AN ANALYSIS OF THE EARLIEST ARAB HISTORICAL WRITERS

(Ibn Ishaq, Al-Tabari and Al-Baladhuri).

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Acknowledgement.

I am thankful to my supervisor, Dr. J.N. Mattock for the guidance of my research project on Arab Historiography. While correcting my errors he has always shown the kindness to forgive initial inadequacies. He is an able personality in the field of oriental sciences; creates hard principles for research students to discover new scientific points. He, indeed, has an unparalleled place among philosophers. His continuous supervision has enabled me to produce the lengthy research project. In the past, in my estimation, no-one prior to Dr. J.N. Mattock has produced such remarkable research work on the Earliest Arab Historiographers. Worthy praise and credit goes to my supervisor, with whom I have been very happy working during the whole period of research. I find him very kind and helpful to me. I pray to God, "he may live long".

In the circumstances of supporting myself, there have inevitably been financial problems and I would like to mention those who have helped me. Firstly, my thanks are due to Dr. Abdul Ghafur Muslim who has drawn my attention to research on Muslim Historians. I appreciate his help and encouragement in this field. I am grateful to Mr. N.H. Cheema, Mr. Saleem Akhtar and particularly to Mr. Khushi Mohammad Akhtar for his sponsoring letter to the British Home Office for financial support.
This dissertation consists of an examination of one period of history, that from the Hijra of the Prophet until his death, as it appears in the works of three of the earliest Arab historians, Ibn Ishäq, Sīrat Rasūl Allāh (this is actually a recension of the appropriate portion of Ibn Ishäq's larger history made by Ibn Hishām), Al-Tabarī, Ta'rikh al-rusul wa 'l-mulūk, and al-Baladhuri, Kitāb futūh al-buldān. The method adopted has been to make a detailed summary of the relevant portion of each work, to allow a conspectus of its scope, its sources, and its dependence on another of the three (if appropriate), to be readily obtained; this is followed by a commentary on points of interest in the work. The sources of the three historians are treated in a separate section. The conclusion attempts to present a general view of the characteristics of each author's treatment of the period.
The phonetic transcription of the Arabic alphabet.

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<td>١ - a', ٢ - b', ٣ - t', ٤ - th', ٥ - j', ٦ - h'</td>
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<td>١٣ - sh', ١٤ - s', ١٥ - d', ١٦ - t', ١٧ - z', ١٨ - c'</td>
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<td>١٩ - gh', ٢٠ - f', ٢١ - q', ٢٢ - k', ٢٣ - l', ٢٤ - m'</td>
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<tr>
<td>٢٥ - n, ٢٦ - h', ٢٧ - w (ū, aw, āu)</td>
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<tr>
<td>٢٨ - y (ī, ay, āi), ٢٩ - ٢٩'</td>
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Note: The transcription includes symbols for diacritical marks and vowels in Arabic.
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INTRODUCTION
The basic object of historiography is first to try to ascertain what various historians conceive to be the nature of their task, and then to examine the different ways in which they approach this task. The early Arab historians discussed here present particular problems to anyone who wishes to investigate their works from this point of view. In the case of Ibn Ishāq, his survives only in the recension of Ibn Hishām, who appears not only to have removed a considerable amount of the material originally present (as is demonstrated by the fact that Tabari quotes a number of passages that are not found in our present text.), but also to have rearranged the order in which some of the material is presented. He also, of course, adds his own notes, which, for our present purposes, have been disregarded; as far as Ibn Ishāq's text is concerned, however, Ibn Hishām seems, to judge from Tabari's quotations, most of which are not from his recension, to have made only a few minor alteration. In the case of both Tabari and al-Baladhuri, we possess only abbreviated versions of their original histories (or so, at least, tradition informs us); these abbreviations may or may not be their own work.

In no instance, then, can we claim to be able to discover the intentions of any of our three authors, or, indeed properly to investigate his method of fulfilling them, from the works themselves. It is, however, surely not unreasonable to attempt to examine these works, in the only form in which they can be known to us,
since they assumed this form by the agency of some person or persons, who, presumably, had a motive for presenting them in this, rather than any other, form. It is true that we can not say, in our conclusion, that such and such are the characteristics of the historical writing of I.I., al-Balādhurī and Tabarī, with reference to these figures as actual persons and authors; but, with this disclaimer, it is legitimate to use these names to refer, for convenience, to the works that for centuries have passed under them, and represent all that we are ever likely to know of the originals.

The choice of these three authors was more or less arbitrary, and yet, in a sense, it imposed itself. Sīrat Rasūl Allāh is an interesting and important work, by any standards, and, as really the earliest extant Arab history, clearly deserved to be included. Ta'rikh al-Rasul wa- l-Mulūk, as perhaps the most important Arabic historical work ever written, and also a very early one, was an obvious choice, and since it was desirable to work as far as possible on a comparative basis, the limits of the period covered were set by the beginning of Kitāb Futūh al-Buldān, which, it was felt, should be included as another important and influential work, and the end of I.I.'s book. Al-Wāqīdī's Kitāb al-Maghāzī, which it had at first been intended to examine as well, was eventually excluded, with reluctance, principally because of its length, but also, to some extent, because it dealt exclusively with the expeditions and contained no mention of events at Medina itself (it must be admitted that this
objection can also be levelled at al-Balādhurī, except in the first few chapters; it was nevertheless decided to retain him, in view of his importance and reputation). It had also been intended, originally, to include al-Yaʿqūbī, but considerations of space and time made this impracticable. Al-Masʿūdī was also excluded, almost from the first, since the account that he gives of this period in Kitāb Murūj al-Dhaylī was perfunctory in the extreme, and that in Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-ʾl-Ishrāf a bald statement of events.

The period covered, that of the life of the Prophet from the Hijrā to his death, might be thought less than ideal for an exercise of this kind, since the historians would be making use of very much the same material and would, for pious reasons, be inclined to handle it with great circumspection. It is true that Tabarī does quote a great deal of I. I. and that both of these (al-Balādhurī to a much lesser extent) include material of a kind that would probably not have been admitted had it not been hallowed by tradition and association. Nevertheless, it is history, as far as the authors themselves are concerned, and it is legitimate to examine it as such. An example of the different ways in which an historical account may be presented, even when the subjectmatter is of the kind that we are discussing, is to be found in Tabarī, 1375. 8 - 1383. 11; this is extensively discussed in the commentary and the Conclusion.
The form that this examination takes is that which was found, after a number of experiments, to be the most convenient. A very detailed summary is given of the events recorded by each historian, so that the reader may see, if not quite at a glance, at least comparatively easily, what events are described by each, in how many versions, and at what length. I.I. is taken as the starting-point for this, and direct, or more or less direct, quotations from his are indicated: " as I.I. ------ ( ref.)." There then follows a commentary on points of interest in the accounts given by each author. In this commentary a certain freedom has been exercised as to what is considered worthy of comment. The first consideration is to criticise the way in which an account is narrated, from the point of view of coherence, and dramatic effect; inconsistencies/implausibilities are also pointed out. Details that give a particular appearance of verisimilitude to a narrative and interesting touches that raise it above the rather spare and pedestrian level of much of the writing are also commented on. Since the authors tend merely to rehearse the bald facts, or what they take to be the facts, of any given episode, without any explanation as to why someone does something, or any background information that might serve to help one more clearly to understand a sequence of actions or events, from time to time some comments are made on the content of the narrative; this is usually done on the account as it is presented, taking it as an independent artistic unit, without the benefit
of additional information derived from fuller or variant versions
given elsewhere. In the matter of the supernatural, a discreet
attitude has been adopted; much of what might have been commented
or has been passed over in silence, lest offence should be given.
The commentaries, might, of course, have been very much more
extensive; a great deal has been excised from the earlier
drafts to leave them in the form in which they appear here. It
is hoped, nonetheless, that the points considered worthy of comment
still give, in conjunction with the indications of their scope,
as demonstrated in the summaries, a reasonable picture of the
nature of the sections of these works that are dealt with here.
An attempt has been made to crystallise this picture in the
Conclusion.

Clearly, the attempt made here to characterise these particular
sections of these three works is valid only for these sections;
for other sections a separate study would have to be made. This
is perhaps a disadvantage of selecting as the object of this
first exercise a period that presents such obvious and individual
problems. The reasons for this selection have been outlined
above. In spite of the untypical nature of this period for the
historians, however, it may be thought useful to have some kind
of view of a given section of each of the three works, supported
by concrete instances, and permitting some comparisons to be
made of the techniques of the three authors.
SUMMARY OF IBN ISHAQ’S TEXT

( 323. 7 - 1026. 14. )

N. B. @ indicates Ibn Ishaq.
* indicates anonymous source.
+ and - are used to indicate respectively
the presence or absence of authority.
- + indicates that a passage begins without
authority, but that one is given later.
323. 7 - 11. - authority.
Prophet and Abū Bakr seek permission to emigrate.

323. 12 - 18. @ - authority.
Quraysh discussion about Prophet.

323. 19 - 325. 14. @ + authority; x = 33 - 206 - 14.
Devil joins meeting to decide to kill Prophet.

325. 15 - 326. 1. - authority.
Abū alī sleeps in bed of Prophet.

326. 1 - 18. @ + authority; 317 - 195.
Prophet miraculously escapes from enemies. Sūra. 36. vs. 1-8.

326. 18 - 20. @ - authority. Verses of Qur'ān.
Sūra. 8. vs. 30. Sūra. 52. vs. 30 - 31.
( 326. 20 - 327. 3. Note of I.H.)

327. 3 - 7. @ - authority.
Prophet and Abū Bakr are given permission to emigrate.

327. 8 - 328. 2. @ + authority. x = 297 - 67.
Prophet and Abū Bakr start their journey.

328. 3 - 8. @ - authority.
Abū alī stays in Mecca to return deposits.

328. 9 - 15. @ - authority.
Prophet reaches the cave of Thaur.
( 328. 15 - 18. Note of I.H.)

328. 18 - 329. 11. @ - authority.
Prophet stays three nights in the cave.
( 329. 9 - 11. Note of I.H.)

329. 11 - 16. @ - authority.
Dispute about buying camels.

329. 16 - 20. @ + authority; 4.
Abū Jahl slaps Asmā'; her ear-ring flies off.

Jinn heard singing about Prophet's departure. Names of Prophet's travelling companions.
( 330. 7 - 9.) - ( 330. 12 - 13.) Note of I.H.

330. 14 - 331. 3. @ + authority; 307 - 9 - 4.
Asmā' sets mind of Abū Quhāfa at rest.

331. 4 - 332. 16. @ + authority; 326 - 60 - x - 266.
Prophetic itinerary to Qubā'.

People welcome Prophet who stays in house of Kukhūma b. Hidm.

Abū Bakr's host in Qubā'.

'Ali returns deposits which Prophet held, comes to Qubā' after three days. Story of Muslim woman and idols.

Prophet stays in Qubā' and performs Friday prayer at Medina.

Site of Prophet's Mosque settled by camel.


Muhājirīn emigrate to Medina leaving houses in Mecca which Abū Sufyān sells.

Prophet remains in Medina until Mosque and quarters built.

Names of Medinan clans who do not accept Islam.

Prophet gives first and second address to Muslims.

The covenant between the Muslims and the Medinans, and with Jews.

Brotherhood between the Muhājirīn and Ansār. Names given.

Abū Umama As'ad b. Zurāra dies. Prophet says he has no power to avert death. Prophet becomes leader of B. al- Majjar.
Abdullah b. Zayd b. Thalaba dreams about Adhan as does Umar.

Note of I. H.

Abu Qays b. Abu Anas accepts Islam; his poetry mentioned.

Note of I. H.

Reasons about the opposition of Jews to Islam. Names of Jewish munafiqin given.

Jew, Abdullah b. Salam, accepts Islam.

Rabbi, Mukhayril, joins Prophet; is killed at Uhud.

Testimony of Safiya d. Huyayy b. Akhtab to father's and uncle's recognition of Prophet.

Juläs b. Suwayd and his brother al-Harith, Munafiqin.

Qur'an. 9. 75.

Al-Harith b. Suwayd deserts at Uhud. He kills two Muslims and joins Quraysh.

Mu'adh b. Afra' kills Suwayd b. Samat.

Al-Harith sends his brother to Prophet for forgiveness.

Qur'an. 9. 80.


Names and activities of munafiqin who build mosque of al-Dirar, which is destroyed.
358. 14 - 359. 6. @ - authority.
Mirba b. Qays does not permit Prophet to cross his land on way to Uhud. Qur'an. 9. 66.
359. 2 - 6. Note of I. H.
359. 6 - 12. @ + authority, 88.
Hātib b. Umayya's son dies of wounds.
359. 12 - 14. @ - authority.
359. 14 - 20. @ + authority, 88.
Suicide of Quzān, munāfiq.
359. 20 - 360. 5. @ - authority.
Account of al-Dahhak b. Thābit, munāfiq
360. 6 - 361. 6. @ - authority.
Account and names of munāfiqīn. Qur'an. 4. 63.
361. 7 - 362. 4. @ - authority.
Rabbis accept Islam hypocritically. Prophet's knowledge of whereabouts of lost camel. Wind blows on death of munāfiq.
Names of munāfiqīn.
362. 5 - 401. 4. Extensive quotations and commentary of Surat al-Baqara about munāfiqīn and Jews.
23 Notes of I. H. in this section.
401. 6 - 411. 1. @ + authority; 194.
Deputation from Christians of Najrān discusses Christianity and Islam with Prophet. Extensive quotations and commentary of Surat al-'Imrān. 5 Notes of I. H.
411. 2 - 413. 15. @ + authority, 201 - 2, 150, 326 - 297 - 285.
412. 13. Note of I. H.
413. 18 - 415. 3. @ + authority, 108, 295 - 297 - 67, 326 - 17.
Prophet's companions fall ill.
415. 3 - 5. @ - authority.
Prophet decides to fight against polytheists.
415. 8 - 11. Note of I. H.
415. 11 - 16. @ - authority.
Prophet's age. Hijri reckoning starts.
415. 18 - 416. 3. @ - authority.

First raid on Waddan.

416. 3. Note of I. H.

416. 5 - 418. 20. @ - + authority, 94.

Expedition of Ṣubayda b. al-Harith.

416. 14 - 16. Note of I. H.

418. 7 - 8, 17. Notes of I. H.

419. 1 - 421. 3. - authority.


421. 4 - 8. @ - authority.

Prophet's expedition to Būwāt.

421. 11 - 422. 17. @ - + authority, 313 - 195 - 196 -75, *.

Prophet's expedition to al- Ḥusayra. Prophet gives title of Abū Turāb to ṢAli.

421. 3. 6, 11. Notes of I. H.

422. 18 - 423. 2. @ - authority.

Prophet sends Sa'd b. Abū Wawāqās on expedition to Hijāz.

423. 1 - 2. Note of I. H.

423. 5 - 10. @ - authority.

Prophet's expedition in search of Kurz b. Jābir.

423. 11 - 427. 10. @ - authority.

Prophet sends ṢAbdullāh b. Jahsh on expedition.

Qur'ān. 2. 214.


427. 11 - 13. @ - authority.

Change of Qibla.

427. 16 - 428. 11. @ - + authority, 326, 88, 19, 314 - 297, * - 14.

Prophet's expedition to intercept Abū Sufyān, who sends Damdam b. ṢAmr to Mecca for help.

428. 12 - 430. 20. @ + authority. * - 146 - 14, 314 - 297, 33.

Ṣā'īṭika d. ṢAbdu'l- Ḥuṭṭalib dreams of destruction of Quraysh.

431. 1 - 432. 15. @ + authority, * - 198, 314 - 297.

Cause of war between Quraysh and B. Bakr is given. Iblīs appears in form of Surāqa b. Mālik b. Ju'tham.
Prophet's itinerary to Badr.

432. 17–19. Note of I. H.


cAlī and Zubayr capture two water-carriers of Quraysh.

437. 4–9. Authority continues.

Abū Sufyān finds evidence of Medinan expedition in camel dung.

437. 10–18. + authority.

Juhaym b. al-Salt dreams of destruction of Quraysh.

437. 19–438. 4. − authority.

Abū Sufyān sends word to Abū Jahl not to fight against the Prophet.

438. 6–20. − authority.

B. cMiy, B. 'Zuhra and al-Akhnas withdraw from Badr war.


439. 1–16. − + authority, *.

Prophet occupies wells and constructs a cistern.

439. 18–440. 4. + authority, 19.

Muslims construct booth for Prophet.

440. 7–20. − authority.

Prophet calls for help of Allah. Quraysh who drink water from cistern are killed except Hakīm b. Hizām.

441. 1–442. 15. + authority, 199−*.

cUmayr b. Wahb estimates number of Prophet's men advising Quraysh to avoid war.

441. 14–16, 442. 11–14. Notes of I. H.

442. 17–443. 2. − authority.

Al-Aswad b. cAbdu'll-Asad is killed in cistern.

443. 4–16. + authority, 88.

cUthba b. Rabi' calls for single combat.

443. 18–444. 2. − + authority, 191.

Both armies advance on Friday, 17th of Ramadan.

444. 2–10. + authority, 110−*.

Sawād b. Ghazīya kisses Prophet's belly.

444. 11–18. − authority.

Prophet calls on Allah for help. Gabriel arrives with dust upon his front teeth.
444. 18 - 20. @ - authority.
Mihja and Haritha b. Surqa first Muslims killed.
445. 1 - 6. @ - authority.
Prophet incites Muslims to fight against Quraysh.
445. 6 - 9. @ + authority, 88.
Auf b. Harith fights against Quraysh until he is killed.
445. 9 - 12. @ + authority, 326 - 39.
Abu Jahl condemns himself to death.
445. 13 - 446. 3. @ - authority.
Prophet throws handful of pebbles at Quraysh saying,
"Foul be those faces."
446. 4 - 447. 18. @ + authority, 10 - 14.
Prophet’s order not to kill B. Hashim, Abu’l-Bakhtari and al-Abbas, the Prophet’s uncle.
447. 15 - 16, 18. Notes of I. H.
447. 19 - 449. 9. @ + authority, 307 - 9; 19, # - 53;
64A - 230 - 130.
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448. 13 - 14. Note of I. H.
449. 10 - 450. 8. @ + authority, 19 - 14 - #; 14 - # - 173;
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450. 4 - 6. Note of I. H.
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452. 10 - 453. 13. @ - authority.
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453. 1, 10 - 14. Notes of I. H.
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455. 18 - 456. 8. @ - authority.
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456. 9 - 457. 5. @ + authority, 55, # - 262-171 - 276; 19-173.
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457. 15 - 458. 7. - authority.
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458. 7 - 10. + authority, 88, 314.
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458. 11 - 19. + authority, 290, 326, 1.
458. 17 - 19. Note of I. H.
458. 19 - 459. 3. - authority.
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459. 3 - 14. + authority, 19 - 308.
Sauda d. Zama'a, Prophet's wife, reproaches Abū Yazīd for surrender.
Prophet divides captives among Muslims, who treat them well.
460. 2 - 6. Note of I. H.
460. 7 - 12. - authority.
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Prophet's enemy, Abū Lahab, dies, suffering from pustules.
Quraysh decide not to bewail their dead
461. 17 - 462. 8. - authority.
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462. 9 - 14. - authority.
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462. 15 - 463. 13. + authority, 192A.
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462. 20 - 463. 1, 6 - 7, 13. Notes of I. H.
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baggage to get away quickly.
Prophet's expedition against Dhū Amarr.

Prophet's expedition against al-Furū'ī of Bahrān.

Prophet offers Islam to B. Qaynuqā. B. Qaynuqā first to break peace agreement with Prophet.

Origin of quarrel between B. Qaynuqā and Muslims exposure of Muslim woman.

Prophet besieges B. Qaynuqā until they surrender unconditionally.

Prophet sends Zayd b. Haritha on expedition to al-Qarada in Najd.

Prophet's order for death of Kāb b. Ashraf who insults Muslim women by amatory poetry.

Affair of Muhayyīsa and Huwayyīsa.

Badr disaster unites Meccans in hope of revenge.

Abū C Azza al-Jumahi incites tribes against Prophet by his poetry.

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Prophet interprets dream as warning to remain in Medina.


Mirba b. Qayl does not permit Prophet to cross his land on his way to Uhud.

Prophet posts fifty archers on mountain to protect rear.

Quraysh muster their troops, about 3,000 men.

Prophet gives Abu Dujâna Simâk b. Khârasa his sword.

Abû cAmir cAbdu cAmr b. Sayfî b. Malik joins Quraysh with fifty men.

Abî Sufyân and his wife, Hind d. cUtba, incite army of Quraysh.

Abû Dujâna penetrates deep into Quraysh ranks.

Wahshi kills Hamza with javelin.

Muscab b. cUmayr fights in defence of Prophet until killed.

cAsim b. Thâbit kills Musâfi b. Talha and his brother.

Angels wash Hanzla b. Abu cAmir. Muslims cause Quraysh to retreat.
570. 8 - 571. 6. @ + authority, *.
Standard of Quraysh lies on ground, is raised by different persons. Hassān b. Thābit's poetry about this.

570. 18 - 571. 1. Note of I. H.
571. 9 - 16. @ + authority, 127 - 3.

571. 16 - 572. 10. Note of I. H.
572. 10 - 14. @ - authority.
Hassān b. Thābit's poetry.

572. 15 - 573. 18. @ + authority, 129 - 169.
Muslims protect Prophet.

573. 3 - 13. Note of I. H.
Umāra's mother, Nusayba d. Ka'b al-Māzinīya, fights on day of Uhud.

573. 18 - 574. 2. @ + authority, 88.
Prophet restores Qatāda b. al-Muṣmān's eye to its place.

574. 4 - 10. @ + authority, 220; 127 - 3.
Anas b. al-Nadr receives seventy cuts. His sister recognizes his body.

574. 10 - 12. Note of I. H.
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574. 14 - 20. @ + authority, 326, 159.
Ka'b b. Mālik recognizes Prophet.

575. 2 - 576. 6. @ + authority, 270.
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Hassān b. Thābit's poetry about this.

575. 6 - 8. Note of I. H.
576. 8 - 577. 8. @ + authority, 271 - 231; 307 - 9 - 44 - 324A.
Quraysh troop is driven down. Prophet blesses Talha b. Ubaydullah.

577. 5 - 7. Note of I. H.

577. 10 - 20. @ + authority, 88 - 170.
Al-Yamān is killed by Muslims by mistake while Thābit b. Waqqās is killed by polytheists.

577. 20 - 578. 5. @ + authority, 88.
Hāṭib b. Umayya b. Rāfi' munāfiq does not believe in paradise.
578. 7 - 13.  + authority, 88.
Quzman commits suicide.
578. 15 - 20.  - authority.
Mukhayriq, "best of the Jews", dies at Uhud.
579. 1 - 16.  - authority.
579. 8 - 15. Note of I. H.
Prophet says, "Usayraa belongs to people of paradise."
580. 11 - 17.  + authority, 139 - x.
Prophet says, "Jihad is not incumbent on Amr b. al-Jamuh."
580. 20 - 582. 11.  + authority, 271.
Hind d. Utba mutilates Hamza, Prophet's uncle.
582. 2 - 4. 10 - 11. Notes of I. H.
582. 13 - 16.  - authority.
Abu Sufyan strikes Hamza's mouth with spear.
582. 16 - 583. 7. Authority continues.
Abu Sufyan disclaims order for mutilation. Appoints Badr as meeting-place for coming year.
583. 9 - 13.  - authority.
'Ali sees Quraysh army going to Mecca.
583. 15 - 584. 7.  + authority, 188A.
Sad b. al-Rab' conveys greetings to Prophet and dies.
584. 4 - 7. Note of I. H.
584. 7 - 19.  + authority, 194.
Prophet and Muslims resolve to mutilate men of Quraysh on victory.
584. 15 - 19. Note of I. H. Gabriel tells Prophet that Hamza is written among people of seven heavens.
585. 6 - 9.  + authority, x - 180 - 14.
Prophet prays over dead.
585. 9 - 16.  - authority.
Saffya d. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib sees brother Hamza.
585. 16 - 19. Authority continues.

Abdullah b. Jahsh mutilated; Prophet buries him in same
grave with Hamza.


Prophet orders buried of dead where they lie.

586. 8 - 11. + authority, 139 - 11.


586. 11 - 17. - authority.

Hamna d. Jahsh's particular grief for husband.

586. 18 - 587. 1. - authority.

Prophet weeps because no-one to weep for Hamza.

587. 2 - 7. + authority, 116 - 231.

Prophet commends those told to weep for Hamza.

587. 5 - 7. Note of I. H.

587. 9 - 18. + authority, 64A - 144 - 231.

Woman of B. Dinār worried about Prophet's safety.

587. 14 - 18. Note of I. H.

587. 20 - 588. 9. + authority, 71.

Fatima asked to wash blood from swords of Prophet and Alī.

588. 4 - 9. Note of I. H.

588. 10 - 17. - authority.

Prophet's crier calls on Muslims to pursue enemies.

Jābir b. Abdullah b. Amr b. Harām permitted to pursue enemies
with him.

588. 18 - 589. 5. + authority, 27 - 232A.

Two brothers from B. Abū l Ashhāl go on expedition with
Prophet in spite of severe wounds.

589. 5 - 8. - authority.

Prophet stays at Hamrā'u l-Asad.

589. 9 - 590. 20. + authority, 19.

Macbad b. Abū Macbad al-Khuza'ī tells Abū Sufyān that Prophet
is pursuing him. Abū Sufyān sends message to Prophet that
he is coming to fight.

590. 15 - 20. Note of I. H.
591. 1 - 12. - authority.
Muḥāwiya b. al-Mughīra killed.
591. 14 - 592. 8.  @ + authority, 326.
592. 9 - 606. 20. Extensive quotations and commentary of sixty verses of Sūrat al-İmārān concerning Uhud. 6 notes of I. H.
607. 1 - 610. 6.  @ - authority.
Names of Muslims who died at Uhud. 610. 1 - 6. Note of I. H.
610. 9 - 611. 15.  @ - authority.
Names of polytheists killed at Uhud.
611. 18 - 638. 3.  @ - authority.
Poetry on Uhud by various poets given. 4 notes of I. H.
638. 6 - 16.  @ + authority, 88.
Number of CAdal and al-Qāra ask Prophet to send companions to teach Qur'ān. 638. 8 - 9. Note of I. H.
638. 16 - 639. 11. Authority continues.
Hudhayl betrays and kills Marthad, Khālid and Āsim at al-Rajī. 639. 12 - 19. Authority continues.
Hudhayl wants to take Āsim b. Thābit's head to sell to Sulāfa d. Sa'd b. Shuhayd.
639. 19 - 640. 3. Authority continues.
Zayd, Khubayb and Ābdullāh b. Tāriq imprisoned but Ābdullāh breaks loose from bonds and is killed.
640. 3 - 8. Authority continues.
Hujayr b. Abū Thāb buys Khubayb to kill in revenge for his father.
640. 7-8. Note of I. H.
640. 9 - 16.  @ - authority.
Safwān b. Umayya buys Zayd to kill in revenge for his father, Umayya b. Khalaf.
640. 16 - 19.  @ + authority, 33 - 179.
Khubayb eats grapes in imprisonment.
640. 19 - 641. 6.  @ + authority, 88, 33.
Khubayb does not kill youth with razor.
641. 6 - 13. @ + authority, 88.
Khubayb performs rak'as and asks God to tell Prophet what has happened. Killed.

641. 13 - 16. Authority continues.
Khubayb's curse passes over Mu'awiya b. Abū Sufyān.

641. 16 - 19. @ + authority, 307 - 9.
Abū Maysara makes Uqba b. al-Hārith kill Khubayb.

641. 19 - 642. 6. @ + authority, 2.
Sa'd b. Ṣā'īd b. Hidhayam al-Jumāhī hears Khubayb's curse and faints at memory.

642. 6 - 643. 1. @ + authority, 320A - 146 - 14 or 236 - 14.
The expedition to al-Rajī mentioned in Qur'ān, Sūra 2. 200.

642. 14 - 643. 1. Note of I. H.

643. 1 - 7. @ - authority.
Qur'ān reference to the expedition to al-Rajī: Sūra 2. 205-207.

643. 7 - 648. 7. Poetry on expedition to al-Rajī. 7 notes of I. H.

648. 10 - 650. 1. @ - authority.
Prophet sends forty Muslims to Najd to teach Islam. Ṣā'īd b. Tufayl kills them with help of other tribes at Bi'r Ma'ūna.

650. 1 - 11. @ + authority.
Ṣā'īd b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī kills two men of Ṣā'īd b. Ṣā'īd b. Fuhayra lifted up between heaven and earth when is killed.

650. 13 - 18. @ + authority, 2.
Jabbar accepts Islam after killing Muslim who says, "I have won, by God!"

650. 18 - 652. 7. Poetry on Bi'r Ma'ūna. 4 notes of I. H.

652. 10 - 653. 4. @ + authority, 314.

653. 4 - 17. @ - authority.
Prophet besieges B. al-Nadīr and expels them with their goods and money.
B. al-Nadir leave with music and singing. Prophet divides property among muḥājirīn and two of Ansār.

654. 6 - 8. + authority, 7.
Amr b. Jihāsh killed.

654. 8 - 656. 2. Extensive quotation and commentary of Sūrat al-Hashr concerning affairs of B. al-Nadir.

654. 18 - 655. 1, 655. 3 - 12. Notes of I. H.
656. 2 - 661. 16. Poetry concerning B. al-Nadir.
661. 19 - 662. 20. - authority.
Prophet's expedition against Ghaḍrīn called Dḥatu'l-Riqa' because both forces afraid of the other. Prophet leads "Prayer of Fear."

662. 6 - 20. Note of I. H.
662. 20 - 663. 11. + authority, 84 - 123 - 149; 314.
663. 11 - 664. 18. + authority, 302 - 149.
Prophet gives ounce of gold to Jābir b. ǦAbdullah. Treats him generously and returns camel.

664. 18 - 665. 18. + authority, 267 - 87 - 149.
A killed woman's husband shoots Ansārī with arrows.

666. 2 - 668. 11. - authority.
Prophet waits for Abū Sufyān for eight nights at Badr. Abū Sufyān decides to go back without fighting. Different poets' poetry about this. 3 notes of I. H.

668. 12 - 16. - authority.
Prophet's expedition against Dūmatu'l-Jandal.

668. 14 - 15. Note of I. H.
Number of Jews ask Quraysh to fight against Prophet. Being first people of scripture, Jews give decision that religion of Quraysh is better. Qur'ān reference. 4. 54.

669. 17 - 670. 4. Authority continues.
Quraysh accept Jews' invitation to fight Prophet.
670. 5 - 671. 11. Authority continues.
671. 1 - 6. Note of I. H.
671. 13 - 18. @ + authority, 149.
Prophet prays and spits in water. He sprinkles water on rock to change it into soft sand.
671. 19 - 672. 8. @ + authority, 238.
Prophet blesses a handful of dates which continue to increase until Prophet's friends stop eating.
672. 9 - 673. 1. @ + authority, 238 - 149.
Prophet blesses food and it suffices all workers.
673. 2 - 13. @ + authority, 265A.
Prophet strikes a rock; lightning produced. Interpretation: Muslim conquests.
673. 15 - 674. 1. @ - authority.
Quraysh encamp with ten thousand mercenaries. Muslims come out with three thousand men.
674. 2 - 18. Authority continues.
Huyayy b. Akhtab induces Ka'b b. Asad al-Qurazi to break agreement between B. Qurayza and Prophet.
674. 20 - 675. 12. Authority continues.
Prophet sends Sa'd b. Mu'adh and Sa'd b. 'Ubada to B. Qurayza to tell them to abide by agreement but B. Qurayza break agreement made with Prophet.
675. 12 - 676. 2. Authority continues.
Discontent at insecure situation. 675. 16 - 18. Note of I. H.
676. 5 - 20. @ + authority, 88, z - 326.
Prophet wants to sign agreement with Ghatafan but Sa'd b. Mu'adh disagrees.
677. 1 - 678. 15. @ - authority.
A few of polytheists jump over trench; 'Ali kills them.
677. 9 - 12; 678. 14 - 15. Note of I. H.
678. 17 - 679. 20. @ + authority, 35 - 67.
Sa'd b. Mu'adh wounded.
680. 17 - 682. 18. - authority.
Nu'daym b. Mas'ud b. 'Amir creates distrust among B. Quraysha and Ghatafan in order to break up alliance.
682. 19 - 684. 5. @ + authority, 317 - 195. Hudhayfa sent to watch Quraysh retreat.
684. 1 - 3. Note of I. H.
684. 6 - 10. @ + authority, 326.
Gabriel tells Prophet that God commands expedition against B. Qurayza.
684. 10 - 12. Authority continues.
Prophet prohibits afternoon prayer until arrival at B. Qurayza.
684. 12 - 19. Authority continues.
Prophet sends 'Ali forward with banner.
684. 19 - 685. 4. Authority continues.
Muslims see Gabriel in form of Dihya b. Khalifa al-Kalbi, sent to terrify B. Qurayza.
685. 4 - 10. @ + authority, 139 - 166.
Afternoon prayer omitted.
685. 12 - 686. 8. - authority.
Chief of B. Qurayza, Kacb b. Asad, gives conditions to his people.
686. 10 - 687. 16. @ + authority, 260 - 143 - 34; 311.
Abu Lubaba b. 'Abdu'l-Mundhar recommends B. Qurayza to submit to Prophet's judgement.
686. 18 - 20. Note of I. H. Qur'ân, 8. 27.
687. 18 - 688. 7. - authority.
'Amr b. Su'da al-Qurazi does not join in treachery against Prophet.
688. 9 - 689. 17. @ + authority, 83 - 52 - 72.
B. Qurayza accept judgement of Sa'd b. Mucadh, who decides that adults should be killed and their property, women and children divided among Muslims.
689. 14 - 17. Note of I. H.
689. 18 - 690. 14. @ - authority.
Adults of B. Qurayza killed. Huyayy b. Akhtab and Ka'b b. Asad, their chiefs, killed.
25

Woman of B. Qurayza killed.
691. 2 - 692. 8. + authority, 326.
Catiyya al-Qarazi is not adult, so spared.
Rifa'a b. Samaw'al al-Qurazi, grown man, is spared.
692. 19 - 693. 6. - authority.
Prophet divides property and captives among Muslims.
693. 8 - 15. - authority.
693. 16 - 697. 15. Qur'an reference, 33. Extensive quotation and commentary of Surat al-Ahzab. 4 notes of I. H.
Sac'd b. Mucadh's wound bursts open; dies.
697. 19 - 698. 3. + authority, 183 - 2.
Doors of heaven open on death of Sac'd b. Mucadh.
698. 3 - 6. + authority, 19 - 86.
Throne shakes on death of Mucadh.
698. 6 - 10. + authority, 2 - 123.
Angels rejoice on receiving Sac'd b. Mucadh and throne shakes for him.
698. 10 - 699. 4. + authority, 183 - 168 - 149.
Sac'd b. Mucadh's grave constricting. 2 notes of I. H.
699. 7 - 11. - authority.
Names of Muslims killed.
699. 11 - 700. 2. - authority.
Names of polytheists killed. 2 notes of I. H.
700. 2 - 7. - authority.
Khallad b. Suwayd killed by woman throwing mill-stone at him.
700. 7 - 10. - authority.
Prophet says that Quraysh will not again attack Medina.
700. 13 - 713. 20. Poetry about trench and B. Qurayza. 7 notes of I. H.
714. 1 - 716. 6. @ + authority, 326 - 26.

716. 9 - 718. 1. @ + authority, 312 - 227 - 111 - 77.
  CAmr b. al-Čās and Khālid b. Walīd accept Islam.

717. 20 - 718. 1. Note of I. H.
  718. 1 - 8. @ + authority, 2.
  CʿUthmān b. Talha accepts Islam at the same time as Khālid and
  CʿAmr b. al-Čās.

718. 11 - 719. 10. @ + authority, 88 - 19 - 26.
  Prophet's expedition against B. Liḥyān, who killed Muslims at
  al-Rajī Č.

719. 13 - 16. - authority.
  CʿUyayna b. Hisn attacks Prophet's milch camels at al-Ghāba, kills
  herdsman and carries off his wife.

719. 16 - 720. 4. @ + authority, 88 - 19 - 26 - 26.

720. 4 - 721. 4. Authority continues.
  Prophet pursues raiding party with Muslims. Prophet gives
  horse to best rider.

721. 4 - 19. @ + authority, 88.
  Muḥrīz b. Nadla overtakes the raiding party; killed. 2 notes
  of I. H.

721. 19 - 722. 1. @ + authority, 2 - 26.
  Muḥrīz b. Nadla on horse called al-Janāh.

722. 1 - 3. Authority continues.
  Abū Qatāda b. al-Ḥārīth kills Habīb b. CʿUyayna, covering him
  in his mantle. 722. 3 - 4. Note of I. H.

722. 4 - 6. @ - authority.
  Prophet says Abū Qatāda not killed.

722. 6 - 13. Authority continues.
  CʿUkāsha b. Miḥsan kills two men at one stroke. Prophet stays
  at mountain of Dhū Qarad.

722. 13 - 723. 1. + authority, 2 - 325 - 123.
  Herdsman's wife returns, vowing to slaughter the Prophet's camel,
  but Prophet prevents her.
723. 1 - 725. 7. Poetry about Prophet's expedition against Dhū Qarad. 2 notes of I. H.
725. 10 - 11. @ - authority.
Prophet's expedition against B. al-Mustaliq of Khuzā'ī.
725. 11 - 12. Note of I. H.
725. 12 - 726. 2. @ + authority, 88, 19, 204 - 2.
Al-Ḥārith b. Abū Dirār, father of Juwayriya, later wife of Prophet, leader of B. Mustaliq, conquered by Prophet. ĈUBĀDA
b. al-Sāmit kills Muslim by mistake.
726. 2 - 727. 18. Authority continues.
Muhājirin and Ansār quarrel among themselves; ĈAbdullah b. Ubayy b. Salūl says, "Stronger will drive out weaker from Medina."
Wind blows on death of unbeliever.
727. 18 - 728. 8. @ + authority, 88.
ĈAbdullah, son of ĈAbdullah b. Ubayy b. Salūl, offers himself to kill his father.
728. 8 - 20. - authority.
Hishām's brother Miqās b. Subāba pretends to be Muslim, receives bloodwit of brother, kills brother's slayer and goes off to Mecca.
729. 1 - 2. @ - authority.
ĈAli b. Abī Taḥīb kills Mālik and his son of B. Mustaliq.
729. 3 - 730. 10. @ + authority, 194 - 297 - 67.
Prophet marries Juwayriya; captives of B. Mustaliq released.
730. 11 - 731. 2. @ + authority, 314.
Al-Walīd b. ĈUqba says falsely that B. Mustaliq withholding poor-tax. Qur'ān, 49. 6.
731. 2 - 4. @ + authority, 2 - 326 - 297 - 67.
ĈA'īsha slandered while on journey with Prophet.
731. 6 - 9. @ + authority, 326 - 72 - 236 - 297 - 42.
Al-Zuhrī contributes part of story.
Lot falls on ĈA'īsha to accompany Prophet during expedition against B. Mustaliq.
731. 19 - 732. 16. Authority continues.
C‘A’isha unwittingly left alone; Safwān b. al-Mu‘attal brings her to Prophet. Slander spread among army.

732. 16 - 733. 18. Authority continues.
C‘A’isha becomes ill; sent to her parents. Umm Mistah d. Abu Ruhm b. al-Muttalib tells C‘A’isha about slander.

733. 18 - 734. 2. Authority continues.
Prophet complains of false reports about his family.

734. 2 - 6. Authority continues
Names of slanderers given.

734. 6 - 13. Authority continues.
Aus and Khuzraj dispute among themselves.

734. 13 - 735. 1. Authority continues.
Slave girl, Burayra, affirms C‘A’isha’s good character.

735. 1 - 736. 6. Authority continues.
Prophet comes to C‘A’isha’s parents’ house. She claims to be innocent, quoting Qur’ān, Sūra 12. 18. God gives Prophet word of her innocence and slanderers are flogged.

736. 6 - 18. Authority, 139 - 2
Qur’ān reference, Sūra 24. 11, 12, 24.

736. 18 - 737. 18. Authority continues.

737. 3 - 18. Note of I. H.


738. 13 - 740. 5. Authority, 193.
Safwān wounds Hassān. Prophet tells Hassān to forgive Safwān.
Prophet gives Hassān castle and Coptic slave girl, Sīrīn. Poetry reference given. 3 notes of I. H.

740. 9 - 16. Authority.
Prophet goes to visit Kā‘ba taking sacrificial victims with him.

740. 16 - 20. Authority, 326 - 297 - 182 - 176; 149.
Prophet has seventy sacrificial camels with him and seven hundred, or fourteen hundred, men.
741. 1 - 10. Authority continues. Quraysh send Khaālid b. al-Walīd to fight against Prophet who does not intend war, and so changes his route.

741. 10 - 742. 1. + authority, 19.
Prophet's itinerary to al-Hudaybiya. Prophet tells Muslims to ask God's forgiveness.

742. 1 - 4. Authority continues.
Prophet's camel refuses to proceed. Prophet produces water with arrow in waterhole.

742. 4 - 7. + authority, x - x.
Nājiya b. Jundub b. Qumayr the one to use Prophet's arrow.

742. 8 - 9. + authority, x.
Al-Bara' b. Āzib claims this distinction.

742. 9 - 17. - authority.
Nājiya's poetry about this.

742, 18 - 743. 5. + authority, 326.
Budayl b. Waqā' al-Khuza'ī tells Quraysh that Prophet wants to perform pilgrimage.

743. 5 - 9. Authority continues.
Quraysh send Mikraz b. Hafs b. al-Akhyaf to Prophet.

743. 9 - 18. + authority, 19.

743. 18 - 745. 4. + authority, 326.
Quraysh send Al- Uwā b. Mas'ūd to Prophet. Al-Uwā tells Quraysh that he has never seen kings among people like Prophet among his companions. 744. 15 - 18. Note of I. H.

745. 4 - 7. + authority, x.
Prophet sends Khirāsh b. Umayya al-Khuza'ī to Quraysh who want to kill him; protected by black troops.

745. 7 - 11. + authority, x - "146, 14."
Prophet captures fifty men of Quraysh.

745. 12 - 746. 3. - authority.
Prophet sends ČUthmān b. ČAffān to Quraysh to negotiate performance of pilgrimage.
Muslims pledge on the hand of Prophet that they will not run away, called "Bay'at al-Ridwan."

Negotiations between Prophet and Suhayl b. 'Amr successful. 'Ali b. Abi Talib writes peace agreement.

Khirāsh b. Umayya shaves Prophet's head. Muslims shave their heads to follow Prophet.

Prophet blesses those who shave their heads.

Prophet sacrifices Abū Jahl's camel to enrage polytheists.

Extensive quotation and commentary of Surat al-Fath, 48.

Abū Basir gathers seventy Muslims, harasses Quraysh caravans, received in Medina.

Abū Sufyān says that Prophet will not pay bloodwit. Poetry about this. 2 notes of I. H.

Prophet marries Umm Kulthum d. 'Uqba b. Abi Mu'ayt; is not returned to Quraysh by order of God. Qur'ān reference, 60. 10.


Prophet's expedition against Khaybar. 756. 1 - 2. Note of I. H.
Amir b. al-Akwā killed by his own sword which turns upon him.

Prophet used special prayer to call for God's help before entering every town.

Workers of Khaybar see Prophet approaching; turn tail and run away.

Prophet prevents Ghatafan reinforcing Khaybar; camps in al-Raj‘, between Ghatafan and Khaybar.

Prophet takes forts one by one; selects Safiya d. Huyayy b. Akhtab for himself from captives.

Meat of domestic donkeys forbidden, among other things.

Flesh of domestic donkeys forbidden.

Flesh of carnivorous animals and domestic donkeys, carnal intercourse with captured pregnant women, selling booty before allotted, forbidden by Prophet.

Meat of domestic donkeys forbidden, among other things.

Prophet forbids buying or selling of gold for gold or silver for silver.

Prophet prays for conquest of richest fort in Khaybar to give booty to B. Sahm.

Prophet besieges two forts, al-Watīh and al-Sulālim.
760. 5 - 761. 8. @ + authority, 35 - 149.
Muhammad b. Maslama fights in single combat against Marhab, a Jew; latter killed.
761. 8 - 11. @ - authority.
Al-Zubayr b. al-Awwám kills Yasir, brother of Marhab.
761. 15 - 762. 11. @ + authority, 98 - 257 - 245; 22 - x - 226.
After Abu'l-Bakr and Úumar, Prophet sends Ali to fight against Jews until fort conquered.
762. 12 - 763. 1 @ + authority, 98 - x - 159.
Abu'l-Yasar Ka'b b. Amr carries off two sheep under his arms.
763. 2 - 10. @ - authority.
Prophet chooses Safíya d. Huyayy for himself.
763. 10' - 14. Authority continues.
Safiya's dream; her husband interprets that she covets Prophet, and hits her in eye.
763. 14 - 764. 2. - authority.
Kināna b. al-Rabic conceals treasure of B. al-Nadír; killed by Muhammad b. Maslama.
764. 3 - 14. - authority.
Two forts conquered. Prophet conquers Fadak without fight.
764. 15 - 765. 4. - authority.
Zaynab d. al-Haríth gives Prophet poisoned meat; his companion Bishr b. al-Barā' swallows morsel and dies.
765. 4 - 9. @ + authority, 177.
The poison affects Prophet during final illness.
765. 9 - 11. @ - authority.
After conquest of Wádi'l-Qurä, Prophet returns to Medina.
765. 12 - 20. @ + authority, 273 - 247 - 109.
Slave of Prophet steals from spoil; killed by arrow; condemned to hell.
766. 1 - 7. @ + authority, x - 29.
Bag of fat taken from booty without Prophet's displeasure.
766. 8 - 16. @ - authority.
Abū Ayyūb Khalid b. Zayd guards Prophet all night.
Bilāl sleeps; Muslims miss dawn prayer.

Ibn Luqaym given chickens and domestic animals from Kyaybar; his poetry about Khaybar. One note of I. H.

Muslim women are given small portion of booty.

Woman of B. Ghifār given a necklace which buried with her in her grave.

Names of Muslims killed at Khaybar.

Al-Aswād, the shepherd, accepts Islam, takes part in fight, killed.

Names of Muslims killed at Khaybar.

Names of Muslims killed at Khaybar.

The division of the spoil of Khaybar. 3 notes of I. H.

Fadak becomes private property of Prophet.


Abdullah b. Sahl killed in Khaybar. Murderer cannot be traced. Prophet pays his bloodwit.

Prophet says, "Two religions shall not remain together in Arabian peninsula."  Umar expels Jews during his caliphate.
779. 18 - 780. 7. @ + authority, 215 - 41.

Jews of Khaybar attack ÆAbdullah b. ÆUmar. ÆUmar expels them.
780. 7 - 781. 7. @ + authority, 19 - 32A.

Shares of Khaybar and Wādi’l-Qurā’ divided among Muslims. Names given. One note of I. H.
781. 11 - 788. 12. @ - authority.

Prophet sends ÆAmr b. Umayya al-Damārī to Negus to bring Muslims back from Abyssinia. Names of Muslims given. 2 notes of I. H.
788. 15 - 789. 5. @ - authority.

Prophet performs ÆUmra al-Qad7a’ with companions. One note of I. H.
789. 6 - 790. 3. @ + authority, * - 14; 19.

Prophet kisses black stone, trots three circuits and walks rest.
790. 5 - 10. @ + authority, 1, 33 - 90 - 206 - 14.

Prophet marries Maymūnā d. al-Ḥārith. One note of I. H.
790. 12 - 791. 2. @ - authority.

Quraysh tell Prophet that time is over. Prophet stays at Sarif to consummate his marriage, then goes to Medina.
790. 19 - 791. 2. Note of I. H. Qur’ān. 48. 27.
791. 6 - 792. 12. @ + authority, 194 - 297.

Prophet sends expedition to Mu’ta; 3,000 men under command of Zayd b. Ḥarīthah - if killed, Ja’far b. Abū Ṭalib to take command - if killed, then ÆAbdullah b. Ṭa’ābaha. Poetry about this.
792. 13 - 794. 3. @ + authority, 19.

Heraclius comes to Ma’āb with 100,000 Greeks and 100,000 men under command of Mālik b. Zāfīla. ÆAbdullah b. Rawāhā encourages Muslims by his poetry. 794. 5 - 9. @ - authority.

Two forces meet to fight at Mu’ta.
794. 10 - 13. @ - authority.

Zayd b. Ḥarīthah fights until killed. Ja’far takes standard, fights until killed.
794. 13 - 795. 3. @ + authority, 307 - 44 - 9.

Ja’far hamstringes horse, fights until killed. Poetry about this.
794. 20 - 795. 3. Note of I. H.
795. 3 - 16. @ + authority, 307 - 9.

ÆAbdullah b. Ṭa’ābaha takes standard, fights until killed. Poetry about this.
795. 16 - 20. Authority continues.
Thābit b. Aqram takes standard, rallies round Khālid b. al-Walīd, and retreats with his men.

796. 1 - 8. Authority.
Prophet tells Muslims that three commanders killed; carried to Paradise upon golden beds.

796. 9 - 17. Authority, 19 - 281 - 282 - 6.
Prophet informs wife of death of Ja'far.

796. 17 - 797. 10. Authority, 61 - 221 - 67.
Prophet asks women to be quiet. One note of I. H.

797. 12 - 17. Authority.
A Kāhina of Hadas warns her tribe not to fight against Prophet.

Prophet greets Muslims who return from Mu'ta. Men throw dirt at army, calling them runaways.

798. 12 - 801. 17. Poetry about Mu'ta. 6 notes of I. H.

801. 19 - 802. 8. Authority.
Names of Muslims killed at Mu'ta.

802. 11 - 803. 1. Authority, 6.
B. Bakr and Khuzā' i enemies before Islam. Cause given.

B. Bakr join Quraysh and Khuzā' i join Prophet after peace of Hudaybiya. B. Bakr attack Khuzā' i with help of Quraysh. Munabbih killed. Poetry about this. 2 notes of I. H.

805. 16 - 806. 13. Authority.
C. Amr b. Salim al-Khuzā' i comes to Prophet in Medina for help. Poetry about this.

806. 15 - 807. 5. Authority.
Budayl b. Warqā' comes to Prophet with number of Khuzā' i. Does not tell Abū Sufyān about meeting.

807. 6 - 808. 11. Authority.
Abū Sufyān comes to Prophet in Medina to renew peace agreement but fails.

808. 12 - 809. 6. Authority.
Prophet orders preparations for surprise attack on Quraysh.

Hassān b. Thābit's poetry. One note of I. H.
Hāṭib b. Abū Baltaṣa gives letter secretly to Sāra informing Quraysh about Prophet’s expedition.

Prophet sets out, giving Medina in charge of Abū Ruhm Kulthūm b. Hussayn.

Prophet comes to Marr al-Zahrān with 10,000 Muslims. Quraysh ignorant. Ā Abbas meets Prophet. One note of I. H.


Abbās brings Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb to Prophet; accepts Islam. Quraysh who enter house of Abū Sufyān will be safe. One note of I. H.

Prophet lowers his head in submission to God in anticipation of victory.

Necklace of Asmā’ torn from her neck.

Prophet divides force between Khālid, al-Zubayr b. al-Āwām and Sa’d b. Ḥuwayrah, from whom Āli takes over command.


Prophet orders Ābdūllāh b. Sa’d killed but afterwards granted immunity. One note of I. H.


Umm Häni’ d. Abū Ṭalib requests Prophet to forgive two men, who are granted immunity. One note of I. H.

Ahmar Ba'san killed by Ibn al-Athwa'ī, who is killed by Khirāsh b. Umayya, whose bloodwit Prophet pays.

Prophet declares Mecca holy city.

Safwān b. Umayya runs away; his wife asks Prophet to forgive him; does so. Ikrama b. Abū Jahl accepts Islam.

Hassān b. al-Zibā'ī accepts Islam. Poetry about this.

Umm Hāni' d. Abn Tālib accepts Islam; her husband dies unbeliever.

10,000 Muslims take part in conquest of Mecca. Poetry about this. 5 notes of I. H.
837. 9 - 839. 14. @+ authority, 310 - 326 - 112; 104 - 2.
Young man killed; his wife continues to kiss him until dies at his side. Poetry about this.
839. 16 - 840. 5. @+ authority, 326 - 291.
Khālid b. Walīd destroys idol, al-ʿUzza. Prophet stays fifteen nights in Mecca, shortening prayers.
840. 8 - 842. 3. @- authority.
Hawāzin gather against Prophet under command of Mālik b. ʿAuf.
Durayd b. al-Simma advises him.
842. 3 - 6. @+ authority, 277.
Mālik b. ʿAuf's spies see white men on piebald horses; suffer dislocation of joints.
842. 8 - 17. @- authority.
842. 19 - 843. 20. @- authority.
Prophet advances to meet Hawāzin with 12,000 men. Poetry about this. One note of I. H.
844. 1 - 9. @+ authority, 326 - 256 - 305 - 122.
Prophet forbids warship of tree called Dḥātu Anwāt. Qurʾān. 7. 134.
844. 10 - 845. 6. @+ authority, 88 - 57 - 149.
Muslims ambushed in Wādī Hunayn; many retreat in disorder. Names of those who stood firm with Prophet. One note of I. H.
845. 6 - 16. @+ authority, 88 - 57 - 149.
Some of Meccans with Prophet show continuing enmity. Man on red camel leads Hawāzin. 2 notes of I. H.
845. 16 - 19. @- authority.
Shayba b. ʿUthmān wants to kill Prophet, but is somehow prevented.
845. 19 - 846. 2. @+ authority, z.
Prophet satisfied with large numbers in army.
846. 4 - 14. @+ authority, 326 - 161 - 10A.
ʿAbbas b. ʿAbdūl-Muttalib rallies some of Ansār.
846. 14 - 847. 3. @+ authority, 88 - 57 - 149.
ʿAlī hamstrings red camel; its rider killed. Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith stands firm.
847. 5 - 13. @ + authority, 19.
Umm Sulaym d. Milhān, wife of Abū Talha fights against polytheists.
847. 14 - 848. 7. @ - authority.
B. Sulaym run away from battle. Poetry about this. One note of I.H.
848. 9 - 849. 2. @ + authority, 19 - 222, * - 215 - 222.
Enemy's property belongs to person who kills him.
849. 2 - 3. @ + authority, * - 244 - 135 - 3.
Abū Talha takes spoil of twenty men.
849. 6 - 9. @ + authority, 139 - 155.
Angels, in guise of ants, come to help Prophet.
849. 11 - 20. @ + authority, 74.
Hawāzin are put to flight, seventy of them killed.
850. 1 - 6. @ + authority, 310.
Uncircumcised Christian slave killed.
850. 6 - 852. 2. @ - authority.
Flag of Ahlāf left against tree. Poetry about this. One note of I.H.
852. 3 - 6. @ - authority.
Polytheists gather at al-Tā'īf.
852. 8 - 853. 14. @ - authority.
Durayd b. al-Simma killed by Rabīʿa b. Rufay. Poetry about this. 2 notes of I.H.
853. 15 - 854. 2. @ - authority.
Prophet sends Abū CʿAmir al-Ashʿarī to pursue fugitives; killed by Salama b. Durayd.
854. 3 - 5. @ - authority.
Prophet prays for losses of B. Riʿāb to be made good.
854. 7 - 12. @ - authority.
Mālik b. CʿAuḍ waits for his men during flight. Poetry about this.
854. 13 - 855. 5. Note of I.H.
855. 7 - 10. @ - authority.
Salama b. Durayd's poetry about this.
855. 11 - 856. 6. Note of I.H.
856. 8 - 11. @ + authority, *.
Prophet forbids Khālid b. Walīd to kill child, woman, or hired slave.
856. 13 - 857. 7. @ + authority, *; 316.
Prophet orders Bījād not to be allowed to escape. Prophet's foster-sister, al-Shaymā' d. al-Hārith, captured. One note of I.H.
857. 9 - 16. @ - authority.
Names of Muslims killed at Hunayn.
857. 18 - 869. 15. Poetry about Hunayn. 6 notes of I. H.
869. 18 - 871. 19. - authority.
Urwa b. Mas'ud and Ghaylān b. Salama absent from Hunayn and
at-Tā'if, because away learning use of testudo, catapult, etc.
Poetry about Prophet's expedition against al-Tā'if.
871. 20 - 872. 1. @ - authority.
Prophet's itinerary to Buhratu'l-Rughā' of Līya; builds
mosque there and prays in it.
872. 1 - 3. @ - authority, 83.
Prophet allows retaliation for homicide for first time.
872. 3 - 9. Authority continues.
Prophet orders destruction of fort of Mālik b. Āuf.
872. 9 - 14. Authority continues.
Some of Prophet's companions killed by arrows.
872. 13 - 14. Note of I. H.
872. 14 - 18. @ - authority.
Amr b. Umayya builds mosque where Prophet has prayed; story
about this mosque.
872. 18 - 873. 1. - authority.
Prophet besieges al-Tā'if. Note of I. H.
873. 1 - 5. @ - authority.
Thaqīf resist siege.
873. 5 - 18. @ - authority.
Abū Sufyān b. Harb and al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba parley with Thaqīf;
women of Quraysh and B. Kināna refuse to come out.
873. 18 - 874. 1. - authority.
Abū Bakr interprets Prophet's dream: no immediate victory over
al-Tā'if.
874. 1 - 8. - authority.
Umār orders raising of siege with permission of Prophet.
874. 8 - 14. - authority.
Uuyayna b. Hīsa's reason for accompanying Prophet to al-Tā'if
not support of Islam.
Slaves from al-Ta'if come to Prophet, accept Islam, and are freed.

874. 15 - 875. 10. + authority, ± = 32 - ±.
Prophet allows Marwan b. Qays to capture hostage from Thaqif for release of his family. 2 notes of I. H.

875. 12 - 876. 15. - authority.
Names of Muslims killed at al-Ta'if. Poetry about this.

876. 18 - 877. 2. - authority.
Prophet allows Marwan b. Qays to capture hostage from Thaqif for release of his family. 2 notes of I. H.

875. 12 - 876. 15. + authority.
Names of Muslims killed at al-Ta'if. Poetry about this.

876. 18 - 877. 2. - authority.
Prophet allows Marwan b. Qays to capture hostage from Thaqif for release of his family. 2 notes of I. H.

877. 2 - 3. - authority.
Prophet has 6,000 captives, innumerable camels and sheep from Hawazin.

877. 4 - 11. + authority, ± = 32 - ±.
Deputation from Hawazin accepts Islam, requesting Prophet to release captives who are his relatives. Note of I. H.

877. 11 - 878. 2. + authority, ± = 32 - ±.
Prophet announces the release of captives belonging to his tribe; Muhajirin and Ansar follow Prophet, but some refuse to give up captives.

878. 2 - 5. Authority continues.
Prophet offers compensation for captives.

878. 5 - 15. + authority, ± = 32 - ±.
Prophet gives girl each to 'Ali, Uthman and Umar.

878. 15 - 879. 1. - authority.
'Uyayna b. Hisn retuns woman for six camels.

879. 2 - 20. - authority.
Prophet asks Malik b. Auf to accept Islam; gives him one hundred camels and returns him his family and property. Poetry about this.

880. 1 - 17. - authority.
People ask Prophet to divide spoil; he is harassed by crowd.

880. 11 - 17. Note of I. H.

880. 19 - 883. 15. + authority.
Prophet gives gifts to chiefs of army - details of these. Abbas b. Mirdas dissatisfied - poetry about this. 4 notes of I. H.

883. 15 - 20. + authority, ± = 32 - ±.
Prophet explains why unnecessary to give gifts to Juayl b. Surqa.
884. 1 - 885. 9. @+ authority, 290 - 180; 191; 33 - 328.
Dhū’l-Khuwaysira accuses Prophet of injustice in division of
spoils. Prophet is angry. Note of I. H.
885. 11 - 886. 14. @+ authority, 88 - 170 - 237.
Prophet addresses Ansār to explain why gifts to them unnecessary.
886. 17 - 887. 11. @- authority.
Prophet performs ĂUmra from al-Ji̊r̊āna. 2 notes of I. H.
887. 13 - 893. 16. @+ authority, 88.
Ka‘b b. Zuhayr comes to Prophet to ask pardon for verses attacking
Islam; accepts Islam. Poetry about this. 4 notes of I. H.
893. 19 - 895. 10. @+ authority, 326, 314, 19, 88, *.
Prophet orders for preparations for raid on Byzantines. Jadd
b. Qays invents excuse not going with Prophet. Revelation of
Qur’ān, 9. 49, 82; 14. 19. Note of I. H.
895. 11 - 16. Authority continues.
Prophet orders men to provide money and mounts for God’s work.
895. 17 - 896. 9. @- authority.
Seven Muslims weep because they lack means to provide mounts and
ask Prophet to provide them.
896. 9 - 11. Authority continues.
Prophet leaves Ălī in Medina to look after his family.
896. 11 - 18. Authority continues.
896. 15 - 18. Note of I. H.
896. 20 - 897. 2. @- authority.
Âbū Abdullah b. Ubayy pitches his camp separately among munāfiqīn at
Dhubāb.
897. 2 - 12. @+ authority, 200 - 133 - 231.
Prophet leaves Ălī in Medina to look after his family.
897. 14 - 898. 13. @- authority.
Âbū Khaythama Malik b. Qays joins expedition late. Note of I. H.
898. 15 - 899. 9. @+ authority, 19 - 11; 326.
Prophet forbids drinking water of al-Hijr or using it for ablutions;
also forbids going out at night alone; two men suffer for disobedience.
Note of I. H.
899. 9 - 11. @- authority.
Prophet prays for rain.
Some continue to doubt despite rain in answer to Prophet's prayer.

Prophet's camel strays. Some of munāfiqīn repent on Prophet's predicting where it will be found.

Prophet's prophecy about abū Dharr, who drops behind.

Munāfiqīn's doubts concerning outcome of expedition. Qur'ān about this: Sūra 9. 66. Mukhashshin's name changed. Note of I. H.

Peace agreement between Prophet and Yuhanna b. Ruṣba.

Prophet sends Khālid b. al-Walīd to capture Ukaydir b. Ābu'l-Malik, whose life spared.

Prophet returns to Medina after stay of ten nights in Tabuk.

Prophet extracts water from rock.

Abdullah Dhu'l-Bijadayn dies; buried by Prophet. Note of I. H.


Names of Prophet's mosques between Tabuk and Medina given.

Envoys of Thaqîf accept Islam. Al-Lât, the idol, destroyed.
Prophet writes document for protection of people of al-Tâmîf. 2 notes of I. H.


Deputations of Arabs come from all directions to Prophet, accepting Islam. Qur'ân reference, 110, al-Fatah. Note of I. H. 933. 5. @ - authority.

Prophet's poet and orator compete with poet and orator of B. Tamîm, who accept Islam. Qur'ân reference, 49. 4. 5 notes of I. H. 939. 8 - 943. 9. @ - authority.

Cîmîr b. Tufayl and Arbad b. Qays suffer disaster in attempt to kill Prophet. Poetry about this. 5 notes of I. H. 943. 10 - 944. 17. @ + authority, 203 - 164A - 14.

Dimâm b. Thâlab comes to Prophet as deputy from B. Sa'd b. Bakr; accepts Islam. 944. 18 - 945. 16. @ + authority, 123.

Al-Jârûd b. Āmîr comes to Prophet in deputation from Ābdu'l-Qays; accepts Islam. 2 notes of I. H. 945. 17 - 946. 17. @ + authority, 2.

Deputation from B. Hanîfa come to Prophet, bringing with them Musaylima b. Habîb al-Hanîfî. Note of I. H. 946. 18 - 947. 12. @ - authority.

Prophet praises Zaydu'l-Khayl, the chief of Tayyi', who becomes Muslim with tribe. 947. 13 - 950. 5. @ - authority.

Muslims capture sister of Ādîy b. Hatim in battle; released by order of Prophet. Ādîy accepts Islam; sees two prophecies of Prophet fulfilled. Note of I. H.
950. 6 - 951. 12. @ - authority.
Farwa b. Musayk al-Murādī comes to Prophet after defeat by Hamdān; accepts Islam. Prophet makes him Governor over Murād and other districts. Poetry about this. 3 notes of I. H.
951. 13 - 953. 3. @ - authority.
C Amr b. Ma’dikarib from B. Zubayd comes to Prophet to accept Islam; After death of Prophet, C Amr apostatizes. Poetry about this. 2 notes of I. H.
953. 4 - 954. 9. @ + authority, 326.
Al-Ashcath b. Qays comes to Prophet with deputation to accept Islam. Note of I. H.
954. 10 - 955. 15. @ - authority.
Surad b. Abdullāh accepts Islam with B. Azd; fights against B. Jarash who are heavily defeated at mountain of Kashar, which is called Shakar by Prophet.
955. 17 - 957. 9. - authority.
Kings of Himyar accept Islam; Prophet writes them instructions concerning obedience to Islamic law.
957. 10 - 19. @ + authority, 19.
Prophet's instructions to Mu’adh before leaving for Yaman.
958. 1 - 17. @ + authority, 326.
958. 18 - 960. 20. @ - authority.
Prophet sends Khalid b. al-Walīd to B. al-Ḥārith b. Ka’b to preach Islam, giving him written instructions.
962. 15 - 963. 2. - authority.
Coming of Rifā’a b. Zayd al-Judhāmi to Prophet to accept Islam. Prophet gives him letter sending him to his people as preacher.
963. 3 - 964. 10. Note of I. H.
Coming of deputation of Hamdān to Prophet accepting Islam. Poetry about this.
Prophet's vision, two bracelets of gold on his arms; interprets it as two liars, Musaylima b. Ḥabīb and al-Aswad b. Ka'b al-Anṣārī. Prophet's prophecy about thirty antichrists.

Names of collectors of poor-tax from different districts subject to Islam given.

Musaylima writes letter to Prophet claiming partnership in authority; Prophet replies with Qur'ān reference, 20. 49.; 7. 125.

Prophet performs farewell pilgrimage. Ḥā'ishā allowed to perform pilgrimage while menstruating, except for Tawāf.

Prophet orders wives to remove pilgrim garments; himself remains in Iḥrām until has sacrificed.

cʿAlī retains pilgrim garb with Prophet until both complete pilgrimage; victim slaughtered on behalf of both.

cʿAlī orders army to take off clothes belonging to spoil. Army shows resentment against cʿAlī.

Men complain of cʿAlī to Prophet who excuses him.

Prophet's address on occasion of farewell pilgrimage defines Islamic duties, rights, etc. Qur'ān reference, 9. 37; 8. 27; 33. 72. Note of I. H.

Prophet sends Usāma b. Zayd on expedition against people of Palestine.

Prophet's companions carry his letters to various kings, inviting them to accept Islam.

Prophet sends messengers to kings of Arabs and non-Arabs to invite them to accept Islam. Jesus sent disciples to different part of world. Names given.
Summary of Prophet's 27 fights.

Summary of 38 expeditions sent by Prophet.

Prophet sends Ghālib b. ʿAbdullāh to raid B. al-Mulawwah. Summary of night raids and names of raiding parties given. Note of I. H.


Zayd b. ʿHārīthah's raid on B. Fazārā; killing of Umm Qīrfa. Poetry about this.

ʿAbdullāh b. Rawāḥah's raid on Khaybar to kill al-Yusayr b. Rīzām. Note of I. H.

ʿAbdullāh b. ʿUnayd's raid to kill Khālid b. Sufyān b. Nubayh in Nakhla or ʿUrnah. Note of I. H.

ʿAuf b. Mālik al-Ashjaʿi, the butcher, rebuked by Abu Bakr and ʿUmar for giving them non-halāl meat.
Muhallim b. Jaththäma kills QAmr b. al-Adbat, a Muslim. Muhallim's pardon not granted; dies within week. Earth rejects Muhallim's corpse three times. 2 notes of I. H. Qur'an reference, 4. 96. 989. 15 - 991. 2. @ + authority, * - 112.


Prophet's advice to Muslims; sends Ābdu'l-Rahmān b. Āauf's expedition against Dūmatu'l-Jandal. Note of I. H.

Prophet's advice to Muslims; sends Ābdu'l-Rahmān b. Āauf's expedition against Dūmatu'l-Jandal. Note of I. H.

Prophet sends CAbdu'1-Rahmän b. 3Auf's expedition against Dümatu'1-Jandal. Note of I. H.

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Abū Ĕubayda b. al-Jarrāh's raid to coast. Eat whale; Prophet approves, as God - given.

Abū Ĕubayda b. al-Jarrāh's raid to coast. Eat whale; Prophet approves, as God - given.

Abū Ĕubayda b. al-Jarrāh's raid to coast. Eat whale; Prophet approves, as God - given.


994. 11 - 18. Note of I. H. Prophet sends Ālā'i's expedition twice against Yaman.

994. 11 - 18. Note of I. H. Prophet sends Ālā'i's expedition twice against Yaman.

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994. 11 - 18. Note of I. H. Prophet sends Ālā'i's expedition twice against Yaman.
Prophet prepares expedition of Usâma b. Zayd against Palestine.

Prophet prays for dead in Baqî'ul-Gharqad in middle of night; next morning final illness begins.

Prophet says, 'He has chosen immediate meeting with God, rather than long life.'

Prophet obtains wives' permission to nursed in house of Câ'isha.

Prophet walks between Câli b. Abi Tälib and al-Fadal b. CAbbas.

Seven skins of water from different wells poured over Prophet to revive him.

Prophet prays over the men of Uhud; says, God has given him choice between this world and next; has chosen latter. Prophet indicates close friendship with Abû Bakr. Prophet makes Usâma b. Zayd commander of army. Encamps at al-Jurf during Prophet's illness.

Prophet asks Muhâjjirûn to treat Ansâr kindly after his death. Prophet exhausted with pain.

Prophet forced to take medicine; Maymûna forced to take medicine because of Prophet's oath, as punishment.

Prophet blesses Usâma b. Zayd.

Prophet says, "No Prophet dies without being given choice."
50

Prophet orders people to tell Abū Bakr to superintend prayers. Ḥāʾisha tries to spare her father.

1008. 20 - 1009. 11. + authority, 326 - 46 - 96 - 43.
Bilāl calls Ādhan; Abū Bakr absent, so Umār leads prayers.

1009. 12 - 20. + authority, 326 - 3.
Prophet stands at Ḥāʾisha's door to see Muslims praying. They think Prophet recovering from illness. Abū Bakr goes to al-Sunh to see wife.

1009. 20 - 1010. 6. + authority, 193 - 221.
Prophet does not appoint successor.

1010. 6 - 17. + authority, 95.
Prophet addresses Muslims in mosque; Abū Bakr permitted to see wife in al-Sunh.

1010. 18 - 1011. 7. + authority, 326 - 26 - 14.
Abūs recognizes death in Prophet's face; wants Alī to take authority from Prophet; Alī refuses to ask Prophet for authority to be given him. Prophet dies with heat of noon that day.

1011. 8 - 17. + authority, 310 - 326 - 297 - 67.
Prophet rubs his teeth with toothpick, dies in bosom of Ḥāʾisha, saying, "Nay, the most Exalted Companion is of paradise."

Prophet dies in bosom of Ḥāʾisha, who mourns with other women.

1012. 2 - 1013. 3. + authority, 326 - 239 - 109.

1013. 6 - 13. - authority.
Abū Bakr and Umār join gathering ofAnsār round Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, in hall of Saʿida, to take over authority, Prophet is still not buried.

Umār calls conference of Muhājirīn and Ansār during his caliphate; addresses them; mentions punishment of stoning for adulterer. Dispute about succession; homage paid to Abū Bakr.

Abu Bakr asks people to obey him if he does well.
1017. 19 - 1018. 8. @ + authority, 128 - 146 - 14.
Umar interprets Qur'ān, 2. 142 - 143; explains that thought Prophet would remain among his people; this reason for claiming Prophet not dead.
1018. 11 - 1019. 1. @ + authority, 19 - 128, 2.
Names of those who washed Prophet's body.
1019. 1 - 8. @ + authority, 307 - 9 - 67. Dispute among Muslims concerning washing Prophet with or without clothes. Given instruction in sleep to wash with clothes on.
1019. 8 - 11. @ + authority, 153 - 191 - 69; 326 - 69.
Prophet washed, wrapped in three garments.
1019. 11 - 16. @ + authority, 128 - 146 - 14.
Abu Talha chosen to dig grave for Prophet.
1019. 16 - 20. - authority.
Dispute over burial place for Prophet. Buried where died.
1019. 20 - 1020. 5. - authority. No Imām for prayers over Prophet; buried in middle of night of Wednesday.
1020. 5 - 9. @ + authority, 19 - 103 - 86 - 67; 103.
Women do not know of burial until hear digging in night.
1020. 15 - 18. - authority.
Al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba claims to be last man to touch Prophet.
1020. 18 - 1021. 5. @ + authority, 139 - 180 - 21. Al-Mughira's claim rejected by ʿAlī; Qutham b. ʿAbbās last man to be with Prophet.
1021. 5 - 9. @ + authority, 271 - 326 - 291 - 67.
Prophet warns Umma against worship at Prophets' graves.
1021. 9 - 12. @ + authority, 271 - 326 - 291 - 67. Last will of Prophet, " Let not two religions be left in Arabian Peninsula."
1021. 12 - 1022. 1. @ + authority, 67. Muslims unite under command of Abu Bakr to fight against apostatizing Arabs. Note of I. H.
1022. 4 - 1026. 9. Hassan b. Thabit's elegy on Prophet.
2 notes of I. H.
COMMENTARY ON IBN ISHĀQ.
The appearance of the devil as an unknown Shaykh is curious. Elsewhere he appears as a known person; if this had been the case here the improbability of the council's admitting an unknown to their important and delicate discussions would have been avoided.

Nor is the devil the protagonist in the scene, for it is Abū Jahl, the leading evil figure throughout the story, who suggests Prophet's assassination. The devil merely objects to the first two suggestions of imprisonment and banishment and approves the third suggestion of assassination.

There are a number of details in the account of the assassination attempt itself that are implausible. We may perhaps accept Abū Jahl's speech as being in character, even though it appears, with its insistence on Prophet's preaching concerning the rewards in store for those who accept Islam and the dire punishments in store for those who do not, among whom are to be counted those whom Abū Jahl is addressing, singularly ill-designed to raise morale.
Why, however, should Prophet be represented as scattering dust on the heads of the conspirators after God has taken away their sight, why they should subsequently make no attempt to kill the sleeping figure whom they take to be Prophet, and why, when Ali finally reveals himself as having taken Prophet's place, they still do nothing, is incomprehensible. The story is badly told, and it is more than likely that it is a jumble of more than one tradition.

327. 3 - 328. 15.

It is not clear why Prophet, having at last been given permission by God to leave, delays his departure until noon. A nice detail, however, which gives a touch of verisimilitude to the account is that of Prophet, and Abū Bakr leaving through a window at the back of the latter's house.

328. 18 - 330. 7.

It is strange that no-one appears to notice the unusual behaviour of Abdullah b. Abī Bakr and Āmir b. Fuhayra or to connect it with the well-publicised disappearance of Prophet and Abū Bakr.
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328. 18 - 330. 7.

It is strange that no-one appears to notice the unusual behaviour of \( \text{Abdullah b. Abu Bakr} \) and \( \text{Amir b. Fuhayra} \) or to connect it with the well-publicised disappearance of \( \text{Prophet} \) and Abu Bakr.
Three days is a very short time, too, for people to lose interest in a reward of 100 camels, if they see the slightest possibility of their earning it. There are, however, some further nice details in the various strands that make up this part of the story, which appear to ring completely true and are unlikely to be invented:

Abū Jahl's slapping Asmā'ā's face so hard that her earring flies off; her using her girdle as a rope; Yahyā b. ʿAbbād's reassuring his grandfather concerning the money that Abū Bakr has taken. The account, like a number of others in the story, is a curious mixture of details that are clearly genuine and others that are absurdly implausible.

What, for example is the significance of Asmā'ā's assertion that the news of Prophet's being on his way to Medina is delivered by a singing Jinnī?

The story of Surāqa b. Mālik and the divining-arrows can hardly be quite what it purports to be, although it is somewhat difficult to know exactly what point he is intending to make, in any case. What it clearly reveals is that
Suräqa is anticipating Prophet's eventual victory and is taking out insurance against this; at the same time, in order to keep his options open, he is unwilling to commit himself to Islam at this moment.

A possible point in the business with the divining-arrows is that even pagan practices, later to be forbidden, are influenced by Prophet's mission, and that Suräqa is using a story of patent self-interest for hagiographical purposes.

335. 14 - 336. 18.

The Prophet's letting his choice of accommodation depend on where his camel stops may perhaps be interpreted as a hagiographical adaptation of an elementary example of diplomatic behaviour.

346. 19 - 347. 19.

One might have expected that divine instructions concerning something as important as the Ādhān would be given direct to Prophet, rather than being revealed in a dream to others. There appears to be no particular significance in this, however.
There is something dubious about the story of Zayd b. Lusayt and his jibe. One is tempted to assume, if it is anything but the kind of apocryphal story that attaches itself to prominent religious figures (as I rather think it is), a certain amount of chicanery on at least one side.

First, why should the Muslims be afraid of a high wind, which must have been not uncommon; secondly, why should a high wind signify anyone's death?

This quite considerable section is more theological than historical. It is concerned to provide contexts for Qur'anic revelations dealing with the Jews and the Christians and to demonstrate the superiority of the Muslims to either. There is little narrative in this section.

It is not altogether clear why Ātika d. Ābdul-Muttalib
should be instructed to remain silent about her dream. From Abu Jahl's subsequent remarks, it would seem that Meccan society was somewhat sensitive (with reason) on the subject of prophecy, and that the family of ĀBDU'L-MUTTALIB were sensible to avoid further publicity on this score. (cf. below 437.10 - 18). We should also perhaps take into account the common distaste for the bearer of bad news.

431.1 - 15.

The motivation for the killing of the son of HAFS b. AL-AKHYAF is obscure; is there something unexpressed behind it?

432.10 - 15.

IblIS appears again in human form, this time as someone known. Was it really believed that IblIS had actually assumed the body of a real person, or is the assertion merely a metaphorical way of expressing the giving of evil advice? In this instance it should be remarked that it is from the point of view of the Quraysh that the advice is evil, and that I.I., in repeating the tradition as he received it, is not presenting the event as the Muslims would have viewed it.
Salama b. Salama's obscene remark and Prophet's rebuke both ring true. Prophet is not prepared to countenance this kind of behaviour, even against a sceptic.

It is perhaps surprising that Prophet should be represented as superstitious concerning ill-omened names.

The point of Prophet's reply, "We are from Mā' "(مَاء مَاء), is as obscure to me as it was to the recipient.

It is clear from other passages (e.g. 440.7-20.) that the Prophet is well acquainted with many of the Quraysh, and we may suppose that he recognises either the men themselves here or the markings on their camels and harness, etc.

Abü Sufyān's piece of detective work (worthy of Holmes himself) is a very nice touch here.
It is not clear how the same surface (a compact one, at that) "لَبَد " can hinder one side but not the other.

It seems a trifle perverse to allow some of the Quraysh to drink from the cistern, when the intention was to deny them water altogether. This sort of story, however, in which there is clearly a strong symbolic element — all who drink die in the battle, except one, who becomes a Muslim — is very suspect.

The lynching of Umayya b. Khalaf and his son, at the instigation of Bilāl, in spite of cAbdu'l-Rahmān b. cAuf's remonstrances, has the ring of complete authenticity.

The belief in angelic participation in battle is of course widespread. It is less usual for them to be dressed in human clothing, or to be heard encouraging their horses. It is interesting, and somewhat strange, that one source should
be so definite that although angels were frequently present at battles, they fought only at Badr; this matter-of-fact approach to the supernatural seems to have been very typical of the Arabs.

It is clear, incidentally, that Abū Lahab was not impressed by the story of angelic intervention (461.9-10). The Prophet's dream before the battle (see 444.17, above) presages this intervention, specifically, and not surprisingly, that of Jibrā'īl. The dust on his front teeth is a nice touch here.

442.19-20.

The severing of the "foot and half the shank" (قدت بنصف ساق) may reflect a poetic phrase (or one commonly used in heroic story-telling) (cf. 451.1. below).

451.6-15.

Abū Jahl characteristically remains defiant to the end, as befits an epic villain. The picture that we receive of him in the Sīra is one of the best delineated.
The miraculous conversion of a club into a sword is again the kind of episode that one expects in epic. The curious feature of this account is that the beneficiary is a comparatively minor character in the story.

The significance of Umayya's body having swollen is unclear; it would seem, in any case, to be at odds with the earlier statement that he was hacked to pieces, although the disintegration of the body perhaps reflects this. One can see in the latter case that it might have been difficult to move him, but why it should have been in the former is more of a problem, unless the swelling indicates an offensive degree of decomposition; the swelling would surely normally precede this, however?

The accommodation arrived at over Zaynab's departure has an authentic ring to it.
Cūmar and/Prophet both bear witness, in the story of Cūmayr, to the efficiency of the Medinan intelligence service in Mecca, whether supernatural or not.

The point of this story/presumably that the devil's disappearance was the first intimation that the Quraysh had that he had taken Surāqa's form. Where, we may ask, was Surāqa himself all the while the devil was impersonating him? The devil is, by implication at least, given some of the credit for the rout of the Meccans, through his betrayal of them.

It is clear from this passage, and from much of what has gone before, that the Medinans, as well as being inspired by Islam, also retained a lively interest in the booty that the battle provided. Some very stern revelations are given on the subject.
The lists of those present at Badr, those killed, and so on, were no doubt of great interest and importance to the families represented, as well as for the records of the infant Muslim community. It is perhaps surprising that the enemy should be so carefully listed, but their descendants, who had become Muslims, would probably have been just as concerned to have their names recorded. It must have conferred some cachet and respectability to have had an ancestor who fought at Badr, even on the wrong side.

"Their swords clashed over him with no effect".


It is far from clear what this sentence refers to. Does it mean that the assassins got in each other's way? This seems unlikely, in view of Muhammad b. Maslama's saying "when I saw that our swords were useless".

It can hardly mean that Ka'b defended himself, for it is at implied that he is unarmed, but it seems to refer to some kind of protection. I wonder if, again, we possibly have here an echo of some poetic phrase.
Huwayyisa's expressed reason for becoming a Muslim is an odd one, even if prudence appears to have dictated that he should do so at that time.

The account given here of the events leading up to Uhud is scrappy and incoherent. One can well believe that I.I. "pieced it together". There is plenty of material on the battle itself, so it does not appear that defeat had induced a reticence on the part of informations.

It seems clear that the Prophet's authority over the Medinans is somewhat uncertain at this point, rather surprisingly, in view of the recent success at Badr. First he allows himself to be persuaded to go out to fight, against his better judgement, then he is deserted by a considerable number of his followers. It is not easy to account for the behaviour of the Medinans; it looks as though cAbdullah b. Ubayy, having been defeated in his bid for caution by the euphoria produced
by the earlier victory, considered that the Prophet might still be forced to withdraw in the face of superior numbers because of his defection. This seems to be the best explanation of the words: "we do not think that there will be a battle." (لا نرى أنه يكون قتال)

559. 12 - 15.

The Prophet is again (see 434. 4 - 9, above) somewhat surprisingly, represented as believing in omens.

559. 15 - 560. 5.

The petty stubbornness of Mirba b. Qayzi rings absolutely true, as does the treatment he receives from the hot-headed Sa'd b. Zayd.

565. 6 - 14.

Wahshi's account of the death of Hamza is repeated, almost in the same words, at 564. 1 - 6.
Presumably Ibn Qam'ara al-Laythî thought that he had killed the Prophet because of the standard. Surely, however, it was not customary for the leader himself to carry his standard? Also, granted that strange things can happen in the confusion of battle, one would think that the Prophet was fairly readily identifiable.

There is some awkwardness in I.I.'s following what appears to be the announcement of a signal victory (569.19-20) with the bald statement that the Muslims were defeated (571.16). Admittedly, in the text as we have it, there is a subheading "الاندلاع بعد المعركة" (570.1), but it may be doubted if this was originally present. The clumsiness in the narration lies in the fact that the Muslims' change of fortune is only cursorily mentioned:

"مخللًا ظهرنا للنيل فأتينا من خلفنا (570.5)

while most of the account between the two opposing statements is taken up with the episode of the Quraysh standard.
Although a picturesque incident, the space devoted to it is out of all proportion to the account of the whole battle, especially since most of this is occupied by Hassan b. Thābit's poetry.

574. 9 - 10.

The first case of identification by finger-prints?

574. 14 - 575. 15.

Presumably septicaemia, or some similar infection, set in. While one can see that death from such an apparently insignificant wound might be regarded as supernatural, one might think that such cases would not be uncommon.

579. 10 - 17.

This is an exact repetition (noted by Guillaume) of 356.9-11.

582. 13 - 16.

Abū Sufyān's embarrassment at being caught insulting Hamza's body has a very natural ring to it.
The Prophet's understandable anger at the mutilation of Hamza's body soon cools and, with divine prompting, he realises the barbarity of retaliation in kind.

"One whom I do not suspect\( ) must be considered a dubious authority for an Isnād; why could I.I. not have given his name? This formula occurs quite frequently.

The behaviour of the Prophet in putting up a show of force and his use of Mā'bad in disseminating propaganda indicate an intelligent appreciation of the value of psychological warfare.

It is also clear that there was not at this stage a hard and fast division between Muslim and pagan, at any rate, outside Mecca itself; probably the Quraysh were sufficiently unpopular, because of their dominant position, for some pagans
at least to sympathise, if not actually associate themselves, with the Muslims.

\[591.13 - 592.5\]

\[\text{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft}Abdullah b. Ubayy's position is obviously a difficult one. In the first place, he had agreed with the Prophet that the Muslims should not go out to fight at Uhud; then when the Prophet was persuaded after all to go out, he withdrew his men, hoping, no doubt, to force the Prophet to decline the battle.}\]

After the defeat, he was in the situation of having been right in his assessment of the likelihood of disaster, but having also contributed to it. He seems to have been trying to put a brave face on the affair, without great success.

\[652.13 - 18\]

Guillaume sees a difficulty here. He claims that if the Prophet has overheard what the B. al-Nadīr are plotting there is no need for his being warned by heaven. Without going into the mechanics of the heavenly warning,
which could quite possibly mean simply instinct or premonition, I must take issue with Guillaume here. It seems that he takes the sentence "رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني ثامان" to imply that he must have overheard. I do not think that this follows.

It seems to me that the mention of the Prophet's position is introduced simply to explain why this is an unparalleled opportunity to drop a rock on him.

652. 20.

It is not clear why the Prophet should return alone to Medina, unless merely to remove himself from the danger of assassination. Even so, why alone? This whole story is rather incoherent; it may well be that it has been reduced from a longer version, which explained rather more.

663. 11 - 664. 18.

The point of this story is presumably the Prophet's charity to ٍJābir b. ٍAbdullah, but it is somewhat obscured by the way in which it is narrated. One might expect the bogus purchase
(as it is obviously intended to be all along) of the camel to follow the Prophet's interrogation of Jābir as to his family circumstances, rather than precede it.

The point is further obscured by there being no explicit mention of Jābir b. 'Abi'dullah's financial position other than the (rather late) revelation that he has no cushions; his poverty is presumably to be inferred from the fact that he has seven sisters, as well as a wife, to provide for.

664.18 - 665.16.

A highly improbable story, and one belonging fairly clearly to a genre of self-mortificatory anecdotes. The only unusual feature is that here the source of the mortification is external.

675.13 - 16.

A most authentic-sounding complaint.

676.5 - 20.

It seems that the Prophet's authority still only reaches so
far. When it comes to ceding other people's property in the hope of a peace settlement, he can still be thwarted by their refusing to countenance it.

680. 1 - 14.

Although this tradition is rejected by the commentators on various grounds, it seems not altogether out of character for Hassan b. Thabit. Even if it is not true, it is well told, with the circumstantial details that invite belief in it.

680. 15 - 682. 20.

The Prophet seems to have had a firm grasp of the principles of warfare. His sowing of dissension here among the enemy is extremely clever, as is his use of the climate, which is clearly becoming unsuitable for campaigning.
Hudhayfa's account of his (somewhat unwilling) reconnaissance is a vivid one and gives a clear picture of the demoralised condition of the Quraysh, brought about by the weather, the (implied) shortcomings of their commisariat, and the unreliability of their allies.

They appear to be anticipating infiltration by the Muslims, and Hudhayfa escapes detection only by his bold initiative. Abū Sufyān is patently not an inspiring leader; his haste to depart can hardly have raised morale.

The Prophet himself, however, seems to have difficulty with his men; their failure to volunteer for the reconnaissance that Hudhayfa eventually undertakes suggests a low state of morale on their side as well.

There is no suggestion here that Gabriel is appearing in any but his own persona, which makes it strange that the details of his dress, caparison, etc., should be described.
Shortly afterwards, however, he is taken for Dihya b. Kha-
līfa, and described in much the same terms; this seems to indicate that he is already disguised as Dihya when he comes to the Prophet. The reason for this disguise is obscure in both cases.

Presumably he can alter his appearance at will; why, then, should he appear as Dihya to the Prophet, if he is going to make himself known as Gabriel? Again, why should he adopt the guise of Dihya in appearing to the B. Qurayza "to shake their castles and strike terror to their hearts"?

(بِئِزَارَلَمْ حَسُوْنَهُمْ وَيَتَذَفُّ الرِّعْبُ فِي قَلْبِهِمْ)

Of this latter operation, incidentally, nothing more is heard.

687. 17 - 688. 7.

It is perhaps surprising that no story is given to account in supernatural terms for the disappearance of ṬAmr b. al-
Suḍā.
The massacre of B. Qu'ayza seems a savage reprisal for not actually having fought against the Prophet. No doubt it was necessary as a security measure, and not doubt, also, they would have done the same to the Medinans, given the opportunity.

What is the "reward of two martyrs"? (أُحِيَّانٌ) The reward of any martyr is surely immediate entry to Paradise. This is probably a piece of rhetorical exaggeration and almost certainly apocryphal.

cf. "ahlayn", "sihhatayn", etc.

The account of the killing of Sallām sounds most authentic, as does the detective-like (and rather horrible) adjudication of the Prophet as to who in fact killed him. It is not at all clear why he is killed, although presumably he was one of those who fought against, or threatened to fight
against the Muslims at the trench. One thing that appears from this account is that most of the participants in these events must have been quite well acquainted with one another; Sallām's wife recognises the voice of Ibn ʿAtīk. It is not explained how the raiders managed to lock in all the inhabitants of Khaybar, especially as it is clear that the door of Sallām's house locks or bolts (as might be expected) from the inside.

718. 10 - 719. 10.

The feint in the direction of Mecca appears to be as much an attempt to disguise from the B. Liḥyān that the raid against them had failed as the saving of something from the debacle by keeping the Meccans on the alert.

720. 15 - 19.

It is difficult to tell whether or not the comic scene with ʿAbū ʿAyyāsh and his horse is deliberately contrived by the Prophet. Probably it is, for he would most likely realise
that Abū cAyyāsh would react in this boastful way to his provocative suggestion.

On the other hand, the situation is perhaps a little too earnest for horseplay of this kind to be indulged in.


The story of the Prophet rescuing his she-camel from sacrifice is a pleasant one. The fact that he stands to lose from the woman's performance of her vow adds a dimension of irony, and his solution of this problem is in no way discreditable to him.

726. 2 – 728. 8.

It is hardly surprising that there should have been tension between the Ansār and the Muhājirūn from time to time, but it is perhaps surprising that it should be mentioned, at some length, in a hagiographical work of this kind. Still, the story does serve to demonstrate the Prophet's diplomacy
in dealing with dissension, and his ability to isolate the chief dissenter. It is interesting that the prosecution of a blood feud seems to have been felt to be a stronger duty than filial piety, so that Abdullah b. Ubayy's son feels that if anyone is to kill his father it should be he himself.

As so often in this work, Umar b. al-Khattab's direct and unsubtle nature is indicated; his immediate reaction to Abdullah's subversive remarks is to recommend that he should be killed.

The story of the violent wind that announced the death of Rifaa b. Zayd is repeated here (316.18 - 362.3, above.) without comment; this would suggest that I.I. incorporated reports into his account without any real critical editing.

It is remarkable how willing I.I. is to include in his work stories that show members of the Ansar and Muhajirun in a
poor light. This gives far more credibility to the rest of his narrative than depicting all the Muslims as paragons of virtue and courage would do.

The Muslims, still being in a very insecure situation, are of course, prepared to believe al-Walīd b. ʿUtbah's lies; even the Prophet himself is represented as almost being taken in.

I.I.'s work is, clearly, largely propagandist in intention, but he is far from making it merely an unrelieved paean of praise of the Prophet and the Muslims.

75. 13 - 16.

Kaʿīsha's being unable to remember the name of Jacob on the spur of the moment, in the middle of a solemn protestation, and having to improvise, is a very natural touch.

752. 15 - 753. 2.

It would seem that the Quraysh are scarcely in control of
those Muslims who are "confined" in Mecca, if seventy of them (it is implied that this is the entire number) are able to leave, join up with Abū Basīr, and so terrorise the Meccan caravans that they have to ask the Prophet to intervene.


The point of not returning women to Mecca, according to the agreement, is presumably that once they were married to non-Muslims, or had had children by them, they would be much more difficult to extract from Mecca. Apart from the brothers of Umm Kulthūm d. ʿUqba, no objection is reported here to have been made, probably because of the repayment of dowries, etc.

756.3-16.

It is not clear whether the Prophet is intentionally foretelling the death of ʿAmir b. al-Akwāʾ, or ʿUmar is, rather superstitiously, taking the Prophet's remark as a bad omen for him. In any case, it can surely hardly be thought that the pronouncing of the formula over a living man will bring about his death.
The point of the prohibition of eating the flesh of domestic donkeys is not clear, unless there was a shortage of donkeys for riding and the carriage of goods at the time. The point of the other prohibitions can be seen, even though that of intercourse with pregnant women who are captured appears to be based on a misunderstanding of the physiological process of impregnation, but that on the eating of donkey-flesh when horse-flesh is allowed is mysterious.

The point of not buying or selling unminted gold for minted gold and likewise with silver probably has something to do with the prohibition of interest, but it is difficult to see how exactly.

The story of 'Ali's sudden accession of great strength
(I do not think that we hear about any such thing on any other occasion) is intrinsically implausible, and it would seem likely that some Shi'ite tradition has crept in here.

We have, in any case, to consider the machanics of 'Ali's reported feat.

He has, to begin with, the Prophet's flag and his own shield. We are told that in this state he fought: "فقال لهم". This, I think, implies that he had some offensive weapon in addition. He must, therefore, have held the flag and the shield in the same hand, unless, of course, the flag was attached to a lance and he used this as a weapon; this seems unlikely, since the flag was presumably meant as a rallying-point, in which case it would have to be kept upright, and also as a sign of capture of the fort, for which purpose it would have to be kept undamaged, as far as possible.

When he loses his shield, he replaces it with a door that eight other people could not lift. This would, one would suppose, require the use of two hands, if only because of the unwieldiness of such an object - even if we disregard the reported weight.

In this situation it would be difficult to carry a flag as well, but it is just possible that he continues to hold it
with one hand pressed up against the door. It would surely be impossible for him to hold another weapon at the same time, let alone use it, as it is implied that he does.

The Prophet clearly had to be very careful to ensure the equitable distribution of booty taken in the Muslim s'various campaigns, in order to avoid quarrels and ill-feeling among his followers.

In cases like that of Rifa'a b. Zayd he appears to have been aware of thefts; it is difficult to see why he did not intervene earlier.

The gift of the hens and domestic animals from Khaybar to Ibn Luqaym is the kind of trivial detail that tends to creep into a hagiographical account, where no detail is
considered too insignificant to be recorded. Since there is not even an anecdote connected with it, it gives the work a rather cluttered and inconsequential feeling.

770. 9 - 772. 6.

The Prophet’s actually giving consent to al-Hajjāj b. ٰIltā’s telling lies, not this time for the purpose of misleading the enemy or lowering his morale before a battle, as at the Trench, but for the man’s own personal convenience, is somewhat unexpected.

783. 19 - 784. 4.

Ubaydallah’s remarks are no doubt accurately reported, but it is rather surprising to find them given prominence, and indeed a fairly lengthy explanation, here.

789. 14 - 790. 19.

The Quraysh seem to think, or affect to think, that the Prophet
is performing the Ḫumra as a means of appealing to God for help in straitened circumstances. It may also be that their refusal to attend the wedding feast that he proposes is an extension of this; they are unwilling to acknowledge, or to let it become known, that the Muslims are not destitute.


The report that Jaʿfar b. Abī Tālib was the first man in Islam to hamstring his horse is typical of the early historian's fascination with minutiae that have little or no intrinsic interest.

791. 3 - 796. 8.

Clearly this was a disastrous expedition. The accounts, however, concentrate on the martyrdom of the successive leaders; the positive side of the situation is thus stressed, rather than the negative. This tendency - which is after all quite a natural one - to be observed, to some extent, in the accounts of Uhud also.
In spite of the taunting of the survivors as runaways by those who had remained at home, the fact that an army of some sort had been kept in being demonstrates the excellent military sense of Khālid b. al-Walīd; in the face of overwhelmingly superior numbers he refused to reinforce failure.

The Quraysh still have agents in Medina, but their intelligence system is by no means as efficient as the Prophet's. 'Umar produces his usual impulsive response to the case of Ḥātib; the Prophet's first reaction seems to be overruled by revelation, but we are not told here what happens to Ḥātib.

The account of the conversion of Abū Sufyān and his dispatch to Mecca as a Fifth Column is a convincing one.
A mixture of hard and soft techniques is used. First he is menaced by Qamar. This is probably only incidental, but could have been anticipated. Then he is entreated by the Prophet to adopt a sensible attitude. When he still expresses doubt as to the validity of the Prophet's claims, 'Abd Allāh settles the matter with a direct threat. His pride is then salved by his being given what is represented as an important errand of mercy to the Meccans, the need for which is demonstrated by his being exposed to a show of military strength.

The operation is successful, and the Meccans are induced to give in without a fight.

The incident of Abu Bakr's sister's necklace has a completely genuine ring. Even in a religious war, the cause for which men are fighting is not always their principal consideration, and it comes as no real surprise that one of the most influential figures of Islam is unable to recover his sister's property.
816. 7.

The point of the Prophet's requiring Abū Quḥāfa's hair to be dyed is not clear.

818. 14 - 819. 4.

Surely the Prophet cannot expect his followers to take such drastic action without instructions? Even ʿUmar would hesitate to kill an apostate without permission, for his previous demands for the death of various "enemies of God" have been refused.

819. 9 - 820. 7.

The importance attached to poetry and singing as a means of propaganda can be seen from the Prophet's ordering the execution of singing-girls who had satirised him. Presumably these were slaves and, as such, acting under instructions; their sentence seems somewhat harsh, in the circumstances.
The Prophet's customary diplomatic sense is to be seen in his restoring the guardianship of the Ka'ba to āl-Ṭalhā, in spite of āl-Ḥāšimī's request on behalf of his family.

Some unbelievers apparently continued to live in Mecca; no doubt the conversion was a gradual process, and obviously some died as pagans before it was complete.

Khālid b. al-Walīd is clearly an excellent general and is prepared to use any means, including subterfuge, to ensure victory for his forces. The Prophet wishes to use persuasion to spread Islam, now that the immediate danger in the neighbourhood of Medina has dealt with.
Khālid b. al-Walīd is concerned to pay off old scores (though the text of I.I. as we have it is not clear on this) as well as to propagate the new faith. The Prophet is not at all pleased at this, as he presumably sees that this kind of proselytising by force of arms is likely to bring Islam into disrepute, as well as gaining unwilling converts, and, thus potential apostates.

The success of Khālid b. al-Walīd’s ruse with the Banū Jadhīma indicates a certain lack of communications between various parts of the peninsula, although Jahdam has obviously heard about Khālid b. al-Walīd’s ruthlessness.

However, on this occasion, at any rate, the people find the propaganda about the peaceful spread of Islam more convincing than Jahdam’s warning.

Hubaysha’s remark is perhaps a conventional form of farewell, although, if so, the way the twenty-five years are divided is somewhat strange. If it is not conventional, it surely betrays an extraordinarily callous sense of humour, which is not apparent in the following account.
This is a very odd story. The white men on piebald horses "ربالا ببيا على خيل بليق" we are presumably meant to understand as angels, although this is normally made explicit.

Quite what "رقد تغرقت ايصاليم" means is doubtful, but it must mean something like Guillaume's "with their joints dislocated." Why this should have happened to the spies, and indeed how it should have happened, without (apparently) any fighting, is inexplicable.

The Prophet seems to be short of weapons, armour and transport. Weapons and armour, of any quality, must have always been something of a problem for the Arabs, since they demanded considerable skill and time to make; the best, and probably the majority, were imported.
It is rather trusting of Safwān, an unbeliever, to lend these things to the Prophet, and it perhaps indicates that people did not generally think that Islam was likely to be imposed by force.

844, 1 - 10.

Converts do not always assimilate all details of their new faith at once, but polytheism is perhaps the last belief one would expect to find in newly-converted Muslims, considering the whole tenor of the Prophet's message.

845, 15 - 16.

Tribal affinities and alliances must have been generally significant in deciding which groups were prepared to convert readily and which stubbornly resisted conversion. Safwān clearly thinks of Islam as a political rather than a religious allegiance, and it would seem, to judge from the Ridda, that many tribes took this view.
I do not quite see the significance of "he would take his mail and throw it on its (his mount's) neck."

I think it has to mean "he would put on his mail", in which case "عنقه" must mean "his own neck", i.e., put it on over his head. I can think of no other action that makes sense here, since the men are letting their beasts go, once they have collected their weapons from them.

Once again (see above) someone loses "his foot and half his shank."

There is some inconsistency in dealing with spoils here.
Normally booty seems to be shared out between the Muslims. Perhaps the Prophet is making a special case here in allowing those who killed an enemy to keep the spoils.

849, 5 - 9.

This manifestation as ants is one of the more bizarre attributed to angels and it is difficult to see what purpose is served by it.

849, 20.

The Prophet apparently also preserves some tribal loyalty towards the Quraysh.

856, 7 - 10.

Khalid b. al-Walīd seems to be prepared to go to any lengths in his campaign of pacification.
The Prophet allows him to get away with things that he would not be inclined to pass over in a lesser and less valuable adherent.

878.14 - 899.7.

The Prophet seems to have some private knowledge of the nature of this well and its unsuitability for human use.

Why he orders his men not to go out alone is not clear, unless, of course, weather conditions are so severe, as hinted at in the fate of one of those who disobey him, as to be physically dangerous.

The cause of the choking is not given; this can hardly be caused by the weather.

899.19 - 900.9.

This story here occurs in its proper place. It has previously appeared, out of context, at 361.10 - 16.
The fact that it is told almost exactly word for word in the two places is an example of I.I.'s lack of flexibility and imagination in compiling his work; it may also illustrate the difficulty that writers before the age of printing experienced in making reference forward and back in their works.

957. 15 – 19.

It would seem that some women, at least, are concerned, even at this early stage, about their position in Islam. They receive an uncompromising, and somewhat discouraging, answer from the Prophet.

958. 18 – 960. 20.

Those to whom Khalid is sent, inviting them to accept Islam, have little choice, to judge from those whom he has pacified earlier. The Prophet's remark: "You are the people who when they are driven away pushed forward "    (أنتم الذين إذا ازدرونا استقدموا)  is obscure.
We hear very little about Musaylima. Presumably it was in no-one's interest to preserve information about him and his teaching. Part of his weakness appears to have been his willingness to share his authority as an apostle; probably, also, he did not have such a large and powerful organisation as the Prophet, especially since he was not first on the scene.

It is not clear why the Prophet does not allow those who have not brought victims to make the pilgrimage; presumably victims could have been procured? Perhaps the number intending to take part was just too great, or perhaps the majority of the Muslims had not yet been instructed in the rites to observe under Islam.
The account of this raid is extremely complicated; it can be followed, but it is incoherent, and so full of inconsequential detail that it can hardly be called a lucid piece of narrative.

The satanic attributes of Khālid b. Sufyān are odd. When the Prophet says: "If you see him he will remind you of Satan," what precisely does he mean? Does he imply that there is more than the general atmosphere of evil that we must suppose induces the "shuddering"? If so, how is this to be recognised, since presumably the person concerned has not seen Satan, except, of course, disguised as a man?
The point of the giving of the stick is not exactly clear, or rather, the fact that the Prophet explains it might well destroy the point.

Publicising the carrying of a stick as a recognition signal will surely encourage many others to follow suit?

Does the Prophet reprove the killing of someone who pronounces the *shahāda* because he has become a Muslim by that very act?

Surely this is not so, for the pronouncing of the *shahāda* must be accompanied by a sincere intention to convert to Islam, and to regard the formula itself as holy would be tantamount to idolatry.

He must mean that the pronouncing of the formula should be
sufficient to create a reasonable doubt, and that no drastic action should be taken until the bona fides of the person concerned has been investigated.

986. 17 - 987. 8.

It is not clear why Abū Bakr and Ĉumar regard it as wrong of Ĉauf b. Mālik to have given them the camel meat to eat.

If it is hāraṁ because it has not been slaughtered properly, surely Ĉauf ought not to eat it either; there is no mention, however, of his regurgitating it, and, indeed, he is presumably the only one of the three in a position to know how it has been slaughtered.

986. 6 - 16.

The Prophet is clearly very sensitive to hostile poetry.
It is not clear why a Muslim should eat less (seven times less, in fact) than an unbeliever.

I suspect that this kind of remark is a part of a general propaganda campaign to suggest that Muslims are superior in every way to other people (if the Arabs could ever have been induced to believe that eating very little was a sign of superiority).

Ca'isha invariably shows herself in the Life as a woman of great spirit.

Here, as elsewhere, she also displays a considerable sense of humour. This is something that I.I., doubtless for reasons of piety, does not often depict in his characters.
The Prophet's attitude towards unsolicited medical attention and especially towards a particular medicine that is obviously most unpleasant, strikes a sympathetic note.

His forcing everyone who remains in his house to take it is a nice touch.

It seems that the Prophet does not want Ĉumar to succeed him. This is not altogether surprising, considering the impetuous and somewhat unsubtle character that Ĉumar displays throughout the Life.

The Prophet is presumably foretelling the Ridda.
He is probably aware that Islam is only precariously established (if at all) among the outlying tribes, and that his death may well encourage them to shake off the as yet unconsolidated suzerainty of Medina.

1012. 2 - 1013. 3.

Cūmar reacts in characteristic fashion to the Prophet's death. Abū Bakr deals with the situation and with Cūmar very capably.

1015. 20 - 1016. 13.

Abū Bakr again restrains Cūmar, probably wisely, in view of the delicate situation.

I presume that the "jumping" (نازحا) on Sa'd b. Cūbāda is accidental, but, in any case, Cūmar's response to being told about it is typical.
Guillaume's "the Prophet's body did not present the appearance of an ordinary corpse" is perhaps misleading as a version of "دَمِّرْ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلَّى اللهُ مَرَّ مَا مَرَّ مَمَتَهُ". This seems to me more likely to mean "showed no signs of death".
SUMMARY OF TABARI'S TEXT

(1228.14 - 1837.10)
1229. 7 - 1232. 5. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 33 - 206 - 14,
1232. 5 - 10. - authority, 498.
Prophet tells 'Ali to inform Abū Bakr that he will meet him at
Thaur. Anticipation of subject of following paragraph.
1233. 18 - 1234. 15. + authority, 12.
'Ali tells Abū Bakr that Prophet has gone to cave of Thaur.
Prophet hurts foot. Abū Bakr follows Prophet who recognizes his
call. Quraysh imprison 'Ali for a while; afterwards released.
Repetition of Qur'ān: 8.30.
1234. 15 - 1237. 11. + authority, 498 - 399 - 389 - 392 - 328 -
Incorporating shortened version of I.I. 329. 11 - 16. Differs
somewhat from I.I. 328. 9 - 329. 11; 332. 17 - 333. 15; 335. 10 -
12; 336. 9 - 11. Additional information about Prophet and Abū Bakr
with Ḥamīr b. Fuhayra and guide from B. ʿAdū. Prophet's camel
do not fix site of mosque.
1237. 11 - 1240. 7. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 190 - 297 - 67.
As I.I. 327. 9 - 329. 16.
16 - 330. 12.
Quraysh hear some-one on Abū . Qubays on two consecutive nights
telling about two Sa₄ds; ʿAbū Sufyān interprets the two Sa₄ds as
Ibn Muʿādh and Ibn ʿUbadā.
1242. 12 - 1244. 3. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 194 - 297 -
69. As I.I. 333. 18 - 334. 18.
1244. 3 - 1245. 1. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 396 - 71.
As I.I. 334. 18 - 335. 9.
that some traditionists say that Prophet stays ten days in Qubā'.
Dispute of learned men over stay of Prophet in Mecca; some of them claim, Prophet stayed ten years in Mecca after beginning of mission.

Tradition alleging that Prophet stayed ten years in Mecca.

Ditto.

Ditto.

Ditto.

Ditto.

Ditto.

Ditto.

Ditto.

Ditto.

Ditto.

Abū Qays Sirma b. Abī Anas’s poetry about Prophet staying for 10 years in Mecca.

Abū Qays Sirma b. Abī Anas’s poetry about Prophet’s staying for fifteen years in Mecca.

Three years before revelations to begin to Prophet, Isrā‘īl visits him continually.

1249. 11 - 16. + authority, 588A - 392A - 433 - 403A.

CAmīr confirms three years visiting by Isṛā'īl of Prophet, 20 years visiting him by Jibṛā'īl, 10 years in Mecca and 10 in Medina.


Tabarrī suggests that those proposing ten years do not include 3 years of visiting by Isṛā'īl before mission; 8 years in Mecca also in one tradition. Al-Ḥasan: 10 years in Mecca and 10 in Medina.


Beginning of Hijrī reckoning.

1250. 16 - 1251. 2. + authority, 548 - 593 - 453 - 523 - 252.

CʿUmar consults people about date; agreement on hijrī reckoning.

1251. 3 - 12. + authority, 548 - 604 - 513 - 443 - 533.

Muslims discuss two alternative calendars, but settle on hijrī.

1251. 12 - 1252. 2. + authority, 647, 434 - 605 - 562.

Muharram accepted as first month of hijrī calendar year.


Islamic dates reckoned from Prophet's hijra.


CʿAbdullāh b. al-Zubayr born in first year of hijra.


Ditto.


Qurʾān: 89. 1. Interpretation as Muharram dawn of year.


Reasons for importance of Muharram.


Yaʿlā b. ʿUmayya first to use hijrī dating in Yemen.

1253. 7 - 16. + authority, 397 - 547 - 326, 199 - 252.

Brief history of Arabs' dating systems up to 17 or 18 hijrī.


CʿAllūs suggests hijrī reckoning; ʿUmar accepts his suggestion.

1254. 2 - 1255. 9. + authority, 498 - 397.

Arabs dated years from historical incidents or accidents; poetry cited in suggestion of this.
Tabarî gives chronological summary of Prophet's life until hijra. Isrâ'îl visits Prophet first three years before revelation. Jibrâ'îl appears rest of his life. Date of emigration of Prophet given.

1255. 10 - 17. + authority, 498 - 252.


Importance of Monday in Prophet's career.


As I.I. 415. 8 - 11. Different isnâd.

1256. 4 - 9. - authority, 498.

Hijrâ reckoning starts from 1st of Muharram and not from hijra itself.

1256. 10 - 1257. 2. - authority, 498.

Prophet performs first Friday prayer at Medina, and gives first address to Muslims.


Text of Prophet's first address. Qur'ân references: 3. 28; 50. 28; 65. 5; 22. 77. I.I. omits lot of. I.I. gives quite different versions of Prophet's first and second addresses. 340. 2 - 341. 3.


+ alternative version.


Alternative account of site of Prophet's mosque.

1260. 3 - 5. - authority, 498.

Prophet himself, together with some Muhâjîrîn and Ansâr, undertakes construction of mosque.

1260. 6 - 11. Authority continues.


Asâd b. Zurâra stung to death?

1261. 8 - 9. + authority.
Abū Ubayha dies in Tā'if, and Wālid b. Mughayra and Čās b. Wā'īl in Mecca.

1261. 10 - 14. + authority.
Prophet consummates marriage with ČA'īsha, seven or eight months after arrival in Medina; married in Mecca, 3 months after death of Khadija, when ČA'īsha 6 or 7.

ČA'īsha tells of her nine special privileges.

Prophet marries ČA'īsha in Shawwāl and consummates marriage in Shawwāl.

Ditto.

1263. 4 - 5. + authority, 498.
Prophet consummates marriage with ČA'īsha on Wednesday in her father's house.

1263. 6 - 11. + authority.
Prophet's and Abū Bakr's families come to Medina during first year of hijra.

1263. 12 - 15. + authority, 566.
Stationary and travelling prayers consisted of two rakēs.
Stationary prayers increased by 2 rakēs; no dispute over this.

1263. 16 - 19. + authority, 566; 464A - 609 - 566.
CAbdullah b. Zubayr born twenty months after hijra.

1263. 20 - 1264. 7. + authority, 498; 566.
Birth of CAbdullah b. Zubayr disproves claim of Jews to have put spell of infertility on muhājirīn. Also alleged that Asmā' d. Abū Bakr pregnant with him at hijra. NuCmān b. Bashīr first child born to Ansār during first year of hijra. Al-Wāqidī denies this.

Al-Wāqidī says, NuCmān b. Bashīr first child born to Ansār, 14 months after hijra, and 8 when Prophet died.

NuCmān b. Bashīr is six months older than CAbdullah b. al-Zubayr.
1264. 16 - 17. - authority, 498.
1264. 18 - 1265. 5. + authority, 566.
Hamza b. ʿAbduʾl-Muttalib's expedition, taking white standard and thirty muḥājirīn, meets Abū Jahl to intercept Quraysh caravan, who are 300; comes back without fight.
1265. 6 - 14. Authority continues.
ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbduʾl-Muttalib's expedition, taking white standard and sixty muḥājirīn, meets Quraysh. Both parties shoot arrows but do not fight hand to hand.
1265. 15 - 1266. 5. + authority, 424A - 328 - 402A - 231.
Ṣaʾd b. Abī Waqqās's expedition to al-Kharrīr; misses caravan.
1266. 6 - 8. + authority, 498, 547; 566.
I. I. indicates that above expeditions happened in second year of hijra.
1266. 9 - 1267. 10. + authority, 458 - 618 - 547.
1267. 10 - 1268. 7. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547.
As I. I. 418 - 16 - 419. 11.
1268. 7 - 1269. 9. Authority continues.
As I. I. 421. 4 - 422. 1.
1269. 9 - 1270. 5. Authority continues.
As. I. I. 423. 5 - 10. + incomplete sentence from I. I. 422. 19-20.
1270. 5 - 10. + authority, 566.
Abū Qays b. al-Aslat dies without accepting Islam.
In 1270. 12 - 1273. 6. Ṭ gives alternative accounts of expeditions already given according to I. I.'s account, 1266. 9 - 1270. 5.
1270. 12 - 17. + authority, x, 566.
Prophet's expedition against al-Abwāʾ also called Waddān, leaving Ṣaʾd b. ʿUbāda in Medina as deputy.
1270. 17 - 1271. 4. + authority, 566.
Prophet marches to Buwāṭ against Quraysh.
1271. 4 - 8. - authority.
Prophet pursues Kurz b. Jābir, who escapes; leaves Zayd b. Hāritha as deputy.
1271. 8 - 12. - authority.
Prophet's expedition to Dhātuʾl-ʿUshayra against Quraysh caravan to Syria.
1271. 12 - 1272. 6. + authority, 635-560-547-572-195-690-75.
1272. 6 - 10. + authority, 458 -616-547-313-195-196 - 75.
Ditto.
1272. 10 - 1273. 6. + authority, 564 - 357 - 328 - 612.
'Abū Turāb' thought to be slanderous to Āli, until explained
that he is proud of it, since given by Prophet. Circumstances
explained.
1273. 6 -9. + authority, 498 - 566 - 422 - 135 - 153A.
Āli b. Ābī Tičlib marries Fātima d. Prophet in month of Sāfar,
second year of hijra.
As I.I. 423. 5 - 13. Slightly different at beginning.
1273. 15 - 17. + authority, 566.
Twelve men sent with Ābīdulah b. Jahsh.
1273. 17 - 1276. 15. + authority, 547 - 326, 314 - 297.
Ditto. Alternative account.
1278.8-1279.7. + authority, 498-541-587-328-622-507.
Ditto. Another version.
1279. 8 - 14. - authority.
Qibla changed from Jerusalem to Kačba; dispute over date of
changing Qibla.
Qibla changed eighteen months after hijra. Qur'ān reference: 2.139.
1280.9-10. + authority, 609 - 566.
Qibla changed at noon, Tuesday, middle of Shačbān.
1280. 11-18. + authority, 498; 588 - 456 - 446 - 222.
Qibla changed 16 months after hijra.
1280. 18 - 1281. 5. + authority, 693 -670 - 702A. Ditto.
1281. 6 - 11. - authority, 498.
Prophet orders fasting in Ramadan as Fād.
1281. 12 - 18. - authority.
Prophet orders Zakātu'l-Fitr; prays first Qīd prayer.


1283.8-11. + authority, 464A - 609 - 566 - 199. Ābūdullāh’s claim rejected; Ibn Sāliḥ confirms that Badr fought on 17th of Rabī‘, Friday morning.


1286. 5 - 1288. 15. Authority continues.

Zubayr b. al-Āwām captures water-carrier who tells number of Quraysh, 950. Prophet occupies wells, calling on God for help. Ābī Sufyān’s message to Quraysh not to fight. Qur’ān: 8.43; 8.49.

1288.15-1290.18. + authority, 447-530-489-484-466-71. Water-carrier of Quraysh captured who tells number of Quraysh. Prophet calls on God for help. Ātba b. Rabī‘a wants Quraysh to avoid fight. Ātba, Shayba and Walīd killed. Seventy Quraysh killed; and seventy captured. Ābbās captured by angel.
1290.18-1291.3. + authority, 499 - 654 - 489 - 484 - 466 - 71.
Prophet brave and very near to enemies on day of Badr.
1291. 3-8. + authority, 405 - 381 - 629 - 484 - 466 - 71.
Prophet prays all night standing by tree. In 1284.8-1291.8. Tabari gives brief account of Badr from various authorities. From 1291.8-I.I.'s account of Badr.
As I.I. 427. 20 - 428. 11.
1292.11-1295.15. + authority, 458-616-547-2-146-14, 314 - 297.
Prophet marches to Badr with 310 + companions. Dispute about number; some say 313.
1297. 1 - 5. + authority, 516A - 424 - 484 - 426.
Prophet has 313 men with him.
Numbers of Muhäjirín and Ansär 77 and 236 respectively.
1297. 10-11. + authority. Some say 314 men.
1297. 11-14. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547. Some say 318, others say 317; majority say more than 310.
1298. 1 - 5. + authority, 530 - 335 - 332 - 489 - 484 - 426.
Prophet's companions are equal in number to companions of Tälib who crossed river; i.e. 310 +.
1299. 2 - 4. + authority, 471 - 387 - 527 - 603.
Prophet has more than 310 companions.
Abdullah b. Mas'ud witnesses al-Miqdād b. ʿAmr's address to the Prophet.

Abū Jahl begins battle by insulting Hakīm b. Ḥulayfah and ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa.

God answers Prophet's call for help, sending 1,000 angels. Qurʾān reference: 8:9.


Tabari gives extra verses of poetry.
1322. 5 - 1323. 3. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 326 - 39.
As I. I. 445. 9 - 446.3.
1323. 4 - 1325.4. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 10 - - 14.
As I.I. 446. 4 - 447. 17.
1325. 4 - 1327.10. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 307 - 328 -
As I.I. 447 - 19 - 449. 9.
1327. 10 - 1329. 2. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 19 - 14 -
As I.I. 449. 10 - 450. 8.
1329. 2 - 1331. 9. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 273 - 146 -
As I.I. 450. 13 - 452. 3.
1331. 9 - 1333. 9. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 314 - 297 -
67; 458 - 616 - 547 - 127 - 3; 458 - 616 - 547 - - 2.
As I.I. 453. 14 - 455. 15.
1333. 18 - 1334. 6. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 55, - - 262 -
1334. 6 - 1336. 7. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 88 + 314;
1336. 7 - 12. + authority, 290. As I.I. 458. 19 - 459. 3.
1336. 12 - 1337. 11. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 19 - 308.
As I.I. 459. 3 - 14.
1337. 12 - 1338. 4. + authority, 458 - 618 - 547 - 218.
As I.I. 459. 14 - 460. 2.
1338. 4 - 14. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547, 498 - 566.
As I.I. 460. 7 - 12.
1338. 14 - 1341. 1. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 128 - 146 -
account of Abu Lahab from 1340. 10 - 1341. 1.
Prophet's uncle, αAbbās unbound. Tabari gives I.I. as authority;
account not in present version of I.I.
Abū al-Yasar Ka'b b. Āmār helped by angel to capture Ābbās. Tabarî gives I. I. as authority of I. I.; not in present version of I. I.


I. I. 12 - 1344. 9. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 192A.
  As I. I. 462. 15 - 463. 9.

I. I. does not mention paragraph in present version but Tabarî gives I. I.'s authority. Ābbās pays ransom for himself; Āqīl, Nufal and Ītba b. Āmār.


  As I. I. 471. 19 - 474. 1.


Qur'ān: 8.

Prophet accepts Abū Bakr's suggestion of ransom for captives.


Ābdullāh b. Mas'ūd's request to Prophet to spare Suhayl b. Baydā'.
Qur'ān reference: 8. 68.

  As I. I. 506. 9 - 507. 3.

1358. 11 - 1359. 4. + authority, 566
Names of those who could not take part at Badr.
Prophet recites Qur'ān 54. 45. at Badr.
1359. 10 - 16. + authority, 498.
Jews become jealous at Prophet's victory over Quraysh.
566 - 199 - 88. Jibrā'īl brings Qur'ān 8. 60 to Prophet as help in fight against B. Qaynūqā who surrendered after fifteen days.
1361. 11 - 1362. 2. + authority, 498, 566 - 199 - 88.
Jews, B. Qaynuqā, expelled; their property divided among Muslims.
Prophet for first time takes fifth of spoils as special share.
Prophet for first time prays Ḥudūl-Adhā on 10th of Dhū al-Hijja; sacrifices victims.
1362. 16 - 1363. 8. + authority, 499.
Prophet's expedition against B. Sulaym and B. Ghatafān begins on a Friday in Shawwāl, 2 A.H.
1363. 8 - 1364. 7. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547; 566.
As I.I. 539. 20 - 540. 4. Tabari gives more detailed account.
Prophet sends Ghālib b. ʿAbdullah al-Laythī against B. Sulaym and Ghatafān, killing and taking spoils; returns to Medina.
3 Muslims killed.
1364. 9 - 14. + authority, 498, 547; 458 - 616 - 547.
As I.I. 543. 5 - 7.
As I.I. 543. 7 - 544. 10. Tabari and I.I. quote different poetry.
1366. 10 - 1367. 5. + authority, 566.
Al-Wāqidi agrees with above account.
1367. 9 - 14. + authority, 498, 566 - 608A - 135 - 498A. 
Previous statement about ʿAlī and Fāṭima's marriage false if this is true.
1367. 16 - 1368. 4. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547.
As I.I. 544. 12 - 16.
1372. 15 - 1373. 9. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 8 - 573 - 328.
As I.I. 553. 15 - 555. 8.
1373. 9 - 16. + authority, 498, 566.
CʿUthmān b. ʿAffān marries Umm Kulthūm d. Prophet.
As I.I. 547. 7 - 548. 3. T gives date at beginning according to al-Wāqidi.
1375. 8 - 1377. 10. + authority, 498, 447 - 530 - 489 - 484 - 426.
Prophet sends Muslims under command of ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAtīk to kill Abū ʿRāfī ʿ Salām b. ʿAbī al-Huqayq who helped Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf against Prophet.
1377. 11 - 1378. 1. + authority, 566. Al-Wāqidi gives date of, and names of those who join, expedition above mentioned.
1378. 2 - 7. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547. As I.I. 714. 2 - 5.
As I.I. 714. 6 - 716. 5.
1381. 7 - 1383. 11. + authority, 578, 354 - 501 - 480 - 479 - 328 - 279 - 40. Alternative version of Abū ʿRāfī ʿs killing at 1375. 8 - 1378. 1; repeats story 1378. 2 - 1381. 6, as I.I. 714. 2 - 716. 5.
1383. 12 - 16. + authority, 498.
Prophet marries Hafṣa d. ʿUmar. Date of battle of Uhud given.
As I.I. 555. 11 - 558. 18. With short introduction by Tabari.

Polytheists: 3,000; Muslims: 700. Prophet rejects number of volunteers.

Prophet permits Samara b. Jundab to fight against Quraysh.


CAμī fights single combat; polytheists retreat. Khalid b. al-Walīd's surprise attack against Muslims from rear.

Prophet gives Abū Dujāna Simāk b. Kharāsha his sword.

As I. I. 561. 6-14. Tabari gives additional account of Abū Sufyān's message to Aus and Khazraj exhorting them to join Quraysh.

Tabari gives additional account 1400. 13-14., concerning Hamza b. Ābdū'1-Muttalib and CA∫ī b. Abī Talib.

As I. I. 570. 2 - 7.

As I. I. 570. 8 -17.

CA∫ī b. Abū Talib kills standard-bearer of Quraysh.


As I.I. 576. 15 577. 4.
Tabarî adds names of runaways.
1412. 3-1415. 6. + authority, 498-547. As I.I. 567. 19-569. 15.
As I.I. 580. 20 - 582. 9. Tabarî quotes Ḥassän b. Thäbit's poetry about Hind d. Ḥutba; I.I. gives 2 verses only. (others criticised by I.H.)
1417. 7-1418. 5. + authority, 498, 447-530-489-303a-304-489-484-426.
1419. 12-1420. 10. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 188.
As I.I. 583. 15 - 584. 9.
1421. 9-17. + authority, 547. As I.I. 585. 9-16.
Tabari quotes 'Ali's poetry and extensive account.

Tabari attributes the paragraph to I. J. even I. H. did not mention I-J.


Tabari attributes the paragraph to I. J. even I. H. did not mention this. Al-Damri ties thumbs of captive with bowstring; brings to Prophet.
8. Tabarî quotes additional poetry of Ka'b b. Malik.
Alternative version.
1447.10-1448.4. + authority, 547-31; 355 - 328 - 345 - 135 - 3.
Qur'ân reference: 3. 1.63, about this.
1448.5 - 15. + authority, 498. ŠAmir b. Šufayl writes to Prophet
asking for bloodwit of two men killed by al-Đamârî. Prophet goes
to B. al-Nadîr to decide payment of bloodwit.
1448.6-1449.17. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 314.
As I.I. 652.10 - 653.8.
1449.17 - 1451.9. + authority, 498, 566. Al-Wâqidi's account
of same. Prophet besieges B. al-Nadîr for fifteen days; accepts
terms of their expulsion with weapons and goods.
Prophet accepts terms of sparing B. al-Nadîr; expels them with
weapons and goods.
Prophet expels B. al-Nadîr to Syria.
1453.7-14. + authority, 498. ṢAlî is standard bearer. Death of
1453.14 - 1454.3. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547.
1454.4-8. + authority, 566. Expedition of Dhátu'l-riqa
named for mountain. Prophet makes ṢUthmân b. ṢAffân governor of Medina.
1454.9-1455.2. + authority, 458-616-547-194-190-297-109. Tabarî
gives summary of account at 661.19-662.20. from I.I. and I.H.
1455.7-19. + authority, 542-538-328-603-636-149.
Prophet receives order from God to shorten prayer during journey
when prayer of fear prayed.
20-663.10. Tabarî does not mention name of man from B. Muhârib.
As I.I., 664.18 - 665.18.
1457.17 - 1459.3. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 267.
As I.I., 666.2 - 666.18.
1459.3 - 1460.5. + authority, 566.
Nuays b. Mas'ud al-Ashja'I attempts to prevent Muslims starting a new campaign against Quraysh.
1460. 5-6 - authority, 498.
Prophet places Medina under control of 'Abdullah b. Rawāha during his absence.
1460. 7-11. + authority, 566.
1460.12 - 1464.6. + authority, 566 - 366 - 204.
1462. 6-17. + authority, 693 - 670 - 702A.
Qur'ān reference: 33.37. Same account as above, alternative version.
1462.18 - 1463.3. + authority, 566.
1463. 4-11. + authority, 498, 566 - 131 - 328.
Prophet's peace agreement with Uyayna b. Hisan who is permitted to graze flocks.
As I.I., 668.17 - 670.7.
1465. 8-12. + authority, 566.
Salmān al-Fārsī suggests digging of trench around Medina.
1465.13 - 1467.2. + authority, 547.
As I.I., 670.7 - 671.11.
1467.2 - 1470.2. + authority, 542 - 548A - 510 - 78 - 418.
Prophet strikes rock; lighting produced. Interpretation:
Muslim conquests. Qurʾān reference about Munāfīqīn: 33.22; 33.12; 4.54.
1470.2-7. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - x - 109.
As I.I., 673.9-13.
1470.7 - 1473.15. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547.
As I.I., 673.15 - 676.5.
As I.I., 676.5 - 678.3. Tabarî gives addition: account at
1476.5-12. I.I. quotes poetry about this 1078.4-15.
As I.I., 678.17 - 679.5.
1477.6-14. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 88.
As I.I., 679.5-11.
Same as above (1476.12 - 1477.14).
1479.6-9. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - x - 653.
As I.I., 679.11-19. Tabarî omits poetry about this.
As I.I., 680.2-14.
1480.8 - 1483.7. + authority, 547.
As I.I., 680.14 - 682.20.
As I.I., 682.20 - 684.3.
1485.2-4. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547.
As I.I., 684.3-5.
1485.5 - 1486.15. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 326; 547 - 328 - 166.
As I.I., 684.6 - 685.10.
Summary of siege of B. Qurayza; acceptance of Sa'ad b. Mu'adh's judgement.

Sa'ad b. Mu'adh decides that adult males should be killed and their property, women and children divided among Muslims.

Sacd b. Mu’adh’s wound bursts open; dies.
1500.5 - 1500.16. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547; 566.
As I.I., 725. 10-11. Tabari mentions that al-Waqqidi gives name to Prophet's expedition. "Ghazwatu'l-Muraysi".

As I.I., 718.11 - 719.16.

1502.4-17. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 88 - 19 - 245.
As I.I., 719. 16-19.


1507.3 - 1509.15. + authority, 547; 458 - 616 - 547 - 88.
As I.I., 719.19 - 721.16.

1509.15 - 1510.15. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 653.

1510.16 - 1514.6. + authority, 458 - 618 - 547 - 88 - 19 - 204.
Sura 63. vs. 1,5,7,8.

1514.6-16. + authority, 516a - 489 - 484 - 702.
Shortened version of I.I., 726. 2 - 727. 17.

1514.17 - 1516.3. + authority, 547 - 458 - 616 - 547 - 88.
As I.I., 727.17 - 729.2.

As I.I., 729. 4-19.

As I.I., 731.2 - 737.18.
1526.6 - 1528.1. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 193.
As I.I., 737.20 - 739.2.
As I.I., 739.2-7.
1528.8-10. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 391; 498.
A'isha slandered on occasion of 'Umratu'l-Qadā'.
1528.11-17. + authority, 458 - 457 - 659 - 574A.
Prophet attempts 'Umra. Polytheists do not permit Prophet to perform 3 times.
1528.17 - 1529.7. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547.
As I.I., 740.9-16.
AssI.I., 740.16-19. 740.20 - 741.5. Dispute over number of Prophet's companions and number of sacrificial victims.
1531.4 - 1532.5. + authority, 498 - 458 - 687 - 500 - 327.
Khālid b. al-Walīd accepts Islam; fights against Quraysh under command of 'Ikrima b. Abī Jahl; defeats 'Ikrima several times; wins title of "Sword of God". Qur'ān reference: 48. 24-25.
1532.6 - 1533.13. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 19; 326.
As I.I., 741.5 - 742.4.
1533.13 - 1534.10. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - x.
As I.I., 742.4-17.
Budayl b. Warqā' tells Quraysh that Prophet wants to perform pilgrimage. Qur'ān reference: Mas'ūd permitted to negotiate with Prophet.
1536.1 - 1538.6. + authority, 458- 616 - 547 - 326; 356, 687.
As I.I., 743.18 - 745.4. Alternative version.
Quraysh sends Suhayl b. ČAmr to discuss peace terms with Prophet. Ābu Sufyān attacks Prophet who captures six polytheists; released.


Suhayl b. ČAmr from Quraysh and Ālī b. Ābī Tālib from Prophet made representatives to discuss peace terms.


Abū Sinān b. Wahb first man to pledge.

All of Muslims pledge except Jadd b. Qays, who hides under camel's belly.
Salama b. al-Akwā pledges three times.

As I.I., 746. 8-12.

Alternative account of Agreement on authority of Al-Barā'.

Prophet slaughters sacrificial victim and calls on barber to shave head.

Umar divorces his two polytheist wives, after revelation about this. Qur'ān reference: 60.10.

Authority continues.

As I.I., 754. 2-5.
Prophet sends expedition of 'Ukkasha b. Mihsan against al-Ghamr. Prophet sends expedition of ten Muslims who are killed except Muhammad b. Maslama, who is wounded.

Prophet sends expedition of Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ against Dhī al-Qassā,

Prophet sends expedition of Zayd b. Hāritha against al-Jamūm, capturing Halīma from Muzayna with her husband.


Zayd b. Hāritha's expedition to al-Taraf against B. Thālaba.


Prophet sends Ālī b. Abī Ṭalib's expedition against Fadak; Spy captured.

Umm Qirfa killed by Zay b. Hāritha's expedition during Ramadān.
Abū Bakr's expedition against Fazāra; Al-Akwa captures woman - given to Prophet who sends her to Mecca in exchange for Muslim prisoners.


Prophet sends messengers to different Kings, inviting them to accept Islam. Names of messengers and Kings given.

Prophet invites Kings of Arabs to accept Islam.

As I.I., 972.1-8. Tabārī adds list from I.I. Not in present text.


Account omitted from present text of I.I. Christian Bishop tells how Heraclius listed generals' faith by pretending to encourage them to become Muslims.

Account omitted from present text of I.I. Bishop Daghatīr accepts Islam; killed by Christians.

Account omitted from present text of I.I. Heraclius recommends Romans to accept Islam; refuse.
Prophet's letter to Ruler of Damascus, inviting him to accept Islam.

Prophet's letter to Negus inviting him to accept Islam.

Umm Habība d. Abī Sufyān b. Harb married to Prophet by Negus.

Prophet sends letter to King of Persia inviting him to accept Islam. King of Persia tears Prophet's letter to pieces.

Prophet says that King of Persia's Govt. will be destroyed.

King of Persia orders Prophet brought to his court. Killed by his son.

Shīrawayh kills father, King of Persia, at midnight Tuesday 10. Jamādā al-Awwal, 7 A.H.


Prophet sends letter to al-Muqauqas chief of Copts, does not accept Islam.


As I. I., 759.15 - 760.4.
1577.6 - 1578.5. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 35 - 149.
As I.I., 760.5 - 761.8. Omitting Ka'b b. Mālik's poetry.
1578.5 - 1579.1. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 108.
As I.I., 761.8-11.
1581. 2-10. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 22 - 226.
As I.I., 762. 5-11.
1581.10 - 1582.6. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547.
As I.I., 763. 3-14.
1582.7 - 1584.3. + authority, 547.
As I.I., 763.15 - 765.4.
1584. 3-9. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 177.
As I.I., 765. 4-9.
1584. 9-11. + authority, 547.
As I.I., 765. 9-11.
1585. 7-20. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 326 - 239.
As I.I., 766.17 - 767.7.
1585.20 -1588.15. + authority, 547.
As I.I., 767.9, 19-20; 770.10 - 772.6.
1588.15 - 1589.11. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 19.
As I.I., 773.17 - 774.3; 776.17 - 777.1.
1589.11 - 1590.2. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 19.
As I.I., 777. 8-17.
1590.3 - 1591.4. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 326.
As I.I., 779. 2-18.
1591. 4-14. + authority, 498 - 566.
Al-Muqauqas gives Prophet Märlya and Sirīn, slaves, a mule, named Duldul and donkey named Yaḥūr, as gifts.
1591. 15-17. + authority, 498 - 566.
Prophet's Minbar built.
1591.18 - 1592.5. + authority, 498; 617.
Qūmar's expedition against Hamāzan. Abū Bakr's expedition against Najad.
1592. 6-8. + authority, 566.
Bashīr b. Sa'd's expedition against B. Murra.
As I.I., 984. 5-11.
Gālib b. ʿAbdullāh's expedition against ʿAbd. b. Thālabā.
1593.5 - 1593.16. + authority, 676 - 610 - 430.
Bashīr b. Sa'd's expedition against Yaman and al-Jīnāb.
1593.17 - 1594.7. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547.
As I.I., 788.15 - 789.5.
As I.I., 789. 6-20.
As I.I., 790. 5-8.
1595.13 - 1596.10. + authority, 547.
As I.I., 790. 12-19; 791. 6-7.
Dispute over ʿUmratuʾl-Qādāʾ or not Qādāʾ.
1597.1 - 1597.7. + authority, 540 - 88.
Prophet assures Quraysh that he will not break peace agreement.
136

Prophet sends expedition of 50 men against B. Sulaymi; All
Muslims killed.

1597. 16-17. + authority, 566 - 308 - 19;
Prophet's daughter Zaynab dies.

1597.18 - 1600.4. + authority, 498 - 482, 614 - 681 - 614 -
328 - 458 - 616 - 547 - 310 - 210 - 156.
As I.I., 973.19 - 975.7. Slight verbal differences.

1600. 5-8. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - \(\kappa\) - \(\kappa\); 566.
As I.I., 975. 4-5. Ghälib b. Čabdullah's expedition consists
of thirteen or fourteen men.

1600. 9-16. + authority, 566.
Prophet's letter to al-Mundhar b. Säwa sent by al-ČAmä' b.
al-Häramä.

1600.17 - 1601.2. + authority, 566.
ČAmr b. al-ČAs collects Sadaqa from Jayfar and ČAbbäd who
accepts Islam.

1601. 3-5. + authority, 566.
Shujä c b. Wahb's expedition against B. ČAmin.

1601. 6-10. + authority, 566.
cČAmr b. KaČb's expedition as missionary with fifteen men
who are killed by Sadüs.

1601.11 - 1604.4. + authority, 498 - 458 - 616 - 547 - 312 -
227 - 111 - 77; 458 - 616 - 547 - \(\kappa\).
As I.I., 716.9 - 718.3. + short introduction.

1604. 5-13. + authority, 281.
cČAmr b. al-ČAs's expedition sent against B. Quiäca to al-
Saläsal.

As I.I., 984.17 - 985.8. Slightly verbal differences.

1605. 10-13. + authority, 566.
Expedition of Abü ČUtayda b. al-Jarräḥ sent against al-Khabä't
with 300 Muhäjirän.
Muslims eat fish because of food shortage. Qays b. Sa'd slaughters several camels. Alternative version of I.I. 992.7-17.

Expedition under Abū Qatāda' sent out in Sa'ūdan.

Prophet tells Muslims three commanders killed; Khālid b. Wallād takes command of army. Prophet gives title of Sayf Allah to Khālid, Ja'far carried by angels to Yaman.
As I.I., 797.19 - 798.4.

As I.I., 798.4-9.

1618.16 - 1619.7. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547. 
As I.I., 802.12-19.


1620.12 - 1626.3. + authority, 547. 
As I.I., 803.13 - 809.6.

As I.I., 809.8 - 810.10.

As I.I., 810.10 - 811.2.

1628.9 - 1630.3. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 10 - 14.  
As I.I., 811.2. - 812.7.

As I.I., 812.9 - 815.9. Tabari omits Hind d. cUtba from paragraph at end.

1633.18 - 1636.5. + authority, 392 - 328 - 1 - 108 - 297. 
Khālid b. Walīd fights against Black troops and B. Bakr.
Kurz b. Jābir and Abn al-Ashgar killed by Quraysh.

1636.6 - 15. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 33. 
As I.I., 816.11-18.

1636.15 - 1637.5. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 33. 
As I.I., 816.18 - 817.3.

1637.5 - 1639.4. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 33, 19. 
As I.I., 817.5 - 818.9.
1639.5 - 1642.4. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547; 566.
As I.I., 818.15 - 820.7. Tabari gives more names of Quraysh at end of paragraph on al-Wāqidī's authority.

1642.5 - 1644.7. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 296A - 603.
As I.I., 821.3-12. Tabari adds account of Prophet's accepting homage from men and ʿUmar accepting homage from women on relay of Prophet.

Tabari adds account of women's method of paying homage.

1644.13-17. + authority, 566, 547.

As I.I., 825.19 - 826.10.

1645.15 - 1646.2. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 326.
As I.I., 826.12-16.

1646.2 - 1647.4. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547; 233.
As I.I., 826.18 - 828.4. At beginning of account Tabari adds name of Hubayra b. Abī Wahb.

1647.5-9. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547.
As I.I., 828.15-18.

1647.10-14. + authority, 566.
Prophet marries Mulayka d. Dā'ūd, but she terminates marriage because he had killed her father.

1648.1-9. - authority.
Khālid b. al-Walīd sent to destroy idol, al-ʿUzza; Story about this, different from those in I.I.

1648.9-17. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547.
As I.I., 839.16 - 840.2.

1648.18 - 1649.7. + authority, 566.

As I.I., 833.8-10.
1650.6 - 1651.9. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547.
As I.I., 833.20 - 835.9.
1651.10-15. + authority, 547.
As I.I., 835.9-14.
1651.15 - 1652.4. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 35A.
As I.I., 835.20 - 835.9.
1652.4 - 1653.8. + authority, 614 - 328 - 458 - 616 - 547 - 310 - 326 - 20A - 21A.
As I.I., 837.9 - 838.1.
As I.I., 838.5-7.
As I.I., 840.2-5.
Hawāzin gather against Prophet under command of Malik b. CAuf.
1655.2. - 1658.2. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547.
As I.I., 840.8 - 842.3.
1658.2-8. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 277.
As I.I., 842.3-6.
1658.8-18. + authority, 547.
As I.I., 842.9-12. Extra details.
As I.I., 842.12-17.
As I.I., 842.19 - 843.3.
1659.14 - 1661.7. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 88 - 57 - 149.
As I.I., 844.12 - 845.19.
1661.7 - 1662.2. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 326 - 161 - 10A.
As I.I., 846.4-14.
Abū Sufyān b. al-Hārith holds reins of Prophet's mule.
1662. 8-19. + authority, 458-616-547-88-57-149.
As I.I., 846.14-847.3.
As I.I., 847. 5-13.
As I.I., 849. 2-4.
1663.15-1664.1. + authority, 458-616-547-139-155.
As I.I., 849. 6-9.
As I.I., 849.16-20.
Prophet throws handful dirt at enemies, who run away.
1664.15-1665.10. + authority, 458-616-547-310.
As I.I., 850. 1-11.
As I.I., 852.3-852.19.
Prophet sends Abū ʿAmir to pursue fugitives; kills Durayd b.
1667.12-1668.3. + authority, 458-616-547.
As I.I., 853.19-854.9.
1668. 3-12. + authority, 458-616-547-x.
As I.I., 856. 13-18.
1668.12-1669.3. + authority, 458-616-547-316.
As I.I., 856.18-857.5.
1669. 3-11. + authority, 458-616-547.
As I.I., 857. 9-15.
As I.I., 869. 18-20.
Prophet remains fighting half month at siege of al-Ṭāʾif; re-
releases captives of Hawāzin at al-Jaʿrāna. Deputations
from Thaqīf makes peace agreement, pledging submission to
Prophet.
Naufal b. Mu'awiya says that it is useless to prolong siege of Ta'if.

Prophet divides spoils from Yaman sent by 'Ali. Dh al-Khuwaysira objects to Prophet's division.

Each person's share of spoil is four camels and forty goats, but horsemen receive one extra share each.
1686. 1-5. + authority, 566.
Amr b. al-'As sent to collect Sadaqa from B. al-Azd.
1686. 6-10. + authority, 674A.
Prophet marries Fātimah d. al-Dāhīk; leaves her.
1686.11-1686.18. + authority, 566.
Ib'rāhīm son of Prophet born.
1687. 1-8. authority.
Deputation of B. Asad comes to Prophet to accept Islam.
Qur'ān reference: 49.17. Deputations from Bālūṭ and al-
Dāriyyin come to Prophet.
1687.9 -1688.8. +authority, 566; 453-616-547.
As I.I., 914. 2-16. At beginning differs slightly.
1688.9 -1691.12. + authority, 453-616-547; 547-310.
As I.I., 914.16 -917.3.
1691.12 -1692.11. + authority, 453-616-547-310.
As I.I., 917.15 -918.5; 918. 16-17.
As I.I., 893. 19-20. Slightly different.
1692.15- 1696.2. + authority, 453-616-547-326, 314, 19,
88, 2, 453-616-547-84-123.
As I.I., 893.20 -894.20; 895. 11-14; 895.18 -896.15; 896.20-
897.2. Tabari gives extra detail at end.
1696.2 -1698.6. + authority, 547.
As I.I., 897.2 -899.4.
As I.I., 899.4 -900.15.
As I.I., 900.17- 901.16.
1701.3 -1702.2. authority, 547.
As I.I., 901.18- 902.11.
1702.2 -1703.6. + authority, 453-616-547-88-3.
As I.I., 902.13 -903.16.
1703.9 - 1704.2. + authority, 547 - 314.
As I.I., 904.1 - 904.14.
1704.2 - 1705.7. + authority, 547 - 314. Authority continues.
As I.I., 906.8 - 907.7.
1705.7 - 18. + authority, 547 - 314; Authority continues.
As I.I., 907.15 - 20; 913. 5 - 8; 914. 2 - 3.
1707.4 - 1710.16. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 626.
As I.I., 947.14 - 950.5.
1710.17 - 1717.10. + authority, 566; 458 - 616 - 547 - 88 - 19; 547 - 314.
As I.I., 933.16 - 939.5.
1717. 11 - 13. + authority, 566.
As I.I., 955.17 - 957.9.
1720. 7 - 13. + authority, 566.
1720. 14 - 18. + authority, 566.
Abū Bakr superintends pilgrimage; Ālī overtakes Abū Bakr with Prophet's orders. Ālī recites Sūra Barā'a. 9 on sacrifice day.
Alternative version.
1722.1-1722.5. + authority, 498, 348A.
1722. 6-11. + authority, 566.
Umm Kulthūm, Prophet's daughter, dies. Deputations from Thaqīlab and Sa'd come to Prophet.
As I.I., 943.11-944.17.
1724. 6-8. + authority, 498.
1724.8-1727.5. + authority, 458-616-547-19.
As I.I., 958.18-960.20.
1727.5-1729.10. + authority, 458-616-547-19-566.
As I.I., 961.2-962.14.
1729. 12-15. + authority, 566.
Deputation of Sālāmān comes to Prophet under command of Habīb al-Salāmānī. Deputation of Ghassān comes to Prophet in Ramadān. Deputation of Ghamīd comes to Prophet.
1729.16-1731.11. + authority, 458-616-547-19.
As I.I., 954.11-955.15.
1731.12-1732.8. + authority, 516A-543-308A-483-328-484-426A
Prophet sends Khalīd b. al-Walīd to people of al-Yaman to invite them to accept Islam. During his six month stay no one accepts Islam. Prophet sends ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib to al-Yaman; All accept Islam.
As I.I., 951.14 953.3.
1734.9-1736.7. + authority, 458-616-547-19.
As I.I., 950.6-951.12. Tabari differs slightly at beginning.
1736. 7-10. + authority, 516A - 632 - 648 - 523 - 403A - 442A.
Battle against Hamdān is cause of destruction of Furwa b.
Musayk's tribe.
1736.11 -1737.14. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547; 468 - 470A.
As I.I., 944.18 - 945.16.
As I.I., 945. 18-20.
1737.18 -1738.5. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - x.
As I.I., 945.20 - 946.4.
1738.5 -1739.2. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - x.
As I.I., 946. 4-17.
1739. 3-17. + authority, 498 - 616 - 547 - 326.
As I.I., 953. 5.16. Slight differences in numbers of riders.
1739.18 - 1740.9. + authority, 566.
Deputations from Muḥārib, al-Rahāwayn, Najrān, ṬAbd, Sadif
come to Prophet. ʿAbū ṬAmir dies; dispute over his property,
settled by Prophet. Deputation from Khawālān.
1740. 10-18. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 312.
As I.I., 962.16 - 963.2.
As I.I., 975.18 - 979.6.
As I.I., 999.9 - 940.13.
1747.16 -1748.14. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - x.
As I.I., 946.19 - 947.12.
1748.15 -1749.13. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 19; 458, 397-
526A - 246 - 217.
As I.I., 965. 12-20.
1749.13 -1750.8. + authority, 498 - 656 - 685 - 624 - 627 - 624-
373 - 368A - 213.
Other claimants of prophethood emerge during Prophet's illness
after Ḥajj al-Wadāʾ.
As I.I., 965. 1-10.
As I.I., 966. 2-16.
As I.I., 967. 1-11.
As I.I., 967. 11-19.
As I.I., 967.19 - 968.
1753.5 - 1756.4. + authority, 458 - 616 - 547 - 33; 358 - 616 - 547 - 307 - 9; 33.
As I.I., 968.5 - 970.15.
1756.5 - 1757.9. + authority, 498 - 458 - 616 - 547 - 19;
As I.I., 972.17 - 973.8. Tabari mentions dispute over number of Prophet's fights.
Agreement over 27 of Prophet's fights.
Ditto.
1757.21 - 1758.4. + authority, 566.
Al-Waqidi mentions 11 of Prophet's fights.
1758.6 - 1763.7. + authority, 549A - 616 - 547 - 19; 458 - 616 - 547 - 194 - 40; 19; 458 - 616 - 547 - 88; 19.
As I.I., 973.10 - 18; 975. 8-15; 979.20; 980.18 - 982.12; 982.20 - 983.15; 984. 5-11; 984.17; 987.10; 989.16; 991.3; 992.7; Dispute over number of expeditions sent by Prophet.
1763. 7-17. + authority, 464A - 609 - 566.
Prophet sends 38 expeditions; brief account of a few of them given.
Prophet's expeditions are 26, according to 6Abdullah b. Abu Bakr.
Makhül mentions 18 fights of Prophet. Al-Wäqidi rejects
statements of Zayd b. Arqam and Makhül.
Prophet performs 3 pilgrimages and one Ā'umra.
Prophet performs four Ā'umras.
1765. 16-20. + authority, 545A-328-462A-587A-484-574A-
41; 67.
Ditto.
1765.20 -1766.7. + authority, 458-508-528-574A; 297; 41; 67.
Prophet performs 4 Ā'umras.
Prophet marries 15 women; consummates 13 marriages; dies
leaving nine wives. First wife of Prophet is Khadrja d.
Khuwaylid; she gives birth to 4 boys and 4 girls, names given;
after her death, Prophet consummates marriage with Sauda d.
Zama' b. Qays before Ā'isha d. Abū Bakr.
Prophet sends proposal of marriage to Ā'isha's father and
Sauda's father by Khaula d. Hakīm. Prophet consummates
of Ā'isha when she is 9 years old.
Khadrja d. Khuwaylid dies 3 years before Hijra. Prophet
marries Ā'isha when she is 6 years old; dreams of her twice
before marriage.
1770.19 - 1776.2. + authority, 451.


Prophet sends proposals of marriage but does not marry the following: Umm Hanfī d. Abū Ta‘īb, Zubā‘a d. Amir, Saffiya d. Bashā‘a, Umm Ḥabībī d. Affās.

1778.3 - 1782.5. Authority continues.

Names etc. of Prophet's slaves given.

1782.7-12. authority.


Names etc. of Prophet's horses given.


Names etc. of Prophet's mules given.


Names Of Prophet's camels and she-camels, plus extensive account given.
Names etc. of Prophet's goats given.
1786.10-1787.2. + authority, 464A-609-566-95-529.
Names etc. of Prophet's swords given.
1787. 4-8. + authority, 464A-609-566-95-529.
Names of Prophet's bows and arrows given.
Names of armours of Prophet given.
Account of Prophet's shield given.
Names of Prophet and meanings given.
Prophet's appearance and physique described.
Prophet's seal of prophethood between shoulders.
Prophet is most handsome, generous and brave.
1792. 1-6. + authority, 554-539-467-578A-366A.
Prophet has few grey hairs in beard.
Ditto.
Prophet does not dye hair, but Abü Bakr and ČUmar dye hair.
Ditto.
There are fewer than 20 grey hairs in beard of Prophet.
1793. 1-4. + authority, 554 - 378 - 460 - 630 - 495.
Prophet grows few grey hairs.
1793. 4-8. + authority, 554 - 381 - 620 - 665.
Prophet's wife dyes hair.
Prophet has long hair lying on shoulders.
Prophet has four curling tresses hanging over shoulders.
1793.15 - 1794.6. + authority, 498.
Prophet's illness begins; he speaks of his death. This is
last revelation of Qur'ān to Prophet. 110.1-3.
As I.I., 999. 13-20.
Munāfiqīn objects to command of Usāma b. Zayd. Al-Aswad in
al-Yaman, Musaylima in al-Yamama and Tulayha in cities of
B. Asad revolt against Prophet during illness.
Prophet's illness begins during last days of al-Muharram,
al-Wāqīdī says end of Safar.
Al-Aswad magician who attracts people. Prophet's governors
expelled from Najrān, and San'ā'. Al-Aswad conquers al-Yaman.
1796.11 - 1797.6. + authority, 656 - 685 - 624 - 274A - 146 - 14.
Usāma's expedition not completely effective. Prophet dreams
about Musaylima and al-Aswad claimants of prophethood.
Prophet orders that Prophets' graves shall not be worshipped.
Tulayha starts trouble when Prophet's illness becomes serious.
Tulayha b. Khuwaylid claims to be Prophet; sends messenger to Prophet for peace agreement.

1797.16 - 1798.2. + authority, 656- 687 - 624 - 613 - 476.

Sinān b. 'Ali Sinān writes to Prophet informing him about Tulayha.


Prophet instructs B. Tamīn and Qays to fight against apostates.

1799. 4-7 . + authority, 451-179A-621- x.

Prophet's final illness starts in house of Zaynab d. Jahsh, his wife.


As I.I., 1000.2-1000.12.


As I.I., 1000.12-20; 1005.16-1006.3.


Prophet asks for forgiveness if he has taken aggressive action against anybody. People request Prophet for forgiveness.

Prophet indicates close friendship with ʿUmar b. Khattāb.


As I.I., 1006. 3-10.

1803.15-1804.2. + authority, 458- 616 - 547 - 51- x.

As I.I., 1006. 11-14.


Prophet remembers services of Abū Bakr; indicates close friendship; Alternative version of 1803. 10-15.


Prophet prays for his companions, exhorting them to goodness.

Qur'an: 11.2; 44.18; 28.83; 39.61; 53.14. Prophet gives directions about his burial and prayers before burial. Nobody allowed to lead death prayer of Prophet as Imām.
1806. 4-12. + authority, 334 - 257 - 634 - 236 - 14.
Prophet intends to write will for Muslims.


Ditto.

CAffas b. CAbu'l-Muttalib recognizes death in Prophet’s face; wants CAI to take authority from Prophet. CAI refuses to ask for authority to be given him.

As I.I., 1010.19 - 1011.7.

Seven skins of Water from different wells poured over Prophet.
Prophet addresses Muslims after prayer, advising Muhājirūn to treat Ansār kindly after his death; indicates close friendship with Abū Bakr.

Prophet forced to take medicine.

As I.I., 1007.11 - 1008.1.

Prophet does not suffer from pleurisy. Omitted from present text of I.I.

Prophet forced to take medicine. Alternative version of 1809.4-1810.1.

As I.I., 1008. 3-6.

As I.I., 1008. 6-11.

1810.18 - 1811.9. + authority, 516A - 695 - 694 - 328 - 344.
Prophet does not leave will; appoints Abū Bakr to lead prayers.
Prophet orders Abū Bakr to superintend prayers. Ā'isha tries to spare her father.

Abū Bakr leads 17 prayers, but Ikrima says 3 days.

Prophet calls on God for help during severe pain of final illness.

Abū Bakr goes to al-Sunh at death of Prophet.

Abū Bakr confirms Prophet's death. Abū Bakr, ČUmar and Abū ČUbayda b. al-Jarrāh join gathering of Ansār round Sa'īd b. ČUbāda in hall of B. Sa'īda, to take over authority. ČUmar pays homage to Abū Bakr; people follow him.
Al-Zubayr attacks 'Umar b. Khattāb.

More or less same account as 1815.14-1818.9.


Similar account with more detail to 1815.14-1818.9:

Muhājirūn and Ansār pay homage to Abū Bakr, who saves unity of Muslims.

'Ali b. Abī Tālib pays homage to Abū Bakr in mosque.

Nobody allowed to inherit Prophet's property.

Fatima d. Prophet dies six months after Prophet's death.

'Ali b. Abū Tālib and B. Hāsham pay homage to Abū Bakr after death of Fatima; dispute between 'Ali and Abū Bakr settled.

People again respect 'Ali.

Abū Sufyān urges 'Ali to revolt against Abū Bakr.

Abū Sufyān says that B. ʿAbd Manāf deserve authority instead of Abū Bakr.

Similar account with more detail.

Poetry about this.

As I.I., 1017.3-19.

As I.I., 1017.19-1018.8.
1830.4-1831.3. + authority, 498, 458-616-547-19, 510-x-14.  
As I.I., 1018.11-1019.1. Slightly different.  
As I.I., 1019.1-8. Tabari gives extra account from 1831.  
11-12. Omitted in present text of I.I.  
As I.I., 1019.8-11.  
1831.17-1832.15. + authority, 458-616-547-128-146-14.  
As I.I., 1019.11-1020.5.  
As I.I., 1020.5-18.  
As I.I., 1020.18-1021.5.  
As I.I., 1021.5-9.  
As I.I., 1021.9-12.  
Said that Prophet is 63 years old when dies.  
Ditto.  
1835.3-7. + authority, 588A-390-681-239.  
Ditto.  
Ditto.  
Ditto.  
Said that Prophet is 65 years old when dies.  
Said that Prophet is 60 years old when dies.
Ditto.
Prophet appoints Abū Bakr Chief of pilgrimage in 9 A.H.; himself
performs farewell pilgrimage in 10 A.H. dies in Rabi' al-Awwal.
Importance of Monday.
1836.19- 1837.5. + authority, 338- 384- 625- 547- 19- 96A.
Prophet dies on Monday, 12 Rabi' al-Awwal, 11 hijra, buried
Wednesday night.
1837. 5-10. + authority, 338- 384- 625- 547- 19- 103- 547-
86- 67.
As I.I., 1020. 5-9.
COMMENTARY ON TABARI.
This account of the Prophet's setting out for Thaur by himself and leaving word for Abu Bakr to follow him is completely at variance with I.I.'s account. It seems fairly clear that this anonymous source is the same as that followed in 1233. 18 - 1234. 15. below, where it is discussed further.

This account of the Prophet's escape and of the Quraysh's subsequent treatment of Cali is more realistic than that in I.I. The detail of the Prophet cutting his foot and mistaking the pursuing Abu Bakr for an enemy is most plausible.

It is also probable that the Quraysh should have dealt harshly with Cali on finding that he was a party to the deception that had enabled the Prophet to escape.
This account of the hijra follows much the same lines as that in I.I., but is somewhat abbreviated (We lose, for example, the nice touch of the Prophet and Abū Bakr leaving the latter's house by a back window.

On the other hand, the story is told in a more coherent form, without the awkward digressions of I.I. The portion of the story supposedly derived from Ḥa'isha clearly has the same source as the corresponding section in I.I., in that some of the phraseology is identical; in many places, however, the wording and the order of narration is slightly different.

The story of the Prophet's camel deciding where he should stop is missing, and it would clearly not fit in here, since he is leading his camel at the time.

Here we encounter one of the many academic disputes that
occupy so much of Tabari's attention; this one concerns the length of time that the Prophet stayed in Mecca before the hijra, after the beginning of his mission.

1248.16 - 1250.6.

Another dispute: this time concerning the allegation that the Prophet was visited for a time by Israfil, before being adopted by Jibril.

1250.7 - 1255.9.

A discussion concerning the hijri calendar, followed by some notes on earlier methods of reckoning dates. These disputes and discussions are clearly of considerable interest to scholars, but they do tend to disrupt the flow of the narrative, such as it is, since alternative versions of the same event are presented without any indication as to which is the most probable.
A more modern treatment would make use of at least two separate systems of footnotes (or appendices); this method of dealing with important but incidental material was not, of course, available to Tabari, and, in the case of alternative versions of the same story, he was unable, or unwilling, to decide which belonged in the text and which in the notes.

1255. 10 - 17.

Another note; this time a summary of the chronology of the Prophet's life until the hijra.

1255. 17 - 1256. 1.

A note on the importance of Monday in the Prophet's life.

1256. 1 - 9.

More chronological notes.
The first Jum'a in Medina is clearly an important occasion in the history of Islam; it is surprising that it should not be referred to in I.I.

It is astonishing that the account of the first Khutba delivered by the Prophet after the hijra as given in Tabari should differ so completely from that given in I.I. One would expect this to have been generally remembered and handed down in an authoritative form.

Notes on births, deaths, legislation, etc.
Tabari makes no comment on the different chronology of the early expeditions given by I.I. and al-Waqidi. It is slightly surprising that the dates of these should not have been more accurately handed down, but it may be that the original informants were not yet accustomed to the hijri calendar and either made mistakes in the dates or simply did not give them, so that they had to be estimated afterwards.

The inclusion of an incomplete sentence from I.I. at the end of this passage is odd. There may be some scribal reason for its abbreviation, or it may have been mutilated by Tabari himself when he condensed his work.

There is clearly a good deal of confusion also in the various accounts of the expedition of Abdullah b. Jahsh and the revelation of the verse concerning warfare in the Sacred Month.
Disputes concerning the date of the change of the Qibla from Jerusalem to the Ka'ba and concerning the date of the battle of Badr and of Laylat al-Qadr.

Again, one might expect these important events in the history of Islam to be rather better documented than they appear to be.

According to I.I. two water-carriers were captured: Aslam, a slave of the B. al-Hajjāj and Ārīd Abū Yasār, a slave ( ? ) ( ghulām again, but translated for some reason by Guillaume as " Young man " on this occasion ) of the B. al-Ćās b. Sa'īd.
In the first alternative account in Tabari only one water-carrier is captured; he is not named, but is said to be a slave of the B. al-Hajjaj.

This fairly clearly ties up with I.I.'s account, except for there being only one such captive.

In the second alternative account, the captive is again not named, but designated as the mawla of Uqba b. Abi Mu'ayt; "a man of the Quraysh" is said to have escaped.

From the remarks of the Prophet on the conduct of the interrogators it is clear that we are dealing with the same story on such occasion. It is difficult to see why the versions should vary so much in the details that they give.

One would be inclined to suppose that the two men of I.I.'s version represented a conflation of the other two accounts, were it not for the fact that the names are given in I.I. and not in these accounts; it is more probable that names would be omitted than that they would be inserted, especially into a conflation.
The story quoted here concerning the capture of al-\(\text{C}^{\circ}\)Abb\(\text{e}^{\circ}\), which is given in another version, attributed to I.I., although not in our text, at 1341. 8 - 15 below, is interesting. There is, I think, a case for supposing the version that we have here to be the earlier. Al-\(\text{C}^{\circ}\)Abb\(\text{e}^{\circ}\) is humiliated by being captured by a smaller man (here not even named, although in I.I.'s version identified as Ab\(\text{u}^{\circ}\)'l-Yasar Ka\(\text{b}^{\circ}\) b. Amr) and alleges that he has in fact been captured by someone else, implying by his description that this someone else was an angel.

The Prophet makes explicit this implication, perhaps ironically, although it is difficult to tell.

In the later version, Ab\(\text{u}^{\circ}\)'l-Yasar says that he was helped by an unknown person, and the Prophet's remark can no longer bear an ironical interpretation.

The reason for supposing the first version to be the original, or closer to the original, is, of course, that
al-Abbas's captor would not wish to belittle his own feat, whereas al-Abbas would be only too eager to do so.

1296. 13 - 1299. 4.

A dispute as to the number of the Prophet's companions present at Badr.

1299. 5 - 1300. 12.

It may or may not be significant that Tabari in this section omits I.I.'s report of an obscene joke.

1320. 1 - 18.

I.I. has a shorter version of this account, at 444. 11 - 20, where we find no mention of Qur'an 8.9. and the 1000 angels. In fact, it is suspicious that it should apparently be quoted here by Abu Bakr, since the sources seem to agree that sura 8 was revealed only after Badr. It is a somewhat strange way of appealing to God to point out that He will no longer be worshipped (Tabari's source adds "on earth") if He permits the Muslims to perish, since, by definition, He can make/have made whatever dispositions He will con-
cerning this, but it indicates the desperate situation the Prophet feels the Muslims to be in.

1344. 9 - 1345. 6.

The Prophet's Knowledge of al-Abbās's resources is perhaps yet another indication of the efficiency of his intelligence service inside Mecca.

1358. 11 - 1359. 4.

It is certainly more economical to list those who had good reasons for being absent from Badr than to give, as I.I. does, a full list of those who were present.

Tabari, it would seem, is less concerned than I.I. about the family pride of his potential readers.

1361. 11 - 1362. 2.

It is an interesting detail, which we do not find in I.I., that the B. Qaynuqāc were goldsmiths. Apart from any other considerations, this must have made their property more worth confiscating.
It is surprising that we do not find in I.I. a mention of the first ʿIdūʾl-ʿAdḥā celebrated by the Prophet in this way in Medina.

There seems still to be considerable dispute in the various sources concerning the dating of the early raids and expeditions. Tabarī clearly considers al-Wāqidī to be the best authority.

The three versions that Tabarī gives here of the story of the killing of Sallām b. Abī al-Ḥuṣayn Abū Rāfīṣ are extremely interesting, and, to my mind, of great significance for the study of Arab historiography. They are clearly based on one original account, and yet they differ so much in detail as to be virtually different stories. The broad outlines of the incident are common to all three: a number of people are sent by the Prophet to assassinate Abū Rāfīṣ; they succeed in doing so, but wait for confirmation of the
fact; they then make good their escape. The way in which they accomplish these things varies in each account.

The first version is vague as to the participants and the place: CAbdullah b. CQba or (this is said twice) CAbdullah b. CATik is the leader; the place is in the Hijaz.

There are some inconsistencies in the narrative: CAbdullah attempts to conceal his identity, but is apparently recognised by the gate-keeper, who admits him; when the gate-keeper has locked up and gone, CAbdullah obtains the keys and opens the gate for the others, although they play no part in subsequent events.

Once inside Abü Räfi's house, he seems to go through a series of rooms, locking the door of each after himself, until he reaches Abü Räfi's room: "he was in a dark room in the midst of his household (it is not clear quite what is meant by this, but presumably his family and servants had rooms round his) and I did not know where he was in the room." He causes Abü Räfi to call out and strikes at the voice, but apparently without effect, or at any rate without causing any serious injury.
He then, for no very clear reason (but perhaps "\( \text{بـب} \) may be interpreted as "in a panic" here), leaves the room and waits for a while before re-entering. Again he bungles his attempt to kill Abū Rāfi, but eventually manages to run him through.

On leaving the house, opening the doors one after another, he falls down the steps, although it is a moonlit night, and breaks his leg. However, binding this up with his turban, he contrives to reach the gate, where he decides to wait for confirmation of his having killed Abū Rāfi. This comes at dawn, when an announcement of the death is made from the wall. He thereupon rejoins his companions (we are not told how he passes the gate, or indeed how he walks with a broken leg) and then returns to the Prophet, who heals his leg by rubbing, or possibly anointing (\( \text{لـ} \)) it.

I.I.'s account (714.6 - 716.5.), which Tabarî reproduces almost verbatim, has already been discussed to some extent (pp. 76-7, above). The outline of the story is as I have said, basically the same, but the details differ in the following respects.

First, the background to the assassination is given, in considerable detail; the first account says merely:
"he injured the Prophet of God and acted wrongly towards him"

Next, it lists five participants in the affair, the leader of whom is Abdulrahman bin Atik. This agrees with that given by al-Waqidi, except that one of the names is reversed.

(Tabari 1377. 11 - 1378. 1.) It is more specific as to place, Khaybar. The five go to Abu Rabi's house and lock each room behind them to keep his family and servants from getting to them (I think that this is how the text, which here differs slightly from I., I., has to be interpreted, although it is possible that the interpretation is suggested by the first version; at all events, in some way or other, they put locked doors between the household and themselves).

They go up to Abu Rabi's room and ask to be admitted. His wife comes to the door and they tell her that they have come for provisions. She accepts this somewhat improbable story without demur and admits them, whereupon they lock themselves in with her and Abu Rabi, whom they attack as he lies in bed. His whiteness stands out in the darkness "like an Egyptian cloth (?"

One of them is on the point of killing the wife to silence...
her screams but is restrained by the Prophet's prohibition against the killing of women or children, which has been mentioned earlier. They strike Abū Rāfi with their swords, and finally Ābūdullāh b. Unays runs him through (not in the same words as used in version 1, however). They leave, and Ābūdullāh b. Ātīk, who is weak-sighted, falls from the steps and dislocates (?) (c. ýj) his leg (this is from Ibn Hishām; I.I. reads "hand/arm"); they carry him to a water-channel, in which they hide.

The hunt for them is soon abandoned, and since they wish to confirm that Abū Rāfi is dead, one of them mingles with the crowd and witnesses Abū Rāfi's expiry (how does he avoid detection? Also, has Abū Rāfi been brought down from his room, mortally wounded as he is, to die out of doors?).

He hears Abū Rāfi's wife says that she thought she recognised the voice of Ābūdullāh b. Ātīk, but she must have been mistaken, since he is surely not in the vicinity.

They carry Ābūdullāh b. Ātīk to the Prophet, in front of whom they dispute as to who in fact has killed Abū Rāfi. This dispute the Prophet settles in the rather gruesome
fashion described above (one would expect the assassins to know whether or not they had run Abū Rāfī through, but perhaps in the darkness and the confusion they may be uncertain).

The third version is given as coming ultimately from ʿAbd-ullah b. Unays himself. In this, three of the five assassins are named, and the place is specified as Khaybar. They take the keys of the rooms (or houses; no indication is given) and lock the inhabitants in (it is not made clear how they contrive to obtain the keys); they then throw the keys into a water-channel.

ʿAbdullah b. Unays and ʿAbdullah b. ʿAtīk go up to Abū Rāfī's room, leaving their three companions "sitting on the wall". Ibn ʿAtīk asks to be admitted, whereupon Abū Rāfī's wife recognises his voice; her husband irritably points out that Ibn ʿAtīk is in Yathrib and orders her to open the door, since no generous person would turn anyone away at this hour.

The two are admitted, and Ibn ʿAtīk tells Ibn Unays to watch the woman; he almost cuts her down, but remembers in time the Prophet's prohibition (this has not been
previously mentioned in this version). Meanwhile Ibn ٌـٌ-تیک goes in to ٱبومغـق (clearly there is more than one room here) and can see him because of his intense whiteness (no comparison is offered). ٱبومغـق defends himself with his pillow, quite successfully, since Ibn ٌـٌ-تیک succeeds only in giving him a superficial wound (٠٢٠٠٢ز ٠٠٢ز). He returns to Ibn Unays and orders him to go in and finish ٱبومغـق off, which he does.

They leave, accompanied by the screams of the woman, and Ibn ٌـٌ-تیک falls on the steps and hurts his leg (the degree of damage is not specified). Ibn Unays carries him until they reach their three companions, in spite of Ibn ٌـٌ-تیک's injunctions to leave him behind.

As they are withdrawing, Ibn Unays remembers that he has left his bow (this is the first we have heard of his carrying a bow) on the steps and goes back for it. He finds the people of Khaybar milling about, all enquiring who has killed ٱبومغـق. He joins them, taking up the refrain, and manages to reach the steps, where there is no less of a crowd, and collects his bow. He rejoins his companions, and they withdraw, hiding up by day and travelling by night.
During the day they post a look-out; on the final day he pretends to see something suspicious and they make a dash for Medina. On their arrival, he informs them that this was a device to make them hurry inspite of their exhaustion, and that he has not, in fact, seen anything at all.

All three of these versions are well told and dramatic in their different ways. They all contain touches of realism that would incline one to accept them, if one had not the other two with which to compare them. It is circumstantial detail that one looks for as an indication that a narrative is likely to be authentic: circumstantial detail that there would be no object in introducing for its own sake.

However, since not all these versions can be true, it must be accepted that such detail may simply be a sign that a skilful storyteller has been at work on the narrative; the implications of this for even the most plausible stories recounted by the historians of this period are obvious.

There is no means of telling which of these three versions approximates most closely to the truth. The common elements from which they are constructed are: keys; an upper room, with steps up to it; a dark room; Abū Rafi's not being killed at the first attempt; Ibn Ĉatîk falling from the steps when leaving; waiting for confirmation of Abū Rafi's death.
In addition, there are other elements that are common to two of the versions, but are not present in the other, such as: a water-channel; the Prophet's prohibition; Abu Rāfī's wife's recognition of Ibn ātīk's voice; the supposition that Ibn ātīk is elsewhere; the running-through of Abu Rāfī; Abu Rāfī's whiteness; Ibn ātīk's being carried. Clearly, these common elements must be taken from somewhere, and we must assume an original version that probably differed in some respects from any of the three that we have here. Version 1 seems to me, because of the inconsistencies that I have mentioned, to be the furthest from the original; one could perhaps explain the coming and going of Ibn ātīk (or Ibn āqba?) during the assassination as deriving from the abortive attempt of Ibn ātīk and the subsequently successful attempt of Ibn Unays in Version 3. My personal predilection (regardless of the supposed attribution) is for Version 3; it has fewer things that seem to need explaining away, with the possible exception of the locking-in of inhabitants at the beginning. The account of the assassination itself appears to me to be very plausible, and the story of the Ibn Unays mingling with the crowd, shouting "Who has killed Abu Rāfī?", and the story of the look-out's ruse to encourage the party to hurry, both seem to me to have the ring of truth about them.
The recognition by Abū Rāfiʾ's wife of Ibn Cātik's voice also fits better in its place in this version than in Version 2. However, the existence of these three versions of the incident, none of which is probably the original, should warn us of the dangers of accepting any account in the histories of this period at its face-value, no matter how plausible it may appear.

Although Tabarî says that al-Suddî gives a different account from that given by I.I., the only real difference is that ʿAbdullah b. Ubayy b. Salūl gives the Prophet advice opposite to that which he gives in I.I.'s account.

Here he urges the Prophet to go out to fight at Uhud, whereas in I.I. he is in agreement with the Prophet that they should fight in the streets of Medina. This account makes his withdrawal less excusable; it is, I think, less plausible than I.I.'s account, in that no reason is alleged for his change of heart.
It seems clear that the Prophet, however unenthusiastic about the campaign in the first place, decides that once the decision has been taken it is probably better to proceed in accordance with it than lower morale by displaying a lack of confidence, even when deserted by some of his forces.

1391. 9 - 1392. 5.

Rāfi b. Khadīj's stratagem to increase his apparent height and so make himself eligible to fight brings a welcome, and life-like, touch of comedy to proceedings. It is somehow inevitable that there should then be additional complications with another rejected applicant.

1395. 17 - 1397. 3.

It is surprising that the account of ʿAlī's single combat is not mentioned in I.I. Perhaps it was edited out by I.H.
1397. 3 - 20.

This account of the giving of the sword is somewhat strange, in that al-Zubayr offers to accept it twice and is twice rebuffed. In the account given by the Prophet, Omar is first rejected, and then al-Zubayr, that is of the named persons. Perhaps Omar's name has somehow got lost in this account; we should have, however, to assume a good deal of alteration to it otherwise, for it to have ended in this form.

1402. 3 - 13.

It is again surprising that the account of Alī's killing the standard-bearer of the Quraysh does not appear in I.I. The verse with which this section ends here: "There is no sword but Dhu'l-Faqr; there is no warrior but Alī." (لا سيف إلا ذو الفقار ولا فتى إلا على) might be thought to suggest a Shi'a origin. It may be that these references to feats of courage on the part of Alī derive from some source that had an interest in promoting the idea of him as a great warrior.
On the other hand, one must be careful not to dismiss every appearance of Alī in an heroic, or otherwise outstanding, light as Shiʿa propaganda. I feel, at all events, that the above-cited verse must certainly come from such a source.

1410. 9.

The Prophet repeats the slightly strange warning to God that He will not be worshipped if the Muslims are annihilated. Is this just an echo of the earlier utterance? It is really more appropriate in this context.

1410. 12.

The washing of Hanzala b. al-Rāhib by the angels has here found its way into the narrative. In I. I. 567. 19-568. 3, which does not appear in that form in Tabarī, it comes simply in a remark of the Prophet. This account would seem to derived from a source in which the tradition has been incorporated into accepted history.

1417. 15 - 16.

In this account, ʿUmar displays his characteristic lack of
self-control, in contradicting Abū Sufyān and thus revealing that the fugitives are not in fact dead. It appears probable that he has not really been deceived, in any case; he must know the approximate whereabouts of the Prophet, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, and he is probably fairly certain that they are not all dead.

In view of his remark after having inquired three times for ʿUmar, that if they were alive they would have replied (said, it should be remarked, loud enough for ʿUmar to hear), I suspect that he is teasing ʿUmar, knowing that he will not be able to refrain from protesting.

This episode, which is absent from I.I.'s account, is, I think, most convincing.

1474. 11 - 12.

"These are the date-stones of Yathrib" (لا هذه نُزُوَّة يثرب) is reminiscent of Abū Sufyān's piece of detective work before the battle of Badr, when he remarks, on examining some camel-dung, and finding some date-stones,
"By God, this is the fodder of Yathrib" (هذى رواية علان الطير).

(I.I. 437. 7 - 8.) The date-stones of Medina must have been very conspicuous for them to figure in intelligence work to this extent. Is it possible that this remark has somehow come into the one story from the other?
(cf. also I.I. 807. 3 - 6.)

1436. 5 - 1437. 1.

For comment on the three versions of the story of Amr b. Umayya al-Damrī's attempt to remove the body of Khubayb, see Guillaume's introduction (p. xlii).

I.I.'s account is, as he says, the most satisfactory, in that the fate of the body is most plausibly described.

I.H.'s version (I.I. 992. 19 - 994. 10.) has some obvious faults, and the version that we have here is quite absurd. Where the detail of the body vanishing derives from is not clear, but it may well have something to do with I.H.'s account of the whole cross being thrown into an abyss, presumably with the body still attached.
There is a small inconsistency in this story. First we are told that al-Damrī has a camel and his companion has not; in fact, this point is stressed. Then, when al-Damrī sets out alone to try to kill Abū Sufyān, he tells his companion:

"If there is any hitch, or you are afraid of anything, get to your camel, mount and ride for Medina."

This may be merely a way of saying that he is going to give up his camel to his companion, since he says that he is fleet of foot, but it is still a little awkward.

The various accounts of Bi'r Ma'yūna differ only in small details, such as might naturally be narrated in varying ways by different story-tellers. The various accounts are remarkably consistent.
The task imposed on Zayd b. Thābit by the Prophet is no means a light one: "to learn the Book of the Jews". Probably, however, it is not the whole of the Old Testament that is meant, but only the Torah. The reason given for this order is somewhat obscure:

Does this mean that the Prophet is afraid that the Jews will substitute parts of the Old Testament for parts of the Qur'ān?

The Prophet's account of his vision in the lightning flashes, which is somewhat more extensive than that in I.I., mentioning as it does the actual names of the places that the Muslims are destined to conquer, is a powerful and a poetic one, but why "dogs' teeth" (نيب الكلا) should be an appropriate simile for the castles and places
of these places is not clear. The jibe of the Munāfiqīn, which is actually rather amusing, on the contrast between the grandiose visions of the Prophet and the menial and unpopular task in which the Muslims actually find themselves employed is not inapposite.

1486. 15 - 1487. 12.

In I.I.'s account (684. 19 - 685. 3.) it is the Prophet who tells his companions that the person whom they took for Dihya b. Khalīfa is, in fact, Jibrīl. This is much more probable than the version in this summary, where he is told that Dihya has passed them, looking like Jibrīl in his gait, his beard and his face. After all, of the Muslims, only the Prophet can possibly claim to have seen Jibrīl other than in disguise.

It is a small detail, but a slightly surprising one, that Sa'ād b. Mu'ādh should be given a completely different seat on the donkey in the two accounts. In I.I. we find the donkey "with a leather cushion" (بِسَاطَةُ مِن أَلدِم) (688. 19); here it is "with a pack-saddle of palm fibre" (بَاَكِفِ مِن لِيْف).
There seems no very good reason why anyone should bother to make such a definite alteration in something so unimportant, unless it has occurred simply through some transmitter's bad memory, or perhaps through his wilful determination to leave his own stamp on one picturesque detail of the story.

Here we have a piece of evidence for the Prophet's not being totally illiterate: "he could not write well"

( kole yapn yeken)

It would seem to indicate that some of the early Muslims, at any rate, did not take the word "Ummi" to signify illiterate; otherwise there would be no point in mentioning this detail.

The Prophet's distaste for the appearance of the Persian envoys is a pleasing touch. "They had shaved their beards and let their moustaches grow, and he disliked looking at them". (وتد حلقا تمام یاریاودن فکر الهیان)
The dislike of the bearded for the appearance of the shaven seems to be of great antiquity; old-fashioned Athenians are recorded as complaining about the effeminate fashion of shaving, and the Crusaders are often commented on unfavourably from this point of view in Muslim sources.

1579. 1 - 1581. 2.

In these versions of the story of the siege of Khaybar, we find no mention of Calî's feat of strength in defending himself with a door, as we do in I.I.'s account.

Umar, as usual, makes his mark in the narrative. It is quite characteristic that he and his men should return from their unsuccessful attack grumbling at each other and accusing each other of cowardice.

1648. 1 - 9.

The account given here of Khâlid b. al-Walîd's destruction of al-Cûzza is very curious. There is nothing like it in the brief, matter-of-fact account in I.I. (839. 15-840.2).
When Khalid b. al-Walid destroys the idol, the temple-guardian says, "O Uzza, show some anger!" whereupon a black, naked, howling woman appears. Khalid kills her and (a nice touch, characteristic of Khalid) takes her jewellery. He returns to the Prophet, who tells him that that was al-Uzza, who will never be worshipped again. This raises a number of questions. First, did the Muslims, and Particularly the Prophet actually believe that there was something inside the idols that they broke, that these represented some spirit or demon? Secondly, if so, why was Khalid able to kill the apparition, if apparition it was? We are not told from where precisely the woman appeared, but the word used is (فَرَحَتْ ) "she came out". This may not mean any more than that she came out from wherever it was that she had been concealed, but it may equally well mean that she came out of the broken idol or the ruined temple. The story would be more satisfactory if the apparition had simply vanished; as it is, we are left with the suspicion that it may merely have been a priestess of the idol, or some other mortal woman whom the custodian of the temple had persuaded to play the part of al-Uzza in order to frighten the Muslims (and perhaps his own congregation). If he thought that this kind of deception would affect Khalid, who seems to have been an extremely hard-headed man, he was mistaken. The Prophet's remark may be taken as meaning, "that was all there was to al-Uzza, and there will be no more."
Although it is not quite clear, it is probable that the Prophet throws his handful of dirt, as a symbolic gesture, in the faces of the advancing enemy. The word, "they shall not be given victory" (لا ينصرون) seem to suggest this. The enemy then retire, either because enough of his men are standing firm, or because by his gesture he rallies those of his men who are on the run.

The fact that swords are given as votive offerings and the fact that they are taken when the shrine is destroyed suggest what has already been remarked on, namely that good weapons must have been very scarce and valuable.

There is considerable space given to a dispute over the number of campaigns undertaken by the Prophet.

A discussion as to whether the Prophet's Umras were actually such or pilgrimages.
Details of the Prophet's wives, children, animals, weapons, appearance, etc.

\[1803.2 - 4.\]

\(\text{Umar, as usual, leaps in with an unfavourable comment, and has to be restrained by the Prophet.}\)

\[1815.1 - 13.\]

The actual day of the Prophet's death is the subject for some dispute, but it seems generally to be agreed on.

\[1834.18 - 1836.7.\]

The Prophet's age is also disputed. This is much less surprising than that the date of his death should be in any way in doubt. There does seem to be considerable difference concerning much of the chronology of the early days of Islam; this is probably, as I have suggested, because of the comparatively recent change of the method of reckoning, and, indeed, the fact that before the introduction of the Hijri reckoning there was no very settled method of reckoning dates among the Arabs.
SUMMARY OF AL-BALADHURI'S TEXT

( 9.1 - 100.20 ).
9. 6 - 12. + authority, 714 - 4.


Prophet comes to Quba', stays as guest of Kulthum b. Hidm.


Mosque of Quba' already built. Qur'an reference concerning


Alternative mosque built for Abu Qamir al-Rahib. Qur'an

10. 5 - 17. + authority, 858 - 757 - 462 - 7 - 236.


Part of Qur'an verse mentioned in above paragraph concerns
purification of body.


People of Quba' wash private parts of their bodies for
purification.


Disputes about "Mosque founded in piety," Prophet's mosque.


Other authority for same conclusion.


Ditto.


Ditto.

NOTE: PASSAGES IN SQUARE BRACKETS [ ] REFER TO EVENTS AFTER
THE DEATH OF THE PROPHET.
Ditto.
Ditto.
Ditto.
Ditto.
12. 1 - 3. - authority.
'Abdullah b. 'Umar prays in Qubā' mosque where Prophet prayed.
12. 3 - 14. - authority.
Prophet performs Friday prayer in Medina; becomes guest of
Abū Ayyūb Khalīd.
Prophet buys land and builds mosque.
[13. 2 - 14. 3. + authority, 566; 748.
Mosque of Prophet enlarged by various caliphs.]
Al-Medina conquered by Qur'ān.
14. 5 - 10. + authority, 875 - 716 - 123.
Prophet makes al-Medina an inviolable city.
Ditto.
'Umar orders rope and axe taken from anyone who cuts tree in
al-Medina.]

Prophet declares inviolable all trees between Uhud and Air, with few exceptions.


Umar b. al-Khattāb allows cattle to graze in valley of Himā al-Rabahdah.


Prophet reserves Himā al-Naqūf for Muslim cavalry.


Sa'd b. Waqqās beats servant and deprives him of axe, etc., for cutting trees in Himā.

15. 21 - 16. 4. + authority, 785 - 802 - 534.

Trees planted in al-Ghāba, reserved as pasture.

16. 4 - 8. + authority, 721 - 460 - 547 - 174 - 328.

Prophet pronounces on watering of Wādī Mahzūr.


Ditto.


Ditto.


Ditto.


Ditto.
Prophet says that Batihan is one of channels of Paradise.

[17. 4 - 12. + authority, 748 - 802, x.

Dam built to control water of Mahzur torrent in 156.]

Prophet invokes Allah's blessing on al-Medina and inhabitants,
calling it Taybah.

Disease spreads among Muslims, names given. Poetry about this.
Prophet prays to God for blessing.

Dispute regarding water-course; Prophet adjudicates.

Tradition concerning Qummar's division of al-Aqiq into fiefs.

Another.

Another.

Another.

Ditto.

Ditto.
Tradition concerning Abu Bakr's giving of a fief.]
19.9 - 12. + authority, 852 - 797 - 172 - 225 - x.
Prophet gives fief to Bilāl b. al-Hārith in al-Furuq.]
Prophet gives fief to Bilāl, whose son sells it to ʿUmar b.
ʿAbduʿl-ʿAzīz.]
Prophet gives al-ʿAqīq as fief to Bilāl.]
20.1 - 2. + authority, 826 - 172.
Prophet gives Bilāl certain mines in al-Furuq as fief.]
20.3 - 4. + authority, x.
Zakāt on mines; all ʿUlamā' agree on payment of one-fortieth.]
20.4 - 7. + authority, 826 - 326; 644 - 783 - 901.
Zakāt said to be one-fifth on mines in certain districts; names given.]
20.8 - 10. + authority, 790 - 892 - 786 - 153.
Prophet gives four pieces of land to ʿAlī.]
Ditto.]
ʿUmar gives fief to ʿAlī.]
Ditto. ]
Tradition concerning of certain places.


Others.

Prophet founds market in al-Medina without tax assessment.

Account of destruction of *Arim dam. Qur'an reference: 34. 15.

War between al-Azd and *Akk; both tribes settled in different
Arab cities

23. 7 - 12. - authority.

Account of al-Aus and al-Khazraj.

23. 12 - 16. - authority.

Prophet makes covenant with Jews of Medina. B. Qaynuqa for
violating this expelled from Medina. First land taken by Prophet
that of B. al-Nadîr.

11. BANU AL--NADĪR

23. 20 - 24. 5. - authority.

Account of offence and evacuation of B. al-Nadîr; allowed to
take with them moveable property except coats of mail.

24. 5 - 9. + authority.

All possessions of B. al-Nadîr become property of Prophet.

Surplus money from property used to buy horses and arms.
24. 9 -11. + authority.

Prophet gives fiefs to Abu Bakr, 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. Auf, Abu Dujana Simak b. Kharasha and others. These events occur in 4. A.H.

24. 11 - 15. + authority, 566.

Mukhayriq, learned rabbi, gives Prophet his seven gardens as sadaqa-land, which divided among Muslims, names given.


24. 21 - 25. 7. + authority, 790 - 675 - 904 - 547.


Prophet burns and cuts down palm-trees of B. al-Nadir.

Poetry about this.

25. 11 - 12. + authority, 805.

God gives permission to Prophet to cut down trees of B. al-Nadir.

Qur'an reference repeated.


Ditto.


Other poets' poetry about this.


Possessions of B. al-Nadir are given by God to Prophet. Qur'an reference repeated.
Division of possessions of B. al-Nadir, Khaybar and Fadak, and use of Prophet's shares.

Alternative account on different authority from 25. 20 - 26. 3. Al-Baladhuri adds extra account about division of spoils, gives names of Ansār.

Alternative account. Prophet asks for permission of Ansār to divide spoils among Muhājirīn. Poetry about this.

Prophet gives fief to al-Zubayr b. al-Āwwām.
Ditto.

Ditto.

27. 13 – 14.
Abū Bakr gives al-Zubayr al-Jurf as fief. Ĉumār gives him all of al-Ĉaqīq as fief.

111. THE POSSESSIONS OF THE B. QURAYZA.

28. 3 – 8. – authority.
After battle of al-Âhzāb, Prophet besieges B. Qurayza for fifteen days. Sađ b. Muṭādh made their ruler. Decrees death for adult. males, captivity for females and children and confiscation of all property.

Jibrā'īl comes to Prophet with command from God to fight B. Qurayza. Ĉā'isha sees him.

Adults of B. Qurayza executed; others spared.

Huyayy b. Akhtab and his son killed.
28. 21 - 29. 2. + authority, 758 - 387 - 527 - 326.
Division of booty among Muslims into different shares.

Prophet divides possessions of B. Qurayza and Khaybar among Muslims.

Restatement of 28. 3 - 8.
IV. KHAYBAR.

Prophet besieges Khaybar for one month in the 7th A.H.; makes conditional peace treaty.

[Qur'an reference: 5. 67 - 68.]

Prophet captures Khaybar; divides possessions of Khaybar among Muslims.

Prophet discovers hidden bag of money and jewels belonging of Hüyayy b. Akhtab. Two sons of Abu Huqayq killed; one of them husband of Safiyya d. Hüyayy b. Akhtab

People of Khaybar ordered to pay 3 of produce assessed by 'Abdullah b. Rawāha; Jews try to bribe him.

31. 7 - 13. - authority.
Safiyya's dream; her husband interprets that she desires Prophet, and hits her in eye.

Shares of Prophet's wives.
203

[31. 15 - 17. + authority.


Forts, al-Watīh and Sulālim, surrendered on terms in order to save lives.

32. 2 - 5. + authority, 790 - 675A - 739 - 629 - 457 - 736.


Division of Khaybar spoils.


32. 16 - 19. + authority, 758 - 387 - 527 - 326.

Division of spoils among Muslims.


Prophet besieges Khaybar between twenty and thirty days.


Prophet divides Khaybar into thirty-six shares of 100 lots; eighteen shares for Prophet's expenses.

33. 5 - 10. + authority, 790 - 675A - 739 - 681 - 99.

Ditto.


33. 18 - 34. 3. + authority, 883A - 747 - 819 - 533. Prophet puts members of another family to death.


34. 7 - 11. + authority, 839 - 775 - 765 - 629. Ḥabdallāh b. Rawāha offers choice of halves on his own estimate.


34. 16 - 21. + authority, 731A - 172 - 326. Prophet says that two religions may not exist in Arabia. [Umar expels Jews of Khaybar.]
35. 1 - 5. + authority, 894 - 566 - x.
    Prophet gives his share to his wives and relatives.

35. 6 - 7. + authority, 894 - 566 - 711.
    'Umar b. 'Abdu'l-'Aziz gives heirs of the recipients of
    Prophet's bestowals their due.

    Jews of Khaybar remain there during Prophet's [and Abi Bakr's]
    period.

    Khaybar divided into 1580 shares including those of Muhâjirûn
    of Abyssinia.

    Prophet gives al-Zubayr fief in Khaybar.
V. FADAK.

36. 3 - 8. - authority.
People of Fadak give Prophet half of their property without fight.

36. 8 - 12. - authority.
Umar expels Jews of Fadak.

Umar expels Jews of Fadak after payment of price of half their property.

36. 15 - 17. + authority, 758 - 387 - 527 - 326.
Ditto.

36. 18 37. 2. + authority, 790 - 675A - 904 - 547 - 326 ,
19, x - 556.
Fadak considered Prophet's property because of not fighting.
People of Fadak given same terms of peace as Khaybar.

37. 2 - 4. + authority, 790 - 675A - 908 - 547 - 19.
MuhayyIsah b. MasOud arranges peace terms.

37. 5 - 9. + authority, 790 - 675A - 792 - 882A - 326 -
820 - 660.
Prophet appropriates land of B. al-Nadir; one-third of Khay-
bar and Fadak reserved for wayfarers.
Wives of Prophet demand inheritance from Khaybar and Fadak.

Ditto.

B. Umayyah confiscate Fadak, violating law of Prophet;

Qumar b. 'Abdu'l-`Aziz reinstates Fadak in old condition.

Fatima d. Prophet claims that Prophet gave her Fadak property.

Abu Bakr asks for witnesses.

Ditto.

Fatima argues with Abu Bakr for her inheritance. Abu Bakr says that Prophet's property should be turned over to Muslims.

Qumar b. 'Abdu'l-`Aziz uses income of Fadak for its original purpose.
Qur'ān: 59. 6. Cities conquered without fight considered Prophet's property.

Umar expels Jews of Khaybar and Fadak.

Khutba of Umar b. ʻAbdu'l-ʻAzīz on restoration of Fadak to original purpose.

Al-Ma'mūn gives Fadak to descendants of Fāṭima, daughter of Prophet; al-Mutawakkil restores land to original purpose.
VI. WĀDI'L-QURĀ.

41. 9 - 15. - authority.
Prophet fights against people of Wādi'l-Qurā; makes same peace terms as with Khaybar.

41. 16 - 20. - authority.
Prophet's slave killed; deserves hell because has stolen garment from spoils.

41. 21 42. 2. + authority, 874 - 716 - 470A.
Ditto.

42. 3 - 6. + authority, 740 - 460 - 509 - 730 - 776 - 470A.
Ditto.

42. 7 - 10. - authority.
People of Taymā' agree to pay poll-tax.

42. 11 - 14. + authority, 731A - 460 - 681 - 799 - 886A.
[Umar expels Jews of Taymā, Fadak and Khaybar.]
Prophet fights against Wādi'l-Qurā Jumāda al-Ākhira 7. A.H.

42. 15 - 18. + authority, 719 - 323 - 497.
Prophet gives fief to ʿAmzah b. al-Nuʿmān.

VII. Mecca.

43. 8 - 20. - authority.

Covenants arising from peace terms of al-Hudaybiya cause of expedition against Mecca.

43. 21 - 44.6. + authority, 883 - 888 - 517 - 790 - 297.

Peace terms of Hudaybiya given.

44. 6 - 45. 17. + authority, 740 - 460 - 7 - 146.

Abū Sufyān goes to Medina to renew covenant but fails.

Prophet marches to Mecca.

45. 18 - 46. 1. + authority, 740 - 460 - 192 - 244 - 109.

B. Khuzā'ī call on Prophet for help. Poetry about this.

46. 2 - 3. + authority, 460 - 401 - 146.

Prophet answers them.

46. 3 - 10. + authority, 566.

Khālid b. al-Walīd receives order to fight against Quraysh; kills 28 men; another version - 23 men.
46. 11 - 47. 15. + authority, 875 - 878 - 643 - 728 109.
Abū Hurayra's version of conquest of Mecca.

47. 16 - 19. + authority, 839 - 775 - 791 - 291.
Prophet orders Muslims not to kill Quraysh on certain conditions.

47. 20 - 48. 6. + authority, 566.
Mecca conquered Ramadān 8. A.H. Ibn Khatal and one of his singing girls killed.

48. 6 - 14. - authority.
Numayla b. ʿAbdullāh kills Miqyās b. Subāba, latter being outlawed for killing brother's killer in spite of having received bloodwit, and for apostasy. Poetry about this.


Other slave girl of Ibn Khatal accepts Islam.

48. 21 - 1. - authority.
Ibn al-Zībaʿra accepts Islam.

49. 2 - 6. + authority, 839 - 452 - 511 - 851.
Prophet delivers Khutbah.
49. 7 - 12. + authority, 809 - 800 - 15 - 1.
Prophet forgives Quraysh.

49. 13 - 18. + authority, 875 - 807 - 731.
Prophet announces inviolability of Mecca.

Hebage of Mecca should not be cut.

[ 50. 2 - 4. + authority, 875 - 771 - 470A.
Ubayy b. Ka'bah advises 'Umar not to confiscate treasure of
Ka'ba. ]

50. 4 - 6. + authority, 752A - 536 - 349 - 574A.
Renting or selling of houses of Mecca not lawful.

Mecca is place only for those who already live in it.

[ 50. 11 - 12. + authority, 809 - 800 - 805.
'Umar b. 'Abdu'l-'Aziz confirms that houses of Mecca may
not be rented ]

Whole Haram is place of worship. Qur'an: 22. 25.
50. 15 - 17. + authority, 752A - 139 - 732.
Houses of Mecca should not be rented.

Visitors and inhabitants have equal rights to stay in Mecca.

Alternative accounts concerning unlawful renting or selling of property in Mecca. All people have equal rights to stay in Mecca.

51. 8 - 10. + authority, 889 - 778 - 726 - 236.
Ditto.

51. 10 - 16. + authority, 559 - 566; 759; 820, & 441 - 856 - 905A; 566 - 441; 519; 737 - 871.
Taking rent for houses of Mecca is lawful.

51. 16 - 17. + authority, 877.
Taking rent unlawful.

During pilgrimage taking rent of houses of Mecca unlawful, but in other months lawful.
Taking rent for property of Mecca absolutely legal.

Plants of Haram should not be cut.

In case of rotten trees, cutting allowed.

If ignorant man cuts trees, no penalty. Cutting trees unlawful.

Value of tree should be paid.

Cutting branches lawful for medicine or tooth-picks.

Trees grown by man can be cut with impunity.

Growing vegetables and eating them is lawful.
52. 19 - 20. + authority, 559 - 566 - 540.

Alternative account.

52. 20 - 21. + authority, 783; 903A.

No pilgrim or visitor may graze his camel or cut grass for it.

52. 21 - 53. 2. + authority, 172 - 441 - 257 - 901 - 608A; 815.

No harm if animals graze, but grass should not be cut for them.

53. 2 - 4. + authority, 742 - 720 - 741 - 519.

'Ata' finds no harm in use of vegetables and trees, grown in Haram but Mujahid disapproves it.

[53. 5 - 55. 4. + authority, 566; 748.

History of construction of Ka'ba and its enlargement during different caliphs' reigns. Account of mosques of Mecca and al-Medina during various reigns given. ]
VIII. THE WELLS OF MECCA.

55. 9 - 58. 6. - authority.
Historical account of wells and names of owners; poetry about this.

58. 6 - 12. + authority, 807A.
Account of important gardens and houses and names of owners.

58. 13 - 16. + authority, 826.
Mecca called Salāh in pre-Islamic times. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb's poetry about this.

58. 17 - 59. 3. + authority, 719 - 328.
Account of Ibn Sībāc jail with owner's name and death of Hamza b. Ābū'l-Mūtallib.

59. 4 - 10. - authority.
Account of Dār al-Nadwah and Dār al-ʿAjalah and names of owners.

59. 10 - 14. - authority.
Account of Dār al-Qawārīr and name of owner.

Account of towns Qu'ayyīlān and Ajyād.
[ 59. 20 - 60. 2. + authority, 894 - 837A - 510 - 328 - 497. 
Umar gives permission for building of houses for wayfarers between Mecca and Medina in 17 A.H. ]

IX. THE FLOODS IN MECCA.

60. 7 - 14. + authority, 719 - 451 - 813. Mecca visited by four floods. 
[ Umar builds two dams to protect Haram Mosque. Umm Nahshal carried away in one flood. ]

[ 60. 14 - 61. 5. Authority continues. 
Flood of al-Juhaf and al-Juraf takes place in 80 A.H. carries away pilgrims with their baggage. Walls and dam built for protection. Poetry about this. ]

[ 61. 6 - 7. - authority. 
Flood of al-Mukhabbil brings diseases. ]

[ 61. 7 - 10. - authority. 
Flood of Abü Shākir visited Mecca in Caliphate of Hishām b. Abdū'1-Malik in 120 A.H. ]

[ 61. 11 - 12. + authority, 719. 
Great flood takes place in Caliphate of al-Mā'mūn; rises up as high as Black Stone. ]
Kurz b. ʿAlqama establishes limits of Haram.

61. 18 - 62. 1. + authority, 160.
Kurz b. ʿAlqama b. Hīlāl follows Prophet's steps to cave
during hijra; finds spider's web on cave; recognizes
Prophet's foot-print below it.
X. AT-TÄ'IF.

62. 6 - 63. 5. - authority.
Prophet sends Muslims to Auṭas under command of Abu Musa C. Abdulllah b. Qays. Malik b. C. Auf b. Sa'b runs away to at-Ta'if. Prophet besieges at-Ta'if for fifteen days in 8 A.H.

A few slaves comes to Prophet who sets them free. Prophet comes to al-Ju'raṇa to divide captives and booty. Those who accept Islam, have conditions imposed on them. Old name of at-Ta'if is Wajj.

63. 6 - 14. + authority, 817 - 801 - 328 - 1.
Poll-tax imposed on Jews of at-Ta'if. At-Ta'if included in district of Mecca. Abu Sufyan loses eye in battle of at-Ta'if.

Zakat from Thaqif on grapes and dates.

63. 18 - 19. + authority, 566 - 783.
Zakat taken on grapes, not on trees.

Zakat imposed one-tenth or half of one-tenth.
63. 21 - 64. 1. + authority, 172, 441.
Zakāt taken on grapes, some on dates.

64. 2 - 6. + authority, 875 - 460 - 681 - 83.
Zakāt on honey, one vase out of each ten.
64. 6 - 8. + authority, 752A - 141 - 735 - 328 - 497 - 660.
64. 6 - 8. + authority, 752A - 141 - 735 - 328 - 497 - 660.
One-tenth Zakāt imposed on honey.

[ 64. 9 - 11. + authority, 764 - 824 - 814 - 886A.
Cūmar b. CAbdu'l-CAzīz orders collection of Sadaqa on bee-
hives. ]

[ 64. 11 - 20. + authority, 566, 41; 820A; 871; 783; 566 - 850 - 687 - 783; 903A; 783; 901; 832; 441.
Traditionists do not accept payment of Zakāt on honey. ]

64. 21 - 65. 3. + authority, 810 - 815; 786; 883A - 834 - 717 - 326.
Zakāt is lawful on honey.

[ 65. 3 - 8. + authority, 790 - 675A - 734 - 804 - 762, 887.
Cūmar adjudicates particular case of Zakāt. ]
65. 9 - 12. + authority, 675A; 877; 783; 903A.

No Sadaqa except on four products of soil.


No Sadaqa on vegetables or less than five Wasqs of certain other products.

65. 16 - 17. + authority, 566; 856.

Ditto.

65. 17 - 66. 2. + authority, 326; 820, 815; 901; 905A; 441; 608A; 719 - 328 - 497.

Alternative accounts.
XI. TABÄLAH AND JURASH.

66. 5 - 8. + authority, 758 - 387 - 527 - 326.

People of Tabälah and Jurash accept Islam without resistance; accept peace terms. Prophet assigns Abū Sufyān b. Harb as Governor of Jurash.

XII. TABŪK, AYLAH, ADHRUH, MAQNA, AL-JARBA‘.

66. 11 - 14. - authority.

Prophet's expedition against Tabūk in Syria in 9 A. H. People of Tabūk agree to pay poll-tax; no resistance.


Prophet makes peace treaty with people of Aylah to pay him 300 dinārs per annum.

Umar b. ʿAbduʾl-ʿAzīz does not raise poll-tax of people of Aylah. ]
66. 19 - 67. 2. Authority continues.
People of Adhruh given peace on payment of 100 dinār per annum to Prophet. People of Jarbā' agree to pay poll-tax to Prophet. People of Maquā accept peace treaty, on terms of payment of ¼ of goods and income.

67. 3 - 14. + authority, *.
Copy of peace treaty.

XIII. DUMAT AL-JANDAL.

68. 3 - 6. - authority.
Prophet sends Khalid b. al-Walīd to Ukaydir b. ʿAbdu'll-Malik at Duma. Khalid kills his brother and captures him; he accepts Islam.

68 7 - 12. - authority.
Copy of peace treaty between Prophet and Ukaydir b. ʿAbdu'll-Malik.

[ 68. 13 - 69. 7. + authority, 719 - 328 - 497.
After death of Prophet, Ukaydir stops payment of Sadaqa; violates covenant. His brother Hurayth's daughter marries Yazīd b. Muʿawiyah. Poetry about this. ]
Abū Bakr sends Khālid b. al-Walīd against Ukaydir. Khālid kills Ukaydir and captures Dūma.

Abdu'l-Rahmān b. Abū Bakr falls in love with Laylā d. al-Jūdi. Poetry about this. Laylā divorced because of disfiguring disease; sent back to her parents.

Alternative account of conquest of Dūmat al-Jandal.

Account of rebuilding and naming of Dūmat al-Jandal.
XIV. THE CAPITULATION OF NAJRĀN.

70. 12 - 71. 2. + authority, 758 - 729 - 519 - 903 - 326.
Delegation from Najrān comes to Prophet; accepts peace terms.
Terms of agreement given.

71. 3 - 12. + authority, 790 - 304 - 829 - 785.
Two monks of Najrān come to Prophet to discuss Christianity.
Qur'ān reference: 3. 51; 3. 54.

71. 13 - 72. 15. + authority, 790 - 675A.
Copy of peace terms with people of Najrān.

\[ 72. 15 - 73. 10. \] - authority.
Abū Bakr reinforces agreement. Qūmar expels them. Quthmān
reduces taxation. Copy of Qūmar's statements.

\[ 73. 10 - 14. \] + authority, 721 - 460 - 618 - 799 - 886A.
Prophet's statement that two religions might not exist in
Arabia reason for expulsion.

73. 15 - 16. + authority, 719 - 328 - 497.
Umar and 'Ali refuse to reinstate people of Najrān in the land.

People of Najrān treated differently during different periods of caliphs. Al-Rashīd writes them a favorable statement.

People of Book have to pay poll-tax.

XV. AL-YAMAN.

75. 17 - 21. - authority.
People of al-Yaman accept Islam; start payment of Sadaqa; Christians, Jews and Magians pay poll-tax.

76. 1 - 4. + authority, 790 - 892 - 900 - 470A.
Prophet's letter to people of al-Yaman concerning Islamic duties; if not observed, liability to poll-tax.

76. 4 - 5. + authority, 768 - 900 - 470A.
Ditto.

76. 5 - 9. + authority, 566; x.
Prophet sends Khalid b. Sa'Id as commander over San'a'; some say al-Muhajir b. Abi Umayya assigned as governor.

76. 10 - 14. + authority, 807A, 769.
Al-Muhajir governor of Kinda and al-Sadif; sent to reinforce Ziyad b. Labid without superseding him as governor of San'a'.

76. 15 - 19. - authority.
Prophet sends Mu'adh b. Jabal to Dhurca with letter instructing him about Sadaqa and poll-tax.


77. 13 - 20. + authority, 790 - 675A - 908 - 547.

77. 20 - 78. 9. + authority, 790 - 675A - 907 - 547; 451.
Prophet's letter to kings of Himyar about Sadaqa; addressed to Arîb and al-Harîth son of Abi-Kulal.

78. 9 - 14. + authority, 698 - 806 - 528 - 457A.
Prophet's letter to Mu'adh in al-Yaman instructing him about Sadaqa and poll-tax.

Prophet delegates Mu'adh to al-Yaman giving him instructions about tax.

78. 19 - 79. 1. + authority, 790 - 675A - 875 - 752A - 470A.
Magians of Hajar and al-Yaman have to pay poll-tax to Prophet.
79. 2 - 4. + authority, 752A - 375 - 845 - 848 - 83 - 328 - 497.
Adults of al-Yaman taxed one Dīnār.

79. 5 - 13. + authority, 875 - 855 - 905 - 898 or 816 - 14.

Alternative account concerning collection of Sadaqa.

79. 19 - 80. 1. + authority, 752A - 304 - 411 - 843.
Ditto.

80. 2 - 4. + authority, 68 - 260 - 33.
People of Syria pay heavier poll-tax than people of al-Yaman.

80. 4 - 7. + authority, 789 - 304 - 257 - 793 - 830.
Mu'āadh does not assess tax on medial number of cows and medial amount of honey.

Prophet refuses to give salt of Ma'rib to Abyad b. Hammāl as fief.
80. 11 - 13. + authority, 852, + 800 - 752 - 328 - 497
- 710.
Ditto.

Prophet gives a fief in Hadramaut to Alqama's father.

80. 15 - 81. 1. + authority, 748 - 846.
People of al-Yaman oppressed by Muhammad b. Yusuf, governor
of al-Yaman.

Sadaqa on piece of land planted with al-Wars.

81. 4 - 6. + authority, 820 - 441, + 632A - 901.
No Zakāt on al-Wars, Wasmah, Qirt, Katam, Hinnā' and roses.

81. 6 - 7. + authority, 783.
Zakāt lawful on these, in large or small quantities.

81. 7 - 9. + authority, 820A, 905A, 783, 903A.
Saffron is lawful.

81. 9 - 11. + authority, 901, 832.
Sadaqa on dates, wheat, barley and corn etc.
81. 11 - 13. + authority, 815; 629, 91; 792.
All produce in small or great quantities, subject to tithe or half tithe.

Ditto.

No Zakāt on al-Wars and cotton.

81. 18 - 82. 2. + authority,783 - 762 ; 815.
Explanation of tax on Dhimmīs.

82. 3 - 7. + authority, 870, 901; 91; 470A.
Dhimmīs pay as tax double of what Muslims pay as Zakāt.

82. 7 - 11. + authority, 441, 608A - 625 - 871; 786; 632A; 832.
Kharāj and Zakāt explained. No double payment of tax but only tithe.

82. 12 - 14. + authority, 717, 625.
Dhimmīs pay poll-tax.
82. 14 - 17. + authority, 566.
Case of Dhimma and tithe-land.

82. 18 - 83. 3. + authority, 905A, 172, 441, 644, 783, 687.
Other cases concerned with tithe-land.

XVI. Cūmaʿ.

83. 8 - 20. + authority, 160, x; 614A.
People of Cūmaʿ accept Islam. Prophet makes Āmīr b. al-Ḳās commander there. Abū Zayd officiates in prayer; teaches Qurʾān, etc.

83. 21 - 84. 9. - authority.

84. 10 - 15. - authority.
People of Cūmaʿ kill Ḥisā b. Jaʿfar because of his cruelty.

84. 15 - 21. + authority, x.
Prophet sends Abū Zayd to Cūbayd and Jayfar, son of al-Julanda in 6 A.H. Khālid b. al-Walīd, ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa and Āmīr accept Islam in 8 A.H.
Umar b. 'Abdu'l-‘Aziz writes to 'Adi b. Art‘āt, giving him instructions about distribution of tithe income.

XVII. AL-BAHRAYN.

Al-Bahrayn ruled by al-Mundhir b. Sawa for Persians.

Prophet delegates al-‘Alā’ b. ‘Abdullah to al-Bahrayn offering choice of Islam or paying poll-tax. Copy of agreement given.

Copy of Prophet’s letter to al-Bahrayn.


Prophet sends envoys to kings in 6 A.H.

Alternative account.
234

86. 20 - 87. 9. + authority, 852 - 888 - 723 - 343A - 297.
Copy of Prophet's letter to people of Hajar.

People of al-Bahrâyín agree to pay tax of half grains and dates.

Magians of Hajar pay poll-tax.

Alternative account.

Alternative account.

Ditto.

88. 3 - 8. + authority, 752A - 375 - 308.
Copy of Prophet's letter to al-Mundhir b. Sawa.

Alternative account.
Al-\(^a\)Alä' sends 80,000 Dirhams to Prophet.

Alternative account about tax levied on people of Hajar.

88. 19 - 89. 8. - authority.
Al-\(^a\)Alä' dismissed; Abän b. Sa\(^c\)Id made governor and succeeded by Abû Hurayra.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Abû Bakr sends Al-\(^a\)Alä' to al-Bahrâyin as governor.} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{89. 9 - 16. + authority, 818A.} \\
\text{Account of governors of al-Bahrâyin andümân appointed and dismissed by various Caliphs.}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{89. 17 - 21. + authority, 750 - 769.} \\
\text{More or less as above.}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{90. 1 - 11. + authority, 874 - 771 - 562 - 109.} \\
\text{Umär confiscates property of Abû Hurayra who refuses to be a governor again.}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{90. 12 - 18. + authority, 852, 858 - 686 - 900 - 562 -109; 771.} \\
\text{Ditto.}
\end{array}
\]
Apostasy of al-Hutam; joins with other clans to fight against Muslims. Al-\(^\text{C}^\text{Ala}'\) kills al-Hutam. Poetry about this.

Alternative account. Poetry about this.

Mundhir b. al-Nu\(^\text{C}^\text{man}\) killed. Kh\(^\text{d}\)id b. al-Wal\(^\text{d}\) comes to reinforce al-\(^\text{C}^\text{Ala}'\).

Kh\(^\text{d}\)id b. al-Wal\(^\text{d}\) comes first to al-Medina, then sets off for al-\(^\text{C}^\text{Ir\text{a}q}.\)

\(^\text{C}^\text{Abdullah}\) b. Suhayl and \(^\text{C}^\text{Abdullah}\) b. \(^\text{C}^\text{Abdullah}\) suffer martyrdom.

Al-\(^\text{C}^\text{Ala}'\) conqueres al-Zarah, al-Sabun and Darin.

Alternative account with more detail. Poetry about this.

Duel between Bara' b. Malik and satrap of al-Zarah; latter killed. \(^\text{C}^\text{Umar}\) takes one-fifth of booty.
XVII. AL-YAMĀMA.

94. 3 - 4. - authority.
Al-Yamāma named after woman crucified at gate.

94. 4 - 95. 6. - authority.

Al-Rajjāl b. ʿUnfuwa's delegation accept Islam; among delegates Musaylima, the false Prophet; argues about authority before swearing allegiance to Prophet. Musaylima returns to al-Yamāma; asserts his claim to be a Prophet; writes to Prophet that half land belongs to him. Prophet answers that earth belongs to Allah.

[95. 7 - 96. 7. - authority.
Abū Bakr sends Khālid b. al-Walīd to fight against Musaylima who is killed. Various Muslims claim to have killed Musaylima.]

Muʿāwiyyah b. Abī Sufyān kills Musaylima.]
Ansar leave Khalid b. al-Walid but return under his command again.

Poetry on escape from calamity.

Mujja tricks Khalid b. al-Walid into making peace terms. People of al-Yamama accept Islam; start payment of Sadaqa.

Abu Bakr orders Khalid b. al-Walid to reinforce al-'Ala' in al-Bahrayn.

Description of Musaylima. His Mu'adhdhin, Hujayr, said to stress claim in Adhan.

Names of Muslims killed during fighting in al-Yamama.

Musaylima cuts off hands and feet of Habib, whose mother takes part in fighting.
Different traditions numbers of Muslims killed. Some say 700; some 1,700; some 1,200.

Prophet gives fief to Majâ'a.

Prophet gives fief to Furât b. Hayyân in al-Yamâma.

Number of deaths give rise to name Hadîqat al-Maut.

Mosque built in garden under al-Ma'mûn.

Reasons for names of place and fort.

Mention of spring of al-Rayya and derivation of name, of adjacent land.
COMMENTARY ON AL-BALADHURĪ.
It is difficult to tell precisely what Baladhuri's purpose is in this chapter. His avowed subject throughout the book is the conquest of the various territories by the Muslims, both within and outside the Arabian Peninsula, and at the end of the chapter, he leads into the next chapter, where presumably his main theme begins, with the words, "The first land that the Prophet conquered was that of the B. al-Nadîr."

Thus one might expect this first chapter to form some kind of introduction to the book as a whole. It is no such thing; nor is it a brief history of the Prophet's career, either in Mecca or in Medina, up to the time of the first conquest.

It might be possible to make out a case for its being the story of the conquest of Medina, on the strength of the Prophet's remark (14.5), "All districts or cities were conquered by force, but al-Medina was conquered by the Qur'ân." but most of the contents of the chapter are against this interpretation.

A good deal of space is devoted at the beginning of the chapter
to establishing which is "the Mosque founded in piety" and which "the Opposition Mosque". The impression given is that of a tafsir rather than a history. No details of the hijra are given, except for the discussion of the mosques and where the Prophet stayed in Qubā' and in Medina.

The hijra is mentioned in a subordinate clause: "that when the Messenger of God emigrated from Makkah to al-Madinah..." (9.3) (ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم هاجر إلى المدينة من مكة ...)

Other concerns here are the building of the Prophet's Mosque, and the alterations carried out in it by subsequent caliphs, the Prophet's decision about the inviolability of Medina and decrees concerning various himma, regulations for various water-channels, the giving of a number of fiefs, not only by the Prophet himself but also by Abu Bakr and 'Umar; mineral rights and the zakāt on minerals are also discussed.

The origin of the names of various wells and other properties are examined. The tradition of non-payment of kharāj on the market of Medina is traced.

Finally the reasons for the existence and present habitats of
al-Aus and al-Khasraj, and for the Jews living outside Medina, are traced back to the breaching of the dam of Ārim.

All in all, the first chapter is a jumbled collection of miscellaneous information, vaguely relevant to the situation in Medina shortly after the hijra, but giving the impression of notes made by a lawyer with antiquarian interests, rather than by a historian. It does not constitute a coherent account of anything.

There are two points that may be commented on. First, Abū Bakr's paying for the site of the Prophet's mosque: we are told by I.I. that Abū Bakr is well-to-do, but we are also told that the Prophet insisted on paying him for the beast on which he rode from Mecca. Is the payment for a piece of land of a different kind, or, is the Prophet unable to command funds of this magnitude?

Secondly, we hear a good deal about Abū Āmir al-Rahib in connection with "the Opposition Mosque"; if this man is a Christian, how could the builders of this mosque hope that Abū Āmir might come and lead them in prayer?
The story of the siege and expulsion of the B. al-Nadîr are are not told in any detail. No explanation of the circumstances is given. The episode of the intended dropping of a stone (here alone referred to) as "a mill-stone" (رُحَب) on the Prophet is laconically related in one line; there is no mention of divine warning.

Al-Baladhurî is much more interested in the way in which the confiscated lands were divided, and makes a great point of the fact that they belonged to the Prophet, to assign as he wished.

He names the fiefs that the Prophet granted to various persons, and he is at pains to make clear that there were good reasons for his assigning a share to the Muhâjirîn and not to the Ansâr.

To some extent he is explaining Qur'ânic references here, but it appears also as though there had been some dispute over land ownership that needed to be resolved. Again, the legal aspects of the matter seem to be among his principal concerns.
The story of Mukhairiq's giving the Prophet his estates is briefly dealt with, but with no explanation that this took place just before the battle of Badr, in which Mukhairiq fell; the point is thus almost completely lost.

The account of the Prophet's burning and cutting down of the palm-trees on the B. al-Nadir's land is rather out of order, so as to make it appear to anyone not already acquainted with the campaign that he did this after having acquired the lands himself, rather than during the siege.

CHAPTER 3. 28 – 29.

There are three separate accounts given of the suppression of the B. Qurayza, differing from one another in no respects, except that two are half the length of the other. Two of these accounts give reasons, of a sort, for the action taken against the tribe. The division of the lands thus acquired is mentioned, but without details. A disproportionate amount of space is devoted to the treachery of Huyay b. Akhtab and to Jibra'il's exhortation to the Prophet to proceed against the B. Qurayza. 'A'isha's part in this episode is curious; it seems somewhat otiose for her to report having seen Jibra'il (surely in disguise - or did she recognise him?) through a hole in a door.
There are several mentions of the capture of Khaybar, none of which is detailed enough to be dignified with the name of "account".

Much more space is devoted to the terms of capitulation and to the manner in which the Prophet divided the confiscated land, of which there/also slightly differing versions.

The estimation of the value of the produce by Abdullah b. Rawahah is also mentioned several times.

Again, Umar's expulsion of the inhabitants, for which different reasons are given, and his division of the land, receive several mentions. These matters, which may be called the more important points for the history of the spread of Islam in Arabia, are jumbled together, in no particular order - the various mentions of the same episode do not occur together - interspersed with anecdotal material such as the account of the killing of the two sons of Abi'l-Huqayq for failing to disclose the whereabouts of Huyay b. Akhtab's money, and the black eye given by one of them to Safiya d. Huyay, who afterwards became the Prophet's wife.
Much is again made of the fact that the land given up by Fadak, on its capitulation to the Prophet, became the exclusive property of the latter, and the Qur'an adduced as the reason for this.

We are also told a great deal more about the Prophet's use of the income that accrued to him from the lands that he held for his exclusive use; these, it is asserted, he held by virtue of his position, and they were to remain state lands after his death.

There are several accounts of his wives, and particularly of his daughter, Fatima, asking that they should fall to them as an inheritance, and the refusal of these requests.

The later history of the lands is traced, through 'Umar's expulsion and compensation of the inhabitants, the Umayyads' appropriation of them and the restoration of
them by ʿUmar b. ʿAbdal-ʿAzīz, al-Maʿṣūm's donation of them to Fāṭimah's heirs, to al-Mutawakkil's restoration of them to the people of Medina. Clearly the legal status of these lands was of considerable interest to al-Baladhurī, and, we must suppose, to his readers. Once again the various accounts of the same matter are scattered throughout the chapter.

CHAPTER 6. 41 - 43.

The fate of Wādī ʿl-Qurān is almost indistinguishable, in the bald narrative given here, from that of Khaybar; reduction, the confiscation of its lands, and the terms imposed are precisely similar.

The only difference is that al-Baladhurī is not sure whether or not ʿUmar later expelled the inhabitants. About the same amount of space as is devoted to these details is devoted to three accounts, more or less the same, of the anticipated fate of Mīdam, a slave of the Prophet, killed at Wādī ʿl-Qurān while in illegal possession of some booty from Khaybar.
Taymā', overawed by the fate of Wādī 'l-Qum', agree to pay the JIZYA. Most of the remainder of the chapter is devoted to the fief that the Prophet gave to one of his followers in W. Q., and that bought by Mu'āwiya as Caliph.

The fact that he bought it from a certain Jew would seem to imply that the inhabitants were not expelled by 'Umar; those of Taymā', however, were expelled.

CHAPTER 7. 43 - 55.

The account of Hudaybiyya and of the Prophet's attack on, and conquest of, Mecca given by al-Baladhurī is quite full and coherent. It is interesting to notice that, even in the fairly short version, which we have here - although it is a good deal longer than those given by al-Baladhurī of other episodes - the impetuous and belligerent character of 'Umar is twice clearly portrayed.

Once the account of the capture of Mecca is complete, the chapter returns to the somewhat jumbled mixture that we have
found in earlier chapters. No reason is given for the killing of Ibn Khatal or al-Huwayrith (in the case of the former, there is some dispute as to who he actually is, and as to who killed him); the reasons for the killing of Miqyas b. Subaba, however, are explained.

A good deal of space is devoted to the Prophet's confirmation of the inviolability of Mecca, with a brief interpolation concerning Umar's later attempt to confiscate the treasure; there are disputes over the absolute inviolability of the plants in the Haram and the legality of selling or renting property therein.

The chapter ends with an account of the later history of the mosque at Mecca and its reconstruction, and the reconstruction of the mosque at Medina.

CHAPTER 8. 55-60.

A whole chapter is devoted to the history and ownership of the wells and various buildings in Mecca. This was, no
doubt, of considerable interest and importance to the local inhabitants, especially the information concerning the wells, since water is of such great value in this region; one might perhaps have thought that it would be of limited interest to the majority of al-Balādhurī's readers. It certainly cannot be called a vital part of a general history, such as his purports to be.

CHAPTER 9. 60 - 62.

This chapter is principally devoted to an account of the various floods suffered in Mecca. The same criticism holds good as for the material that forms the subject of the previous chapter; in addition, most of these floods appear to have occurred in a period considerably later than that with which al-Balādhurī is concerned in this work.

The chapter concludes with an account of the re-establishing of the limits of the Haram again in the Umayyad period.
Some details are given concerning the siege of al-Ta‘if, and the reasons for it, but much is left unexplained. One has to be familiar with a good deal of the historical background to be able to follow what is going on.

A certain amount of space is given to the terms imposed, and to the subsequent history of al-Ta‘if. After a laconic report that Abu Sufyān b. Harb lost his eye in this campaign (it is typical of al-Balādhurī to insert these narrative afterthoughts in discussions of technical legal details), almost two-thirds of the chapter is taken up with a discussion of the taxes on various commodities.

These details have their place in a history of legal practice; they seem hardly appropriate to a military and political history.
CHAPTER 11. 66.

This consists of a brief and bald statement of the acceptance of Islam by Tabala and Jurash.

CHAPTER 12. 66 - 67.

This contains a simple account of the capitulation of five places, with the conditions imposed on them. The Prophet's letter, setting out these terms, to one of them, Maqma, is cited in full.

CHAPTER 13. 68 - 70.

No background at all is given to the accounts (there are 3, scattered throughout the chapter; one of the short later accounts agrees with the principal account with which the chapter opens, the other does not) of the submission of Dumat al-Jandal.

We have no idea, until we come to the third account, whether the inhabitants are Jews, Christians or pagans. The terms
imposed on Ukaydir, the chief, receive considerable attention, as does the subsequent career of this man. An episode, dating from some time after the capitulation, featuring the daughter of a prominent inhabitant, is related, as is the story of the establishing of the settlement.

CHAPTER 14. 70 - 75.

The submission of the people of Najran appears to be one of the first entirely voluntary submissions; it is claimed, at the end of the chapter, that, "the first among the People of the Book to pay poll-tax, so far as we know, were the people of Najran who were Christian."

The terms upon which they submitted are set out twice, once in the initial account, and once in the text of the statement by the Prophet to Najran. The story of the Prophet's besting two monks who came to him (for no stated purpose, as far as I can see) is presumably supplementary to the initial account, rather than an
alternative; indeed, it seems to have little relevance to the story, except insofar as it illustrates the ease with which the community could be induced to submit to Muslim hegemony. I am inclined to think, however, that it belongs rather to the genre of disputation literature, later produced in considerable quantity, for propaganda purposes, by both Muslims and Christians.

There follows an account of the expulsion of the people of Najrān by Ḥūṣayn b. ʿĀli, the reasons for this, their considerate treatment by ʿUthmān, and their requests for reinstatement, refused by both ʿUmar and ʿAlī. One version alleges, somewhat improbably, that they asked to be transported, on the grounds that their numbers had greatly increased and they were jealous of one another (بَيْنَاهُمَا غَاسِدًا).

It seems, incidentally, rather unfair to those inhabitants of Syria and Iraq who resided in the path of their exodus that they should have been instructed to clear land for the exiles to work on and occupy. The chapter concludes with a lengthy account of the changes in the tax assessment on them made by various caliphs.
On the voluntary submission of the Yemen and its acceptance of Islam, the Prophet sends governors to the various districts, just as he has to Jurash. We are not told anything about the reaction of the inhabitants to the imposition of rulers from outside their own community, nor is it clear how these governors exercised their authority, for example, what sanctions they could apply in the event of any disobedience.

The traditions reported by al-Baladhi are far from united on the subject of the identity of the governors appointed to the various districts. A good deal of the chapter is given over to the Prophet's letters to the Yemenis, to the Kings of Himyar (who appear to have surrendered their power without a murmur; at least, we are not told about it by al-Baladhi), and to his agents and collectors, which contain detailed instructions.

There are notes on a fief granted and on rights to some salt deposits that are refused, a paragraph on varying assessments on the Yemen under the Umayyads, details of
the taxes on a number of crops, a dispute concerning the
taxes that Dhimmis are subject to, and a discussion of
three tax cases.


Cūmān also submits voluntarily and accepts Islam. There
are two different dates given for the event; once again,
we see how uncertain the chronology of early Islam is. It
is interesting to note that the person delegated to super-
intend the process of Islamisation (in conjunction with
a governor) is said to be "one of those who compiled
the Qur'ān in the time of the Prophet"
(ولف احد من جمع القرآن على عبد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم).

The remainder of the chapter is devoted to the subsequent
history of Cūmān: its apostasy and re-submission, followed
by a peaceful existence until the time of al-Rashīd, when
they revolt against their governor, whose troops have been
guilty of various forms of anti-social behaviour, including
what appears to mean the making "public use of musical
instruments" (يظهرون المعازف).
There is also a letter from ʿUmar b. ʿAbd-al-ʿAzīz instructing the governor of Basra, who appears to be the overlord, for tax purposes, of the governor of Ṭabarzand, to return the taxes obtained by him from Ṭabarzand, to be used to relieve poverty there.

CHAPTER 17. 85–93.

Bahrayn appears to have been the first possession of an external power (in this case, the Persians) to be annexed by the Muslims. One would expect to hear of resistance on the part of the Persians to this move, but this is not mentioned, apart from the account at the end of the chapter of the holding out of some pockets of Persian-led opposition until the caliphate of ʿUmar.

Several versions of the Prophet's letter to the inhabitants are given; the gist is the same in each, but it is obviously dangerous to accept the text of such documents as given in the sources as authentic.

A certain amount of comment is occasioned by the acceptance
of the *jizya* from the Magians, who are not, strictly speaking, "People of the Book", this has occurred in the case of the Yemen as well. There is some dispute as to the duration of al-`Ala`' al-Hadrami's governorship, and al-Baladhuri volunteers one of his rare comments on the greater authenticity of a particular tradition.

Differing details are given concerning subsequent governors under `Umar, and there is clearly a degree of confusion about the whole matter.

There are also conflicting reports about the apostasy of some of the inhabitants, and at one point al-Baladhuri again offers an opinion as to the greater authenticity of one version.

The affairs of Bahrayn in general, however, seem not to have been particularly well documented.

CHAPTER 18. 94 - 100.

It seems as though the people of al-Yamama, including Musaylima,
responded to the Prophet's invitation to accept Islam as
more of a political than a religious submission; this, at
all events, is the impression given by Hawdha's request
for the reversion of the Prophet's authority after his
death. This of course is refused, as is Musaylima's claim
to co-prophethood.

The account given here of Khālid b. al-Walīd's expedition
against Musaylima is a reasonably full and coherent one,
and it seems clear that the battle was an extremely hard-fought
one, in which the Muslims came close to defeat; the decision
of the wavering Ansār to fight after all probably turned
the tide in the Muslims' favour.

The confusion was such that the identity of Musaylima's killer
was never established; this kind of uncertainty seems to
have been common in the battles of this period, and is no
doubt natural in a hand-to-hand mêlée.

The figure of Mujjān b. Murāra is a somewhat mysterious one.
He is at the beginning, given a fief by the Prophet, no-one
else being singled out in this way.
He alone is spared by Khālid from the band of the B. Ḥanīfa in which he is taken. He makes an odd, and to me incomprehensible reply to Khālid’s optimistic, and surely unlikely, assumption that the enemy have drawn their swords on one another: "No, these are Indian swords which they, for fear of being broken, hold up to the sun in order to render the blades flexible." He then makes favourable terms with the over-trusting Khālid by means of a ruse, and still nothing happens to him. We are later told that he is given fiefs by Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān. There appears to be no particular reason why he should be so favoured.

The chapter contains a long section giving the names of the most important of the Muslim dead; this is presumably of interest to many for reasons of family pride, just as the lists of casualties at Badr and Uhud must have been.

It concludes with a short passage on the Ḥadīqat al-Mawt and, as somewhat of an anti-climax, details of a certain spring. This chapter is rather better arranged than many, as far as maintaining some sort of cohesion is concerned, but it still leaves a good deal to be desired.
SOURCES OF THE HISTORIANS.
The following list contains all the names found in the *Iṣnād* quoted by the three authors in the sections of their works discussed in this thesis.

Nos. 327 - 709., are those that appear in Tabarî's citations but not in those of I.I.

Nos. 710 - 908., are those that appear in al-Baladhuri's citations but not in those of I.I. or Tabarî.

The sequences of numbers given in the summaries of the three authors refer to the numbers in this list. For example:

Tabarî. 1229, 7 - 1232. 5., has three sequences of numbers:
458 - 616 - 547 - 33 - 206 - 14.
160 - 638A - 14.
125 - 114 - 180 - 14.

These represent three separate *Iṣnāds*, as follows:


Kalbī, al. - Sāliḥ, Abī - ʿAbdullah b. ʿAbbās.

1. Abān b. Sālih.
2. Ajlah, al.
5. —— d. Shaqr.
6. —— d. ʿUmays.
7. Ayyūb b. ʿAbdullāh-ʿRahmān.
8A. ——, Abū.
9. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbdullāh b. al-Zubayr
10. ʿAbbās, al, b. ʿAbdullāh b. Maʿbad.
10A. —— b. ʿAbduʾl-Muttalib.
11. —— b. Sahīl.
12. ʿAbduʾl-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdullāh.
13. —— b. Muhammad.
14. ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAbbās.
15. —— b. ʿAbduʾl-ʿRahmān al-Makkī.
16. —— b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs.
17. —— b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs.
18. —— b. Damrā.
20. —— b. al-Fadl.
20A. ——, Ibn, b. Abī Hadrad.
21A. —— b. Abī Hadrad.
22. —— b. Hasan.
27. —— b. Khārija.
29. —— b. al-Mughaffal.
30. —— b. al-Mughīth.
31. —— b. Muhammad al-ʿAqīl.
32. —— b. Mukaddam.
32A. —— b. Maknaf.
33. —— b. Abī Najīh.
34.  `Abdullah b. Abī Qatāda.
35.  ______ b. Sahil (Abū Laylā).
35A.  ______ b. Abī Salama.
36.  ______ b. Abū Salīh.
37.  ______ b. Safwān.
38.  ______ b. Abū Talha.
39.  ______ b. Thaʿība.
40.  ______ b. Unays.
41.  ______ b. ʿUmar b. Khattāb.
42.  ______ b. ʿUtbah.
43.  ______ b. Zamaʿa.
44.  ______ b. al-Zubayr.
45.  ______ b. al-Zurayr.
46A.  ______ b. Abī Bakr.
47.  ______ b. Rashīd.
47A.  ______ b. al-Asbahānī.
48.  ______ b. ʿUbaydullāh.
49.  ______ b. ʿUmayr.
50.  ______ b. Yahyā.
52.  ______ b. ʿAmr.
53.  ______ b. ʿAūfa.
54.  ______ b. Bujayd.
55.  ______ b. al-Hārith.
56.  ______ b. Harmala al-Aslamī.
57.  ______ b. Jābir.
59.  ______ b. Abī Labība.
60.  ______ b. Mālik b. Juʿshum.
61.  ______ b. Qāsim.
62.  ______ b. ʿUsayla.
63.  ______ b. ʿUwaym.
64.  `Abduʿl-Wahīd b. Abī ʿAmr.
64A.  `Abduʿl-Wahīd b. ʿAun.
66.  ʿAʾishah b. ʿAbdullāh.
67.  ʿAʾishah d. Abī Bakr, wife of Prophet.
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108. Hishām b. ʿUrwa.
111. Habīb b. Abī Aus.
113. Hafsa d. ʿUmar.
114. Hakam, al, b. ʿUtayba.
117. ______ b. Jubayr.
118. Hamza b. ʿAbdullāh b. ʿUmar.
119. Hanash al-Sanʿānī.
120. Ḥārith, al, b. al-Fudayl.
121. ______ b. Hishām.
122. ______ b. Mālik.
123. Ḥasan, al, b. Abuʾl-Ḥasan.
124. ______ b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī.
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134. Ishaq, Abū al-Dausī.
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140. Ismaʿīl b. Abī Ḥakīm.
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164A. Kurayb, maulā.
166. Ma‘bad b. Ka‘b.
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220. Qasim, al, b. cAbdu'1-Rahmān.
221. — b. Muhammad.
222. Qatāda, Abū, Al-Ansārī.
223. — b. Dī'ama.
224. Qays b. Makhrama
225. Rabī c a b. cIbad.
226. Rāfi c, Abū, maulā.
227. Rashid, maulā.
228. Rubayh b. cAbdu'1-Rahmān.
230. Sa c'd b. Ibrāhīm.
232A. Sa'im, al, Abū, maulā
233. Sa c'd b. cAbdu'1-Rahmān.
234. — b. Abī cArūba.
235. —— Abū Hind.
236. —— b. Jubayr.
237. ——, Abū, al-Khudrī.
238. —— b. Mīna Sa c'd.
239. —— b. al-Musayyib.
240. —— b. Abī Sa c'd al-Maqburī.
242. —— b. cUbayd.
244. Salama, Abū, b. cAbdu'1-Rahmān.
245. —— b. cAmr, b. al-Akwa'c.
247. Sālim, maulā.
248. ____ b. 'Abdullah.
249. ____Abū al-Nadr.
252. Shābī, al.
254. Shu'ba b. al-Hajjāj.
255. Shurayh, Abū, al-Khuza'ī.
256. Sinān b. Abī Sinān.
257. Sufyān, Abū, maulā.
258. ____ b. Farwa.
259. ____ b. Harb.
260. ____ b. 'Uyayna.
262. ____ b. Mūsā.
263. ____ b. Suhaym.
264. ____ b. Wādān.
265. ____ b. Yasār.
265A. Salīm al-Fārsī.
266A. Suwayd b. 'Abdu'l-Asīz.
269. ____ d. Shayba.
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277. Umayya b. 'Abdullāh.
277A. ____ b. Khālid.
278. ____ b. Abī al-Ṣalt.
279. Umm 'Abdullāh d. Abī Hathma.
280. Umm Ḥanī
281. Isa of Khuzā'īa.
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284. Salama.
286. Ubāda b. al-Samīt.
287. b. al-Walīd.
291A. ______ b. ______ b. Thaur.
292. ______ b. al-Mughīra.
294. ______ b. al-Hakam.
296. ______ b. Mus'ab.
296A. ______ b. Musā.
297. Urwa b. al-Zubayr.
298. Utba b. Muslim.
299. Uthmān b. Abī al-As.
300. ______ b. Abdūl-Rahmān.
301. ______ b. Abī Sulaymān.
303. ______ b. Munabbih.
303A. Waki', Ibn.
304. Waki'.
304A. Walīd b. Ubāda.
305. Wāqid, Abū al-Laythī.
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308A. ______ b. Abdūl-Rahmān.
309. ______ b. Urwa.
312. ______ b. Abī Ḥabīb.
314. ______ b. Rūmān.
315. ______ b. Talha.
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318. ʿUmmūs b. ʿUbayd.
318A. Zāmal b. ʿAmr.
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319A. Zayd b. al-Ḥārith.
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329. Ahmad b. Abī Tayba.
329A. ______.
330. ______ b. ʿAbduʾl-Rahmān.
331. ______ b. Al-Maqdān.
332. ______ b. Abū al-Zubayrī.
333. ______ b. al-Mafaddal.
334. ______ b. Hammād.
335. ______ b. Ishāq.
336. ______ b. Mansūr.
337. ______ b. Thābit.
338. ______ b. ʿUthmān.
339. Asbāṭ.
340. Ashʿath, al.
341. Ashjaʿī, al.
342A. ______, al.
343. ______, al, b. Yazīd.
343A. Aswad, al, Abu
344. Arqam, al, b. Shurahbîl.
345. Auza'i, al.
346. Ayās b. Salama b. al-Akwa'.
346A. Ayād b. Lqīt.
348. ______, Ibn.
348A. Amāma, Abī, al-Dāhalī.
349. Amāsh, al.
351. _____ b. Mansūr.
352. ______ b. Rashīd.
353. ______ b. Abbād.
355. ______ b. al-Walīd.
356. Abdu'l-A'lā, Ibn.
357. Abdu'l-Azīz b. Abī Hāzam.
358. ______ b. Abān.
358A. _____ b. Siyāh.
360. ______ b. Binān.
361. ______ b. Abī Abs.
361A. Abdullāh b. Abī Aufay.
362. ______ ,
364. ______ b. Adrīs.
365. ________ b. Amr b. Auf
366. ________ b. Amīr.
366A. ________ b. Bushr.
367. ________ b. Buraydā.
368. ________ b. Ḥabīb.
368A. ________ b. Hunayn.
369. ________ b. Imrān.
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370A. ________ b. al-Mubārik.
371. ________ b. Muhammad.
371A. ________ b. Nāfī'.
372. ________ b. Qusayt.
373. cAbdullah b. Sa'id.
374. _______ b. CUrwa.
375. _______ b. Wahab.
376. _______ b. Ziyad.
377. cAbdu'l-Majid b. Suhayl.
378. cAbdu'l-Rahman.
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378B. _______ b. al-Aswad.
379. _______ b. Abi al-Dahhak.
380. _______ b. al-Mas'udi.
381. _______ b. Mahdi.
382. _______ b. Muhammad.
383. _______ b. Abi al-Zinnad.
384. _______ b. Sharik.
385. _______ b. al-Walid.
386. cAbdu'l-Razzaq b. Hammam.
387. _______.
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390. cAbdu'l-Wahhab al-Thaqafi.
391. cAbdu'l-Wahid b. Hamza.
392. cAbdu'l-Warith b. cAbdu'l-Samad.
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393. cAdi b. Hatim.
393A. Adam.
394. cAla', al b. Kathir.
395. cAlqama b. Qays.
395A. ______.
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397. ______ b. Mujahid.
398. ______ b. Muslim.
399. ______ b. Nasr.
400. ______ b. Sahl.
401. ______ b. Zayd.
402. cAmara d. Zadhan.
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403. āmīr, ābū al-āqādī.
403A. ________.
404. āmīr b. āhārīth.
404A. ________.
405. ______ b. āli.
405A. ______ b. āsid.
406. ______ b. āmmād.
407. ______ b. āsim.
408. ______ b. murra.
409. ______ b. mūsā.
410. ______ b. umayya.
411. ______ b. uthmān.
412. ______ b. yūnus.
412A. āmmī.
413. ānbasā.
414. āsim, ābū.
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416. āttāb b. ziyād.
417. āun b. ubahdullāh.
417A. ______, ibn, ābū.
418. āuf.
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421. babarra d. masūd.
422. bakr, ābū b. ʿabdullāh b. ābī sabra.
423. ________ b. ________ b. ābī mulayka.
424. ________ b. ʿayyāsh.
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425. ______ b. sawāda.
426. barāʾ, al.
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428. ______ b. muʿadh.
429. ______ b. sufīyān.
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431. bashshār, ibn.
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433A. b. cAbdullah.
434. Abū Tayālasī.
437. b. Makhlad.
438. b. Humra.
439. Darāwardī, al.
441. Dhī'b, Abī, Ibn.
442. Fadal, al, b. cAbbas.
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443. Furāt b. Salmaan.
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448A. Hishām.
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450. Abū, al-Rafa'i.
452. Hushaym.
453. Habān b. cAlī.
455. Hadramī, al, b. cAmir.
456. Hajjāj, al, b. al-Minhāl.
456A. al.
457A. al.
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462. b. Zayd.
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469. ______, al, b. ʿAlī.
470. ______, al, b. ʿAmr.
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482. ______ b. Saʿīd.
483. ______ b. Yusuf.
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494. ʿĪsā b. ʿUthmān.
495. Jābir b. Samara.
496. ______ b. al-Kurdi.
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501. _____ b. Āun.
502. _____ b. Āmr.
503. _____ b. Mahmūd.
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513. _____ b. Ḥayyān.
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515. _____ b. Sumayr.
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518. Lahī′a.
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519. Layth, al, b. Saʿd.
520. Maʿn b. ʿIsā.
522. Maḥbūb b. al-Ḥasan.
523. Majālīd.
524. Maḥjīd al-Asdī.
525. Maḥīk, Abū, al-Janabī
denotes a version of his name.
526. _____ b. Mīghwāl.
526A. _____ , Abū, al-Ashta′a.
527. Maʿmar.
528. Mansūr.
529. Marwān b. Abī Sa`īd.
530. Mas`ab b. al-Miqdām.
531. ______ b. Thābit.
532. Maymūn Abū CAbdullāh.
533. ______ b. Mīrān.
534. Maṣhar, Abu.
534A. Mubāshshīr, Abu.
535. Mu`amar.
536. Mu`awiya, Abu.
537. ______ b. CAbdullāh.
539. ______ b. Mu`adh.
540. ______ b. Muhammad.
541. Muhammad b. CAbdu'l-A`lā.
541A. ______ b. Bashar.
542. ______ b. Bashshār.
542A. ______ b. al-Fadāl.
543. ______ b. CAmr.
544. ______ b. Hilāl.
545. ______ b. al-Husayn.
545A. ______ b. CAli b. al-Hasan.
546. ______ b. Ibrāhīm.
547. ______ b. Ishāq.
548. ______ b. Ismā`Il.
548A. ______ b. Khālid.
549. ______ b. Khalaf.
549A. ______ b. Hamīd.
551. ______ b. Mu`amar.
552. ______ b. Mansūr.
553. ______ b. Marzuq.
554. ______ b. al-Mathāmā.
555. ______ b. al-Munkadar.
556. ______ b. Musalama.
557. ______ b. Muslim.
558. ______, Abū al-Qarshī.
559. ______ b. Sa`d.
560. ______ b. Salāma.
562. ——— b. Sīrīn.
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563. ——— b. Thaur.
564. ——— b. Qubayyid.
565. ——— b. Qubaydullāh.
566. ——— b. Qūmar.
566A. ——— b. Qūmar b. al-Sabbaḥ.
567. ——— b. Qumara.
569. ——— b. Quthmān.
570. ——— b. al-Walīd.
571. ——— b. Yahyā.
572. ——— b. Yazīd.
574. Mujahīd b. Musā.
574A. ———.
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576. Mukhāriq, al.
577A. Murtajīz, al.
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579. ——— b. Ābī Qā'isha.
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582A. ——— b. Qūmar.
583A. Musā b. Sarjis.
584. Musiyyab, al, b. Muslim.
584A. ———, Ibn.
585. Muslim b. Ja'far.
587. Mu'tamar, al, b. Sulaymān.
587A. Mutarraf.
538A. Muthannä, al, Ibn.
539. Mu’wammal.
541. Nabhän maułów.
543. Na’īm, Abū.
548. Qays b. Sa‘d.
549. Qāsim, al, b. ‘Abdullah.
551. Qāsim, al, b. Muhammad.
552. Qāsim, al, b. Yazīd.
553. Qādīa.
554. Qatayba b. Sa‘d.
555. Qatayba b. Abū.
556. Qurra b. Khalid.
559. Rauh b. ‘Ubāda.
560. Rimthā, Abū.
562. Sa‘d, Ibn.
565. Sa‘d b. Sa‘d.
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569. Sa‘d b. Yahyā.
570. Salama.
571. Salama.
572. Salama.
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578. Salama.
579. Salama.
618. Salama b. al-Fadal.
622. Sawār, al, Abū.
623. Sayf b. Ābū ’l-Qāzīz.
624. _____ b. Āumar.
625. Sharīk.
626. Shāyban b. Sa’d.
627. Shu‘ayb b. Ibrāhīm.
628. _____ b. al-Layth.
629. Shu‘ba.
630. Sināk al-Hanāfī.
631. Suddi, al.
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632. _____ b. Wakiṭī.
632A. _____ al-Thaurī.
633A. _____ al-Aḥaul.
634. _____ b. Abī Muslim.
635. _____ b. Āumar.
636. _____ b. al-Yashkuri.
637. Sālih, Abū al-Darāfī.
638. _____ b. Sammāl.
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906. Zayd b. al-Habāb
907. Ziyād b. Abdullāh
908. Ziyād al-Bakkā'ī
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Tabari quotes approximately 25 pages from I.I. that are not included in our present text, as follows:

1341. 1 - 7. ; 1341. 8 - 15. ; 1341. 9 - 1345. 6.;
1437. 12 - 1441. 11. ; 1560. 3 - 1575. 5. ;
1683. 3 - 12. ; 1809. 17 - 1810. 1.

The total amount of I.I.'s text quoted by Tabari (including the 25 pages above) is some 418 pages, i.e. approximately two-thirds of his complete account.
Table 3. Al-Baladhuri.

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CONCLUSION
It is perhaps unnecessary to repeat the observation that the historians here considered can be assessed only in their capacity as containers of the material that they hold. They do not, in general, make any comment on this material; they merely present it as it was given to them. It would be possible to make a more valuable assessment of them as historians if we were able to assess their competence in selecting the material that they chose thus to present - if, that is, we knew something about the whole of the available fund of material from which they made their selection. Unfortunately, we know almost nothing about this, particularly in the case of I.I.; in the case of Tabarî and al-Baladhuri, we know a little more, but we are still reduced, in the main, to speculation. We can, nevertheless, form a general impression of each of the three, for their histories do present a rather different appearance. This difference is due both to the different use that each makes of the material selected and to the intentions, expressed or implicit, of each.

I.BN ISHAQ.

I.I. does not tell us what his purpose is in writing his history, but it is clear, from the fact that he recounts only one version of any event, that he is concerned principally to
tell a story. From this point of view we may make some kind of judgement concerning him as a selector of material—
not as clear a judgement as we might like, for the reason given above, but we can, I believe, say something about him from the slant that the material that he selects gives to the general pattern of his story.

As one might expect of the earliest biographer of the Prophet, he is principally a hagiographer and propagandist; he devotes a great deal of space to the explanation of the circumstances in which Qur'ānic revelations were made; he is credulous to degree concerning the supernatural, which intervenes more frequently in the accounts he selects than in those selected by the other two historians (one might almost say that he advances a supernatural explanation whenever he can), his lists of the dead of Uhud, and other campaigns, are most detailed, and constitute a martyrology that is not paralleled in the others. He is clearly desirous of presenting an ideal account of the Prophet and the Companions, and by extension of the early Muslim community as a whole (he himself is supposed to be of Ansārī stock). Many of his accounts, however, contain material that is hardly complimentary to the Muslims—for example, the numerous mentions of their indiscipline and disaffection—and some of the episodes in which
the Prophet himself is involved are not exactly adulatory, at any rate, by implication.

As a story-teller he has limitations; obviously the question of the availability of alternative accounts arises here, but it seems to me that he does not always select the most coherent, or the most plausible, account of an event, for example, his version of the Hijra itself, much of his narrative concerning Uhud, the expedition against the B. al-Nadîr and the attempt on the Prophet's life, and the account of Zayd b. Hâritha's expedition against Judham. There is no sign that he edited the accounts that he selected for the purpose of improving his story. Indeed, it might be said that he was a careless compiler; since there are a number of instances of the repetition of an incident, sometimes in different words, but sometimes almost verbatim; examples of this are to be found at 356. 9 - 11 and 579. 16-17, 361. 10-16 and 899. 19 - 900. 5, 361. 18 - 362. 3 and 727. 12 - 15, 564. 1-6 and 565. 6-14.

He does little to bring the accounts into proper proportion to one another, to mitigate the considerable tedium of some of them, or to eliminate irrelevant or uninteresting trivia, such as the disposal of the hens and domestic animals of Khaybar (767. 7-9) and Ja'far b. Abî Talib's being the first to hamstring his horse in Islam (794. 12 - 13).
Guillaume, in his introduction, comments several times on I.I.'s Shi'a tendency (xxii - xxiv, xxxiv - xxxv); this is certainly evident in episodes such as cAlI's feat of strength in substituting a door for his shield at Khaybar (762. 5-11), which does not appear in our other two writers. It is strange, however, given this tendency, which admittedly, is not obtrusive, that I.I. does not include the story of cAlI's single combat at Uhud (Tabarī. 1395. 17 - 1397. 3) or that of his killing the standard-bearer of the Quraysh (Tabarī. 1402. 3 - 13).

It is possible, I believe, to detect from time to time in some of the accounts selected by I.I. expressions that seem to derive more from a popular heroic version of a story, even perhaps a poetic version, than from a matter-of-fact sober tradition. The most obvious is the severing of someone's "foot and half his shank" (442. 19 - 20, 451. 1, 846. 19). This clearly is a stock expression, of the kind that one might well expect to find in an heroic/epic poem. I wonder if other expressions that are rather conspicuous in their contexts may fall into the same category, for instance "their swords clashed over him with no effect" (552. 10), "with their joints dislocated" (842. 3 - 6), and "he would take his mail and throw it on his neck" (846. 3 - 14). It is just possible, it seems to me, that we may have to do here with
reminiscences of some kind of heroic / epic verse, now of course lost, but surely having existed at an early stage in the development of Arabic poetry. I do not wish to imply that verse of this kind was still being composed at the time of the Prophet, only that some memory of it survived and that echoes of it might still find their way into the narrative of heroic events. It strikes me also that episodes such as a club's miraculously being transformed into a sword (452. 10 - 16) and 'Ali's defending himself with a door that could not be lifted by eight men are such as belong to the epic tradition.

As has been mentioned in the introduction, one of the most noticeable traits in the accounts of events presented by the early historians is the lack of explanatory matter; a narrative will typically consist of a series of actions and passages of direct speech, which the reader has to interpret for himself, being given no clues as to the motivation of the persons involved other than the initial situation, which itself is frequently unexplained. This is generally true of I.I.'s accounts, and the reader is left with a sense of inconsequentiality that is not lessened by the disproportion in the space allotted to some of the episodes or by the digressions that are frequently allowed to interrupt the flow of the narrative. This sense of inconsequentiality is also
fostered by the alternation of accounts that appear to be intrinsically realistic (or, at any rate, artistically satisfactory, which is not, of course, the same thing) with those that contain touches of almost infantile absurdity. One is bound to be more conscious of this in a work that offers only one account of any episode; while it is probably true, as Guillaume asserts (introduction, xxiv), that I.I.'s history is largely honest, truthful and impartial, it is often difficult to approach it with a mind unsullied by even the mildest scepticism.

Tabari

Tabari is, of course, well-known for his technique of presenting the reader with every available version of any episode, without comment, and leaving him to decide which is the one he prefers. It is true that his history does have the appearance of being the transcription of a research-worker's file of sources rather than a considered, completed work, but, as has been suggested in the commentary, this is at least partly the result of the lack, in his day, of a system whereby some material might be relegated to footnotes or appendices, rather than appearing in the body of the text. On the other hand, Tabari does state in his introduction to his history (I, 6-7)
that he is concerned only to transmit accounts as they have been transmitted to him, without any conclusions that have been arrived at by the exercise of thought, so it is possible that, even had he been able to do so, he would have found it difficult, or embarrassing, to subordinate some of his material to the rest.

It is clear, however, that he does exercise some degree of selection. He had available the work of I. I., in a different recension, as well as in that of I. H., and it is not surprising that, of the section of his history dealt with here, approximately two-thirds derives from I. I. Nevertheless, he omits several of I. I.'s accounts, where one might expect him to include them, as for example, in the story of the Hijra, the reporting of the Prophet's first Khutba after the Hijra, and the episode of the expedition against the B. Qurayza. He seems, too, not to be particularly interested in lists of martyrs or Qur'anic exegesis (this latter he has, after all, treated separately). He is, however, greatly concerned with details such as dates, which I. I. is not. He inserts long series of alternative statements concerning these, offering no opinion himself, but giving the impression that he finds al-Waqidi's chronology the most acceptable. It is somewhat unexpected to find in Tabari other details that are not found in I. I., some of them of considerable importance, such as a mention of the first Jum'a to be celebrated in Medina after the Hijra, and an account of celebration of the first 'Id al-Adha.
It is, of course, precisely because he gives multiple accounts of many episodes that Tabari is so highly regarded, not as an historian so much as a source book. By failing to indicate his own preference for a particular version, he really resigns his claim to be what we should think of as an historian, but his compilation gives us a valuable, if somewhat daunting, view of the foundations on which the history of this period rests. Of the broad outlines, such as Tabari gives in the brief introductions that he often provides for the various accounts of each episode, there is no doubt, and sometimes there is considerable agreement concerning details, as in the different versions of events at Bi‘r Ma‘una (1441.16 – 1447.14). Equally often, however, there is disagreement, or even confusion, concerning these details. The episodes of the capture of the water-carriers and of al-Abbās (1286.5 – 1290.18) are difficult to untangle, as is that of the removal of the corpse of Khubayb (1436.5 – 1437.1, and see Guillaume’s Introduction, xlii); when we come to the story of the assassination of Sallām b. Abī ’l-Huqayq Abū Rāfī (1375.8 – 1383.11), it is impossible, as is indicated in the discussion in the Commentary, to say if any version is authentic, or indeed if any version represents a separate tradition, unadulterated by the others. If the longer and even more circumstantial version given by al-Wāqidī is compared (see appendix to Conclusion), it will be readily apparent that there was no hope, even in the third century A.H., of reconstituting an accurate account of this episode.
It may well have been this kind of problem that determined Tabari's attitude to his material. No matter how determined an historian may be disinterestedly to establish the truth, he is helpless when faced with sources as intractable as these. His disclaimer is a prudent one for anyone concerned with the history of a sensitive period; to write a more or less connected narrative, like I.I., may invite criticism that one has failed to take account of alternative versions; to exhibit the alternatives and then to be seen to take a deliberate decision on each occasion as to their relative truthfulness is simply foolhardy.

AL-BALĀDHURI.

The treatment given to this period in al-Balādhurī's work is somewhat mysterious. He makes no statement of his intentions concerning it, he omits all mention of many important events, and deals with others in only the most perfunctory manner. It is almost as though he considered his early chapters to be no more than brief notes on matters that were generally well known and adequately covered elsewhere. Even when he deals with events that might be considered more immediately relevant to the professed theme of his book, the first conquests by the Muslims, his accounts are extremely brief, and, where he gives alternative
accounts, these are frequently only confirmatory of his initial account, or differ from it merely in the details of the terms imposed. When his history comes to the point at which the conquests of territories outside the peninsula begin, his accounts become fuller, but they are still interspersed with notes on the matters that have absorbed his interest in the earlier chapters.

It is, I think, apparent that al-Baladhuri is basically a Faqīh and that what chiefly interests him is legal material. It would be difficult otherwise to explain why he should pay so much attention to the details of fiefs, the distribution of conquered lands, the assessment of taxes, the status of the Harame, rights of irrigation, and other such matters. He also, in many cases, pursues his investigation of these into later history, sometimes up to his own time, at the expense of the sequence of events with which he is ostensibly concerned. It is understandable, and legitimate, that he should be interested in these things. What is difficult to understand is his reason for combining with them brief snatches of historical narrative, sometimes of the most anecdotal and apocryphal kind, and also discussions such as that in Chapter 1 concerning the identity of a particular mosque.

In fact, the curious nature of the contents of these early chapters, and the confused manner in which the various topics are intermingled, raise the question as to whether the first part of
Futūḥ al-Buldān is actually finished. There is no suggestion elsewhere that it is not, and, indeed, the form in which we have the work is allegedly a shortened version of a longer work. If this is so, it would seem that the abbreviation was carried out in an extraordinarily haphazard fashion. Why, for instance, should the fairly lengthy martyrology of al-Yamāma be included? Is it merely that it is not to be found elsewhere, and that it was still of sufficient interest to the descendants of those involved to be considered an important record? Why should there be no comparable list of the dead at, say, Tā'if?

Of the three historians considered here, al-Balādḥurī is the least impressive. No doubt, the historical information that he gives is accurately reported, so far as can be assessed, and no doubt the other matters with which he deals are important from various points of view. His account of the wider conquests is fundamental. However, the way in which he presents his material, the baldness of his narratives, the lack of a sense of proportion that he exhibits, and the general untidiness of his mind, all contribute to make his work singularly unattractive.
Al-Wāqidī's version of the assassination of Sallām b. Abī 'l-Huqayq Abū Rāfiᶜ (I, 391-5).

This version is also given as deriving from ābūdullah b. Unays, by a different route.

The five named assassins make contact with ābūdullah b. ātīk's Jewish foster-mother, who lives at Khaybar. They enter with a crowd of the inhabitants, as she advises them. She then tells them that the Jews do not lock their doors at night, for fear that someone seeking hospitality may be kept out, and she advises them to seek admittance by claiming to have brought a present for Abū Rāfiᶜ. (If the doors are unlocked, why can they not simply burst in?) They proceed to lock all the doors in Khaybar from outside (the population is given as 4000 fighting men).

They ascend the steps to Abū Rāfiᶜ's house, and Ibn ātīk acts as spokesman, because he can speak the language (al-Yahūdiyya - Aramaic? surely not Hebrew, at this date?).

Abū Rāfiᶜ's wife opens to them, and they crowd in, in their eagerness to reach Abū Rāfiᶜ first.
The wife is about to cry out, but Ibn Unays draws his sword on her, and threatens her into telling them where Abū Rāfi' is. They all go in and see Abū Rāfi' as if he were "a piece of cotton cloth lying there" (طَيِّبَةٌ مَلاْظَأ). They leap on him with their swords. His wife cries out, they make to go out after her, but remember the Prophet's prohibition against killing women and children, and desist. They find the ceiling too low to swing their swords effectively.

Ibn Unays is night-blind, but can see Abū Rāfi', "as though he were a moon"; he presses his sword into his belly until he hears the noise of it against the bed, whereupon he knows that he is dead. The rest hit Abū Rāfi' with their swords. They leave.

Abū Qatāda forgets his bow and returns to fetch it. He dislocates his leg and has to be carried by the others. The wife has been shouting all this while, and Abū Rāfi' s household now join in.

The people of Khaybar take a long time to open their doors, and the raiding-party take the opportunity to hide in a water-channel. Al-Hārith Abū Zaynab arrives, with a crowd of people, and is told
that the assassins have left; he makes up a search-party of 3000, with palm torches. In their search they come close to the channel but do not find the fugitives. Al-Hārith returns to Abū Rāfī's wife and inquires if she has recognised anyone; she claims to have heard Ibn Ātīk's voice: "If he is in our territory, he was with them". The search is resumed.

The assassins decide that someone should go to see if Abū Rāfī is indeed dead (this seems unnecessary, in view of Ibn Unays's earlier statement) and al-Aswad b. Khuzā'ī procures a torch (from where?) and mingles with the crowd, who are returning to Abū Rāfī's house. His wife inspects the body and pronounces him dead, but al-Aswad goes into the house again to confirm this. The Jews begin to keen, and go to fetch the bier. Al-Aswad rejoins his companions with the news. They remain in the channel for two days, until the hunt has died down, whereupon they return to Medina, all claiming to be the actual killer of Abū Rāfī. They report to the Prophet, who decides the dispute by inspecting their swords, with the result given in Ibn Ishaq's account.

The reason for the assassination is given: Abū Rāfī paid Ghaṭafān and others to fight against the Prophet.
A second, abbreviated, version of part of the story follows, deriving this time from Khārija, daughter of Ibn Unays.

The assassins dispute as to who shall kill Abū Rāfī. They draw lots with gambling-arrows, and Ibn Unays wins. He is night-blind and asks his companions where Abū Rāfī is; they tell him that he will see his whiteness "like that of the moon".

Ibn Unays advances into Abū Rāfī's room, while the rest stay outside with his wife, having drawn their swords to stop her crying out. Ibn Unays enters and strikes at Abū Rāfī, but his sword rebounds from the low ceiling. Accordingly he presses his sword into him (Abū Rāfī is described as full of wine) until he hears the noise of the sword on the bed.

Most of the familiar elements are again present in the longer version of the story: locking doors, steps up to Abū Rāfī's house, asking for admittance, threatening Abū Rāfī's wife, Abū Rāfī's whiteness, the wife's crying out, the Prophet's prohibition, failure to kill Abū Rāfī at the first attempt, poor sight, running Abū Rāfī through, the forgotten bow, the injured leg, the carrying of the injured man, the water-channel, mingling with the crowd, the wife's recognition of
Ibn Qatā'ī's voice. Nevertheless, the story is different again from the other versions, in several respects:

The choice of Ibn Qatā'ī as leader is explained by his local knowledge and contact, as is the fact that his voice is recognised; a different person leaves behind his bow and consequently injures his leg (these actions are divided between two persons in Version 3); a different person mingles with the crowd; a different story is told in order to gain admission in the first place.

There are differences again in the fragmentary alternative version.

It is difficult to decide between the long version given here and Version 3 from Tabari on the grounds of plausibility. Neither is completely satisfactory, although both have extremely convincing circumstantial details; probably neither is the original.

The existence of these two additional versions only serves to emphasise the difficulty of relying on the anecdotal material that constitutes so much of what passes for history in this early period.
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