from the mosque that day and lay in my bosom. A man of Abū Bakr’s family came to me with a toothpick in his hand and the apostle looked at it in such a way that I knew he wanted it, and when I asked him if he wanted me to give it to him he said Yes; so I took it; and chewed it for him to soften it and gave it to him. He rubbed his teeth with it more energetically than I had ever seen him rub before; then he laid it down. I found him heavy in my bosom and as I looked into his face, his eyes were fixed and he was saying, ‘Nay, the most Exalted Companion is of paradise.’ I said, ‘You were given the choice and you have chosen, by Him Who sent you with the truth!’ And so the apostle was taken.

Yahyā b. ‘Abbās b. ‘Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr from his father told me that he heard ‘A‘isha say: The apostle died in my bosom during my turn; I had wronged none in regard to him. It was due to my ignorance and extreme youth that the apostle died in my arms. Then I laid his head on a pillow and got up beating my breast and slapping my face along with the other women.

Al-Zuhri said, and Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyib from Abū Hurayra told me: When the apostle was dead ’Umar got up and said: ‘Some of the disaffected will allege that the apostle is dead, but by God he is not dead: he has gone to his Lord as Moses b. Imrān went and was hidden from his people for forty days, returning to them after it was said that he had died. By God, the apostle will return as Moses returned and will cut off the hands and feet of men who allege that the apostle is dead.’ When Abū Bakr heard what was happening he came to the door of the mosque as ‘Umar was speaking to the people. He paid no attention but went in to ‘Uṭba’s house to the apostle, who was lying covered by a mantle of yoga cloth. He went and uncovered his face and kissed him, saying, ‘You are nearer than my father and mother. You have tasted the death which God had decreed: a second death will never overtake you.’ Then he replaced the mantle on the apostle’s face and went out. ’Umar was still speaking and he said, ‘Gently, ’Umar, be quiet.’ But ’Umar refused and went on talking, and when Abū Bakr saw that he would not be silent he went forward to the people who, when they heard his words, came to him and left ’Umar. Giving thanks and praise to God he said: ‘O men, if anyone worships Muhammad, Muhammad is dead: if anyone worships God, God is alive, immortal.’ Then he recited this verse: ‘Muhammad is nothing but an apostle. Apostles have passed away before him. Can it be that if he were to die or be killed you would turn back on your heels? He who turns back does no harm to God and God will reward the grateful.’ By God, it was as though the people did not know that this verse (I. concerning the apostle) had come down until Abū Bakr recited it that day. The people took it from him and it was (constantly) in their mouths.

’Umar said, ‘By God, when I heard Abū Bakr recite these words I was dumbfounded so that my legs would not bear me and I fell to the ground knowing that the apostle was indeed dead.’

THE MEETING IN THE HALL OF B. SĀ‘ĪDA

When the apostle was taken this clan of the Anṣār gathered round Sa‘d b. Ubayda in the hall of B. Sā‘īda, and ’Alī and al-Zubayr b. al-Awwām and Tālha b. Ubaydullah separated themselves in Fīṭāma’s house while the rest of the Muhājrīn gathered round Abū Bakr accompanied by Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr with the B. Abūl-‘Ashāl. Then someone came to Abū Bakr and ’Umar telling them that this clan of the Anṣār had gathered round Sa‘d in the hall of B. Sā‘īda. ‘If you want to have command of the people, then take it before their action becomes serious.’ Now the apostle was still in his house, the burial arrangements not having been completed, and his family had locked the door of the house. ’Umar said, ‘I said to Abū Bakr, Let us go to these our brothers of the Anṣār to see what they are doing.’

In connexion with these events ‘Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr told me from Ibn Shihab al-Zuhiri from ‘Ubaydullah b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Ubtā b. Mas’ūd from ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abbās who said, I was waiting for Abūl-‘Rajmān b. ’A’uf in his station in Minā while he was with ’Umar in the last pilgrimage which ’Umar performed. When he returned he found me waiting, for I was teaching him to read the Quran. ‘Abdu’l-‘Rajmān said to me:

1 Sūra 3. 138.
I wish you could have seen a man who came to the commander of the faithful and said, "O commander of the faithful, would you like a man who said, By God, if 'Umar were dead I would hail So-and-so. Factly given to Abū Bakr was a hasty mistake and was ratified."' 'Umar was angry and said, 'God willing, I shall get up among the men tonight and warn them against those who want to usurp power over them.' I said, 'Don't do it, commander of the faithful, for the festival brings together the riff-raff and the lowest of the people; they are the ones who will be in the majority in your proximity (T. your assembly) when you stand among the people. And I am afraid lest you should get up and say something which they will repeat everywhere, not understanding what you say or interpreting it aright; so wait until you come to Medina, for it is the home of the sunna and you can confer privately with the lawyers and the nobles of the people. (T. you will come to the home of the hijra and the sunna and you can confer privately with the apostle's companions both muhājirīn and ansār.)' You can say what you will and the lawyers (T. they) will understand what you say and interpret it properly.' 'Umar replied, 'By God, if He will I will do so as soon as I get to Medina.'

We came to Medina at the end of Dhīl-Hijja and on the Friday I returned quickly when the sun set and found Sa'īd b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl sitting by the support of the pulpit and I sat opposite him knee to knee. Immediately 'Umar came out and when I saw him coming I said to Sa'īd, 'He will say something tonight on this pulpit which he has never said since he was made caliph.' Sa'īd was annoyed and asked, 'What do you suppose that he is going to say that he has never said before?' 'Umar sat in the pulpit, and when the muezzins were silent he praised God as was fitting and said: 'I am about to say to you today something which God has willed that I should say and I do not know whether perhaps it is my last utterance. He who understands and heeds it let him take it with him whithersoever he goes; and as for him who fears that he will not heed it, he may not deny that I said it. God sent Muhammad and sent down the scripture to him. Part of what he sent down was the passage on stoning: we read it, we were taught it, and we heeded it. The apostle stoned (adulterers) and we stoned them after him. I fear that in time to come men will say that they find no mention of stoning in God's book and thereby go astray by neglecting an ordinance which God has sent down. Verily stoning in the book of God is a penalty laid on married men and women who commit adultery, if proof stands or pregnancy is clear or confession is made. Then we read in what we read from God's book: "Do not desire to have ancestors other than your own for it is infidelity to do so."' 1

1 The difference between the two reports of what I.I. said is interesting. Ziyād makes the lawyers and the shari'ah the ultimate authority while T. has nothing to say about these regards the prophet's companions as the real authorities. If the tradition is genuine T.'s version must be authentic because there can hardly have been lawyers in 'Umar's day. However, it is possible that at that time fiqh did not bear its later meaning.

2 This citation, which on the face of it has nothing to do with adultery, shows that the wāja' al-sāhibūn/our origin and wret authority from us and I had prepared.' See The
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1016 speak, for I had prepared a speech in my mind which pleased me much. I wanted to produce it before Abū Bakr and I was trying to soften a certain asperity of his; but Abū Bakr said, 'Gently, 'Umar!' I did not like to anger him and so he spoke. He was a man with more knowledge and dignity than I, and by God he did not omit a single word which I had thought of; and he uttered it in his inimitable way better than I could have done.

He said: 'All the good that you have said about yourselves is deserved. But the Arabs will recognize authority only in this clan of Quraysh, they being the best of the Arabs in blood and country. I offer you one of these two men: accept which you please.' Thus saying he took hold of my hand and that of Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrah who was sitting between us. Nothing he said displeased me more than that. By God, I would rather have come forward and have had my head struck of—if that were no sin—than rule over a people of whom Abū Bakr was one.

One of the Anṣār said: 'I am the rubbing post and the fruitful propped-up palm.' Let us have one ruler and you another, O Quraysh.' Altercation waxed hotter and voices were raised until when a complete breach was to be feared I said, 'Stretch out your hand, Abū Bakr.' He did so and I paid him homage; the Muhājiros followed and then the Anṣār. (In doing so) we jumped on Sa'd b. 'Ubāda and someone said that we had killed him. I said, 'God kill him.'

Al-Zubair said that 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr told him that one of the two men whom they met on the way to the hall was 'Uwaym b. Sa'id and the other was Ma'n b. 'Adiy, brother of B. al-'Ajlan. Concerning 'Uwaym we have heard that when the apostle was asked who were those of whom God said 'In it are men who love to purify themselves and God loves those who purify themselves,' the apostle said that the best man of them was 'Uwaym b. Sa'id. As to Ma'n, we have heard that when men went over the apostle's death and said that they wished that they had died before him because they feared that they would split up into factions, he said that he did not want to die before him so that he could bear witness to his truth when he was dead as he had done when he was alive. Ma'n was killed on the day of al-Yamāma as a martyr in the caliphate of Abū Bakr, the day of Musaylima the arch-lier.

Al-Zubair told me on the authority of Anas b. Mālik: On the morrow of Abū Bakr's acceptance in the hall he sat in the pulpit and 'Umar got up and spoke before him, and after praising God as was meet he said, 'O men, yesterday I said something (T. based on my own opinion and which I do not find in God's book nor was it something which the apostle entrusted to me; but I thought that the apostle would order our affairs (T. until) he was the last of us (alive). God has left His book with you, passage is of great importance in that it shows how the Emigrants were then the dominating party and henceforth the Anṣār would have to take a subordinate place.

1 I.e., a man who can care people's ills and is held in high esteem because of his great experience.

that by which He guided His apostle, and if you hold fast to that God will guide you as He guided him. God has placed your affairs in the hands of the best one among you, the companion of the apostle, 'the second of the two when they were in the cave', so arise and swear fealty to him. Thereupon the people swore fealty to Abū Bakr as a body after the pledge in the hall.

Abū Bakr said after praising God: 'I have been given authority over you but I am not the best of you. If I do well, help me, and if I do ill, then put me right. Truth consists in loyalty and falsehood in treachery. The weak amongst you shall be strong in my eyes until I secure his right if God will; and the strong amongst you shall be weak in my eyes until I wrest the right from him. If a people refrain from fighting in the way of God, God will smite them with disgrace. Wickedness is never widespread in a people but God brings calamity upon them all. Obey me as long as I obey God and His apostle, and if I disobey them you owe me no obedience. Arise to prayer. God have mercy on you.'

Huwaya b. 'Abdullāh told me from Ikhra from Ibn 'Abbas who said: 'When 'Umar was caliph I was walking with him while he was intent on business of his. We were alone and he had a whip in his hand, and as he talked to himself he swished the side of his legs with his whip. As he turned to me he asked me if I knew what induced him to speak as he did when the apostle died. I said that only he could know that, and he went on: 'It was because I used to read 'thou we have made you a middle people that you may be witnesses against men and that the apostle may be a witness against you,' and by God I thought that the apostle would remain among his people until he could witness against them as to the last things they did. That was what induced me to say what I did.'

THE BURIAL PREPARATIONS

When fealty had been sworn to Abū Bakr men came to prepare the apostle for burial on the Thursday. 'Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr and Huwaya b. 'Abdullāh and others of our companions told me that 'Ali and 'Abbās and his sons al-Faḍl and Qutham, and Usāma b. Zayd, and Shuqra'n freedman of the apostle were those who took charge of the washing of him; and that Asb b. Khalif, one of B. 'Auf b. al-Khazraj said, 'I adjure you by God, 'Ali, and by our share in the apostle.' Aus was one of the apostle's companions who had been at Bād. 'Ali gave him permission to enter and he came in and sat down and was present at the washing of the apostle. 'Ali drew him on to his breast and 'Abbās and al-Faḍl and Qutham turned him over along with him. Usāma and Shuqra'n poured the water over him, while 'Ali washed him, having drawn him towards his breast. He still wore his shirt with which he rubbed him from the outside without touching the

1 Sūra 9. 45.
2 Sūra 2. 137.
3 i.e., 'that you will let me take part' or some such apodosis.
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1019 apostle’s body with his hand the while he said, ‘Dearer than my father and my mother, how sweet you are alive and dead!’ The apostle’s body did not present the appearance of an ordinary corpse.

Yahyā b. ‘Abbād b. ‘Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr from his father ‘Abbād from ‘Āisha: When they wanted to wash the apostle dispute arose. They did not know whether they were to strip him of his clothes as they stripped their dead or to wash him with his clothes on. As they disputed God cast a deep sleep upon them so that every man’s chin was sunk on his chest.

Then a voice came from the direction of the house, none knowing who it was: ‘Wash the apostle with his clothes on.’ So they got up and went to the apostle and washed him with his shirt on, pouring water on the shirt, and rubbing him with the shirt between him and them (T. ‘Āisha used to say, ‘Had I known at the beginning of my affair what I knew at the end of it none but his wives would have washed him’).

Ja’far b. Muhammad b. ‘Ali b. al-Husayn from his father from his grandfather ‘Ali b. al-Husayn, and al-Zuhrī from ‘Ali b. al-Husayn, said that when the apostle had been washed he was wrapped in three garments, two of Shāfīr māke and a striped mantle the one over the other.

Husayn b. ‘Abdul lah told me from ‘Irāqī from Ibn ‘Abbās: Now Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ used to open the ground as the Meccans dig, and Abū Ṭalḥa Zayd b. Sahl used to dig graves for the Medinan and to make a niche in them and when they wanted to bury the apostle al-‘Abbās called two men and told one to go to Abū ‘Ubayda and the other to Abū Ṭalḥa saying, ‘O God, choose for (T. thy) the apostle.’ The one sent to Abū Ṭalḥa found his man and brought him and he dug the grave with the niche for the apostle.

When the preparations for burial had been completed on the Tuesday he was laid upon his bed in his house. The Muslims had disputed over the place of burial. Some were in favour of burying him in his mosque, while others wanted to bury him with his companions. Abū Bakr said, ‘I heard the apostle say, “No prophet dies but he is buried where he died”’; so the bed on which he died was taken up and they made a grave beneath it. Then the people came to visit the apostle praying over him by companies; first came the men, then the women, then the children (T. then the slaves). No man acted as īmām in the prayers over the apostle. The apostle was buried in the middle of the night of the Wednesday.

‘Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr told me from his father Fāṭima d. (T. Muhammad b. ) ‘Umāra from ‘Amrā d. ‘Abdu’l-Rahmān b. Sa’d b. Zuhār that ‘Āisha said: We knew nothing about the burial of the apostle until we heard the sound of the pickaxes in the middle of the Wednesday night. Ibn Iḥāq said: Fāṭima told me this tradition.

Those who descended into the grave were ‘Ali and al-Ḥadīth and Quthān.

1 There are two towns of this name, one in the Yaman and the other in al-Yamāma in B. Tamin-territory.
2 All Muslim graves contain this niche or recess.

the sons of ‘Abbās, and Shuqrān. Aus implored ‘Ali in the name of God and his share in the apostle to let him descend, and he let him go with the others. When the apostle was laid in his grave and the earth was laid over him Shuqrān his freedman took a garment which the apostle used to wear and use as a rug and buried (T. cast) it in the grave saying, ‘By God, none shall ever wear it after you,’ so it was buried with the apostle.

Al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba used to claim that he was the last man to be with the apostle. He used to say, ‘I took his ring and let it fall into the grave and said, My ring has dropped. But I threw it in purposely that I might touch the apostle and be the last man to be-with him.’

My father Ishāq b. Yaṣir told me from Miqṣam, freedman of ‘Abdullāh b. al-Ḥārīth b. Naufal, from his freedman ‘Abdullāh b. al-Ḥārīth: I went on the pilgrimage with ‘Ali in the time of ‘Umar or ‘Uthmān and he visited his sister Umam b. Abū Ṭalib. When he had finished his pilgrimage (T. I poured out) ablation water was poured out for him and he washed. When he had finished some Iraqis came in saying that they had come to ask him about a matter on which they would like him to give them some information. He said, I suppose that al-Mughīra tells you that he was the last person to be with the apostle?’ When they said that that was so, he said, ‘He lies. The last man to be with the apostle was Quthān b. ‘Abbās.’

Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān told me from al-Zuhrī from ‘Ubaydullāh b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Usha that ‘Āisha told him: The apostle wore a black cloak when he suffered severe pain. Sometimes he would put it over his face, at others he would take it off, saying the while, ‘God slay a people who choose the graves of their prophets as mosques,’ warning his community against such a practice.

On the same authority I was told that the last injunction the apostle gave was in his words ‘Let not two religions be left in the Arabian peninsula.’ (T. The apostle died on the 12th Rabii’u-l-awwal on the very day that he came to Medina as an emigrant, having completed exactly twelve years in his migration.) When the apostle was dead the Muslims were sore stricken. I have heard that ‘Āisha used to say, ‘When the apostle died the Arabs apostatized and Christianity and Judaism raised their heads and disaffection appeared. The Muslims became as sheep exposed to rain on a winter’s night through the loss of their prophet until God united them under Abū Bakr’ (920).

Hassān said mourning the apostle:

Tell the poor that plenty has left them
With the prophet who departed from them this morning.
Who was it who has a saddle and a camel for me,
My family’s sustenance when rain fails?
Or with whom can we argue without anxiety
When the tongue runs away with a man?

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He was the light and the brilliance we followed,
He was light and hearing second only to God.
The day they laid him in the grave
And cast the earth upon him
Would that God had not left one of us
And neither man nor woman had survived him!
The Banū-l-Najār were utterly abused,
But it was a thing decreed by God.
The booty was divided to the exclusion of all the people
And they scattered it openly and uselessly among themselves.¹

Hassān also said:

I swear that no man is more careful than I
In swearing an oath true and without falsehood.
By God, no woman has conceived and given birth
To one like the apostle the prophet and guide of his people;
Nor has God created among his creatures
One more faithful to his sojourner or his promise
Than he who was the source of our light,
Blessed in his deeds, just, and upright.
Your wives stripped the tents in mourning
And did not strike the pegs behind the curtains.
Like nuns they put on garments of hair
Certain of misery after happiness.
O best of men, I was as it were in a river
Without which I have become lonely in my thirst (921).

¹ Apparently 'the people' are the Ansār and 'they' are the Quraysh. The connection of this line with the preceding is obscure. This and the following poem come via I.I.

IBN HISHĀM'S NOTES

10. What I have just written about the prophet's genealogy back to Adam and about Idrīs and others I was told by Ziyād b. 'Abdullāh al-Bakrī on the authority of Muhammad b. Isḥāq.


God willing I shall begin this book with Ismā‘il son of Ibrāhīm and mention those of his offspring who were the ancestors of God's apostle one by one with what is known about them, taking no account of Ismā‘il’s other children, for the sake of brevity, confining myself to the prophet's biography and omitting some of the things which I. I. has recorded in this book in which there is no mention of the apostle and about which the Quran says nothing and which are not relevant to anything in this book or an explanation of it or evidence for it; poems which he quotes that no authority on poetry whom I have met knows of; things which it is disgraceful to discuss; matters which would distress certain people; and such reports as al-Bakrī told me he could not accept as trustworthy—all these things I have omitted. But God willing I shall give a full account of everything else so far as it is known and trustworthy tradition is available.

11. Some say Mīdād. Juruham was the son of Qaḥṭān from whom all the people of the Yaman are descended, the son of ‘Abīr b. Shālikh b. Arfakhshādī b. Sām b. Nūh.

12. The Arabs say Hājar and Ājar, changing the h into a as in the verb ḥarāq and ṣarāq to pour out. Hājar was an Egyptian. ‘Abdullāh b. Wahb from ‘Abdullāh b. Lahī’a on the authority of ‘Umar client of Ghūfrān told me that the apostle said: 'Show π y in dealing with the protected peoples, those of the settled lands, the 3kh, the crinkly haired, for they have a noble ancestor and marriage ties (w us).’ The said ‘Umar explained that by ancestry the prophet referred to the fact that the prophet Ismā‘il’s mother came from them, and the marriage tie was contracted when the apostle took one of them as concubine.

Ibn Lahī’a said: Ismā‘il’s mother Hāgār, the mother of the Arabs, came from a town in Egypt facing Fārānū, and Ibrāhīm’s mother Māriā, the prophet’s concubine whom the Muqaqīs gave him, came from Ḥifān in the province of Anṣānī.

13. All the Arabs are descended from Ismā‘il and Qaḥṭān. Some of the people of the Yaman claim that Qaḥṭān was a son of Ismā‘il and so according to them Ismā‘il is the father of all the Arabs.

¹ The text (both W. and C.) has 'came from Umm al-‘Arab', but I have followed the reading of W.'s MS. D. Yāqūt, i. 356, who agrees with W. and C., adds: 'Others say Umm al-Ariq; and it is said that she came from a town called Yaq near Umm Dunayn.'

² Said to be the ancient Pelusium.

³ In the Ṣa‘īd on the east bank of the Nile.