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T R A N S L A T I O N

OF

THE BIOGRAPHY OF MUHAMMAD

BY

IBN HISHAM

OMITTING THE LONGER POEMS THE GENEALOGIES

AND OTHER LISTS OF NAMES

THESIS PRESENTED BY REV. A. GUTHRIE? B.A.,

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P R E F A C E.

Both Christianity and Islam have suffered much at the hands of their would-be defenders. In either case apologists have tried to make their faith secure for all time by buttressing it with vast theological outworks. Consequently we find, particularly in Islam, that while the work done in the field of speculative theology and philosophy is of stupendous proportions, very little has been attempted in the field of historical research. This defect will probably be remedied in time, but for the most part, Islamic theology has tended to emphasise the message of the Prophet rather than his personality. The modern tendency is to explain religions not by studying their massive theological accretions, though such study fulfils a useful function, but by tracing their historical developments. If the West is ever going to understand the Muslim, account must be taken of the historical process that has made him what he is. This process reaches back behind the era of the Prophet of course, so that we cannot take him as the absolute starting-point for the faith of Islam. It grew out of conditions long antecedent to him, but without an understanding insight into his life and times we shall be unable to assess the real significance of the movement he brought into being. This insight into the character of the Founder of Islam we find in those portions of Ibn Ishāq's biography still extant.

In translating the Qur'ānic quotations in the Sīra I have, in the main, followed the renderings of the late Dr Richard Bell. In the Isnāds I have tried to avoid endless repetition of the phrase 'on the authority of' by substituting 'from' in all cases after the first occurrence of the phrase.

I N T R O D U C T I O N .

The era of the Companions passed away without the Muslims making any serious attempt to commit to writing the numerous Traditions regarding the life and sayings of the Prophet which must even then have been in current use. This may have been due to two reasons, the first of which is that the Prophet himself is supposed to have said:-

Write nothing about me; if anyone writes about me anything other than the Qur'ān, let him erase it; you may without offence relate Traditions about me, but whoever relates of me that which^{is} not true on purpose, his lodging-place shall be the Fire.¹

That this had its effect in hindering the Companions from repeating Traditions, much less writing them, is shown by a saying of 'Uthmān "Nothing hinders me from repeating traditions of the Prophet's sayings although I am one of those endowed with the most retentive memory amongst all his Companions but that I have heard him say:

'Whoever shall repeat of me that which I have not said, his resting-place shall be in Hell'. At the same time he issued a command that only traditions which were known in the time of Abū Bakr and 'Umar should be related, in an attempt to check spurious traditions propagated by his opponents.²

The second reason was that the Companions were afraid that anything they wrote might be added to the Qur'ān, which, presumably, was still in a state of considerable fluidity. It was during the first century nevertheless that Tradition grew up and assumed permanent shape and towards its close all surviving traditions began to be sought out and put on record. It was an age when men spent the greater part of their lives collecting Traditions from all over the Muslim world which were afterwards committed to writing.

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1. Muslim, as Sahih ii: 393.
2. Muir Intröd. p. xxxvi: note.

Apparently the first to consider seriously the idea of committing the mass of Tradition to writing was the Khalifah 'Umar bin 'Abd al-'Azīz bin Marwān who succeeded to the high office in the year ninety-nine A.H. He realised that many of the men who passed on the Traditions were dying out and leaving behind them no permanent record of the knowledge they had been at such pains to acquire, and he feared that if matters were allowed to rest thus many of the Traditions would be lost or seriously mutilated in transmission. He also realised that the argument of the Companions against recording Tradition was no longer valid, namely the fear that what they wrote would come to possess Qur'ānic authority, since the Qur'ān was now in a permanent form. One of the men whom 'Umar called to his aid for this work was Muhammad bin Shihāb az-Zuhri, who was commanded to record the Traditions connected with Muhammad. It has been stated that both he and his master 'Urwah composed regular biographies of the Prophet but the grounds for this are uncertain. But there is no doubt that he did make separate collections of the Traditions bearing on the Prophet's life, especially those relating to his military career, which, more than anything else, would seize the imagination of the unsophisticated Muslim living in the early part of the second century A.H. There is nothing of az-Zuhri extant in independent form but he is largely quoted by subsequent biographers, and probably their account of Muhammad's military operations is in great part the reproduction of materials collected by him. Muir says of him: "He lived at the court of the Umayyad Khalifahs, and there is every reason to believe that his accounts are as unbiassed as could be expected from any Muslim author". (Introd. p. lxxvi).

In the work of the early redactors it is possible to trace a certain process of development. At first they simply recorded everything they could find without reference to subject matter, form, or chronology. There was no arrangement of the materials and in the early books of Traditions there would in all probability be an account of the main facts of the life of the Prophet as part of the wider circle of Tradition. The arrangement of the materials

which came later, consisted mainly in gathering together all the traditions which seemed to refer to the same subject into one section. One of these sections bearing the title "The Wars and the Life" contained the biographical material handed down in connection with the Prophet. Then came the time when this section was considered of sufficient importance to form the subject of a separate volume, which included notices of pre-Islamic events, institutions, and personages as a background against which the life of the Prophet was painted. Some of these authors, indeed, in order to explain his significance felt bound to begin with the Creation of the world.

Besides 'Urwah and az-Zuhri two other authors are mentioned as having written biographies of Muhammad early in the second century, Musa bin 'Uqbah, and Ma'mar bin Rashid. The only knowledge we have of these early collators of Tradition is that their works are referred to, and sometimes quoted by later authors such as al-Waqidi, Ibn Sa'd and at-Tabari. Musa is said to have died in the year 141 and Ma'mar in 150 or 153 so that both were contemporaries of Ibn Ishaq.

There can be little doubt that Ibn Ishaq's work was somewhat longer than its recension by Ibn Hisham. There is reason to believe that the original work began with notices of historical events prior to Ishmael. All this is omitted together with the details of the descendants of Ishmael who were not connected with the Prophet. In his introductory note he says he has omitted everything which had no bearing on the life of the Prophet, and also passages which add nothing to the understanding of the Qur'an. He has also omitted those poems which no student of poetry recognises (though he has also included much of this kind), matter which would distress certain people, and reports which al-Bakka'i told him were untrustworthy. He would seem to be verbally correct in his quotations from Ibn Ishaq because he often gives his version only to correct it. It is somewhat surprising that he found it necessary to explain so many of the words used by Ibn Ishaq. Was it perhaps due to Abbasid

influence and environment that the pure Arab prose style of Ibn Ishāq was no longer understood, and the original meaning of words lost?

Ibn Ishāq:

Muhammad bin Ishāq is the earliest biographer whose work is extant more or less in its original state. He was born in Medina about 85 A.H. His grandfather Yasār was one of several captives brought to the city by Khālīd bin al-Walīd after a victorious campaign in Iraq in 12 A.H. Here he grew up, and, it is said, associated with the learned men of the day like Ibn Shihāb az-Zuhri. In the year 115 we find him in Alexandria where, it seems, he continued his study of Tradition.

According to one account he had already begun his biography of the Prophet and after his stay in Alexandria he returned to Medina and finished it there. Here he had a quarrel with Malik bin Anas, and went to Iraq in 132, the year that saw the downfall of the Umayyad Kingdom of Damascus. There he presented a copy of his work to the Khalifah al-Mansūr.¹

The second account says that after his stay in Alexandria he continued his travels in the course of which he visited famous centres like al-Hira and al-Kūfah. After this he went to Iraq where he was quite happy to settle and where he composed the Sira for the son of the Khalifah al-Mansūr. The story is as follows:- "Muhammad bin Ishāq went in to al-Mansūr when his son the Mahdi was with him, and he said to him: 'Do you know this (young man) O Ibn Ishāq?'. He said: 'Yes, this is the son of the Commander of the believers'. He said: 'Go and compose for him a book starting with Allah's creation of Adam down to our day'. So he went and composed for him the book. He said: 'You have made it long, O Ibn Ishāq', Go and shorten it'. So he went and shortened it'. So it was that shortened version, and the longer book was thrown into the treasure chest of the Commander of the believers"².

1. Guillaume, 'Islamic Literature', March 1950, p. 23.

2. al-Khatīb of Baghdad quoted by Muhammad Muhyiddin 'Abd al-Hamid introd. p. 22.

If Ibn Ishāq, as seems more likely, wrote his work in Medina and afterwards presented it to the Abbasid Khalifah, it is quite probable that he revised it, removing or modifying narratives which were not to the credit of 'Abbās, the Prophet's uncle, and portraying in darker colours the misdeeds of Abū Sufyān, ancestor of the Umayyad dynasty. If it could be shown that he did revise his work it would probably be with a view to making it acceptable to his princely patron. On the other hand Ibn Hishām may be responsible for the modifications which have taken place in the original work. No definite answer can yet be given to this question. One thing seems certain and it is that the atmosphere of Umayyad times was more favourable to veracious history than it became under their successors in Baghdad.

As a historian Ibn Ishāq occupies a high place in the estimation of his contemporaries. Ash-Shāf'ī said: "Whoever desires to become versed in the wars is dependent on Ibn Ishāq". Shu'bah bin al-Hajjāj said that he was the Commander of the believers as far as tradition was concerned. Az-Zuhrī said: "A plentiful supply of knowledge will not be wanting in Medina so long as Ibn Ishāq is amongst them". But the best proof of his authority is that all subsequent historians of the life of the Prophet take him as their authority, except al-Wāqidi who quotes him but sparingly. His chief detractor was Mālik bin Anas whose enmity was due to bad feeling which is said to have arisen when Ibn Ishāq criticised Mālik's 'Muwatta'. Another reason given for it is that Mālik claimed to belong to the tribe of Asbah whereas Ibn Ishāq (and others) maintained that he was only one of their clients. Their charges, which need not detain us here, since they did not really affect his authority, do not seem to have injured him in the eyes of his contemporaries. There is one note in his narrative which is significant as indicating his trustworthiness. Whenever he relates any tradition that seems to him improbable he inserts the words: 'according to what they say'.

Ibn Ishāq died in 150 or 151 A.H.

Ibn Hishām.

According to Ibn Khallikān, Ibn Hishām was born in Old Cairo. According to Muhammad Muhyiddīn 'Abd al-Hamid, Basrah was the scene of his birth where he grew up and afterwards removed to Cairo. He was famous for his learning and possessed superior knowledge in genealogy and grammar. Besides his recension of the Sīra he composed a genealogical work on the people of Himyar and their princes, and it is said he wrote another work in which he explained the obscure passages of poetry cited by Ibn Ishāq. Since he is supposed to have been born about the time of Ibn Ishāq's death the two men can never have met. The only link between them was al-Bakka'ī, on whose recommendation Ibn Hishām omitted certain parts of the Sīra to which allusion has already been made. Al-Bakka'ī however, cannot have known any of the early Muslims and so Ibn Ishāq is likely to be a more trustworthy authority than he. Most scholars incline to the belief that Ibn Hishām is not so trustworthy as Ibn Ishāq. His work reveals suppressions and alterations made to suit the tendencies of the times. It is quite natural, of course, to soften or omit incidents which do not redound to the credit of the subject of the biography when he is a religious leader whose character has been idealized by the passage of time and the reverence of his disciples.

Ibn Hishām died either in 213 or 218 A.H.

The Sīra.

The great value of the Sīra is due to the fact that its original author Ibn Ishāq, who was only two generations removed from the Prophet himself, had the opportunity of meeting many people who were intimate with the Prophet, and had shared with him the trials of the early period of Islam. His detailed knowledge of the wars indicates that he was in contact with some of those who had fought in them. Without the Sīra, we should know next to nothing about the life of the Founder of Islam. It relates in detail his early struggles against paganism, and the process by which he established his political and religious rule over the greater part of the Arabian Peninsula. To unite the warring clans of Arabia into a

unity which succeeded in holding together in spite of the strains and stresses to which it was exposed after his death, was no mean achievement. Ibn Ishāq indicates the stages by which this was done. Unwittingly perhaps, he gives us the picture of the ardent religious reformer who at the same time never loses sight of the political implications of his work. It would be no exaggeration to say that in the later stages of his career, religion has become the instrument of politics, which it has largely remained in Muslim states down to our day. Are we justified, however, in making even this criticism when we remember that ^{the} relationship between these two spheres of human thought and activity has not even yet in the most advanced Western nations been clearly delineated or satisfactorily adjusted? Besides all this, the Sīra indicates for us the historical circumstances which called forth many parts of the Qur'ān thus showing how it came to pass that the Book was accepted as the guide for the conduct of practical affairs in the new community.

The Sīra is one of the most important works in the whole range of Arabic literature. One authority even places it next to the Qur'ān itself.¹ It is the oldest Arabic prose work in existence and on this ground alone is of the greatest importance, despite the fact that all material concerning the pre-Islamic history of Arabia must be received with great caution. The author is on surer ground in dealing with the life of Muhammad, especially after the Migration to Medina, and this part of the narrative may, on the whole, be accepted as reliable. It is hardly possible that Ibn Ishāq's original work will ever be brought to light, but should the unexpected happen, it would not only give a fresh impetus to the study of the early days of Islam, but be hailed by scholars as a most important contribution to the knowledge of an epoch which changed the face of history in so many lands.

1. Guillaume, op.cit. p.23.

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH
THE MERCIFUL THE COMPASSIONATE
I SEEK THINE AID O ALLAH.

=====

Mention of the line of the noble pedigree from Muhammad and his family back to Adam.

Abū Muhammad 'Abd al-Malik ibn Hishām the Grammarian says: This is the book of the biography of the Messenger of Allah and his family. Muhammad ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib, (the name of 'Abd al-Muttalib was Shaibah), ibn Hāshim, (the name of Hāshim was 'Amr), ibn 'Abd Manāf, (the name of 'Abd Manāf was al-Mughīrah), ibn Qusai, (the name of Qusai was Zaid), ibn Kilāb ibn Murrah ibn Ka'b ibn Lu'ai ibn Ghālib ibn Fihr ibn Mālik ibn an-Nadr ibn Kinānah ibn Khuzaimah ibn Mudrikah, (the name of Mudrikah was 'Āmir), ibn Ilyās ibn Mudar ibn Nizār ibn Ma'add ibn 'Adnān ibn Udd, (also given as Udad), ibn Muqawwam ibn Nāhūr ibn Tairah ibn Ya'rub ibn Yashjub ibn *Nābit ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm, friend of the Merciful¹, ibn Tāriḥ (who was Āzar)², ibn Nāhūr ibn Sāruḥ ibn Ra'ū ibn Fālikh ibn 'Aibar ibn Shālikh ibn Arfakhshad ibn Sām ibn Nūh ibn Lāmik ibn Mattushalak ibn Akhnūkh, (who was the prophet Idris, according to what they say, but Allah knows best; and he was the first of the sons of men to be granted the prophetic office and the art of writing with the pen), ibn Yard ibn Mahlīl ibn Qainan ibn Yānish ibn Shīth ibn Ādam.*

*The Old Testament form of these names as given by the Revised Version is:- Nabalioth, Ishmael, Abraham, Terah, Nahor, Serug, Reu, Peleg, Eber, Shelah, Arpachshad, Shem, Noah, Lamech, Methuselah, Enoch, Jared, Mahalalel, Kenan, Enosh, Seth, Adam.

Abū Muhammad 'Abd al-Malik ibn Hishām says: Ziyād ibn 'Abdallah al-Bakkā'ī related to us on the authority of Muhammad ibn Ishāq al-Muttalibī that which I have here given of the genealogy of the Messenger of Allah, back to Adam, also the tradition of Idrīs and others contained in it.

Ibn Hishām: Khallād bin Qurrah of Sadūs related to me on the authority of Shaibah from Qatādah that he said: Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm, friend of the Merciful, ibn Tārih, (who was Āzar), ibn Nāhūr ibn Isragh ibn Ar'ū ibn Fālikh ibn 'Ābir ibn Shālikh ibn al-Fakhshadh ibn Sām ibn Nūh ibn Lāmik ibn Mattushalakh ibn Akhnukh ibn Yād ibn Mihla'īl ibn Qayin ibn Anūsh ibn Shīth ibn Ādam.

Ibn Hishām: If Allah wills, I will begin this book by mentioning Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm and those of his children from whom the Messenger of Allah is descended, (tracing them back) to their original ancestry one by one, from Ismā'īl to the Messenger of Allah, and so much of their history as will come to light. But I will forbear mentioning other descendants of Ismā'īl in this way in order to abridge the account of the life of the Messenger of Allah. I will also leave out some of the things which Ibn Ishāq has related in his book in which there is no mention of the Messenger of Allah, and about which nothing has been revealed in the Qur'ān, and which supply no reason for anything in this book, or gives any interpretation of it, or bears witness to it, for the sake of brevity, as I have before stated. Also poems he gives which I have not found any student of poetry recognise, and some other things which are distasteful to relate, and still others the recital of which would cause harm to some people³, which al-Bakkā'ī does not admit in his account. If Allah wills, I shall relate everything except these things to the fullest extent made possible by tradition and knowledge.

Further genealogies omitted.

The affair of 'Amr ibn 'Amir relating to his departure from Yemen
and the story of the Dam of Ma'rib.⁴

According to what Abū Zaid the Helper related to me, the reason for the departure of 'Amr ibn 'Āmir from Yemen, was because he saw a rat gnawing into the Dam of Ma'rib, which held back the water for them so that they were able to disperse it at will over their lands. He knew then that the Dam would not endure and he resolved to move from Yemen. So he devised a stratagem to hoodwink his people, and ordered his youngest son that when he abused him and struck him on the face he was to rise and strike him back. His son did as he was ordered. Then 'Āmir said: "I will not reside in a town in which my youngest son has struck me on the face". He then put up his property for sale and some of the noble men of Yemen said: "Let us turn the wrath of 'Amr to good account", and they purchased his property. So he moved out with his children and grandchildren. Then al-Azd said: "We will not remain behind 'Amr ibn 'Āmir", and they sold their properties and went away with him. They went on their way till they reached the country of 'Akk passing through and seeking pasturage in the country. The people of 'Akk fought against them with varying fortunes, and in that connection 'Abbās ibn Mirdās recited the stanza we have quoted*. Then they took their journey away from them and scattered to different countries. The family of Jafna ibn 'Amr settled in Syria, the Aus and Khazraj settled in Yathrib, Khuza'ah settled in Marr, Azd of Sarāt settled in Sarāt and Azd of 'Umān settled in 'Umān. Then Allah sent a flood on the Dam and destroyed it and in connection with it Allah revealed to His Prophet Muhammad:-

There was a sign for Saba in their dwelling-places of two gardens on the right and on the left
Eat of your Lord's provision and give Him thanks; a good land and a forgiving Lord.
But they turned away so We sent upon them the flood of the Dam. (Sūrah 34: 15,16).

Al-Arim is the Dam; its singular is 'Arimah according to what Abū 'Upaidah told me.

*And 'Akk ibn 'Adnān are they who played with Ghassān till they had utterly driven them out.

Al-A'sha said:-

Herein is a warning to whoever a warning will take
Ma'rib which the great flood wiped out
Himyar built it for themselves of marble
When the torrents came they did not overflow
When divided out the waters saturated the fields with
their crops, abundantly.
Then they became people who were not able to drink as much
as a weaned child.

These stanzas are in a poem of his. Umayyah ibn Abū 's-Salt the
Thaqafite said:-

The settlers of Saba in Ma'rib built the Dam to contain
the great torrent.

This stanza is in a poem of his and it is attributed to an-Nābighah
the Ja'dite. But it is a long story and what I have said about brevity
prevents me from recounting it.

The affair of Rabi'ah ibn Nasr king of Yemen and the story of the two
soothsayers Shiqq and Satih.

Ibn Ishāq: Rabi'ah ibn Nasr king of Yemen was one of the weakest of
the Tubba' and he saw a vision⁵ which greatly awed and perturbed him.
He did not leave a soothsayer, magician, diviner, or astrologer in all
his realm that he did not bring into his presence. He said to them:
"I have seen a vision which greatly awes and perturbs me, tell it to
me then along with its interpretation". They said: "You tell it to
us and we will give you the interpretation of it". He said: "If I
told it to you I could not be assured that you would give me the
interpretation, for no one knows its interpretation except him who
knows it before I tell it to him". Then one of them said to him: "If
this is what the king wants let him send for Satih and Shiqq, for there
is none more knowing than these two; they will give the king the
information he demands".

Genealogy omitted.

Ibn Ishāq: So he sent for them and Satih⁶ came to him in advance of
Shiqq and he said to him: "I have seen a vision which greatly awes
and perturbs me. Tell me about it, for if you get it right you will
get its interpretation right". He said: "I will do it."

Thou didst see a burning coal + Which came out of the darkness
On the Lowlands it alighted + Devouring everything in its path.⁷

The king said to him: "You have made no mistake about it, Satīh.
What have you got now by way of interpretation for it?". He said:-

I swear by all the reptiles⁸ between the two stony tracts + The
Ethiopians will descend upon your land + They will possess
themselves of all between Abyan and Jurash".

The king said to him: "By your father, Satīh this is indeed distressing
and painful news. When will it be, in my time or afterwards?". He
said: "Nay, after your time, when a period of more than sixty or
seventy years has passed". He said: "Shall their dominion endure or
shall it be cut off?". He said: "Nay, it shall be cut off after a
period of rather more than seventy years when they will be overcome
and driven out in full flight". He said: "And who will be responsible
for their defeat and expulsion?". He said: "Arim dhū Yazan will be
responsible for it + He will go forth against them from Aden + And
shall not leave one of them in Yemen. He said: "Will that man's
dominion endure or shall it be cut off?". He said: "Nay, it will
be cut off". He said: "And who will cut it off?". He said: "A
righteous prophet to whom will come a revelation from the Most High".
He said: "From whom will this prophet come?". He said: "He will be
one of the descendants of Ghālib ibn Fihir ibn Mālik ibn an-Nadr, the
dominion will remain with his people till the end of the age". He
said: "And is there an end to the age?". He said: "Yes, a day in
which the first and the last shall be brought together * (A day)
in which those who do well shall be happy + (A day) in which those
who do ill shall be miserable". He said: "Is what you tell me the
truth?". He said: "Yea, by the evening twilight, the midnight and
the dawn when it is full⁹ + Verily what I have told you is true.

Then Shiqq came to him and he said to him the same as he had said to
Satīh but he did not divulge what Satīh had said to see whether they
would agree or differ. He said:-

Yes, thou didst see a burning coal + Which came out of the darkness
It alighted between Raudah and Akamah + And devoured from there
every living thing".

Thus he spoke, and when he had spoken he realised that the two of them
agreed and that both had said the same thing except that Satīh had
said: "On the lowlands it alighted + Devouring everything in its
path"; whereas Shiqq had said: "It alighted between Raudah and Akamah
And devoured from there every living thing".

The king said to him: "You have made no mistake about it, Shiqq. What
have you got now by way of interpretation for it?". He said: "I swear
by all the people between the two stony tracts + The negroes will
settle in your country + They will surely overcome every tender-
fingered thing + And extend their sway over all between Abyan and
Najrān".

The king said to him: "By your father Shiqq, this is indeed distressing
and painful news. But when will it be - in my time or after it?".
He said: "Nay, some time after it + A person of high rank will
deliver you + And he will make them taste the bitterest of shame".
He said: "And who is this person of high rank?". He said: "A young
man who is neither Beduin nor city dweller + Shall go forth against
them from the house of dhū Yazan + And shall not leave one of them
in Yemen".

He said: "Will his dominion endure or shall it be cut off?". He
said: "Nay, it shall be cut off in a messenger who will be sent + He
will bring truth and justice + Among the people of religion and
worth + The rule will remain with his house till the day of the
dividing".

He said: "And what is the day of the dividing?". He said: "A day in
which the rulers will be requited + In which calls will be uttered
from heaven + Both the living and the dead will hearken to them +
And the people will be collected for the rendezvous + In it the
victory and the good things will be for those who have acted piously".

He said: "Is what you say true?". He said: Verily by the Lord of

heaven and earth + And all that is between them of height and depth
Verily all that I have told you is true, there is no dubiety about it.

Ibn Hishām: Al-'Amd means doubt or falsehood.

What they foretold befell Rabi'ah ibn Nasr himself and he fitted out his sons and his household with what they needed to go to Iraq and he wrote on their behalf to one of the Persian kings called Sābūr ibn Khurrazadh and he settled them in Hira. Amongst the surviving descendants of Rabi'ah ibn Nasr is Nu'mān ibn al-Mundhir

Genealogy omitted.

Abū Karib Tibān As'ad obtains the rule over Yemen and makes an expedition to Yathrib.

Ibn Ishāq: When Rabi'ah ibn Nasr died the rule of the whole of Yemen reverted to Hassān ibn Tibān As'ad Abū Karib. Tibān As'ad was the last of the Tubba'.

Genealogy omitted.

Ibn Ishāq: It was Tibān As'ad Abū Karib who came to Medina and took away two Rabbis from the Jews of Medina to Yemen and built the Sacred House and covered it. His reign was before that of Rabi'ah ibn Nasr.

Ibn Hishām: He it is of whom it is said:-

O that my lot from Abū Karib were
That his good counterbalance his evil.

Ibn Ishāq: When he advanced from the east he took the road to Medina. First of all he by-passed it without disturbing its inhabitants and left a son of his amongst them who was treacherously murdered. Then he advanced upon it determined to destroy it, extirpate its inhabitants and cut down its palm trees. The tribe of the Helpers collected to oppose him and their leader was 'Amr ibn Tallah.

Genealogy omitted.

Ibn Ishāq: There was a man of the Beni 'Adi ibn an-Najjār called Ahmar who attacked one of the friends of Tubba' when he settled amongst them and killed him. (He did that) because he found him in a palm tree belonging to him cutting its fruit, so he struck him

with his reaping-hook, killed him, and said: "The dates belong only to him who has fertilized them". But this enraged the Tubba' still further against them and fighting started. The Helpers claim that they fought him during the day and entertained him by night and that caused him some amazement and he said: "Our people are surely generous. It was while Tubba' was engaged in fighting them that there came two Jewish Rabbis from the Beni Quraizah (Genealogy omitted) men of deep learning, who when they heard that he wished to destroy the city and its people, said to him: "O king, do not do this. Verily if thou wilt accept nothing but what thou desirest an intervention will be made between thee and the city and we cannot be certain that swift punishment will not overtake you". He said to them: "Why so?". They said: "It is the place of refuge of a prophet who in the latter time will come forth from the sacred territory, from Quraish; it will be his dwelling-place and his home". So the king restrained himself for he saw that those two men had knowledge and he was surprised at what they told him. So he departed from Medina and followed them in their religion.

Poetry omitted.

The tribe of the Helpers claim that the wrath of 'Tubba' was directed solely against this Jewish tribe which was living amongst them. He only wanted to destroy them but they protected them from him till he took his departure, and so he said in his poem:-

What is the meaning of your sleep which is as the sleep of
the sore-eyed?
Unable to sleep, as one sleepy but being kept awake
Rage against two tribes which have settled in Yathrib
More fitting for them! May the vengeance of an evil day
befall them!

Ibn Hishām: The poem in which this stanza occurs is faked and that prevents us from confirming it.

Ibn Ishāq: Tubba' and his people possessed idols which they worshipped. So he set his face towards Mecca which was on the road to Yemen and when he was between 'Usfān and Amaj a party of Hudhail ibn Mudrikah ibn Ilyās ibn Mudar ibn Nizār ibn Ma'add came to him and said: "O King, shall we not guide you to an ancient

treasure house which the kings before you have neglected, in which are pearls and chrysolites, and sapphires, and gold, and silver?" He said: "By all means". They said: "It is a House in Mecca which its people worship and at which they pray". But the Hudhalites merely wished to destroy him thereby because they knew that destruction had overtaken any king who desired or coveted it. He concurred with what they said and then sent to the two Rabbis and asked them about it. They said to him: "These people desire nothing else than your destruction and the destruction of your army; we know of no house on earth that Allah has chosen for Himself except this. If you do what they invite you to do you will perish both you and all who are with you". He said: "What then would you bid me do when I get to it?" They said: "You shall do as its people do, circumambulate it, magnify it, honour it, shave your head at it, and humble yourself to it till you go out of it". He said: "And what prevents you from doing this yourselves?" They said: "It is the House of our father Abraham," and verily it is as we have told you, but its people have come between us and it by the idols which they have set up around it, and by the blood which they pour out at it: they are unclean; polytheists", or words to that effect. The king realised that their advice (was good) and their account true and he made the party of Hudhalites approach and cut off their hands and feet. Then he went on till he came to Mecca where he circumambulated the House, sacrificed at it and shaved his head. According to what is told, he stayed six days at Mecca slaughtering camels for the people and feasting its inhabitants and giving them honey to drink. It was revealed to him in a dream that he should cover the House¹², and he covered it with a coarse black and white material. Then it was revealed to him that he should cover it with something better than that, and he covered it with material from Mu'afir. Then it was revealed to him that he should cover it with something better than that, so he covered it with sheets and striped Yemenite cloth. According to what they say, 'Tubba' was the first one to cover the House and he charged his governors of Jurhum concerning it, and enjoined them to purify it, and not to bring near it blood, any dead thing, or any cloth used

by women at the time of their periods.* He also had a door and a key made for it. Subai'ah who was the wife of 'Abd Manāf said to a son she had by him called Khālīd magnifying the sacred territory of Mecca, forbidding him to do wrong therein, and mentioning Tubba' and his humility at it and what he did for it:-

O my son do no wrong in Mecca either to great or small
My son, respect her sacred places, let no deception lead
you astray
O my son whoever does wrong in Mecca shall meet with evil
My son, his face shall be smitten and fire shall scorch
his cheeks
My son, I have experience of her and found that he who
wrongs her perishes
Allah has made her safe so no castles are built within
her bounds
Allah has protected her birds and the antelopes are safe
on Thabīr
Tubba' did indeed make an expedition against her and
clothed her House with raiment
My Lord brought low his dominion in her so he fulfilled
the vows
He walks to her unshod, in her courtyard are two thousand
camels
He continues to feed her inhabitants with the flesh of
dromedaries and fattened camels
He gives them purified honey to drink with sifted barley
The Elephant and his army He destroyed, pelted in her
with stones
The dominion throughout the land (He destroyed), among the
Arabs and the non-Arabs
Hear then when it is related to you and understand what
the end(of evil doers) has been.

Ibn Hishām: This poetry is uninflected, which means that it has no nominative, accusative or genitive signs.

Then he set out with his troops who were with him in the direction of Yemen, the two Rabbis accompanying him, and when he entered Yemen he called upon his people to accept the religion he had embraced, but they refused till they should submit it to the ordeal of fire which then existed in Yemen.

Ibn Ishāq: Abū Mālīk related to me. He said: I heard Ibrāhīm relate that when Tubba' drew near to Yemen to enter it Himyar opposed him and said: "You shall not come in to us here since you have abandoned our religion". So he called on them to accept his religion, saying: "Verily it is better than your religion".

*Reading of Cairo Text adopted here.

They said: "Then let us have the ordeal by fire". He said: Yes". According to what the inhabitants of Yemen say, there was in Yemen a fire which gave judgment between them in their disputes, which devoured the wrong-doer but did not injure the wronged one. His people therefore, brought out their idols and the oblations they offered in accordance with their religion, and the two Rabbis came out with their scrolls hung around their necks like necklaces, and squatted down at the place from which the fire came forth. Then the fire burst forth and when it came in their direction they turned away from it in fear, but those who were present urged them on and bade them persevere. So they held on till the fire enveloped them and devoured the idols and the votive offerings they had brought with them, also the men of Himyar who carried them. Then the two Rabbis emerged with their scrolls round their necks, their brows moist with sweat, but the fire had not injured them. Thereupon the Himyarites agreed to accept his religion and the origin of Judaism in Yemen dates from that time".

Ibn Ishāq: A narrator related to me that the two Rabbis and the Himyarites who went out, advanced to the fire merely to turn it back. They had a saying that whoever turned it back was more in the right. The men of Himyar approached it with their idols to turn it back but it came on apace to devour them and they turned aside from it without being able to force it back. Then the two Rabbis approached it after that, and they began reciting the Torah and it receded until they had forced it back to the place from whence it came, and thereupon the men of Himyar agreed to accept their religion; but Allah knows best whether that was so.

Ibn Ishāq: Ri'ām was a House of theirs which they venerated and at which they offered sacrifices and from which they received oracles when they were polytheists. The two Rabbis said to Tubba': "It is only Satan who is seducing them with this so leave it to us". He said: "Your business is with it". According to what the people of Yemen say, they brought out of it a black dog and killed it. Then they pulled down that House, and, according to what was told me, in its ruins are traces of the blood which was spilled out upon it.

The reign of his son Hassān ibn Tibān and (his) murder by his brother 'Amr.

When his son Hassān ibn Tibān As'ad Abū Karib became king he set out with the people of the Yemen in a desire to subject, by means of them, the countries of Arab and non-Arab alike. When they were in part of the country of Iraq (Ibn Hishām: In Bahrain according to what one of the scholars told me), Himyar and the Arab tribes were averse to going any further with him for they desired to return to their own lands and families. So they spoke to a brother of his called 'Amr who was with him in the army and said to him: "Put your brother Hassān to death and we will make you king and you will bring us back to our country". He responded (favourably) and to that they all agreed with the exception of dhū Ru'ain the Himyarite, who forbade him to do that but he would not listen to him. Then dhū Ru'ain said:-

O thou who barter sleep for wakefulness
Happy is he who passes the night in refreshing sleep
When Himyar wrought deceit and acted treacherously
Allah's forgiveness is with dhū Ru'ain

He wrote these two stanzas on a piece of paper and sealed it. Then he brought it to 'Amr and said to him: "Keep this letter for me", and he did so. Then 'Amr slew his brother Hassān and brought back to Yemen the men who were with him. A man of Himyar said:-

Watch the eyes of him who saw the like of Hassān
Murdered in the days gone by
The regents slew him in the morning in fear of a prison
Saying: "There is no harm! There is no harm!"
Your dead is the best of us, and your living one is lord
over us - all of you are lords.

His saying: "Labāb, labāb" means "there is no harm in it" in the Himyarite language.

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as "Libāb, libāb".

Ibn Ishāq: When 'Amr ibn Tibān reached Yemen sleep was denied him and wakefulness took possession of him and when that began to be a trial to him he consulted the physicians and astrologers of the soothsayers and diviners as to what was the matter with him and one of them said to him: "No man has ever slain his brother or any one near of kin to him as you have slain your brother without wakefulness taking possession of him". When he heard that he began to put to death the noble men of Yemen who had enjoined him

to slay his brother till at last he came to dhū Ru'ain who said to him: "I have deposited with you that which will clear me". He said: "What is that?" He said: "The document which I handed over to you". So he took it out and in it were written the two stanzas and he spared him when he saw that he had advised him (against it). Then 'Amr died and thereupon the affairs of the Himyarites fell into confusion and they were scattered abroad.

Lakhnī'ah dhu Shanātir's seizure of power in Yemen.

A man of Himyar who was not of the Royal House called Lakhnī'ah Yanūf dhū Shanātir seized the rule over them, slew their choice men, and made a laughing-stock of their Royal House, so that a Himyarite said:-

Himyar slays her sons and exiles the best of them
And builds with her own hands humiliation for herself
She destroys her earthly goods in folly
But what she has lost in the matter of her religious
faith is greater still
Likewise, in the ages before, through their wrong-doing
and extravagance evils obtained, and she was the loser.

Now Lakhnī'ah was a wicked man doing the deeds of the people of Lot. He would send for a youth of the Royal House and fall upon him in an upper chamber which he had prepared for that purpose lest he should become king afterwards. Then he would look down from his upper chamber in the direction of his body-guard and soldiers who were there, after he had taken a toothpick and put it in his mouth to indicate to them that he had finished with him. Then he sent for Zur'ah dhū Nuwās ibn Tibān As'ad, brother of Hassān. He had been a small boy when Hassān was murdered, then he grew up to be a fine youth and comely, with a good bearing and intelligent. When his messenger came to him he knew what he wanted with him so he took a knife, sharp and thin, and concealed it between his foot and the sandal and came to him. When he was alone with him he leapt upon him and dhū Nuwās did likewise and stabbed him till he killed him, cut off his head, placed it in the aperture from which he used to look down, and put his toothpick in his mouth. Then he went out to the people and they said to him:-

Was dhū Nuwās tender or tough + He said 'Ask the head' +
(Istartabān dhū Nuwās + Istartabān la ba's).¹³

So they looked at the embrasure and there was the head of Lakhnī'ah cut off. Then they set out after dhū Nuwās and overtook him and said to him: "None other than you shall reign over us for you have given us rest from this vile man!".

The Reign of dhū Nuwās.

So they made him king and Himyar and the tribes of Yemen united under him, and he was the last of the Himyarite kings. He was the author of the Trench and he was called Joseph and for a time he continued to reign.

In Najrān there were survivors of the people of the religion of Jesus, Son of Mary, who believe in the Gospel, people of worth and uprightness. They had a religious head called 'Abdallah ibn ath-Thāmīr. That religion had its beginnings in Najrān, which at that time was in the midst of Arab territory, and whose people as well as the Arabs around, were idol worshippers, because one of the survivors of that religion whose name was Phaimiūn happened to come amongst them and carried them with him into accepting his religious faith.

The Beginnings of Christianity in Najrān.¹⁴

Ibn Ishāq: Mughīrah ibn Abū Labīd a client of al-Akhnas related to me on the authority of Wahb ibn Munabbih the Yemenite that he related to them that that religion had had its beginnings in Najrān because one of the survivors of the people of the religion of Jesus Son of Mary, called Phaimiūn, who was a good man, striving against difficulties, abstemious where the world was concerned, whose prayers were answered was itinerating and staying in villages. When he became known in any village he would leave it for another where he was not known. He ate only what he had gained with the labour of his hands, and was a builder working clay. He venerated the Lord's Day and when it came round he did nothing, but went out to the desert places of the country to pray there till evening.

He was in one of the villages of Syria doing his work in secret when one of the people called Sālih penetrated his disguise. Sālih loved him with a love he had never felt for anything before and followed him everywhere he went. Phaimiūn paid no attention to him till he went out one day on a Sunday to the desert places of the country as he was in the habit of doing and Sālih followed without Phaimiūn knowing. Sālih squatted down where he had a view of him but in hiding since he did not wish him to know his coign of vantage. Phaimiūn began to pray, and while he was praying, the dragon (a serpent with seven heads) approached him. When Phaimiūn saw it he cursed it and it died. Sālih saw it without knowing what had happened to it and was afraid of it on his account, so he raised a lamentation and cried: "O Phaimiūn, the dragon approaches you". But he did not turn in his direction and he continued his prayer till he had finished when it was evening and he took his departure. He realised then that he was known, and Sālih realised that he had seen his coign of vantage so he said to him: "O Phaimiūn, you know that I have never loved anything with the love I have for you, and so I desired your companionship and to be with you wherever you were". He said: "What do you want? My affair is as you see, but if you know that you are able for it, good!" . So Sālih stuck to him. Then the people of the village almost discovered his affair . It used to be that when he returned and a slave who had a malady came to him, that he prayed for him and he was healed. If he was called to anyone who had an ailment he did not go to him. A man of the village had a son who was blind and he enquired into the affair of Phaimiūn and he was told that he did not go to anyone who called him, but he was a man who constructed buildings for people for a wage. So the man went to that son of his, put him in his room and threw a garment over him. Then he came to him and said: "O Phaimiūn, I want to do a certain work in my house, come along with me that you may see it and that I may come to terms with you". He went off with him and when he entered his room he said to him: "What do you want to do to this house of yours?" He said: "Such and such a thing". Then the man lifted the garment from off the boy and said: "O Phaimiūn, one of the servants of Allah, there has befallen him what you see, call upon Allah then for him".

So Phaimiūn prayed for him and the boy arose cured of his malady. Then Phaimiūn realised that he was known and departed from the village with Sālih following him. Whilst he was passing through a certain district of Syria he passed by a huge tree when a man called to him: "Is it Phaimiūn?". He said: "Yes". He said: "I have not ceased to expect you, and to say: 'When will he come?' till I heard your voice and knew you were he. Do not go away till you have made the necessary arrangements for me for I am now dying". So he died and he took charge of all arrangements and buried him. After that he went away accompanied by Sālih, and when they were in some Arab territory they attacked them, a caravan of Arabs seized them, took them away and sold them in Najrān. At that time the people of Najrān were of the same religion as the Arabs, worshipping a tall palm¹⁵ which was amongst them, which had a festival in its honour every year. When the time of that festival came round they hung on it every goodly garment they could find, also feminine ornaments. Then they went out to it and stayed beside it for a day. One of their noble men purchased Phaimiūn and another purchased Sālih. When Phaimiūn began to pray by night in the apartment where his master had put him, it was lit up by a light till morning came without any lamp. His master observed that and what he saw of him surprised him and he asked him about his religion and he told him all about it. And Phaimiūn said to him: "You are indeed in error. Verily, this palm-tree neither injures nor benefits, and if I called down the curse of the God whom I worship upon it, He would surely destroy it. He alone is God, He has no partners". His master said to him: "Do it then; if you really do this we will embrace your religion and abandon what we now have". So Phaimiūn arose, performed two cycles of prayer, then called down the curse of God upon it, and He to whom belongs power and glory sent a wind which tore it up by the roots and cast it down. Thereupon the people of Najrān accepted his religion and he prevailed on them to adopt the institutions of the religion of Jesus, Son of Mary. Then there came upon them the happenings which have come upon the people of their faith in every land. So from that time Christianity existed in Najrān in the country of Arabia.

Ibn Ishāq: This is the account of Wahb ibn Munabbih on the authority of people of Najrān.

The affair of 'Abdallah ibn ath-Thāmir¹⁶ and the story of the fellows of the Trench.

Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd ibn Ziyād related to me on the authority of Muhammad ibn Ka'b of Quraizah, and some of the people of Najrān have also related to me on the authority of its inhabitants, that the people of Najrān were polytheists worshipping idols. There was in one of its towns near to Najrān - Najrān was the largest town where the gathering of the people of that country took place - a sorcerer who taught the youths of the people of Najrān sorcery. When Phaimiūn settled there - they did not mention him to me by the name which Ibn Munabbih gave him - they said: "A man has settled here, he has erected his tent between Najrān and the town where the sorcerer lives. Then the people of Najrān began sending their young men to the sorcerer so that he might teach them sorcery. Ath-Thāmir also sent his son 'Abdallah ibn ath-Thāmir along with the young men of the people of Najrān. When he passed by the owner of the tent he was pleased with what he saw of him in his prayer and worship, so he began to stop with him and listen to him till he became a Muslim and asserted his belief in the unity of Allah and worshipped Him. Then he enquired about the institutions of Islam and when he was well grounded in them he enquired about the Greatest Name. He knew it but kept it a secret from him, and said to him: "My young friend, you could never bear it, I fear you are too weak for it". And all this while ath-Thāmir father of 'Abdallah did not suppose that his son was doing anything else but coming and going to the sorcerer as the other young men were doing. When 'Abdallah saw that his friend was keeping it to himself in fear of his weakness in regard to it, he went to the divining arrows and collected them in a heap. Then he did not leave out a single name of Allah known to him that he did not write down on the arrows, an arrow for each name. Then he counted them, kindled a fire for them, and began to throw them into it one after the other, and when he came to the Greatest Name he threw the arrow into the fire, but it rebounded and emerged from the fire without suffering

any injury at all. So he took it up, went to his friend and told him that he knew the Name which he had kept a secret. He said: "What is it?" He said: "So-and-so". He said: "How did you come to know it?", and he told him what he had done. He said: "My young friend you have got it, so take a firm hold of yourself and I do not suppose you will do it". When 'Abdallah ibn ath-Thāmir went to Najrān he met no one who had a malady without saying to him: "Servant of Allah, will you assert belief in the unity of Allah and embrace my religion, and I will pray to Allah and He will relieve you of the calamity you are suffering?". He would say: "Yes", declare his belief in the unity of Allah, become a Muslim, and he would pray for him and he would be healed. And there was not anyone in Najrān who had an ague of any kind that did not come to him, follow him in his affair, and he would pray for him and he would be healed, till at last his business was brought to the notice of the king of Najrān, who called for him and said to him: "You have roused against me the people of my town and have done things contrary to my religion and that of my fathers and I will surely make an example of you". He said: "You cannot do that". So he sent him to the high mountain and he was thrown on his head but he fell to the earth without coming to any harm. Then he sent him to the briny waters of Najrān into which nothing falls without being destroyed; he was thrown into them and emerged without coming to any harm. When he thus got the better of him, 'Abdallah ibn ath-Thāmir said to him: "Verily, you will not be able to compass my death till you declare your belief in the unity of Allah, and believe in that in which I believe, but if you do this you will gain the mastery over me and put me to death". So the king declared his belief in the unity of Allah, and testified the testimony of 'Abdallah ibn ath-Thāmir. Then he smote him with a staff that was in his hand, gave him a slight cut on the head and killed him, and the king died where he was. Then the people of Najrān unanimously agreed to adopt the religion of 'Abdallah ibn ath-Thāmir who was a follower of what Jesus brought of the Gospel and its laws. Then there came upon them the happenings which came upon the people of their religion. The origins of Christianity in Najrān date from that.

Ibn Ishāq: This is the account of Muhammad ibn Ka'b of Quraizah and one of the inhabitants of Najrān concerning 'Abdallah ibn ath-Thāmīr, but Allah knows best whether that was so.

The Affair of the Trench.

Then dhū Nuwās came against them with his armies, called upon them to accept Judaism and gave them the choice between that and death. They chosedēath so he dug for them the Trench. He burned them with fire, slew them with the sword, and mutilated them till he had slain nearly twenty thousand of them. And Allāh sent down to His Messenger Muhammad about Dhū Nuwās and his armies:-

Slain be the fellows of the Trench
The fire fed with fuel
When they set round it
While they witnessed what they did to the believers
They took vengeance on them only because they believed
in Allah the Mighty the Praiseworthy. (Surah 85: 4 - 8).

Ibn Hishām: Al-Ukhūd means the long excavation in the ground like a trench or rivulet or something of that kind and its plural is Akhādīd. Dhu 'r-Rummah said:-

Of those Iraqi she-camels before which flows
A rivulet between the desert and the palm.

He means a stream. This stanza is in a poem of his. Ukhūd is also used for the mark of sword or knife on the skin or the mark of the whip or something of that kind and its plural is 'akhādīd'.

Ibn Ishāq: Amongst those whom Dhū Nuwās slew was 'Abdallah ibn ath-Thāmīr their Chief and Imam.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah ibn Abū Bakr ibn Muhammad ibn 'Amr ibn Hazm related to me that it had been related to him that one of the inhabitants of Najrān had, in the days of 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb, excavated a ruin in Najrān for some purpose of his own, and they found 'Abdallh ibn ath-Thāmīr in one of its vaults sitting upright with his hand placed on a wound in his head, holding it with his hand. When his hand was removed it gave forth blood, and when his hand was released he put it back on it and it held back the blood. On his hand was a ring on which was inscribed: "My Lord is Allah". Word was sent to 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb telling him about his affair and 'Umar replied

to them that they should leave him as he was and put back over him the vault as it had been, and this they did.

The Affair of Daus dhū Tha'labān and the beginning of Ethiopian rule with mention of Aryat who occupied Yemen.

Ibn Ishāq: A man of Saba called Daus dhū Tha'labān made his escape from them on his horse. He went through the desert and tired them out and then pursued his course till he came to Caesar, Emperor of Byzantium, and sought his aid against Dhū Nuwās and his armies and told him of all they had done. He said to him: "Your country is far from us but I will write to the king of Ethiopia for you for he is of this religion and he is nearer your country". So he wrote to him commanding him to help him and asking him to avenge him. Then Daus came to the Negus with Caesar's letter and he despatched seventy thousand Ethiopians with him and put one of them called Aryat in command of them. Along with him in the army was Abrahah the snub-nosed. Aryat went by sea and landed on the beaches of Yemen, Daus accompanying him, and Dhū Nuwās went out to meet him with the men of Himyar and those tribes of Yemen who owned allegiance to him. When they met, Dhū Nuwās and his friends were routed, and when Dhū Nuwās saw what was come upon himself and his people, he turned his horse towards the sea, set spurs and it waded in where the water was shallow until he took him out of his depth, when he made him plunge into the waves, and that was the last of him. Thus Aryat entered Yemen and possessed himself of it. And one of the inhabitants of Yemen said mentioning Daus and the Ethiopian occupation which Daus had brought upon them:-

Not like Daus and not like the precious things in his saddle.

and this is a proverb in Yemen to this day.

Poetry omitted.

Ibn Hishām: This is what Satīh meant when he said: "The Ethiopians will descend upon your land + They will possess themselves of all between Abyan and Jurash!" And what Shiqq the soothsayer meant when he said: "The negroes will settle in your country + They will surely overcome every tender-fingered thing + And extend their sway over all between Abyan and Najrān.

The Affair of the Elephant¹⁷ and an account of those who postponed (the months).

Then Abrahah built al-Qalīs in San'ā, a church the like of which was not to be seen at that time in all the world. Then he wrote to the Negus: "O King, I have built for thee a church the like of which has never been built for any king before thee, and I will not desist till I have diverted to it the Arabian Pilgrimage."¹⁸

When the Arabs discussed that letter of Abrahah's to the Negus, one of the men who postponed (the months of truce), one of the Beni Fuqaim ibn 'Adī ibn 'Āmir ibn Tha'labah ibn al-Hārith ibn Mālik ibn Kinānah ibn Khuzaimah ibn Mudrikah ibn Ilyās ibn Mudar was enraged. The Postponers¹⁹ were those who postponed the months for the Arabs in the Age of Barbarism; they made one of the sacred months free, and made one of the free months sacred in its place, and postponed that (sacred) month. So Allah, the Blessed the Exalted sent down in connection with that:-

The Postponement is simply an increase of unbelief by which those who have disbelieved go astray; they make it free one year and sacred the next to agree with the number that Allah has made sacred, so they make free what Allah has made sacred. (Surah 9:37).

Ibn Hishām: Liyuwātī'ū means 'that they may agree'; al-Muwātāt means agreement. The Arabs say: 'Wata'tuk 'ala hadhah al-amr', meaning: 'I have agreed with you about this matter'. Al-'itā in poetry means the agreement of two rhymes (or the repetition of the same word in rhyme) an example of which is to be found in the words of al-'Ajjāj:-

Fī uth'ubān al-manjanūn al mursali
and Madd al-khalīj fi'l-khalīj al-mursali

These two stanzas are in a poem of his in the Rajaz metre*.

Ibn Ishāq: The first one to postpone the months for the Arabs was al-Qalammas and they made free what he made free and made sacred what he made sacred. (He was Hudhaifah) ibn 'Abd ibn Fuqaim ibn 'Adī ibn 'Āmir ibn Tha'labah ibn al-Hārith ibn Mālik ibn Kinānah ibn Khuzaimah). Then after that his son 'Abbād ibn Hudhaifah had charge of that work; after 'Abbād, Qala' ibn 'Abbād; after Qala', Umayyah ibn Qala'; after Umayyah 'Auf ibn Umayyah; and after 'Auf Abū Thumamah ibn 'Auf who was the last of them for Islam arose in his time.

When the Arabs had completed their Pilgrimage they gathered to him and he made sacred the four sacred months, Rajab, Dhū 'l-Qa'dah,

*Rajaz originally a disease affecting camels in the rump causing them to tremble after being roused for time and then stretch out; or refers simply to a twitching in the hindquarters of a camel when he stands up and then a stretching out of the same. Rajaz is the name of a species of verse consisting of the measure *فعل فاعل* so called because it begins with a motion followed by a quiescence and so for the other feet, like the Rajaz in the she-camel which consists in her quivering and then being quiet: or so-called because of the contraction of its feet and the fewness of its letters. Lane: Arabic-English Lexicon in loco.

Dhū 'l-Hijjah and Muharram. If he wished to make any of them free he chose al-Muharram and they made it free and he made Safar sacred instead of it and they did likewise in order to keep up the number of four sacred months. When they were about to return from Pilgrimage he rose up in their midst and said: "O Allah, I have made free for them one of the Two Safars, the first one, and I have postponed the other till next year". 'Umar ibn al-Qais the thrusting stem, said about the postponement among the Arabs, boasting about it:-

Ma'add knew that my tribe was the most noble of people -
that they have noble (ancestors)
What people have excelled us in any one thing?
And what people have we not restrained with a bridle
Are we not the ones who postpone (the month of truce) to
the detriment of Ma'add?
The free months we make sacred.

Ibn Hishām: The first of the sacred months was al-Muharram.

Ibn Ishāq: Then a Kinānite set out, went to al-Qālis and squatted down in it.

Ibn Hishām: He means that he left human excrement therein.

Ibn Ishāq: Then he set out and reached his country. Abrahah was informed of it and he said: "Who has done this?", and he was told: "One of the people of this House in Necca to which the Arabs make pilgrimage. When he heard what you said: 'I will divert to it the Arabian Pilgrimage', he was enraged and came and squatted down in it, thereby indicating that it was not worthy for that purpose". Then Abrahah was wroth and swore to march against the House and destroy it. Then he gave the order to the Ethiopians and they made preparations and armed themselves, and then he sallied forth taking an elephant with him. The Arabs heard of that, thought it a terrible thing, and were shocked by it and they realised that his effort was really directed against them when they heard that he intended to destroy the Ka'bah, the Sacred House of Allah. One of the noble men of Yemen descended from the royal house called Dhū Nafar went out against him. He called his people and those from the other Arab tribes who consented to make war on Abrahah and his crusade against the House of Allah and its razing and destruction which he intended to carry through. Those who answered his call to that answered it. Then he came out into the

open and fought with him but Dhū Nafar and his friends were routed and Dhū Nafar was captured and brought in a prisoner, and when he intended to slay him Dhū Nafar said: "O King, do not slay me, for it may be better for you if I am alive than if I am dead". So he spared him and made him a prisoner in bonds, for Abrahah was a mild tempered man. Then Abrahah went on his way willing to meet any that came against him till when he was in Khath'amite territory, Nufail ibn Ḥabīb the Khath'amite came out against him openly with two tribes of Khath'am, Shahrān and Nahīs, and those Arab tribes which adhered to him. He did battle with him and Abrahah routed him and Nufail was made prisoner and brought to him. He intended to put him to death but Nufail said: "O King, do not kill me and I will be your guide in the country of the Arabs and these my two hands I give you on behalf of the two tribes of Khath'am, Shahrān and Nahīs, to hear and to obey". So he set him free and he set out with him to act as guide till when they passed by at-Tā'if, Mas'ūd ibn Mu'attib with the men of Thaḡīf (the name of Thaḡīf is Qasiy) came out against him. Umayyah ibn Abū 's-Salt the Thaḡafite said:-

My people Iyād were they near or were they to rise up
the camels would be emaciated
A people who possess the plain of Iraq when they set out
together with their registers and pens.

(meaning) that it was a written agreement.

Ibn Hishām: There is a saying of Allah the Exalted: "May he hasten for us our pens". Umayyah also said:-

If you enquire about my upbringing and about my pedigree
I will inform you of the undoubted truth
Truly we belong to Nabīt father of Qasiy, to Mansūr ibn
Yaqdum who are of old time.

Genealogy omitted.

Ibn Ishāq: They said to him: "We are merely your servants to hear and obey, we have no dispute with you; it is not our House that you seek - meaning al-Lāt - you seek the House that is at Mecca and we will send with you one who will show you the way", and he by-passed them. Now al-Lāt was a House of theirs in at-Tā'if which they venerated in much the same way as the Ka'bah was venerated.

Ibn Hishām: Abu 'Ubaidah the Grammarian recited to me (a stanza) by Dirār ibn al-Khattāb the Fihrite:-

Thaqif fled to their goddess al-Lāt on the overthrow of
the traitors who had lost.

This stanza occurs in some stanzas of his.

Ibn Ishaq: So they sent Abū Righāl with him to show him the way to Mecca and Abrahah set out accompanied by Abū Righāl and he brought him to al-Mughammas. When he had brought him thus far, Abū Righāl died there and the Arabs stoned his grave; his is the grave men stone in al-Mughammas.

When Abrahah reached al-Mughammas he sent out an Ethiopian called al-Aswad bin Mafṣūd in command of his cavalry and he seized the cattle of Quraish and others in Tihāmah. Amongst them he took two hundred camels belonging to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib bin Hāshim who at that time was the chief and leader of Quraish. Then Quraish and Kinānah and Hudhail and all who were in the sacred territory thought of giving him battle but they realised they had not the strength to do that and abandoned the idea.

Then Abrahah sent Hunāṭah the Himyarite to Mecca and said to him; "Ask for the chief and noblest of the inhabitants of this town and say to him: 'The King says to you, I have not come to make war on you, I have merely come to pull down this House, and if you do not take up arms in its defence there will be no necessity for me to shed your blood'. If he does not want to go to war bring him to me". When Hunāṭah entered Mecca he enquired for the chief and noblest of Quraish and was told he was 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib bin Hāshim, and he went to him and told him what Abrahah had ordered him to say. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said to him: "We have no desire to take up arms against him, we have not the strength for that. This is Allah's sacred House, and the House of Abraham, His friend" or words to that effect. "If He defends it from him it is His House and sacred place but if He abandons it we have no means of defending it". Hunāṭah said to him: "Go to him then for he commanded me to bring you to him". So 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib went away with him and some of his sons accompanied him and he came to the camp and enquired for Dhu Nafar, who was a friend of his and found him in his place of detention and said to him: "O Dhu Nafar, have you got anything that will be sufficient to meet what has befallen us?" Dhu Nafar said to him: "What sufficiency has a man got who is a prisoner in the hands of a king expecting day and night to be put to death? I can do nothing at all about what has

come upon you, but Unais the elephant driver is my friend. I will send word to him and commend you to him and make the most of your claim and ask him to obtain for you audience with the King that you may speak to him as seems best to you, he will plead with the king for you if he can. He said: "That is all I want". So Dhu Nafar sent word to Unais and told him saying: "Abd al-Muttalib is chieftain of Quraish and master of the Meccan well. He feeds the people on the plains and the wild beasts on the mountain tops. The King has seized two hundred camels of his, so, get permission for him to enter the King's presence and help him to the best of your power!" He said; "I will do so". Then Unais spoke to Abrahah and said to him: "O King, here is the chieftain of Quraish standing at your door desiring audience. He is the master of the Meccan well, he feeds the people on the plains and the wild beasts on the mountain tops. Grant him permission to come into your presence and he will tell you what he wants". Abrahah gave him leave to enter. Now 'Abd al-Muttalib was the comeliest, the handsomest, and the greatest of men, and when Abrahah saw him he respected and honoured him too much to put him on a lower seat, but he was averse to letting the Ethiopians see him giving him a seat beside him on the royal throne, so he stepped down from his throne and squatted on the carpet and made him squat on it by his side. Then he said to his interpreter: "Ask him what he wants". The interpreter did so and he said: "What I want is that the king return to me the two hundred camels he has seized". When he said that to him, Abrahah said to his interpreter: "Say to him, You did indeed please me when I first saw you, but I grew weary of you when you spoke to me. Do you talk to me about two hundred camels I have seized from you and omit to speak of a House which is the centre of your religion and the religion of your fathers which I have come to tear down?" 'Abd al-Muttalib said: "Verily, I am lord of the camels but the House has a Lord who will protect it". He said: "What is ~~his~~ to put up a defence against me?" He said: "It rests between you and Him".

According to what some scholars say, Ya'mur bin Nufāthah who was at that time chief of the Beni Bekr and Khuwailid bin Wāthilah who was at that time chief of Hudhail, went with 'Abd al-Muttalib to Abrahah

when he sent Hunātah to him, and they offered Abrahah a third of the wealth of the Tihāmah on condition that he leave them alone and not pull down the House, but he refused, but Allah knows best whether that is true or not. Then Abrahah restored to 'Abd al-Muttalib the camels he had seized.

When they took their leave of him, 'Abd al-Muttalib went away to Quraish, gave them his news and bade them evacuate Mecca and take refuge on the mountain tops and in the ravines because he was afraid the army would show them violence. Then 'Abd al-Muttalib seized the ring of the door of the Ka'bah, and a group of Quraish were with him praying to Allah and beseeching His help against Abrahah and his army. And 'Abd al-Muttalib said as he grasped the ring of the door of the Ka'bah:-

O Allah, the slave defends his gear, defend Thou Thy people
Let not their cross and cunning defeat Thy power

al-Wāqidi added:

But if Thou leave our Qiblah to them that will be what
seems best to Thee.

Ibn Hishām: This is all of it that can with accuracy be ascribed to him.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Ikrimah said:

O Allah confound Aswad bin Mafsūd who took a detachment of camels which included those set apart for sacred slaughter. Between Hira and Thabīr comes the desert which contains* them and they are the instruments for driving them out. Include them among the stammering blacks, break with him O Lord, Thou art to be praised.

Ibn Hishām: This is all of it that can with accuracy be ascribed to him.

Ibn Ishāq: Then 'Abd al-Muttalib released the ring of the door of the Ka'bah and he and the Quraishites who accompanied him went away to the mountain top and took refuge there while they waited to see what Abrahah would do in Mecca when he entered it.

When morning came, Abrahah made preparations for entering Mecca; he made ready his elephant and lined up his troops. The elephant's name was Mahmūd. Abrahah was determined to pull down the House and

*Cairo Text used here.

then return to Yemen. When they turned the elephant in the direction of Mecca, Nufail ibn Habīb came up and stood beside him, took him by the ear and said to him: "Kneel down Maḥmūd, and go straight back whence you came, for you are in the town that is sacred to Allah". Then he let go his ear, the elephant knelt down and Nufail ibn Habīb set out at a run and climbed the mountain. They beat the elephant to make him rise but he refused. Next they beat him on the head with hatchets to make him rise but he refused. Then they thrust their hooks into the under part of his belly and drew blood with them to make him rise but he refused. Then they turned him round the other way, in the direction of Yemen and he ambled off nimbly enough. They turned him in the direction of Syria and he did the same thing; they turned him towards the east and he did the same thing. Then they turned him in the direction of Mecca and he knelt down. Then Allah sent upon them birds from the sea like swallows and starlings every one of which carried three stones like chick peas or lentils, one in the bill and two in the claws and everyone who was struck by them died. Not all of them were smitten and these turned in full flight and raced back along the road by which they had come enquiring for Nufail ibn Habīb to guide them on the road back to Yemen. When Nufail saw the vengeance which Allah had sent down upon them he said:-

Where is the refuge when Allah is the Seeker
The snub-nosed the conquered not the conqueror.

Ibn Hishām: His words 'not the conqueror' are on the authority of other than Ibn Ishāq.

Ibn Ishāq: Nufail also said:-

Rudainah we greet you
With the morning may Allah bless you
Rudainah, if you will see, but may you not see
What we have seen by the Muḥassab
You would have excused me and been grateful
And you would not have regretted what has transpired
between us
I thanked Allah when I saw birds
And feared stones which were cast upon us
All the people were asking about Nufail
As though I owed the Ethiopians something.

Thus they went away, falling down one by one on every wayside, and perishing at every desert water spot. Abrahah too was smitten and

and as they took him away with them he disintegrated bit by bit and as often as a piece (of his flesh) fell away suppuration followed and it exuded pus and blood. They brought him to San'ā' in a state of weakness like a young chicken, and he did not die till his breast bone fell away from his heart, according to what they say.

Ibn Ishāq: Ya'qūb ibn 'Utbah related to me that it was related to him that scarlet fever and small-pox were seen for the first time in Arabia that year, and that bitter plants such as Rue, and Colocynth, and Asclepias made their appearance for the first time that year.

Ibn Ishāq: The attack of the Ethiopians which Allah turned aside from Quraish for their preservation and advancement was part of the mercy and favour which Allah had in store for Quraish (and which He fulfilled) when He sent Muhammad. He, the Blessed, the Exalted, said:

Didst thou not see how thy Lord dealt with the men of the elephant?
Did He not make their stratagem miscarry?
And sent against them birds in flocks which cast upon them
stones of naked clay
And He made them like chewed blades of corn
For the uniting of Quraish
Their uniting in the caravans of summer and winter
Let them worship the Lord of this House who hath given them
food against famine
And hath made them secure against fear (Sūrah 105, 106)

That is, lest they should change any of their circumstances on account of the good which Allah wished to send them, had they accepted him.

Ibn Hishām: Al-Abābīl means flocks and the Arabs have no singular for it that we know of. As for as-Sajīl, Yūnus the Grammarian and Abū 'Ubaidah told me that, in the opinion of the Arabs, it means hard like whetstone. Ru'bah ibn al-'Ajjāj said:-

There came to them what came to the men of the elephant
Stones of clay fell down upon them
Flocks of birds made sport of them.

These stanzas are in a poem of his in the Rajaz metre. Some of the commentators say that they are two Persian words which the Arabs have made into one. They are 'Sinj' and 'Jill', meaning by as-sinj 'the stone' and by al-jill 'the clay', meaning stones of these two substances stone and clay. Al-'Asf is the leaf of plants which have not sent forth their stalk and its singular is 'asfah

and Abū 'Ubaidah told me the it is also called al-'Usāfah and al-'Asīfah and he recited to me from (a poem) by 'Alqamah ibn 'Abadah one of the Beni Rabī'ah ibn Mālik ibn Zaid Manāt ibn Tamīm.

Brooks have disappeared as the dried leaves filled them
Their courses are filled with strewn weeds and dried shrubs.

This stanza is in one of his poems. A rhymer said:-

So they were made like chewed leaves.

There is a grammatical explanation of this stanza. The uniting of Quraish was their bringing together the time of their departure on their mercantile journeys to Syria. They had two times for setting out, one in the winter and the other in the summer.

Abū Zaid the Helper told me that the Arabs say: 'Alift us-Shai ilfan' and 'Ālaftahu ĩlāfan' both with the same meaning and he recited to me from (a poem by) Dhū 'r-Rummaḥ:-

A free born maiden resembling a gazelle

In whose complexion the rays of the glowing sun are revealed

This stanza is in a poem of his which I shall mention in due course if Allah wills. ĩlāf is also used of a man who possesses a thousand camels or cows or sheep or anything else in that line and is said: 'So-and-so has got a thousand'. Al-Kumait ibn Zaid one of the Beni Asad said:-

In a year when the possessors of a thousand camels say of it
'This is a year of dearth and scarcity'.

This stanza is in a poem of his. ĩlāf also means that a people who number a thousand are said to be 'the people who have reached the thousand'. Al-Kumait ibn Zaid said:-

The people of Muzaiqiya found the Beni Sa'd in their
thousands in the morning.

This stanza is in a poem of his. ĩlāf also means that one thing is joined to another; it unites with it and adheres to it. Thus it is said: 'I brought them together, I joined them'. ĩlāf also means to bring up to a thousand that which is below it. Thus it is said: 'I brought it up to a thousand'.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah ibn Abū Bakr related to me on the authority of 'Amrah bint 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn As'ad ibn Zurārah from 'A'ishah,

She said: "I saw the driver of the elephant and the groom in Mecca blind and lame begging for bread.

(Poetry omitted).

The departure of Saif bin Dhū Yazan and the reign of Wahriz over Yemen.

When this time of misfortune had continued long in Yemen, Saif bin Dhū Yazan, who was surnamed Abū Murrah, the Himyarite, set out and went to Caesar the Emperor of Byzantium and laid before him the circumstances in which they were placed, requesting him to deliver them and either become their ruler himself or else send any of the Byzantines he pleased and he should have rule over Yemen, but he paid no heed to him. Then he set out and went to an-Nu'mān bin al-Mundhir who was the Governor of Kosroes in Hira and of the 'Iraqi territories which adhered to it and laid the matter of the Ethiopians before him. An-Nu'mān said to him: "I go as ambassador to Kosroes every year, so stay here till that time". He did so and then set out with him and procured for him an audience with Kosroes. Kosroes was sitting in his council chamber where was his crown which was like a great 'cone'²⁰ according to what they say, with sapphires, chrysolites and pearls set in gold and silver and suspended by a chain of gold from a skylight in that council hall of his. His neck was not able to carry the weight of the crown, and so it was covered with robes till he should take his place in the council hall, when he put his head in the crown, and as soon as he was seated in council the robes were withdrawn. No man who had not previously seen him ever beheld him without kneeling down in awe before him. When Saif bin Dhū Yazan came into his presence he knelt down.

Ibn Hishām: Abū 'Ubaidah related to me that when Saif came into his presence he lowered his head and the king said: "This ignorant person enters my presence by this high door and then bows his head". When this was reported to Saif he said: "I did that merely because of what was on my mind for all else is insignificant compared with it".

Ibn Ishāq: Then he said: "O King, the negroes have conquered us in our country". Kosroes said: "Which negroes, the Ethiopians or the Indians?" He said: "Nay, the Ethippians, and I have come to you to get your help and you shall have the rule over my country". He said:

"Your country is far away, its good things also are few, and I am not going to hurl against Arabia an army from Persia, I do not require to do that". Then he granted him ten thousand dirhems in full and gave him an outfit of good clothes. As soon as Saif got hold of the money he went out and began to distribute it to the people and when the king got word of that he said: "Surely this is a person of some consequence" Then he sent for him and said: "You obtained the king's gift to distribute it to the people!". He said: "What else can I do with it? The mountains of the country from which I come are nothing else but gold and silver" - to make him desirous of it. So Kosroes gathered his satraps together and said: "What do you think of this man's affair and what has come to him?". A spokesman said: "O King, there are men in your prisons whom you have shut up to await death, if you were to send them off with him now and they perished, the very thing you desire to do to them would be accomplished, and if they are successful you will have gained a kingdom". So Kosroes sent along with him all who were in his prisons, eight hundred men, and put Wahriz, an old man, the best of them in pedigree and family, in command of them. They set out in eight ships but two of them foundered and six reached the shores of Aden. Saif collected for Wahriz as many of his countrymen as he could and said to them: "Foot to foot till we either die together or overcome together". Wahriz said: "Fairly spoken". Then Masrūq ibn Abrahah, ruler of Yemen, came out to oppose him when he had collected his troops, and Wahriz sent a son of his against them to fight them and gain experience of their methods in fight, but his son was slain and that increased his rancour against them. When the people were drawn up in array, Wahriz said: "Show me their king". They said: "Do you see a man on an elephant with a crown arching his brows and a red ruby between his eyes?". He said: "Yes". They said: "That is their king". He said: "Let him be". Then they stood still for a long time and he said: "On what is he mounted?". They said: "He has changed over to a horse". He said: "Let him be". Then they stood still for a long time and he said: "On what is he mounted?". They said: "On a she-mule". Wahriz said: "The ass's offspring! He is brought low and his kingdom is brought low". I will smite him and if you see his friends keep their places keep still till I give you word for I shall have missed my man. But if you see the people gathering around him

I shall have hit my man so attack him". Then he strung his bow, and according to what they say, none but he could do it because of its strength. He gave orders to his two chamberlains and they bound on his turban and he shot at him and struck the sapphire which was between his eyes and the shaft pierced his head and came out behind and he fell backwards off his mount and the Ethiopians gathered around him and the Persians attacked and routed them. So they were slain and were fleeing on every side. The Wahriz advanced to enter San'ā, and when he reached its gates he said: "My standard shall never enter the city lowered, pull down the gate". It was pulled down and thereafter he entered the city with standard upraised.

Saif ibn Dhū Yazan said:-

Men suppose the two kings have become united
Whoever hears of their union, truly a momentous affair
increases in importance
We slew the king Masrūq and watered the desert with blood
Surely the king of men, Wahriz, has sworn an oath
That he will not quaff a goblet till he restore the
captives and camels.

Ibn Hishām: These stanzas occur in some poetry of his, but Khallād ibn Qurrah of Sadūs recited the last stanza of it to me as belonging to A'sha of the Beni Qais ibn Tha'labah in a poem of his, but other scholars of poetry deny that it belongs to him.

Poetry omitted

This is what Satīh meant when he said:-

Arim (ibn) Dhū Yazan shall follow him + He shall go forth against him from Aden + And shall not leave one of them in Yemen

and what Shiqq meant when he said:-

A young man who is neither Bedouin nor city dweller + Shall go forth against them from the house of Dhū Yazan.

Mention of how Persian rule in Yemen came to an end.

Ibn Ishāq: So Wahriz and the Persians remained in Yemen and the Abnā who live in Yemen to-day are the survivors of the Persian army. The period of Ethiopian domination in Yemen from the time Aryāt entered it till the Persians put Masrūq ibn Abrahah to death and drove out the Ethiopians was seventy two years. Four of them inherited the throne in succession, Aryāt, Abrahah, Yaksūm ibn Abrahah and Masrūq

ibn Abrahah.

Ibn Hishām: Wahriz died and Kosroes made his son Marzubān ibn Wahriz ruler of Yemen. Then Marzubān died and Kosroes appointed his son at-Tainujān ibn Marzubān ruler of Yemen. Then at-Tainujān died and Kosroes appointed his son ruler of Yemen. Then he deposed him and appointed Bādhān and he was still ruling over it when Allah sent the Prophet Muhammad.

I heard that az-Zuhrī said: Kosroes wrote to Bādhān saying that word had reached him that a man of Quraish had appeared in Mecca claiming to be a prophet. "Go to him then and ask him to repent. If he desists, good, but if not send me his head". So Bādhān sent Kosroes' letter to the Messenger of Allah and the Messenger of Allah wrote back: "Allah has promised me that Kosroes will be slain on such a day in such a month". When the letter reached Bādhān he waited to see what would happen, saying: "If he is a prophet, what he has foretold will come to pass". Then Allah slew Kosroes on the day the Messenger of Allah had said.

Ibn Hishām: By the hand of his son Shīrūyah. Khālīd ibn Hīqq of Shaibān said:-

And Kosroes, when his sons hacked him to pieces
with their swords as meat is cut up
Fate matured for him on a certain day just as there
is a term for every pregnant woman who has travailed.

Az-Zuhrī said: So when news of that reached Bādhān he sent word of his own acceptance of Islam and that of the Persians who were with him to the Messenger of Allah. The envoys of the Persians said to the Messenger of Allah: "Whose are we, O Messenger of Allah?". He said: "You are of us and belong to us, the people of the House".

Ibn Hishām: I heard that az-Zuhrī said: Therefore the Messenger of Allah said: "Salman is one of us, the people of the House".

Ibn Hishām: This is what Saṭīh meant when he said:-

A righteous prophet to whom will come a revelation
from the Most High.

and what Shīqq meant when he said:-

Nay, it shall be cut off in a messenger who will be sent
He will bring truth and justice
Amongst the people of religion and worth
The rule will remain with his people till the day of the
dividing.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what people say, there was an inscription
on some stones in Yemen which had been engaved in early times:-

Whose is the rule over Dhīmār? Himyar, the excellent
Whose is the rule over Dhīmār? The Ethiopians, the evil ones
Whose is the rule over Dhīmār? The Persians, the liberal ones
Whose is the rule over Dhīmār? Quraish, the merchants.

Ibn Hishām: Dhamār, according to what Yūnus the Grammarian told me.

Ibn Ishāq: A'sha of the Beni Qais bin Tha'labah said in connection. X
with the fulfilment of what Satīh and his friend foretold:-

Never has eye seen the like of the man of Dhi'b who spoke
the truth when he used his rhyming prose.

The Arabs called Satīh 'the Dhi'bite' because he was Satīh bin
Rabī'ah bin Mas'ūd bin Māzin bin Dhi'b.

Ibn Hishām: This stanza is in a poem of his.

The story of the Prince of al-Hadr.

Ibn Hishām: Khallād bin Qurrah bin Khālīd of Sadūs related to me
on the authority of Jannād or one of the inhabitants of Kūfah who
was a scholar in genealogy, that it was said that an-Nu'mān bin
al-Mundhir was a descendant of Sātīrūn, Prince of al-Hadr, and al-Hadr
was a fortress great as a city on the banks of the Euphrates. 'Adi
bin Zaid refers to it when he says:-

When the owner of al-Hadr built it and the Tigris and
Chebar filled its reservoirs.
He reared it up with marble and beautified it with plaster
and on its apex the birds have a nesting place
The fear of Fate held no terrors for him, his kingdom
departed from him, his gates are deserted.

These stanzas are in a poem of his. Abū Duwād also mentions it in
his saying:

I see death has come down from al-Hadr upon the lord of its
people Sātīrūn.

This stanza is in a poem of his but some say it belongs to Khalaf-
al-Ahmar and others say it belongs to Hammād ar-Rāwiyah.

Now Kosroes Sabūr of the broad shoulders led an expedition against Sātīrūn, Prince of al-Hadr, and besieged him for two years. Then one day the daughter of Sātīrūn looked down from above and noticed Sabūr who was wearing silken clothes and had a golden crown on his head studded with chrysolites, sapphires and pearls. He was handsome and so she entered into a secret intrigue with him: "Will you marry me if I open to you the gate of al-Hadr?" He said: "Yes". When evening came Sātīrūn drank till he was drunk, in fact, he always passed the night in a state of drunkenness, so she took the keys of the gate of al-Hadr from under his head and sent them by one of her clients who opened the gate. Thus Sabūr entered, killed Sātīrūn and destroyed al-Hadr, left it in ruins, took her away with him and married her. Then at night while she lay in bed she began to fret and could not sleep so he called for a candle and the bed was searched and a myrtle leaf was found in it. Sabūr said to her: "Is this what has kept you awake?". She said: "Yes". He said: "What was your father in the habit of doing for you?" She said: "He used to spread for me a bed of silken materials, he clothed me with silk, he fed me with marrow and gave me wine to drink". He said: "And was your father's reward what you did to him? You will be quicker where I am concerned". Then he gave orders for her tresses to be bound to a horse's tail and the horse was made to gallop till it had killed her. A'sha of the Beni Qais said of her:-

Hast thou not beheld al-Hadr when its people enjoyed prosperity?
But is he who is prosperous immortal?
Sāhabūr set his army in array before it
For two years the axes beat against it
When he called upon his lord
He came back to him but did not take revenge (?)

These stanzas are in a poem of his. 'Adi bin Zaid said about that:-

Al-Hadr, grievous calamity fell upon it from above though
strong its defenders
A girl who was reared there did not spare her father to her
undoing when he failed to watch her
When she gave him the red clear wine to drink at even
Wine is a weakness because he who drinks it is bewildered
That night she betrayed her people, supposing that the conqueror
would become her bridegroom
The fate of the bride at break of day, with blood her tresses stream
Al-Hadr was destroyed and demolished, and her clothes-stands
were burned within her chambers.

Nizār's descendants omitted

The story of 'Amr ibn Luhai and an account of the idols²¹ of the Arabs.

'Abdallah ibn Abū Bakr ibn Muhammad ibn 'Amr ibn Hazm related to me on the authority of his father. He said: It was related to me that the Messenger of Allah said: "I saw 'Amr ibn Luhai trailing his intestine in the Fire", and I asked him what people were between him and me and he said: "They perished".

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Hārith the Taimite related to me that Abū Sālih the grocer related to him that he heard Abū Hurairah (Ibn Hishām: The name of Abū Hurairah was 'Abdallah ibn 'Amir and it is also given as 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn Sakhr) say: I heard the Messenger of Allah say to Aktham ibn al-Jaun the Khuza'ite: "O Aktham, I saw 'Amr ibn Luhai ibn Qama'ah ibn Khindif trailing his intestine in the Fire and I have never seen one man resemble another so much as you resemble him and he resembles you". Aktham said: "Perhaps his resemblance to me will work me mischief, O Prophet of Allah". He said: "No verily you are a believer and he was an unbeliever. He was the first one to change the religion of Ishmael: he set up idols, slit the Bahīrah's ear, set free the Sā'ibah, joined the Wasīlah (to her twin) and placed the Hāmi out of bounds.

Ibn Hishām: Some scholars related to me that 'Amr ibn Luhai went out from Mecca to Syria on business and when he reached Ma'āb in the country of al-Balqā, which the Amalakites inhabited at that time (they are the descendants of 'Imlāq also given as 'Imlīq ibn Lāwidh ibn Sām ibn Nūh) he found them worshipping idols and said to them: "What are these diols which I find you worshipping?". They said: "These are the idols we worship; we ask for rain and they give us rain, we ask for help and they grant us help". He said: "Will you not give me one of them to take to Arabia that they may worship it there?". So they gave him an idol called Hubal which he brought to Mecca and set up and bade the people worship and venerate it.

Ibn Ishāq: They say that the worship of stones amongst the descendants of Ishmael originated when those who left Mecca because of hard times seeking relief in the country, each of them carried with him one of the stones of the sacred territory in veneration for it, and wherever they went they set it up and circumambulated it just as

they circumambulated the Ka'bah, and that led them on to worship every stone that seemed good to them and pleased them, till the generations succeeded one another, they forgot what they had followed and exchanged the religion of Abraham and Ishmael for another, worshipping idols and inclining towards the errors of the nations who were before them. Amongst them are survivals from the time of Abraham which point to that - survivals to which they adhere, such as the veneration of the House and the circumambulation of it, the Greater and Lesser Pilgrimages, the standing on 'Arafah and Muzdalifah, the sacrifice of victims, the recitation of the Talbiya in the Greater and Lesser Pilgrimages, together with the innovations they introduced which did not belong to it. When Kinānah and Quraish recited the Talbiya they said: "Here I am O Allah! Here I am! Here I am! Thou hast no partner except a partner which belongs to Thee, and Thou possessest him and all that is his". Thus they asserted His unity in the Talbiya but then along with Him they introduced their idols and placed what they possessed under His power. Allah, the Blessed, the Exalted says to Muhammad:-

The most of them do not believe in Allah without giving Him associates. (Sūrah 12: 106).

That is: They do not assert My unity by the knowledge of My truth without giving Me a partner from My creation.

The people of Noah had idols to which they resorted, and Allah, the Blessed the Exalted, gave His Messenger Muhammad an account of them when He said:-

They said: 'Do not leave your gods; do not leave Wadd and Suwa', and Yaghūth and Ya'uq and Naṣr. And they have led many astray. (Surah 71: 23, 24).

Those of the descendants of Ishmael and others who chose these idols and gave them their names when they abandoned the religion of Ishmael were Hudhail ibn Mudrikah ibn Ilyās who chose Suwā', while they also had Burhāt. And Kalb ibn Wabrah of Qudā'ah chose Wadd in Dūmat al-Jandal.

Ibn Ishāq: Ka'b ibn Mālīk the Helper said:-

Al-Lat and al-'Uzza and Wadd shall be forgotten
We shall despoil them of necklaces and ear-rings.

Ibn Hishām: This stanza is in a poem of his which I shall mention in due course if Allah wills.

Ibn Ishāq: And An'um of Tayy and the people of Mudhij in Jurash chose Yaghūth in Jurash.

Ibn Hisham: It is also given as An'am.

Ibn Ishāq: Haiwān, a sub-tribe of Hamdān chose Ya'ūk in the country of Hamdān in Yemen.

Names omitted

Ibn Ishāq: And Dhū al-Kalā' of Himyar chose Nasr in the country of Himyar and Khaulān had an idol called 'Amm Anas in the country of Khaulan to which they gave a part of their cattle and grain; a part to him and a part to Allah, according to what they say. But if some of the portion allotted to Allah got into the portion which they had set apart for 'Amm Anas, they left it with the idol; but if any of the portion allotted to 'Amm Anas got into the portion allotted to Allah it was given back. These were a sub-tribe of Khaulān called al-Adīm. According to what they say, Allah sent down about them:-

They assign to Allah from the crops and cattle He has produced a portion and say: "This is for Allah", as they assert, "And this is for our associate-gods, but that which is for their associate-gods never reaches Allah, yet what is for Allah goes to their associate-gods - ill do they judge. (Sūrah 6: 136).

Ibn Ishāq: The Beni Milkān ibn Kinānah ibn Khuzaimah ibn Mudrikah had an idol called Sa'd a high rock in an arid plain in their country. A man of the Beni Milkān came to it with a train of camels belonging to him and stationed them beside the idol to beseech its blessing, according to what he says. But when the camels, which were fresh from pasture and had not been ridden, saw the idol over which blood had been poured, they broke away from him and went off helter skelter. Then the owner, the man of Milkān was enraged, took up a stone, cast it at the idol and said: "May you receive no blessing from Allah, you have scared away my camels". Then he set out in search of them and gathered them together and when that was done he said:-

We came to Sa'd in the hope that he would unite our ranks
But he broke them up, so we will have none of him
Is Sa'd anything but a rock in a barren land
Deaf both to evil and to good?

There was an idol in Daus belonging to 'Amr ibn Humamah the Dausite.

Ibn Hishām: I will give an account of it in due course if Allah wills.

Names omitted.

Ibn Ishāq: Quraish chose an idol over a well in the interior of the Ka'bah called Hubal.

Ibn Hishām: I will give an account of it in due course, if Allah wills.
Ibn Ishāq: They chose Isāf and Nā'ilah over the place of Zamzam and offered sacrifices at them. Isāf and Nā'ilah were a man and a woman of Jurhum. Isāf was the son of Baghi and Nā'ilah the daughter of Dīk, and Isāf lay with Nā'ilah in the Ka'bah and Allah turned them into two stones.

Ibn Hishām: 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr bin Muḥammad bin 'Amr bin Ḥazm related to me on the authority of 'Amrah bint 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin As'ad bin Zurārah that she had heard 'Ā'ishah say: "We have always heard that Isāf and Nā'ilah were a man and woman of Jurhum who committed sacrilege in the Ka'bah and Allah turned them into two stones" But Allah knows best.

Ibn Ishāq: Abū Tālib said:-

Yea, where the Beni 'l-Ash'ar halt
Where the valleys meet and Isāf and Nā'ilah stand.

This stanza is in a poem of his and I will mention it in due course if Allah wills.

Ibn Ishāq: The people of every tribe chose an idol in their tribe which they worshipped. If one of them wanted to go on a journey he rubbed himself with it before he mounted his beast and that was the last thing he did before setting out. When he returned from his journey he rubbed himself with it and that was the first action he performed before he joined his family. When Allah sent His Messenger Muḥammad with the message of the unity of Allah, Quraish said; "Has he made all the gods into One? Verily, this is an amazing thing!" Besides the Ka'bah, the Arabs chose other idols and they were the Houses which they venerated in the way they venerated the Ka'bah, they had their attendants and doorkeepers; they sent offerings to them just as they did in the case of the Ka'bah; they circumambulated them in the way they circumambulated the Ka'bah; and they performed sacrifices at them. But with all that they recognised that the Ka'bah was superior to them, for they knew it was the House of Abraham the Friend and his place of worship.

Quraish and the Beni Kinānah had al-'Uzza in Nakhlah and its attendants and doorkeepers were the Beni Shaibān of Sulaim, allies

of the Beni Hāshim.

Ibn Hishām: Allies of the Beni Abū Tālib in particular. Sulaim was Sulaim ibn Mansūr ibn 'Ikrimah ibn Khāsafah ibn Qais ibn 'Ailān.

Ibn Ishāq: An Arab poet said:-

Asmā' was married to (or for the sake of) a small cow
Which one of the Beni Ghanam offered in sacrifice
He noticed some defects in its eyes
As he drove it to the Ghabghab of al-'Uzza
So he was generous in his distribution of it.

This is what they did when they offered sacrifices, they divided them up amongst those who were present. Al-Ghabghab was the place of sacrifice where blood was shed.

Ibn Hishām: These two stanzas belong to Abū Khirāsh the Hudhalite whose name was Khuwailid ibn Murrah (and occur) in some stanzas of his. The attendants were those who had the oversight of the Ka'bah. Ru'bah ibn al-'Ajjāj said:-

No by the Lord of the pigeons of Mecca who make their homes
in the place where the sacrificial victims are confined and
in the house of the custodian of the Ka'bah.

These two stanzas are in a poem of his in the Rajaz metre, and I will give an account of it in due course if Allah wills.

Ibn Ishāq: Al-Lāt belonged to Thaqīf in at-Tā'if and her attendants and custodians were the Beni Mu'attib of Thaqīf.

Ibn Hishām: I will give an account of it in due course if Allah wills.

Ibn Ishāq: Manāt, situated on the sea-coast in the vicinity of al-Mushallal in Quda'id, belonged to the Aus and the Khazraj, and those of the people of Yathrib who followed their religion.

Ibn Hishām: Al-Kumait ibn Zaid said:-

Tribes who did not turn their backs on Manāt took the oath
This stanza is in a poem of his.

Ibn Hishām: The Messenger of Allah sent Abū Sufyān ibn Harb to it and he pulled it down, but it is said that it was 'Alī ibn Abū Tālib.

Ibn Ishāq: Dhu al-Khulasah belonged to Daus, Khath'am and Bajilah and the Arabs who were in Tabalah their country.

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as Dhu al-Khalasah. One of the Arabs said:-

If you were the wronged one like me, O Dhu al-Khulasah,
and your father buried, you would not forbid to slay the
enemy by treachery.

His father had been killed and he wanted to exact blood-revenge and he came to Dhu al-Khulasah and drew lots with the arrows that were there. The 'forbidding' arrow turned up and he recited these stanzas. Some people attribute them to Imru'l-Qais bin Hujr the Kindite.

The Messenger of Allah sent Jarīr bin 'Abdallah the Bajalite and he destroyed it.

Ibn Ishāq: Fils, which belonged to Tayy and those who adhered to them, was in the mountains of Tayy, that is to say, Salma and Aja'.

Ibn Hishām: Some scholars related to me that the Messenger of Allah sent 'Ali bin Abū Talib to it and he pulled it down and found two swords inside it one of which was called ar-Rusūband the other al-Mikhdham and he brought them to the Messenger of Allah and made him a present of them. Thus they were the swords of 'Ali.

Ibn Ishāq: Himyar and the people of Yemen had a house in San'a' called Ri'am.

Ibn Hishām: I have given an account of it in what has gone before.

Ibn Ishāq: Rudā was the House of the Beni Rabī'ah bin Ka'b bin Sa'd bin Zaid Manāt bin Tamīm and al-Mustaughir bin Rabī'ah bin Ka'b bin Sa'd bin Zaid Manāt says of it when he destroyed it:-

I treated Rudā with the utmost severity
And left it a blackened ruin in a hollow place

Ibn Hishām: His saying, 'And left it a blackened ruin in a hollow place' is on the authority of one of the Beni Sa'd. It is said that al-Mustaughir was three hundred and thirty years of age; he attained to a greater age than any of the tribe of Mudar and it was he who said:-

I have grown weary of life and length of days
I have lived several hundred years
A hundred I have reached after that two hundred
And have gained from the number of the months more years
Does anything remain save that as the day has passed
So it will pass and so night follows.

Some people attribute these stanzas to Zuhair bin Janāb the Kalbite.

Ibn Ishāq: Dhu al-Ka'abāt, which belonged to Bekr and Taghlib, the two sons of Wa'il, and to Iyād, was in Sindād. Of it A'sha of the Beni Qais bin Tha'labah says:-

Amongst al-Khawarnaq and as-Sadīr and Bāriq
And the House of Dhu al-Ka'abātin Sindād.

Ibn Hishām: This stanza belongs to al-Aswad bin Ya'fur the Nahshalite in a poem of his and Abū Muhriz Khalaf al-Ahmar recited it to me thus:-

The people of al-Khawarnaq and as-Sadīr and Bāriq
And the House with battlements in Sindād.

The Affair of the Bahīrah, the Sā'ibah, the Wasīlah and the Nami.²⁴

Ibn Ishāq: The Bahīrah is the daughter of the Sā'ibah, and the Sā'ibah is a she-camel which, when she has had ten female foals in succession, without a single male amongst them, is set free. Her back never has a rider, her coat is never clipped, and none but a guest may drink her milk. Then whatever female foals she brings forth after that have their ears slit and are set free with their mother. Their backs never carry a rider, their coats are never clipped, and none but a guest may drink their milk - the same thing as happens in the case of the mother camel. They are Bahīrahs, daughters of the Sā'ibah.

The Wasīlah was a ewe which when she had brought forth ten females, two at a time in succession on five occasions without a male amongst them became Wasīlah. They said: "Qadwasalat". Anything she brought forth after that was for the men but not for the women except when it died, in which case both men and women shared in eating it.

Ibn Hishām: It is also related: Whatever she gave birth to after that was for the males of their sons not for their daughters.

Ibn Ishāq: The Hāmi was a stallion who, when ten mares had been brought forth to him in succession without there being a male amongst them, had his back placed out of bounds. He was not ridden and his coat was not clipped. He was let loose amongst the camels to mix with them, apart from which no benefit was derived from him.

Ibn Hishām: All this, in the opinion of the Arabs, took place in a different way, with the exception of the Hāmi, in regard to which it was, in their opinion, as stated by Ibn Ishāq: In their opinion the Bahīrah was a she-camel whose ear was slit, whose back was not ridden, whose coat was not clipped, whose milk was not drunk except by a guest, otherwise alms should be given, and she was left for their gods.

The Sā'ibah was the camel which a man vowed to set free when he was cured of his sickness or when he obtained something he wanted, in which case he set free a she-camel from his herd, or a camel for one of their gods. She was thus set free to graze and no benefit accrued from her.

The Wasīlah was the one whose mother had twins at each time of birth and her owner set apart the females for the gods and kept the males for himself. When her mother gave birth to a male along with her they said: "She is joined with her brother", and her brother was set free along with her and no benefit accrued from him. Yūnus and others related this to me; some have related things that others did not relate.

Ibn Ishāq: When Allah, the Blessed, the Exalted, sent His Messenger Muhammad He sent down to him:-

Allah has not appointed either Bahīrah or Sā'ibah or Wasīlah or Hāmi, but those who have disbelieved devise lies against Allah, and the majority of them have no intelligence. (Sūrah 5: 103).

Allah, to Whom belong power and glory, also sent down:-

They say: "That which is in the wombs of these cattle is reserved for our males and forbidden to our wives but if it be dead they are sharers in it. He will recompense

them for what they have been saying. He is knowing, wise. (Surah vi: 139).

He also sent down to him:-

Say: "Have ye seen the provision which Allah hath sent down to you and of which ye have made some allowable and some forbidden?" Say: "Hath Allah given you permission or do ye devise lies about Allah?" (Surah 10: 59).

He also sent down to him:-

Of sheep a pair and of goats a pair. Say: "Hath He forbidden the two males or the two females, or that which the wombs of the two females enclose, or were ye witnesses when Allah gave you this injunction? Who then does greater wrong than he who devises lies against Allah in order to lead astray people who have no knowledge? Verily Allah guideth not the people who do wrong. (Surah vi: 143, 144).

Ibn Hishām: Tamim bin Ubai bin Muqbal one of the Beni 'Āmir bin Sa'aa'ah said:-

In it there is a grumbling noise from the two-coloured beasts pasturing on the spring grass
The growling of the stallion of Diaf amongst the Bahīrah:
This stanza is in a poem of his. The poet said:-

Around the Wasīlahs in Shuraif are four year old camels
Also Hamis and Sa'ibahs.

The plural of Wasīlah is Wasā'il, the plural of Bahīrah is Bahā'ir or Buhur, and the plural of Sā'ibah is generally Sawā'ib, and the plural of Hami is generally Hawām

Genealogies omitted.

The Affair of Sāmah.

Ibn Ishāq: Sāmah bin Lu'ai went away to 'Umān and lived there. They say that 'Āmir bin Lu'ai expelled him and that because of something that was between them. Sāmah had put out 'Āmir's eye and 'Āmir threatened him so he went to 'Umān. They say that whilst Sāmah bin Lu'ai was travelling on his she-camel she put down her head to graze and a snake fastened on her lip and made her lean over till she fell on her side when it bit Sāmah and caused his death. According to what they tell, Sāmah, when he felt that death was near, said:-

Weep O my eye for Sāmāh ibn Lu'ai
A snake caught hold of Sāmāh
I have not seen the like of Sāmāh ibn Lu'ai
On the day they alighted by him - slain for a she-camel
As a messenger tell 'Āmir and Ka'b
That my soul yearns for them both
Even though my abode be in 'Umān
I am a Ghālibite, I departed not because of poverty
Many a cup have you poured out O Ibn Lu'ai
In wariness of death, which (otherwise) had not been poured out
Thou didst desire to keep death away O Ibn Lu'ai
But not he who desires that has the power(to do it)
The dumb beast on the night journey jaded thou didst abandon
After its endeavours, keenness, and elegance

Ibn Hishām: I have heard that some of his descendants came to the Messenger of Allah and claimed descent from Sāmāh ibn Lu'ai and the Messenger of Allah said: "The poet?". Some of his friends said to him: "O Messenger of Allah, it seemed as if you were referring to his words:-

Many a cup have you poured out O Ibn Lu'ai
In wariness of death which (otherwise) had not been poured out.

He said: "Yes".

The Affair of 'Auf ibn Lu'ai and his defection.

Ibn Ishāq: As for 'Auf ibn Lu'ai he went away at the head of a party of Quraishite horsemen and when he was in the country of Ghatafān ibn Sa'd ibn Qais ibn 'Ailān he was delayed and those of his people who were with him went on their way. Then Tha'labah ibn Sa'd came to him - he was his brother according to the genealogy of the Beni Dhubyān: (Tha'labah ibn Sa'd ibn Dhubyān ibn Baghīd ibn Raith ibn Ghatafān), took charge of him, got him married, united him with the tribe and treated him like a brother. Thus his pedigree stemmed out among the Beni Dhubyān. It was Tha'labah, according to what they tell, who said to 'Auf when he was delayed and his people forsook him:

Tie up your camel with me O Ibn Lu'ai
Your people have abandoned you and there is no place left for you.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad ibn Ja'far ibn az-Zubair related to us, or Muhammad ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Abdallah ibn Husain that 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb said: "Were I claiming an Arab tribe or uniting them with

us I would claim the Beni Murrah ibn 'Auf. We recognise in them similarities, along with what we know of the place where that man was domiciled", meaning 'Auf ibn Lu'ai.

Ibn Ishāq: In the genealogy of Ghatafān he was Murrah ibn 'Auf ibn Sa'd ibn Dhubyān ibn Baghīd ibn Raith ibn Ghatafān, and when this genealogy is mentioned to them they say: "We neither deny nor disown it, and verily it is our best loved genealogy". Al-Hārith ibn Zālim (Ibn Hisham: One of the Beni Murrah ibn 'Auf) said when he fled from auṢNu'mān ibn al-Mundhir and joined Quraish:-

My people are not Tha'labah ibn Sa'd
Nor is the relationship with Fazārah of the long hair
If you enquire, my people are the Beni Lu'ai
Of Mecca, who taught Mudar how to fight
We were foolish to follow the Beni Baghīd
And abandon those near of kin to us
With the foolishness of the water-drawer, who when he has
quenched his own thirst
Pours out the water and follows the mirage
Had I submitted to your religion I would have been one of them
And would not have been found seeking rain
Rawāhah of Quraish increased my gear
By a swift she-camel and did not ask for reward.

Ibn Hishām: This is what Abū 'Ubaidah recited of it to me.

Ibn Ishāq: Al-Husain ibn al-Humām the Murrite and of the sub-tribe of the Beni Sahn ibn Murrah said in reply to al-Hārith ibn Zālim and he traces his origin back to Ghatafān:-

You do not belong to us and we are not related to you
We are quit of you through (or from) Lu'ai ibn Ghālib
We were over the best part of the Hijāz
While you are in the level place, in the river-bed between
the two mountains.

meaning Quraish. Then al-Husain repented of what he had said when he knew what al-Hārith had said. So he traced his genealogy to Quraish, contradicted himself and said:-

I have repented of a saying which went out - I said it
I make it clear that it is a false statement
O that my tongue were in two parts, one of them dumb
And the other in the courses of the stars
Our father was a Kinānite, his grave is in Mecca
In the level place of the torrent-bed between the two mountains
We have as inheritance a quarter of the House
And a quarter of the torrent-bed by the house of Ibn Hātib

That means that Lu'ai had four sons, Ka'b, 'Āmir, Sāmāh, and 'Auf

Ibn Hishām: One who is above suspicion related to me that 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb said to some of the Beni Murrah: "If you desire to return to your line, do so".

Ibn Ishāq: This people were the nobility of Ghatafān, they were their lords and leaders and amongst them were Harim ibn Sinān, ibn Abū Hārithah, ibn Murrah, ibn Nusbah, and Khārijah ibn Sinān ibn Abū Hārithah, and al-Hārith ibn 'Auf, and al-Husain ibn al-Humām, and Hashim ibn Harmalah of whom one said:-

Hāshim ibn Harmalah

You see that with him kings are but refuse *

He slays alike the wrong-doer and him who has done no wrong.

Ibn Hishām: Abū 'Ubaidah recited these stanzas to me as belonging to 'Āmir the Khaṣafite, Khaṣafah ibn Qais ibn 'Ailān:-

Hāshim ibn Harmalah avenged his father

On the day of al-Haba'āt and the day of al-Ya'malah

You see that with him kings are but refuse *

He slays alike the wrong-doer and him who has done no wrong.

He also related to me that Hāshim said to 'Āmir: "Recite a good stanza of poetry about me and I will reward you for it". 'Āmir recited the first line but it did not please him; then he recited the second and it did not please him; then he recited the third and it did not please him; but when he said: "He slays alike the wrong-doer and him who has done no wrong", it pleased him and he rewarded him for it.

Ibn Hishām: That was what al-Kumait ibn Zaid meant when he said:-

Hāshim of Murrah the destroyer of kings

Those who have done him not wrong as well as those who have

This stanza is in a poem of his. The saying of 'Āmir: "The day of al-Haba'āt is on the authority of another than Abū 'Ubaidah.

Ibn Ishāq: A people of fame and renown amongst all Ghatafān and Qais, and they adhered to their genealogy, and amongst them the Basl was observed.

*Reading of Cairo Text adopted here.

The Affair of the Basl.

According to what they say, the Basl was eight months of each year held sacred by them alone amongst all the Arabs. The Arabs recognised that that belonged to them, they did not deny or repudiate it, and during this period they could travel to any Arab territory they wished and fear nothing from them. Zuhair bin Abū Sulma said in reference to the Beni Murrah:-

Consider, for if al-Maraurah be depopulated
While its houses are not emptied of them, it is Nakhl
A country where I drank with them and was their friend
If then they both are emptied of them they are forbidden.

He says they traveled during their sacred months.

Ibn Hishām: These two stanzas are in a poem of his.

Ibn Ishāq: A'sha of the Beni Qais bin Tha'labah said:

Is your neighbour woman forbidden to us
While our neighbour woman and her husband are allowable
for you.

Ibn Hishām: This stanza is in a poem of his.

Genealogy omitted.

The sons and daughters of 'Abd al-Muttalib bin Hāshim.

Ibn Hishām: 'Abd al-Muttalib bin Hāshim had ten sons and six daughters: - Al-'Abbās, Hamzah, 'Abdallah, Abū Tālib, (his name was 'Abd Manāf), az-Zubair, al-Hārith, Hajlā, al-Muqawwam, Dirār, Abū Lahab, (his name was 'Abd al-'Uzza), Saffiyyah, Umm Hakīm al-Baidā, 'Atikah, Umaimah, Arwa, and Barrah.

Genealogies omitted.

Ibn Hishām: 'Abdallah bin 'Abd al-Muttalib was the father of the Messenger of Allah, lord of the children of Adam: Muhammad bin 'Abdallah bin 'Abd al-Muttalib. His mother was Āminah bint Wahb bin 'Abd Manāf bin Zuhrah bin Kilāb bin Murrah bin Ka'b bin Lu'ai bin Ghālibbin Fihr bin Mālik bin an-Nadr.

Genealogies omitted.

Thus the Messenger of Allah was the most illustrious of the sons of Adam in the nobility of his lineage and the most excellent of them in pedigree on both his father's and mother's side.

An Allusion to the Digging of Zamzam.

Muhammad Ibn Ishāq: Whilst 'Abd al-Muttalib ibn Hāshim was asleep in his chamber a visitant came to him and commanded him to dig Zamzam which was a filled-in well between the idols of Quraish, Isāf and Nā'ilah at the spot where Quraish offered their sacrifices. Jurhum had filled it in before they took their departure from Mecca. It was the well of Ishmael son of Abraham which Allah provided for him when as a small child he was thirsty. His mother besought water for him and did not find it so she took her stand on as-Ṣafa and prayed to Allah beseeching His aid for Ishmael. Then she went to al-Marwa and did the same thing and Allah sent Gabriel who made a mark with his heel in the ground and the water appeared. His mother heard the cries of the beasts of prey and feared for his safety and came running fast towards him to find him scraping the ground underneath his cheek for water with his hand, and drinking, so she made a small hollow.

The Affair of Jurhum and the filling in of Zamzam.

Ibn Hishām: The account of Jurhum, their filling in of Zamzam, their departure from Mecca, and those who had charge of the affairs of Mecca after them till 'Abd al-Muttalib is that given to us by Ziyād ibn 'Abdallah the Bakkā'ite on the authority of Muhammad ibn Ishāq the Muttalibite. He said: When Ishmael son of Abraham died his son Nabit ibn Ishmael succeeded to the superintendence of the House for as long as Allah willed. Then Midād ibn 'Amr the Jurhumite succeeded him as guardian of the House.

Ibn Hishām: He is also given as Mudād ibn 'Amr the Jurhumite.

Ibn Ishāq: The Beni Ishmael and the Beni Nābit with their grandfather Mudād ibn 'Amr and their relatives from Jurhum (Jurhum and Qatūrā' were at that time the inhabitants of Mecca and they were cousins), had departed from Yemen and come as a caravan, Mudād ibn 'Amr being the leader of Jurhum and Sumaida', one of themselves, the leader of Qatūrā'. When they set out from Yemen it was not without a king to direct their affairs and when they got to Mecca they saw a town which had water and trees and it pleased them and they settled there. Mudād ibn 'Amr and the Jurhumites who were with him settled in Upper Mecca in Qu'aiqi'ān and what belonged to it, and Sumaida' and Qatūrā' in Lower Mecca in Ajyād and what belonged to it. Mudād exacted toll

of all who entered Mecca from the upper regions and Sumaid' took toll of all who entered it from the nether parts; each of them remained with his people; neither of them went to the other. Then Jurhum and Qatūrah began to act wrongfully towards each other and vied with each other for supremacy in Mecca. The Beni Ishmael and the Beni Nābit were at that time on the side of Mudād and he had the guardianship of the House in which Sumaid' did not share. So they advanced against each other, Mudād sallied forth from Qu'aiqi'ān at the head of his squadron against Sumaid'. His squadron had its panoply of spears, shields, swords, and quivers, and with these they came clashing forward. It is said that Qu'aiqi'ān got its name from this very fact. Sumaid' also sallied forth from Ajyād accompanied by cavalry and footmen. It is said that Ajyād got its name just because the fleet coursers set out from it with Sumaid'. They met at Fādih and a bitter fight followed in which Sumaid' was slain and Qatūrah were crushed. It is said that Fādih got its name from this (defeat). Then the people made overtures for peace and they retired to al-Mutābigh, a ravine of Upper Mecca where they made peace and put their affairs in the hands of Mudād. When Mecca was united under him and he had gained supremacy he made a sacrifice for the people and gave them to eat. So the people cooked and ate and it is said that al-Mutābigh was so called for this very reason. But some scholars claim that it was called al-Mutābigh because of the sacrifices which Tubba' offered there and the feasts he provided for it was his stopping place. That which took place between Mudād and Sumaid' was the first wrongdoing ever perpetrated in Mecca, according to what they say.

Then Allah increased the descendants of Ishmael in Mecca and their Jurhumite uncles were the guardians of the House and the rulers of Mecca which position the descendants of Ishmael did not dispute with them because they were near of kin to them and out of veneration for the sacred territory lest there should be wrong committed or blood shed within it. When Mecca became too small for the descendants of Ishmael they spread themselves out into the country and they were opposed by none but Allah gave them the mastery over them by means of their religion so that they subdued them.

The Occupation of the House by the tribes of Kinānah and Khuẓā'ah and the Expulsion of Jurhum.

Then Jurhum wrought evil in Mecca and made free some things which were by nature sacred. They also oppressed those entering it who were not of their own people and appropriated the gifts donated to the Ka'bah and so their position was weakened. When the Beni Bekr bin 'Abd Manāt bin Kinānah and Ghubshān bin Khuẓā'ah saw that they resolved to fight them and expel them from Mecca. They declared war on them, a fight took place and the Beni Bekr and Ghubshān defeated and expelled them from Mecca. In the Age of Barbarism Mecca did not admit wrongdoing or oppression within her borders; none who acted wrongly in Mecca escaped expulsion and she was called An-Nāssah. No king ever came to her with the idea of making her sacred territory free who did not perish where he stood. It is said that she was called Bakkah^{qā} because she used to break the necks of the giants when they committed sacrilege within her bounds.

Ibn Hishām: Abu 'Ubaidah told me that Bakkah was the name of a sub-tribe of Mecca because they were crowded together in her and he recited to me;-

When great heat has overcome the companion of the cup
Let him alone till he squeezes into Raccāh.

That is, let him crowd his camels together; let him free them to go to the water and they will crowd upon him. It was the site of the House and the place of worship. These two stanzas belong to 'Āmān bin Ka'b bin 'Amr bin Sa'd bin Zaid Manāt bin Tamīm.

Ibn Ishāq: Then 'Amr bin al-Hārith bin Mudād the Jurhumite took out the two gazelles of the Ka'bah and the stones of the pillar, buried them in Zamzam and departed to Yemen along with the Jurhumites who accompanied him. They were greatly grieved at having to leave Mecca and give up possession of it.

Poetry omitted.

Usurpation of the Guardianship of the House by a faction of the Khuẓā'ites.

Ibn Ishāq: Then Ghubshān of Khuẓā'ah became the guardians of the House without the Beni Bekr bin 'Abd Manāt and the one who got it

was 'Amr ibn al-Ḥārith the Ḥubshānite. When that was taking place Quraish were only collections of houses, small communities scattered here and there amongst their people the Beni Kinānah. Thus Khuzā'ah became the guardians of the House inheriting it from father to son till the last of them who was Hulail ibn Ḥabashiyyah ibn Salūl ibn Ka'b ibn 'Amr the Khuzā'ite.

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as Ḥubashiyyah ibn Salūl

Marriage of Qusai ibn Kilāb to Hubba bint Hulail .

Ibn Ishāq: Then Qusai ibn Kilāb asked Hulail ibn Ḥabashiyyah for his daughter Hubbā in marriage and Hulail found him desirable and gave her to him. She bore to him 'Abd ad-Dār, 'Abd Manāf, 'Abd al-'Uzza and 'Abd. When his descendants had branched out, his wealth increased and his fame grown great, Hulail died, and Qusai considered himself better entitled to have the guardianship of the Ka'bah and the rule over Mecca than the Khuzā'ites and the Beni Bakr, and Quraish were the best of (the descendants of) Ishmael son of Abraham and of pure stock. So he talked to some men of Quraish and the Beni Kinānah and induced them to drive the Khuzā'ites and the Beni Bakr out of Mecca and they consented. Rabī'ah ibn Ḥarām ibn 'Udhrah ibn Sa'd ibn Zaid had come to Mecca after the death of Kilāb and had married Fātimah bint Sa'd ibn Sail. Zuhrah was a grown man at that time but Qusai was a child newly weaned. He took her away to his country and she took Qusai with her but Zuhrah remained behind. She bore Rizāh to Rabī'ah. When Qusai grew up and became a man he came to Mecca and dwelt there. When his people complied with what he asked them to do he wrote to Rizāh his brother by his mother ibn Rabī'ah asking him to help him and stand in with him. So Rizāh ibn Rabī'ah set out accompanied by his brothers Hunn ibn Rabī'ah, Mahmūd ibn Rabī'ah, and Julhamah ibn Rabī'ah (they were by a mother other than Fātimah), at the head of those of Qudā'ah who followed them in the Arab pilgrimage who had agreed to give help to Qusai. The Khuzā'ites claim that Hulail ibn Ḥabashiyyah enjoined and commanded Qusai to do that, when through his daughter his descendants spread themselves abroad as they did and said: "You are more entitled to the guardianship of the Ka'bah, to superintend it and to be ruler over Mecca than Khuzā'ah. Then Qusai made his

demand. But we have not heard this from any other source and Allah knows best which of these took place.

The Superintendence of the People on Pilgrimage which al-Ghauth obtained.

Al-Ghauth ibn Murr ibn Udd ibn Tābighah ibn Ilyās ibn Mudar obtained the office of superintending the people on pilgrimage from 'Arafah and his descendants held it after him. He and his descendants were called Sufah. Al-Ghauth ibn Murr succeeded to that (office) merely because his mother was a Jurhumite woman who had no children and who vowed to Allah that if she gave birth to a son she would dedicate him to the Ka'bah as its servant to serve it and care for it.²⁷ Then she gave birth to al-Ghauth and he looked after the Ka'bah at first in conjunction with his Jurhumite relatives and so he obtained the office of superintending the people from 'Arafah because of his position at the Ka'bah, and his descendants after him till they were cut off. Murr ibn Udd said of the fulfilment of his mother's vow:-

Verily, O my Lord, I have made one of my sons a devotee
in Mecca the Exalted
Bless him then for me and make him the best of all people.

According to what they say, al-Ghauth ibn Murr said as he moved the people forward:-²⁸

O Allah I am following a custom
If it is a sin, Qudā'ah is responsible

Ibn Ishāq: Yahya ibn 'Abbād ibn 'Abdallah ibn az-Zubair related to me on the authority of his father 'Abbād. He said: Sufah moved the people forward from 'Arafah and superintended them when they left Mina till when on the day they broke up they came to throw the stones one of the Sufah would throw for the people, who did not throw till he had thrown. Those who had business to do and were in a hurry would come and say to him: "Come on, throw the stones that we may do it with you", and he would say: "No, not till the sun is past the zenith". So those who had business and wanted to hurry would keep on throwing stones at him trying to hurry him up thereby and saying to him: "Out upon you! Come on! Throw!" But he would refuse them till the sun was on the decline, and then he would throw and the people would do it with him.

Ibn Ishāq: When they had finished throwing the stones and wanted to get back from Mina Sufah took hold of both sides of the mountain path and held the people prisoner. Then they would say: "Make way, Sufah!" but none of the people would pass till they had gone on, and when Sufah took his departure the people were free to go their way and went after them. In such manner they functioned till they were cut off. Then the Beni Sa'd ibn Zaid Manāt ibn Tamīm obtained it being near of kin, some of the Beni Sa'd being in the family of Safwān ibn al-Hārith ibn Shijnah.

Ibn Hishām: Safwān ibn Janab ibn Shijnah ibn 'Utārid ibn 'Auf ibn Ka'b ibn Sa'd ibn Zaid Manāt ibn Tamīm.

Ibn Ishāq: It was Safwān who superintended the movement of the people on pilgrimage from 'Arafah, then his sons after him till the last of them at the rise of Islam who was Karib ibn Safwān. Ibn Maghrā' the Sa'dite said:-

As long as people have made the pilgrimage to their appointed places
They have not departed till it is said: "Make way O family of Safwān.

Ibn Hishām: This stanza is in a poem by Aus ibn Maghrā'.

'Adwan's superintendence of the movements of the pilgrim host from al-Muzdalifah.

Here are the words of Dhū 'l-Asba' the 'Adwānite whose name was Hurthān ibn 'Amr:-

The advocates of the tribe from 'Adwān were the life of the earth
Some of them acted unjustly and did not care for others
Some of them were leaders who fulfilled their obligations
Amongst them were those who superintended the people
according to the law and the precept
Some of them gave judgment and the judgment they gave was not
set aside.

These stanzas are in a poem of his. The movement of the pilgrims from al-Muzdalifah was in the hands of 'Adwān according to what Ziyād ibn 'Abdallah the Bakkā'ite related to me on the authority of Muhammad ibn Ishāq and they inherited the office from father to son till the last of them when Islam arose was Abū Sayyārah, 'Umailah ibn al-A'zal. Of him an Arab poet says:-

We averted evil from Abū Sayyārah
And from his clients the Beni Fazārah
Till he passed his ass through in safety
Facing the Qiblah he calls on his Protector.

Abū Sayyārah used to superintend the people on a she-ass of his and so he says: "Sālīman himārah".

The affair of 'Amir ibn Zarib ibn 'Amr ibn 'Iyādh ibn Yashkur ibn 'Adwān.

Ibn Ishāq: His saying "a judge who gave judgment" refers to 'Amir ibn Zarib the 'Adwānite. There did not arise amongst the Arabs any scandal or knotty question for judgment that they did not refer to him and they accepted the judgment he gave. They brought to him a dispute over a matter about which they disagreed, namely a hermaphrodite who had what belongs to a man and also what belongs to a woman (and said) "Do you account him a man or a woman?". They had never brought him a more difficult question than this, so he said: "Wait till I look into this matter of yours for never have you brought me anything like this O Arab people". So they granted him time and he spent the night in wakefulness turning the matter over in his mind and having due regard to its importance, but no way out of it presented itself to him. He had a slave-girl called Sukhailah who tended his flocks for him. He used to reprimand her when she took them out to pasture in the morning and would say: "You are early, Sukhail", and when she brought them back in the evening: "You are late, Sukhail". That meant that she had delayed pasturing them till some people got in in front of her, and that she delayed bringing them back in the evening till some people got in in front of her. When she observed his wakefulness and the small amount of rest he got on his couch she said: "May you have no father! What is the matter? What has upset you to-night? He said: "Out upon you! Leave me alone! it is a matter that does not concern you". Then she repeated much the same as she had said and he said to himself: "It may be that she will bring relief to me from that which vexes me". He said: "Out upon you! A dispute about the inheritance of a hermaphrodite has been referred to me. Shall I account the being a man or a woman? I do not know what to do. I see no way out of it". She said: "Allah be praised! May you have no father! Follow the decision of the urination. Make it sit down; if it urinates like a man then a man it is, but if like a woman then a woman"

He said: "Let Sukhail come in the evening or in the morning, you have taken a weight off my mind". Then he went out to the people and gave his verdict as she had indicated to him.

Qusai ibn Kilab gains the mastery over Mecca with the help of Qudā'ah and gathers Quraish together.

Ibn Ishāq: When that season came round Sufah did as they had been wont to do, the Arabs acknowledging that that was their prerogative; it was a religion amongst them in the age when Jurhum and Kinānah exercised their rule. Then Qusai ibn Kilāb came to them with those of his people who accompanied him, of Quraish and Kinānah and Qudā'ah, at al-'Aqabah and said: "We are surely more entitled to this than you are". They fought against him, the people waged a bitter strife, Sufah was routed and Qusai by his victory, wrested from them all they controlled.

Thereupon Khuzā'ah and the Beni Bakr withdrew from Qusai for they realised he would obstruct them as he had obstructed Sufah and that he would stand between them and the Ka'bah and the rule over Mecca. When they withdrew from him he manifested hostility towards them and resolved to fight them. So Khuzā'ah and the Beni Bakr came out against him and they met and fought a fierce engagement in the river-bed till many were slain on both sides. Then they made overtures for peace and that they should choose as arbiter one of the Arabs. They appointed Ya'mar ibn 'Auf ibn Ka'b ibn 'Āmir ibn Laith ibn Bakr ibn 'Abd Manāt ibn Kinānah arbiter and he gave as his verdict that Qusai was more entitled to the Ka'bah and the rule over Mecca than Khuzā'ah, and that all the blood of Khuzā'ah and the Beni Bakr that Qusai had spilled be laid aside, he could crush it beneath his feet; but the blood of Quraish, Kinānah and Qudā'ah which Khuzā'ah and the Beni Bakr had shed would be recompensed. Qusai was to have a free hand in the Ka'bah and Mecca. Ya'mar ibn 'Auf was called "The Smasher" because of the blood he crushed underfoot and put aside.

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as as-Shuddākh.

Ibn Ishāq: Thus Qusai gained possession of the House and became ruler of Mecca and he gathered his people together from their

places of abode into Mecca and was made king of his people and the inhabitants of Mecca. They made him king but he confirmed to the Arabs that which they followed and that because he knew it was a religion in its own right and must not be changed. He also confirmed the families of Safwān, 'Adwān, the Nasā'at and Murrah ibn 'Auf in their former positions, (and thus they remained) till the advent of Islam by which Allah overthrew all these things. Qusai was the first of the ^{Deni} Ka'b to obtain a position of sovereignty which commanded the allegiance of his people. He had the custody of the keys, the administration of the water, the supervision of provisions for the pilgrims, the presidency of the Council, and the right of mounting the standard.²⁹ He gathered together the nobility of Mecca and divided it up into four amongst his people. He settled each tribe of Quraish in the houses which they got. People claim that Quraish were terrified of cutting down the trees in the sacred territory amongst their houses so Qusai and his helpers cut them down with their own hands. Quraish called him "The Gatherer" because he had gathered them together and they regarded it as a good omen for his reign. No woman of Quraish was given in marriage and no man of theirs was married but in his house. They held no consultation on any matter that arose, they did not mount the standard for one tribe to make war on another, except it were in his house where some of his sons would mount it for them. No slave girl was clothed when she reached the age when she should be clothed by Quraish except in his house where her robe would be cut for her and then she would put it on after which he would take her away to her people. His rule among his own people Quraish during his life and after his death was like a religion which is adhered to, none other being practised. He took for himself the Hall of Assembly and made its door communicate with the place of worship belonging to the Ka'bah, and in it Quraish conducted their affairs.

Ibn Hishām: A poet said:

By my life Qusai was called The Gatherer
By him Allah collected the tribes of Fihir.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abd al-Malik ibn Kāshid related to me on the authority of his father. He said: I heard as-Sā'ib ibn Khabbāb the keeper of the private apartments, relate that he heard a man relating to 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb when he was Caliph the story of Qusai ibn Kilāb, how he gathered his people together and expelled Khuzā'ah and the Beni Bakr from Mecca and his mastery over the House and Mecca and he gave no answer.

Ibn Ishāq: When Qusai brought the war to an end his brother Rizāh ibn Rabī'ah went back to his own country with those of his people who accompanied him.

Poetry omitted

When Rizāh ibn Rabī'ah settled in his own country Allah increased him and he increased Hunn also - they are the two tribes of 'Udhrah to-day - There was something between Rizāh ibn Rabī'ah when he got back to his country and Nahd ibn Zaid and Hautikah who were sub-tribes of Qudā'ah and he threatened them till they went to Yemen and emigrated from the country of Qudā'ah, and to-day they are in Yemen. Qusai ibn Kilāb said - and he liked that Qudā'ah should increase and gather together in their country - referring to the close relationship that was between Rizāh and himself and the trials they had endured with him when they had complied with his request for help and he detested what Rizāh had done to them.

Is there no one who will tell Rizāh about me
I have put you to shame about two matters
I have put you to shame about the Beni Nahd ibn Zaid
As you caused dissension between them and me
And Hautikah ibn Aslum, verily any people who have
ill-treated them have ill-treated me.

Ibn Hishām: These stanzas are attributed to Zuhair ibn Janāb the Kalbite.

Ibn Ishāq: When Qusai grew old and he became weak - 'Abd ad-Dār was his first-born son, 'Abd Manāf had grown illustrious in the time of his father and had followed every way, and there were also 'Abd al-'Uzza and 'Abd - he said to 'Abd ad-Dār: "My son, I will indeed affiliate you with the tribe and if they grant you the honour, not one of them can enter the Ka'bah till you open it for him, none but you by your own hand can mount the

standard for Quraish in time of war, none can drink water in Mecca except under your superintendence, and none of the people of the Pilgrimage can obtain food except through you, an Quraish cannot transact a single item of business except it be in your house. Then he gave him his house, the Hall of Assembly outside of which Quraish settled none of their affairs. He gave him the custody of the keys, the right of mounting the standard, the administration, and the supervision of provisions for the pilgrims.

These provisions were a contribution which Quraish gave out of their possessions to Qusai bin Kilāb every pilgrim season and with it he provided food for the pilgrims and those who had no means or food received it. That was a duty Qusai imposed on Quraish and said to them when he commanded them to carry it out: "You are the neighbours of Allah, the people of His House and the people of the sacred territory. Pilgrims are the guests of Allah and visitors to His House and they are the guests most worthy of honour, so give them food and drink during the Pilgrimage, till they depart from you". This they did, and they set apart every year for that purpose part of their possessions which they gave to him and he provided food for the people during the days they were at Mina. That went on from the time he instituted it in the Age of Barbarism till the rise of Islam and it has continued in Islam till our day. This is the food which the ruler provides every year in Mina for the people till the Pilgrimage is over.

Ibn Ishāq: My father Ishāq bin Yasār on the authority of al-Hasan bin Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Abū Tālib related this to me about the institution of Qusai bin Kilāb and what he said to 'Abd ad-Dār about the offices under his control which he handed over to him. He said: "I heard him say to one of the Beni 'Abd ad-Dār called Nubaih bin Wahb bin 'Āmir bin 'Ikrimah bin 'Āmir bin Hāshim bin 'Abd Manāf bin 'Abd ad-Dār! Al Hasan said: "Qusai made over to him all the offices of his tribe that were in his hands and nothing that Qusai did was questioned or reversed.

An Account of the disagreement that took place amongst Quraish after the death of Qusai and the League of the Perfumed Ones.

Ibn Ishāq: Then Qusai bin Kilāb died and his sons upheld his

his institutions amongst the people after him. They drew the boundaries of Mecca dividing in quarters what he had given of it to his people. They gave it out to their own people and others who were allies of theirs and sold it. Quraish continued to do that along with them without any disagreement or wrangling. Then the Beni 'Abd Manāf bin Qusai, 'Abd Shams, Hāshim, al-Muttalib and Naufal agreed that they would take over what was under the jurisdiction of the Beni 'Abd ad-Dār bin Qusai, the custody of the keys, the right of mounting the standard, the administration of the water and the superintendence of provisions for the pilgrims which Qusai had given over to 'Abd ad-Dār. They considered themselves more entitled to it than the others because of their superior dignity and worth among the people. Thereupon Quraish was divided, a faction taking sides with the Beni 'Abd Manāf in their contention, considering that they were better entitled to it than the Beni 'Abd ad-Dār because of their position amongst the people. Another faction sided with the Beni 'Abd ad-Dār who thought that they should not be deprived of what Qusai had handed over to them. The leader of the cause of the Beni 'Abd Manāf was 'Abd Shams bin 'Abd Manāf because he was the senior of the Beni 'Abd Manāf. The leader of the Beni 'Abd ad-Dār was 'Amir bin Hāshim bin 'Abd Manāf bin 'Abd ad-Dār. The Beni Asd bin 'Abd al-'Uzza bin Qusai, the Beni Zuhrah bin Kilāb, the Beni Taim bin Murrah bin Ka'b and the Beni 'l-Hārith bin Fihir bin Mālīk bin an-Nadr were on the side of the Beni 'Abd Manāf. The Beni Makhzūm bin Yaqathah bin Murrah, the Beni Sahm bin Husais bin Ka'b, the Beni Jumah bin 'Amr bin Husais, and the Beni 'Adi bin Ka'b took the part of the Beni 'Abd ad-Dār. But 'Amir bin Lu'ai and Muhārib bin Fihir stood aloof from it and did not side with either party. Then each side made a compact for the prosecution of their claims which stipulated that they would neither desert each other nor betray each other for as long as sea damped wool. Then the Beni 'Abd Manāf brought out a vessel filled with perfume - they say that some women of the Beni 'Abd Manāf brought it out to them - and set in the place of worship beside the Ka'bah for their oaths. The people then dipped their hands in it and made a compact and covenant, they and their allies. Then they wiped the Ka'bah with their hands as a confirmation for themselves, so they were called 'The Perfumed Ones'.

Then the Beni 'Abd ad-Dār entered into a compact and covenant, they and their allies at the Ka'bah, a sworn engagement which stipulated that they would neither desert nor betray one another. They were called "The Confederates". It then got the support of the tribes and they stood by each other. The Beni 'Abd Manāf were arrayed against the Beni Sahm, the Beni Asad against the Beni 'Abd ad-Dār, Zuhrah against the Beni Jumah, Taim against the Beni Makhzūm, and the Beni 'l-Hārith ibn Fihir against the Beni 'Adi ibn Ka'b. Then they said: "Let each tribe destroy those assigned to it".

While the people were thus engaged they resolved to go to war but overtures were made for peace on condition that they gave the Beni 'Abd Manāf the administration of the water and the provisioning of the pilgrims, and that the custody of the keys, the mounting of the standard, and the presidency of the council remain with the Beni 'Abd ad-Dār as it had been heretofore. This they did therefore and both sides were satisfied with the arrangement and the people refrained from fighting. Each tribe remained steadfast in loyalty to those to whom they had sworn to be loyal and thus they continued till Allah brought Islam. The Messenger of Allah said: "There was no league in the Age of Barbarism whose bonds were not strengthened by Islam."

The League of the Fudūl.

Ibn Hishām: With regard to the League of the Fudūl Ziyād ibn 'Abdallah the Bakka'ite related to me on the authority of Muhammad ibn Ishāq. He said: Certain tribes of Quraish called for a league and they assembled for that purpose in the house of 'Abdallah ibn Jud'ān ibn 'Amr ibn Ka'b ibn Sa'd ibn Taim ibn Murrah ibn Ka'b ibn Lu'ai because of his dignity and seniority and they took the oath at his house. (They were): the Beni Hāshim, the Beni 'l-Muttalib, Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza, Zuhrah ibn Kilāb and Taim ibn Murrah. So they entered into a compact and made a covenant to the effect that they would come upon no oppressed person in Mecca, be he one of its inhabitants or an outsider from another tribe who had entered it, without taking their stand by him in opposition to whoever oppressed him, till that in which he was wronged be restored to him. Quraish called that league "The League of the Fudūl".

Ibn Ishāq: Muḥammad bin Zaid bin Muḥājir bin Qunfudh the Taimite related to me that he heard Talḥah bin 'Abdallah bin 'Auf the Zuhrite says The Messenger of Allah said: "I witnessed an oath in the house of 'Abdallah bin Jūd'ān which I would not wish to annul even if the choicest of the flock were given to me, and had a claim been made in the Islamic era invoking it, I would have granted it!"

Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd bin 'Abdallah bin Usāmah bin al-Ḥādī the Laithite related to me that Muḥammad bin Ibrāhīm bin al-Ḥārith the Taimite related to him that there was between al-Ḥusain bin 'Alī bin Abū Ṭālib an al-Walīd bin 'Utbah bin Abū Sufyān, (al-Walīd was at that time governor of Medina, his uncle Mu'āwiyah bin Abū Sufyān having put him in charge of it), a dispute about some property which they shared in Dhu Marwah. Al-Walīd, because he possessed the power, had treated al-Ḥusain unjustly where his rights were concerned and al-Ḥusain said to him: "I swear by Allah that you will either restore to me my rights or else I will take my sword and stand up in the mosque of the Messenger of Allah, and invoke the League of the Fudūl!" 'Abdallah bin az-Zubair who was with al-Walīd when al-Ḥusain said what he said, said: "And I swear by Allah that if he does invoke it, I will take my sword and stand along with him till his rights are restored to him, or else we will die together. The al-Miswar bin Makhramah bin Naufal the Zuhrite heard of it and he said the same thing; 'Abd ar-Raḥmān bin 'Uthmān bin 'Ubaid Allah the Taimite heard it and he said the same thing. When Walīd bin 'Utbah heard of that he did what was right by al-Ḥusain and he was satisfied.

Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd bin 'Abdallah bin Usāmah bin al-Ḥādī the Laithite related to me on the authority of Muḥammad bin Ibrāhīm bin al-Ḥārith the Taimite. He said: Muḥammad bin Jubair the most scholarly man in Quraish came to 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwān when Ibn az-Zubair was slain and the people had gathered together to 'Abd al-Malik. When he went in to him he said: "O Abū Sa'īd, are we not you and we - meaning the Beni 'Abd Shams bin 'Abd Manāf and the Beni Naufal bin 'Abd Manāf in the League of the Fudūl?" He said: "You know better" (than that). 'Abd al-Malik said: "You will certainly tell me the truth about that Abū Sa'īd". He said: "No, both you and we

withdrew from it". He said: "You are right". The account of the League of the Fudūl is finished.

Ibn Ishāq: Then Hashim obtained the administration of the water and the provisioning of the pilgrims. That happened because 'Abd Shams was a much travelled man who seldom resided in Mecca. He was a poor man, the father of a child. Hāshim, on the other hand, was a wealthy man, and according to what they say, when the pilgrims came at the Pilgrimage he stood up and said: "Men of Quraish, ye are the neighbours of Allah and the people of His House. Verily there come to you at this season Allah's visitors and the pilgrims of His House. They are Allah's guests and His guests are most worthy of honour. Collect then for them the wherewithal to make them food during the days they must remain with you, for I swear that if my wealth had been sufficient for this I would not have laid it upon you". So they set aside for that purpose a part of their possessions, each man according to what he possessed and therewith he provided food for the pilgrims till they took their departure.

According to what they say, Hāshim was the first to inaugurate the two mercantile expeditions for Quraish, the summer and winter expeditions. He was also the first to provide crumbled bread in Mecca. His name was 'Amr and he was called Hāshim merely because he crumbled the bread for his people in Mecca. A poet, either from Quraish or some of the Arabs said:→

'Amr who crumbled the bread for his people
A people in Mecca, destitute, emaciated
For him both the expeditions were established
The expedition of summer and that of winter.

Ibn Hishām: A scholar in poetry of the people of the Hijāz recited to me: "a people in Mecca, destitute, emaciated".

Ibn Ishāq: Then Hāshim ibn 'Abd Manāf died at Qaza in the country of Syria while on a mercantile journey and al-Muttalib ibn 'Abd Manāf obtained the administration of the water and the provisioning of the pilgrims after him. He was younger than 'Abd Shams and Hāshim, and a man of dignity and worth amongst his people. Quraish called him "The Generous" merely on account of his liberality and worth. Hāshim ibn 'Abd Manāf had gone to Medina and married Salma bint 'Amr, one of the Beni 'Adi bin an-Najjār. Before that she was

the wife of Uhaihah ibn al-Julah ibn al-Harīsh. (Ibn Hisham: He is also given as al-Harīs) and she bore to him 'Amr ibn Uhaihah . Because of her dignity amongst her own people she would not marry any man till he accepted her condition that her affairs be under her own management: if she detested a man she separated from him. She bore 'Abd al-Muttalib to Hāshim and called him Shaibah, and Hāshim left him with her till he was a young lad or more. Then his uncle al-Muttalib went for him to get possession of him and bring him back to his city and people, but Salma said to him: "I will not let him go with you". Al-Muttalib said: "I will certainly not go away till I take him with me. My nephew has grown up a stranger in another tribe and we belong to an illustrious family in our tribe and have charge of much of their affairs, and his own tribe and kindred and town are better for him than residing amongst others", or words to that effect. According to what they say, Shaibah said to his uncle al-Muttalib: "I will not leave her unless she allows me to do so". Then she gave him leave and handed him over to him. So he mounted him on his camel and entered Mecca with him riding behind him and Quraish said: "The slave of al-Muttalib whom he has purchased" and for this reason Shaibah was called 'Abd al-Muttalib. Al-Muttalib said: "Out upon you! He is the son of my brother Hāshim whom I have brought from Medina!"

Then al-Muttalib died in Radmān in the country of Yemen and one of the Arabs said as he mourned for him:-

The pilgrims went thirsty after (the death of) al-Muttalib
After the large porringers (of food) and the plentiful
supply of flowing water
O that Quraish after him had affliction

Matrūd ibn Ka'b the Khuza'ite said as he mourned for al-Muttalib and the Beni 'Abd Manāf all of them, when the news of the death of Naufal ibn 'Abd Manāf came to him, and Naufal was the last of them to die.

O night, thou hast disturbed my nights
One of those cruel nights
The cares which I have endured
The terrible calamities of fate that I have contended with
When I remember my brother Naufal
It reminds me of days gone by

It reminds me of the red waistbands
 And the new saffron cloaks
 Four, each of them a chieftain
 Sons of chieftains of chieftains
 One dead in Radmān another in Salmān
 And another at Geza
 And one of them the tenant of a niche
 In front of the covered place east of the buildings
 The choicest of them was 'Abd Manāf
 They have escaped the blame of those who blame do impute
 Verily, al-Mughīrah and their sons
 Are amongst the best of the living and the dead

The name of 'Abd Manāf was al-Mughīrah. The first of the Benī 'Abd Manāf to die was Hāshim in Gaza in the country of Syria, then 'Abd Shams in Mecca, then al-Muttalib in Radmān in the country of Yemen then Naufal in Salmān in the direction of Iraq.

Poetry omitted;

Then 'Abd al-Muttalib bin Hāshim obtained the administration of the water and the provisioning of the pilgrims after his uncle al-Muttalib and fulfilled it for the people. He also filled the offices which his fathers before him had filled for his people and he had a dignity in his tribe which none of his fathers ever had and the people loved him and he was held in high esteem amongst them.

The account of the digging of Zamzam and the disagreement that took place over it.

While 'Abd al-Muttalib lay asleep in his private apartment a visitant came to him and commanded him to dig Zamzam and that was when 'Abd al-Muttalib first began to open it according to what Yazīd bin Abu Ḥabīb the Egyptian related to me on the authority of Marthad bin 'Abdallah the Yazanite on the authority of 'Abdallah bin Zurair the Ghāfaqite, that he heard 'Ali bin Abū Tālib relate the account of Zamzam when 'Abd al-Muttalib was commanded to open it. He said: "'Abd al-Muttalib said, 'I was asleep in my private apartment when a visitant came to me and said DIG TAIBAH. I said; WHAT IS TAIBAH? Then he departed from me. When the next day came I returned to my room and slept in it and he came to me and said: DIG BARRAH. I said: WHAT IS BARRAH? Then he departed from me. When the next day came I returned to my room and slept in it and he came to me and said DIG MADNŪNAH. I said: WHAT IS MADNŪNAH?

Then he departed from me. When the next day came I went back to my room, slept in it and he came to me and said: DIG ZAMZAM. I said: WHAT IS ZAMZAM? He said: "Its water will never be exhausted nor will it decrease + It will provide water for the Great Pilgrimage + It is between the offal and the blood + Beside the nest of the speckled crow + Beside the village of the ants".

When its significance was made plain to him and he was shown its position and realised that it was genuine, he set out in the morning with his pick-axe, accompanied by his son al-Māriṭh ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib. At that time he had no other son. He started to dig and when the casing of the well appeared to 'Abd al-Muttalib, he uttered a Takbīr and Quraish realised that he had obtained what he wanted, so they went to him and said: "Truly, O 'Abd al-Muttalib, this is the well of our father Ishmael, and we have a right to share in it, so make us partners with you". He said: "I will not do so. This matter was specially reserved for me apart from you and it was given to me from amongst you all". They said: "Do what is right by us, for verily we will not leave you alone even though we should quarrel with you over it". He said: "Appoint then whoever you please between us that to him I may refer my case with you". They said: "A Female soothsayer of the Beni Sa'd of Hudhaim". He said: "I agree". She was in the highlands of Syria so 'Abd al-Muttalib rode out accompanied by a group of his brethren from the Beni 'Abd Manāf, and from each tribe of Quraish a group rode out. The country at that time was barren and they went on till they were in one of those desert places between the Hijāz and Syria, when the water of 'Abd al-Muttalib and his companions failed, and they went thirsty till they were certain they would die. They asked water of those of the Quraishite tribes who accompanied them but they refused, saying: "We are in a desert place and we fear that what has befallen you will befall us". When 'Abd al-Muttalib saw what they did and what was to be feared for himself and his companions he said: "What do you think?". They said: "Our opinion cannot be otherwise than in agreement with yours, give us any command you will". He said: "I think that each man of you should dig a trench for himself with whatever strength you now possess and whenever a man

dies letvhis companions put him in the trench he has dug and bury him till at last one of you only is left. Thus the loss of one man will be easier than the loss of the whole party together". They said: "What you command is very good". Then each man started in and dug his trench and squatted down expecting to die of thirst. Then 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said to his companions: "Surely the fact that we have given ourselves up to death and do not keep on our way and fend for ourselves is weakness. It may be that Allah will supply us with water in another part of the country. Let us be moving". They set forward till they were exhausted and those of the Quraishite tribes who accompanied them watched what they were doing. Then 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib went up to his beast and mounted it, and when it was urged forward with him there burst forth from beneath its hoof a spring of sweet water. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and his companions uttered a Takbīr and then dismounted and drank both he and his friends and drew water till they had filled their skins. Then he called the Quraishite tribes and said: "Come to the water. Allah has given us water. Drink and fill your water skins. They came, drank, filled their skins and said: "The verdict has been given in your favour against us O 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, we will never more quarrel with you over Zamzam. Verily He who hath given you water in this desert hath given you Zamzam. Return then, as one guided to your office of administering the water". He went back and they went back with him without having reached the female soothsayer and they troubled him no more about her.

Ibn Ishāq: This is what has come to us of the account of 'Ali ibn Abū Tālib about Zamzam and I heard someone tell that it was said to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib when he was commanded to dig Zamzam:-

Then call upon the plentiful supply of water which is not turbid
Which supplies the pilgrims of Allah in every place of pilgrimage
Nothing is to be feared from it however much it is frequented.

When that was said to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib he went out to Quraish and said: "Know that I am commanded to dig Zamzam". They said: "Has

its whereabouts been made known to you?". He said: "No". They said: "Go back to your room where you saw what you saw, if he be truly from Allah it will be made plain to you but if he is from Satan he will not return to you. So 'Abd al-Muttalib went back to his room and went to sleep there and a visitant came to him and said: "Dig Zamzam if you dig it you will not repent + It is an inheritance from your great ancestor + Its water will never be exhausted nor will it decrease + It will provide water for the Great Pilgrimage * Like ostriches in panic (?) it has never been divided + Thereat they will make vows to a benefactor + It shall be an inheritance and a compact undisputed + Not as some you may know + It is between the offal and the blood.

Ibn Hishām: These words and those which have gone before in the account of 'Alī about the opening of Zamzam from the saying: "Its water will never be exhausted nor will it decrease" down to "Beside the village of the ants" etc., in our opinion, rhyming prose and not poetry.

Ibn Ishāq: They say that when he was told that he said: "Where is it?" and he was told: "Beside the village of the ants where the crow will peck to-morrow", but Allah knows best which of these took place.

So 'Abd al-Muttalib went out in the morning accompanied by his son al-Hārith - he had no other children at that time - and found the village of the ants and the crow pecking beside it between the two idols Isāf and Nā'ilah at which Quraish offered sacrifices. He brought an axe and started to dig where he was commanded, but when Quraish saw his serious endeavour they came to him and said to him: "We will not give you leave to dig between these two idols of ours at which we sacrifice". 'Abd al-Muttalib said to his son al-Hārith: "Protect me so that I may proceed with the digging for I swear I am going on with what I have been told to do". When they realised that he would not desist they left him to his digging and said no more. He had only dug a little way when the casing of the well appeared and he uttered a Takbīr knowing that he had been told the truth. After digging operations had been somewhat prolonged he found in it two golden gazelles. They were the two gazelles

gazelles which Jurhum had buried in it when they departed from Mecca. He also found in it swords from Aal'ah and some suits of armour. Quraish said to him: 'Abd al-Muttalib, we have the right to a share in these things along with you! He said: 'Nay, but let us reach an equitable arrangement between ourselves; we will cast lots for them with the arrows'. They said: 'How shall we do it?' He said: 'I will designate two arrows for the Ka'bah, two for myself, and two for you, and he whose arrows draw anything will get it, and he whose arrows are blank gets nothing! They said: 'That is fair enough'. Then he took two yellow arrows for the Ka'bah, two black arrows for 'Abd al-Muttalib, and two white arrows for Quraish, and gave the arrows to the man who was in charge of them and who casts them beside Hubal. (Hubal was an idol in the interior of the Ka'bah. It was the greatest of their idols. It was this idol to which Abu Sufyān referred when on the day of Uhud he said: 'Be exalted O Hubal, that is, Help thy religion). 'Abd al-Muttalib stood praying while the man in charge cast the arrows. The two yellows drew the two gazelles for the Ka'bah, the two blacks drew the swords and the suits of armour for 'Abd al-Muttalib, but the two arrows of Quraish drew a blank. Then 'Abd al-Muttalib beat the swords into a door for the Ka'bah and fixed to the door the two golden gazelles. According to what they say, it was the first gold with which the Ka'bah was adorned. Then 'Abd al-Muttalib assumed the administration of Zamzam for the pilgrims.

Mention of the wells belonging to the tribes of Quraish in Mecca.

Ibn Hishām: Before the digging of Zamzam Quraish had sunk wells in Mecca according to what Zaiād bin 'Abdallah the Bakkā'ite related to me on the authority of Muhammad Ibn Ishāq. He said: 'Abd Shams bin 'Abd Manāf dug at-Tawīyya which is the well in Upper Mecca at Baidā, the house of Muhammad bin Yūsuf the Thaqaḥite. Hāshim bin 'Abd Manāf dug Badhdhar which is the well at al-Mustandhir the extremity of al-Khandamah at the opening of the crevice of Abu Tālib. They say that when he dug it he said: 'I will indeed make it a sufficiency for the people'.

Ibn Hishām: The poet said:-

Allah provided waters whose positions I know
Jurab, Malkum, Badhdhar, and al-Ghamra

Ibn Ishāq: He also dug Sajlah which is the well of al-Mut'am ibn 'Adi ibn Naufal ibn 'Abd Manāf from which they get water to-day. The Beni Naufal claim that he bought it from Asad ibn Hāshim, but the Beni Hāshim say he made a present of it to them when Zamzam came into being and through it they became independent of those wells. Umayyah ibn 'Abd Shams dug al-Hafr for himself. The Beni Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza dug Shufaiyyah which is the well of the Beni Asad. The Beni 'Abd ad-Dār dug Umm Ahrād. The Beni Jumah dug as-Sunbulah which is the well of Halaf ibn Wahb. The Beni Sahn dug al-Ghumrā which is the well of the Beni Sahn.

There were also wells dug outside of Mecca in olden times in the days of Murrah ibn Ka'b and Kilāb ibn Murrah and the great men of Quraish of old, from which they got water. They were: Rumm, which was the well of Murrah ibn Ka'b, Khumm which was the well of the Beni Kilāb ibn Murrah, and al-Hafr. Hudhaifah ibn Ghānim brother of the Beni 'Adi ibn Ka'b ibn Lu'ai said: (Ibn Hishām: He was the father of Abū Jahm ibn Hudhaifah)

Of old we acquired wealth a long time before that
And did not drink from any well but Khumm or al-Hafr.

Ibn Hishām: This stanza is in a poem of his which I will mention in due course if Allah wills.

Ibn Ishāq: Zamzam was a great improvement on the well which existed before it at which the pilgrims drank, and people resorted to it because of its position relative to the sacred place of worship and its superiority over all other waters, and because it was the well of Ishmael son of Abraham. By means of it the Beni 'Abd Manāf excelled in glory all Quraish and the rest of the Arabs. Musāfir ibn Abū 'Amr ibn Umayyah ibn 'Abd Shams ibn 'Abd Manāf said exulting over Quraish about the administration of the water and the provisioning of the pilgrims which they had and what they did for the people in these days, also about Zamzam when it came into being for them. The Beni 'Abd Manāf were simply the people of one family: the dignity which each displayed to the other was dignity indeed, and the generosity which each showed the other was generosity indeed.

We inherited glory from our ancestors
But in us it grew to its height
Did we not provide water for the pilgrims
And sacrifice the fat slow-moving she-camels which fill
a porringer at a milking.

At the change of fate we throw ourselves valiantly into
the fight
If we die we shall not be ruled over
And who is the one who is always immortal
Zamzam is one of our original possessions
And we will put out the eyes of those who are envious.

Ibn Hishām: These stanzas are in a poem of his.

Ibn Ishāq: Hudhaifah ibn Ghānim brother of the Beni 'Adi ibn Ka'b
ibn Lu'ai said:-

Hashim was the waterer of the pilgrims and a man of good
(deeds)
And 'Abd Manāf that Fihrite chieftain
He dug Zam zam at the standing place
And his intence of the water became a boasting matter
more excellent than what people boast about.

Ibn Hishām: He refers to 'Abd al-Muttalib ibn Hāshim. These two
stanzas are in a poem of his which I will mention in due course if
Allah wills.

The account of 'Abd al-Muttalib's vow to sacrifice his son.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what they say, but Allah knows best, 'Abd
al-Muttalib had vowed when he encountered what he encountered from
Quraish at the time he dug Zamzam, that if ten sons were born to him
and they grew up to protect him, he would sacrifice one of them to
Allah at the Ka'bah. When his sons were ten in number and he knew
that they could afford him protection, he gathered them together,
told them about his vow, and called on them to fulfil it. They were
agreeable to this course and said: "How shall we do it?". He said:
"Let each of you take an arrow, write his name upon it and bring it
to me". They did so, and when they came to him he took them to Hubal
in the interior of the Ka'bah. Hubal was over a well in the interior
of the Ka'bah, and it was in that well that gifts for the Ka'bah
were collected. There were seven arrows belonging to Hubal, each
of which had an inscription on it. One had 'Blood Wit' inscribed
on it. When they disagreed about who should pay the blood-wit,
they cast the seven arrows and if the one with 'Blood-Wit' on it
turned up, he against whom it turned up had to pay it. There was
also an arrow with 'Yes' for any matter. If they desired a certain
matter they cast for it with the arrows, and if 'Yes' turned up
they acted accordingly. There was also an arrow with 'No'. If
they desired a certain matter they cast for it with the arrows and

if that arrow turned up they did not do that thing. There was an arrow with 'Beloning to You', an arrow with 'Adherent' and one with 'Belonging to Others'. There was also an arrow with 'Water'. If they wanted to dig for water they cast the arrows amongst which was that one, and wherever it turned up they acted accordingly. If they wanted to circumcise a boy, marry anyone, bury a corpse, or were in doubt about the genealogy of anyone of themselves, they took him to Hubal along with a hundred dirhems and a camel for slaughter and gave them to the man in charge of the arrows who cast them. Then they brought forward their friend for whom they wanted what they wanted and said: "O our God, this is So-and-so, son of So-and-so, we want such-and-such a thing for him; send forth what is right for him". Then they said to the man in charge of the arrows: "Throw". If the one with 'Belonging to You' on it turned up he belonged to them and was of pure pedigree. If the one with 'Belonging to Others' turned up he was an ally. If the one with 'Adherent' turned up he remained as he had been amongst them without pedigree or alliance. If any other thing they were doing turned up 'Yes' they did it, but if it turned up 'No' they postponed it for that year and brought it up another time, and held up their affairs till that time because of what the arrows had brought forth.

'Abd al-Muttalib said to the man in charge of the arrows: "Cast lots for these my sons with their arrows", and he told him of the vow he had made. Each of them gave him his arrow on which was his name. Now 'Abdallah ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib was the youngest of his father's sons. He and Jubair and Abū Tālib were sons of Fātimah bint 'Amr ibn 'A'idh ibn 'Abd ibn 'Amrān ibn Makhzūm ibn Yaqathah ibn Murrah ibn Ka'b ibn Lu'ai ibn Ghālib ibn Fihr.

Ibn Hishām: 'A'idh ibn 'Amrān ibn Makhzūm.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah, according to what they say was 'Abd al-Muttalib's best loved son, and 'Abd al-Muttalib knew that if the arrow missed him he would be spared. He was the father of the Messenger of Allah.

When the man in charge of the arrows took them to make the cast 'Abd al-Muttalib stood beside Hubal praying to Allah. Then the man in charge cast the arrows and the lot fell on 'Abdallah. Then

'Abd al-Muttalib took him by the hand, took his knife and led him forward to Isāf and Nā'ilah to sacrifice him when Quraish came to him from their assembly hall and said: "What do you intend to do, O 'Abd al-Muttalib?" He said: "I will sacrifice him". Then both Quraish and his other sons said to him: "You shall not sacrifice him to absolve yourself. If you do this men will keep on bringing their sons to be sacrificed and how can people go on like this!" Al-Mughīrah ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Amr ibn Makhzūm ibn Yaqathah said - 'Abdallah was a son of a sister of the people - "You shall never sacrifice him in order to absolve yourself from the oath regarding him. We will ransom him even though it be by the sacrifice of our possessions". Quraish and his own sons said to him: "Do not do this but take him to the Hijāz where there is a sorceress who has a familiar and ask her. Then you will be at the fountain-head of the whole issue; if she bids you sacrifice him, do it; if she bids you do something that will provide deliverance for him and you, you can accept it". Then they set out and went to Medina, and found her in Khaibar according to what they say. They rode on till they came to her and put their question to her. 'Abd al-Muttalib related to her the story of himself and his son, what he wanted to do with him and his vow in connection with him. She said: "Leave me alone to-day till my familiar spirit comes and I will ask him". So they went away from her. When they went away 'Abd al-Muttalib began to pray to Allah. They returned to her in the morning and she said to them: "I have it! What is the blood-wit amongst you?" They said: "Ten camels", which was the case. She said: "Go back to your country and present your friend together with ten camels then throw the arrows for him and for them. If the lot falls on your friend increase the number of camels till your Lord accepts. If it falls on the camels, sacrifice them instead of him, for your Lord has accepted and your friend is saved". So they set out and came to Mecca and when they had agreed on that method of settling the matter, 'Abd al-Muttalib began praying to Allah. Then they presented 'Abdallah together with ten camels, while 'Abd al-Muttalib was beside Hubal praying to Allah and they cast their arrows and the lot fell on 'Abdallah. They then added ten camels which made the number twenty, 'Abd al-Muttalib began praying to Allah, they cast the arrows and

the lot fell on 'Abdallah. They increased the number of camels by ten making thirty, 'Abd al-Muttalib began praying to Allah, they cast the arrows and the lot fell on 'Abdallah. They increased the number of camels again making forty, 'Abd al-Muttalib began praying to Allah, they cast the arrows and the lot fell on 'Abdallah. They added ten more camels making fifty, 'Abd al-Muttalib began praying to Allah, they cast the arrows and the lot fell on 'Abdallah. They added ten further camels making sixty, 'Abd al-Muttalib began praying to Allah, they cast the arrows and the lot fell on 'Abdallah. They added ten more camels making seventy, 'Abd al-Muttalib began praying to Allah, they cast the arrows and the lot fell on 'Abdallah. They added ten more camels making eighty, 'Abd al-Muttalib began praying to Allah, they cast the arrows and the lot fell on 'Abdallah. They added ten more camels making ninety, 'Abd al-Muttalib began praying to Allah, they cast the arrows and the lot fell on 'Abdallah. Then they added ten more camels making one hundred, 'Abd al-Muttalib began praying to Allah, they cast the arrows and the lot fell on the camels. Quraish and those who were present said: "It is finished, your Lord has accepted, O 'Abd al-Muttalib". But they claim that 'Abd al-Muttalib said: "No, not until I cast the arrows for them three times". So they cast the arrows for 'Abdallah and the camels, whilst 'Abd al-Muttalib prayed to Allah, and the lot fell on the camels. They repeated it a second time while 'Abd al-Muttalib prayed to Allah, they cast the arrows and the lot fell on the camels. They did the same thing a third time while 'Abd al-Muttalib prayed to Allah, they cast the arrows and the lot fell on the camels. So they were sacrificed and left there and no man was debarred or prevented from (feasting upon) them.³⁰

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as 'neither man nor beast'.

Ibn Hishām: Between the repeated parts of this account there is poetry in the Rajaz metre which, in our opinion, is not genuine, not having the authority of any scholars of poetry.

The account of the woman who offered herself in marriage to 'Abdallah ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib.

Ibn Ishāq: Then 'Abd al-Muttalib went away holding 'Abdallah by the hand, and according to what they say, he took him past a woman of the Beni Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza ibn Quṣai ibn Kilāb ibn Murrah ibn Ka'b ibn Lu'ai ibn Ghālib ibn Fihr. She was the sister of Waraqah ibn Naufal ibn Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza and she was at the Ka'bah. When she looked at his face she said to him: "Where are you going O 'Abdallah?". He said: "With my father". She said: "The same number of camels as was sacrificed for you will be yours, lie with me now". He said: "I am with my father and cannot disobey or leave him". Then 'Abd al-Muttalib took him away and brought him to Wahb ibn 'Abd Manāf ibn Zuhrah ibn Kilāb ibn Murrah ibn Ka'b ibn Lu'ai ibn Ghālib ibn Fihr who was at that time chief of the Beni Zuhrah in seniority and dignity and he married him to his daughter Āminah bint Wahb who at that time was the most excellent woman of Quraish in pedigree and position.

They say that he went in to her as he was when he took her to wife, consummated the marriage and she became pregnant with the Messenger of Allah. Then he went out from her and came to the woman who had offered what she had offered and said to her: "What is the matter that you do not offer me to-day what you offered me yesterday?". She said: "The gleam which you had yesterday has departed from you so I do not require you to-day". She had heard from her brother Waraqah ibn Naufal who had become a Christian and followed the Books, that a prophet would arise amongst this people.

Ibn Ishāq My father Ishāq ibn Yasār related to me that it was related to him that 'Abdallah only went in to a woman he had along with Āminah bint Wahb, and he had been working in mud, marks of which were still upon him. He called her to him but she delayed (to come to) him because of the mud marks she saw on him. So he went away from her, purified himself and washed it all away, and then set out to go to Āminah. She called on him to come back to her but he refused, went off to Āminah, went in to her, knew her, and she became pregnant with Muhammad. Then he passed by that other woman and said to her: "Is there anything you wish?". She said: "No, you passed me by with a blaze between your eyes. I called you but you refused and went

in to Āminah and it has gone away with her.

Ibn Ishāq: They say that that woman of his related that he passed her by with something resembling the blaze of a horse between his eyes. She said: "I called him hoping that it would be mine but he refused me, went in to Āminah, and she became pregnant with the Messenger of Allah. Thus the Messenger of Allah was the best of his people as regards pedigree and the greatest of them in dignity through both his father and mother.

An account of what was said to Āminah when she was pregnant with the Messenger of Allah.

They claim, amongst the things that people relate, but Allah knows best, that Āminah bint Wahb mother of the Messenger of Allah related that a visitant came to her when she was pregnant with him and said to her: "Verily thou art pregnant with the lord of this nation. When he drops on the ground say: 'I invoke the protection of the Unity for him against the evil of every one who envies', then call him Muhammad". When she was pregnant with him she noticed that a light went out from her whereby she was able to see the castles of Busrā in the country of Syria. It was not long after that till 'Abdallah ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib the father of the Messenger of Allah died while his mother was still pregnant with him.

The birth of the Messenger of Allah and his upbringing by a foster-mother.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah was born on Monday the twelfth of the month of Rabi' I in the Year of the Elephant.

Ibn Ishāq: Al-Muttalib ibn 'Abdallah ibn Qais ibn Makhramah related to me on the authority of his father who had it from his grandfather Qaid ibn Makhramah. He said: "The Messenger of Allah and I were born in the Year of the Elephant so we were contemporaries".

Ibn Ishāq: Sālih ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Auf related to me on the authority of Yahya ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn As'ad ibn Zurārah the Helper. He said: "Any of my people I wished related to me on the authority of Hassān ibn Thābit. He said: 'I was a tallish boy of seven or eight years of age, understanding all I heard, when I heard a Jew call at the top of his voice on a stronghold in Yathrib:³¹ "O Jewish people", and when they gathered

to him they said: "Out upon you! What is the matter with you?". He said: "The star under which Ahmad is born has arisen to-night!"

Ibn Ishāq: I asked Sa'īd ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn Hassān ibn Thābit: "How old was Hassān when the Messenger of Allah went to Medina?"

He said: "Sixty, and the Messenger of Allah went to it when he was fifty-three". So Hassān heard what he heard when he was seven years of age.

Ibn Ishāq: When his mother had given birth to him she sent word to his grandfather 'Abd al-Muttalib, saying: "A boy has been born to you, come and see him". He came to see him and she told him what she had seen when she was pregnant, what had been said to her and what she had been commanded to call him. They say that 'Abd al-Muttalib took him and brought him into the Ka'bah and began to pray to Allah and thank Him for what He had given him. Then he took him back to his mother and handed him over to her. Then he sought a nursing-woman for the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Hishām: Also al-Maradī' (the nursing women). In the Book of Allah at the story of Moses(it is said):-

We banned for him the nursing women (Sūrah 28: 12)

Ibn Ishāq: A woman of the Beni Sa'd ibn Bakr called Halīmah was found for nurse for him.

Genealogies omitted.

Ibn Ishāq: Jahm ibn Abū Jahm a client of al-Hārith ibn Hātib the Jumahite related to me on the authority of 'Abdallah ibn Ja'far ibn Abū Tālib or on the authority of whoever related it to him. He said: "'Halīmah-bint Abū Dhuwaib of Sa'd the foster mother of the Messenger of Allah who nursed him related that she left her village accompanied by her husband, a small son of hers whom she was nursing, and some women of the Beni Sa'd ibn Bakr who were seeking children to nurse. She said: It was a year of drought and nothing was left. I set out on a moon-coloured she-ass of mine and we had with us an ancient she-camel of ours which did not yield a single drop of milk and we did not sleep at all at night because of the crying of our boy who accompanied us from hunger: there was nothing in my breasts to satisfy him, nor was there anything in our old she-camel to give him his breakfast.

Ibn Hishām; It is also given as 'to feed him'.

But we hoped for abundance of rain and relief. So I set out on that donkey of mine and I continued with the party till matters became critical with them because of weakness and want of food and we came to Mecca in our search for children to nurse. There was not a single woman amongst us to whom the Messenger of Allah was not offered and refused when they heard that he was an orphan and that was because we hoped for payment from the father of the boy, and we said: 'An orphan! What will his mother and grandfather do?', and we detested him on that account. There was not one of the women who came with me who had not got a child to nurse with the exception of myself and when we decided to take our departure I said to my husband: 'I hate to return home with my companions the only one who has not obtained a child to nurse. I will surely go to that orphan and take him'. He said: 'You are under no obligation to do it perhaps Allah will give us a blessing with him'. So I went and took him and the only thing that induced me to do so was the fact that I did not find another. When I got him I took him back with me to our tent, and when I had put him in my lap I gave him the breasts with all the milk he wanted and he drank till he was satisfied, and his brother fed with him till both were satisfied. Then they both went to sleep and previous to that we had not slept with him. Then my husband went to out old she-camel and lo, her udder was full of milk. He milked all he wanted to drink and I drank till we were both replete. We had an excellent night. The next morning my husband said: 'Know, O Halimah that you have got one with whom there is a blessing'. I said: 'Indeed, I desire that'. Then we set out, I riding my donkey and carrying him with me and she travelled at such a rate in the company that none of their donkeys were able to keep pace with me. Then my companions said to me: 'O bint Abū Dhuwaib, Out upon you, wait on us! Is not this the same donkey upon which you set out?' I said: 'Certainly, it is the same'. They said: 'Verily, it has some great matter!'. Then we came to our encampments in the country of the Beni Sa'd, and I know of no country on Allah's earth that suffers so much from barrenness. My flocks came to me with full udders when we brought him. We milked and drank at a time when no

other person got a drop of milk or found anything in their udders till those of our people who witnessed it said to their herdsmen: "Out upon you, pasture your flocks where the herdsmen of bint Abū Dhuwaib pastures his". But their herds still returned hungry in the evening and did not yield a drop of milk whilst mine came home with overflowing udders. We did not cease trying to understand from Allah (the meaning of) the increase and the good (He had given us) till his two years were up and I weaned him. He grew up to be a boy but did not resemble other boys: he was a sturdy boy when he was barely two and we brought him to his mother when the thing we hankered after most of all was to have him remain with us because of the blessing he brought us. We talked it over with his mother and I said to her: "If you would only leave my little son with me till he grows hardy for I fear on his account the pestilence of Mecca". We did not desist till she sent him back with us and we returned with him. But some months after our return he was with his brother amongst some lambs of ours at the back of the tents when his brother came running and said to his father and me: "That brother of mine, the Quraishite, two men in white clothes have taken hold of him, opened his inside, and are mixing it up". His father and I went out to him and found him standing up changed in face. My husband and I took hold of him and said to him: "What is the matter with you my little son?" He said: "Two men in white clothes came to me, laid me down, opened my inside and sought there for something I know not what". So we took him back to the tent. Then his father said to me: "O Hālīmah, I fear that this boy has been smitten, take him back to his people before he shows signs of it". So we took him away and brought him to his mother who said: "What has brought you here, foster-mother, since you were so set on him and so anxious to have him stay with you?" I said: "Allah has made my son grow up, I have fulfilled my duty and as I am afraid of something happening to him I am restoring him to you as you would like (it to be)". She said: "It is not so, give me the truth of the matter", and she did not desist till I had told her. She said: "Were you afraid that he is possessed of Satan?" I said: "Yes". She said: "Not at all! Satan cannot reach him, my son has a great destiny. Shall I tell you

his story?". I said: "By all means". She said: "When I became pregnant with him a light issued from me which illumined for me the castles of Busrā in the country of Syria. Then pregnancy advanced and I have never known one lighter or easier than this. When I gave birth to him he fell, and verily he put his hands on the ground and lifted his head to heaven. Leave him here and depart forthwith".

Ibn Ishāq: Thaur ibn Yazīd related to me on the authority of some scholar whom I cannot think was other than Khālīd ibn Ma'dān the Kalā'ite that a group of friends of the Messenger of Allah said: "O Messenger of Allah, tell us about yourself". He said: "I will. I am the prayer of Abraham and the good tidings of Jesus, and when my mother conceived me she saw a light which lit up for her the castles of Syria, and I was nursed amongst the Beni Sa'd ibn Bakr. Whilst I was behind the tents with a brother of mine herding a lamb belonging to us, two men wearing white clothes came to us with a golden basin filled with snow. They took hold of me, opened my inside and took out my heart, opened it and extracted a black clot which they threw away. Then they washed my heart and my inside with the snow till they had made it clean. Then one of them said to the other: "Weigh him against ten of his people". He weighed me against them and I balanced them. Then he said: "Weigh him against a hundred of his people". He weighed me against them and I balanced them. Then he said: "Weigh him against a thousand of his people". He weighed me against them and I balanced them. Then he said: "Desist, even if you weighed him against his whole people he would balance them".

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah said: "There has been no prophet who has not been a shepherd of sheep". They said: "And you, O Messenger of Allah?". He said: "I too". The Messenger of Allah used to say to his friends: "I am the best Arab of you all; I am a Quraishite, and I was nursed amongst the Beni Sa'd ibn Bakr".

People claim in what they relate, but Allah knows best, that when his Sa'dite mother brought him to Mecca she lost him amongst the people as she was taking him to his family. She searched for him but did not find him and came to 'Abd al-Muttalib and said to him: "I brought Muhammad to-night and when I was in Upper Mecca he wandered from me and I do not know where he is. So 'Abd al-

Muttalib stood praying at the Ka'bah that Allah would return him and they say that Waraqah bin Naufal bin Asd and another man of Quraish found him and brought him to 'Abd al-Muttalib and said: "Here is your son whom we found in Upper Mecca". So 'Abd al-Muttalib took him and placed him on his shoulders while he circumambulated the Ka'bah invoking Allah's protection for him and praying for him. Then he sent him to Aminah his mother.

Ibn Ishāq: A scholar has related to me that what impelled his Sa'dite mother to return him to his own mother, along with what she told his mother about him, was that a company of Ethiopian Christians saw him when she brought him back after he had been weaned. They looked at him, asked questions about him, and handled him and then said to her: "We will surely take this boy and bring him to our king and country for he has a high destiny. We recognise his affair. The one who told me this said that it was with difficulty she got him away from them.

The death of Aminah and the passing of the Messenger of Allah into the care of his grandfather 'Abd al-Muttalib thereafter.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah along with his mother Aminah bint Wahb and his grandfather 'Abd al-Muttalib was under the safe keeping and care of Allah while Allah was causing him to grow up a goodly ~~a goodly~~ plant to the honour for which he had destined him. When the Messenger of Allah was six years of age his mother Aminah bint Wahb died.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abu Bakr bin Muhammad bin 'Amr bin Hazm related to me that the mother of the Messenger of Allah died when he was six years of age in al-Abwā between Mecca and Medinah. She had taken him on a visit to his maternal uncles of the Beni 'Adi bin an-Najjār and died when she was bringing him back to Mecca.

Ibn Hishām: The mother of 'Abd al-Muttalib bin Hāshim was Salma bint 'Amr a woman of Najjār and these uncles of the Messenger of Allah whom Ibn Ishāq mentions were amongst them.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah passed into the care of his grandfather 'Abd al-Muttalib bin Hāshim. A mattress was laid for 'Abd al-Muttalib in the shade of the Ka'bah and his sons were in the habit of squatting about that mattress of his till he should come

out to it. None of them would sit on it out of reverence for him. The Messenger of Allah came forward to squat on it - he was a sturdy lad - and his uncles took hold of him to keep him back, but when 'Abd al-Muttalib saw them do that he said: "Leave go my son for he indeed has a great destiny". Then he would make him squat beside him on the mattress rubbing his back with his hand and observing with pleasure all that he did. When the Messenger of Allah was eight years of age 'Abd al-Muttalib ibn Hashim died and that was eight years after the Elephant.

The death of 'Abd al-Muttalib and the elegies which were composed for him.

Ibn Ishāq: Al-'Abbās ibn 'Abdallah ibn Ma'bad ibn al-'Abbās related to me on the authority of some of his people that 'Abd al-Muttalib died when the Messenger of Allah was eight years of age.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad ibn Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab related to me that when death came to 'Abd al-Muttalib and he knew he was dying he gathered his daughters who were six, Safiyyah, Barrah, 'Ātikah, Umm Hakīm al-Baidā', Ummamah and Arwa and said to them: "Weep for me so that I may hear what you say before I die".

Ibn Hishām: I have not found any scholar of poetry who knew this poetry who did not attribute it to Muhammad ibn al-Musayyab as we have given it.

Poetry omitted

Ibn Ishāq: When 'Abd al-Muttalib died al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib obtained Zamzam and its administration. He was the youngest of his brothers. It was still in his possession when Islam arose and the Messenger of Allah confirmed him in possession of on the basis of his past administration of it, and because al-'Abbās administered it, it remains with his family till this day.

Abū Tālib's guardianship of the Messenger of Allah.

After the death of 'Abd al-Muttalib the Messenger of Allah lived with Abū Tālib. According to what they say, 'Abd al-Muttalib had charged his uncle Abū Tālib with his care and that was because 'Abdallah, father of the Messenger of Allah, and Abū Tālib were brothers who had the same father and mother. Their mother was Fātimah bint 'Amr

Ibn Ishāq: It was Abū Tālib who got charge of the Messenger of Allah after his grandfather so he belonged to him and stayed with him.

Ibn Ishāq: Yahya ibn 'Abbād ibn 'Abdallah ibn az-Zubair related to me that his father related to him that a man of Lihb was a diviner and when he came to Mecca some of the Quraishites brought him their boys that he might inspect them and give them an augury about them. So Abū Tālib brought him along with those who were coming to him when he was a boy, and he inspected the Messenger of Allah. Then something distracted his attention and when he finished he said:

Where is the boy? Bring him to me". When Abū Tālib saw his hankering after him he hid him away from him and he said: "Out upon you! Bring back to me the boy I saw just now for he indeed has a high destiny". Then Abū Tālib took him away.

Ibn Ishāq: Then Abū Tālib set out with a party on a mercantile journey to Syria. When he was ready to mount his camel and was about to start, the Messenger of Allah showed his tender feelings for him, according to what they say, and Abū Tālib had compassion on him and said: "I swear that I shall surely take him with me, he shall not part from me nor I from him for ever, or words to that effect. He took him away with him and when they party arrived at Busra in the country of Syria where was a monk in his cell called Bahīra⁵² who possessed the knowledge of the Christians. At no time had there ceased to be a monk in that cell to whom came their knowledge from a book in it, which they inherited, one ancestor from another according to what they say. When they stopped with Bahīra that year - and often-times before that they had passed by him and he had not spoken to them or made contact with them till that year. When they stopped with him near his cell, he made a great feast for them, and according to what they say, that was because of something he saw in his cell. They say that while he was in his cell he saw the Messenger of Allah with the party as it approached and a white cloud overshadowed him alone of the company. Then they came up and dismounted in the shade of a tree near him and he looked at the cloud when it threw its shade on the tree and the branches of the tree were so inclined over him that he was in the shade underneath. When Bahīra saw that he came down from his cell ordered the food, and it was prepared. Then he sent word to them saying: "Men of Quraish, I have prepared food for you and I wish you all to come, great and small, freeman and slave! One of them said to him: "O Bahīra, you have surely some business on hand to-day, you have not been in the habit of doing this for us, and we have passed by you many times, what is this business of yours to-day?". Bahīrah said to him: "You are right, it is as you say, but you are guests and I wished to honour you and make a feast for you that you may all eat of it". So they gathered together to him, but the Messenger of Allah remained behind alone of the party with their gear beneath the tree because of his youth. When Bahīra looked at the company

he did not see the characteristic he would recognise and find with him and he said: "Men of Quraish, let none of you remain away from my feast". They said to him: "O Bahīra, no one has stayed away from you who should have come to you except a boy who is the youngest of the company, and he has remained behind with the gear". He said: "Do not do this, call him, and let him come to this feast along with you". A man of Quraish with the party said: "By al-Lāt and al-'Uzza, if there is really a matter of meanness on our part it is that the son of 'Abdallah ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib was left out of the feast". Then he went to him, took him in his arms, and seated him with the party. When Bahīra saw him, he began to scrutinize him closely out of the corner of his eye and to examine certain features of his body which he found to correspond to the description he had. When the party had finished their food and had separated Bahīra went to him and said: "O youth, I ask you by the truth of al-Lāt and al-'Uzza that you will inform me of what I ask you". Bahīra said that to him merely because he had heard his people swear by them. They say that the Messenger of Allah said to him: "Do not ask me by al-Lāt and al-'Uzza for I hate nothing else with the hatred I have for them. Bahīra said to him: "In the name of Allah then, will you tell me what I want to know?". He said: "Ask me anything you like". Then he began asking him about matters connected with his condition when asleep, his form, and his affairs, and the Messenger of Allah started telling him, and that tallied with the description of him that Bahīra had. Then he looked at his back and saw the seal of prophecy in its place between his shoulders according to the description of him that he had.

Ibn Hishām: It was like the mark of a cupping-glass.

Ibn Ishāq: When he had finished, he went to his uncle Abū Tālib and said: "What is this boy to you?". He said: "My son". He said: "He is not your son and for him it is essential that his father should not be living. He said: "He is my brother's son". He said: "What about his father?". He said: "He died while his mother was pregnant with him". He said: "You have spoken truly, take your nephew back to his country, but guard him against the Jews, for if they were to see him and recognise what I have recognised, they would surely work him evil, for a great destiny is in store for

your nephew. Take him back then with all speed to his country. His uncle Abū Tālib, when he had finished his business in Syria took him away with all speed and brought him to Mecca.

According to the stories people pass on they say that Zurair and Tamām and Darīs, who were a few of the people of the Book also saw in the Messenger of Allah the same thing as Bahīrah did when he was on that journey with his uncle Abū Tālib and they wanted to do him harm but Bahīrah diverted them from him and he reminded them of Allah and the mention and description of him which they had in their Book. But if they were bent on carrying out what they wished to do to him they would never get to him till they recognised what he said to them and believed what he said. So they left him and went away.

So the Messenger of Allah grew up while Allah kept him safe, guarded and protected from the vices of the Age of Barbarism for the prophetic office with which he designed to honour him, until he grew up to man's estate, the most excellent of his people in manly qualities, the best of them in character, the most noble in lineage, the best of them in affording protection, the greatest of them in forbearance, the most truthful of them in speech, the greatest of them in faithfulness, the farthest removed of them from excesses and those ways of life which defile men, keeping himself apart and holding himself aloof, till the only name by which he was known amongst his people was 'The Faithful', because of all the good elements that Allah had united in him.

According to what was told me, the Messenger of Allah was relating the evils from which Allah had kept him in his youth and the manner of his life in the Age of Barbarism. He said: " I saw myself amongst the boys of Quraish carrying stones for a game in which the boys were engaged. Each of us had divested himself of clothes, taken his girdle and put it round his neck to carry the stones. I was going to and fro in this manner with them when someone I did not see struck me a painful blow and said: "Put on your girdle". So I took it, put it on and began to carry the stones on my shoulder wearing my girdle amongst my companions!"

The Sacrilegious War.

Ibn Hishām: When the Messenger of Allah reached the age of fourteen or fifteen, according to what Abū 'Uḡaidah the Grammarian related to me on the authority of Abū 'Amr al-'Ala, the Sacrilegious War broke out between Qūraish and their allies on the one hand, and Qais 'Ailān on the other. The thing that started it all was that 'Urwah the Wanderer ibn 'UTbah.....had afforded protection to a caravan of perfumes belonging to Nu'mān ibn al-Mundhir, and al-Barrād ibn Qais, one of the Beni Damrah ibn Bakr ibn 'Abd Manāt ibn Kinānah said to him: "Are you protecting it against Kinānah?". He said: "Yes, and against everybody". So 'Urwah the Wanderer set out with it, and al-Barrād also set out seeking to catch him off his guard and when he was in Taiman Dhū Ṭilāl on the uplands, 'Urwah relaxed his vigilance and al-Barrād surprised and slew him during the sacred month and for that reason it was called "The Sacrilege". Al-Barrād said about that:-

And a great calamity which exercised the people before me
For it I braced the Beni Bakr - my sides
In it I pulled down the houses of the Beni Kilāb
And I suckled the clients at the breast
I raised my hand against him on Dhū Ṭilāl
And he fell down quivering like a palm stem prostrated

Labīd ibn Rabī'ah ibn Mālik ibn Ja'far ibn Kilāb said:-

Tell, if you meet the Beni Kilāb
And 'Āmir - and disasters have clients
Tell, if you meet the Beni Numair
And the uncles of the slain man, the Beni Hilāl
That the one who is on his way, the traveller
Has come to rest at Taiman Dhū Ṭilāl

These stanzas are amongst some stanzas of his according to what Ibn Hishām says.

Ibn Hishām: Then some one came to Quraish and informed them that al-Barrād had slain 'Urwah during the sacred month whilst they were in 'Ukāz. So they took their departure before Hawāzin realised what they were doing. Then the news came to them (too) and they set out after them and caught up with them before they entered the sacred territory and they fought an engagement till night fell when they entered the sacred territory and Hawāzin refrained from following them. They met on several other days after that but the people

were not united under a single command, a chieftain was in command of each tribe of Quraish and Kinānah, and a chieftain was in command of each tribe of Qais. The Messenger of Allah witnessed some of these days when his uncles took him out with them. The Messenger of Allah said: "I was picking up arrows for my uncles", that is, "I returned to them the arrows of their enemies when they shot them at them".

Ibn Ishāq: The Sacrilegious War broke out when the Messenger of Allah was twenty years of age. It was called 'The Day of Sacrilege' because of the sacred things which the two tribes Kinānah and Qais, 'Aillān made secular. The leader of Quraish and Kinānah was Harb ibn Umayyah ibn 'Abd Shams. In the former part of the day the victory rested with Qais against Kinānah, but when mid-day came the victory was with Kinānah against Qais.

Ibn Hishām: The account of the Sacrilegious War is longer than I have given it here but the fact that it would abbreviate the biography of the Messenger of Allah keeps me from relating it in full.

The Messenger of Allah's marriage to Khadījah.

Ibn Hishām: When the Messenger of Allah reached the age of twenty-five he married Khadījah bint Khuwailid ibn Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza ibn Qusai ibn Kilāb ibn Murrah ibn Ka'b ibn Lu'ai ibn Ghālib ibn Fihr according to what more than one scholar related to me on the authority of Abū 'Amr of Medina.

Ibn Ishāq: Khadījah bint Khuwailid was a business lady of dignity and wealth who engaged men to look after her business interests for which she gave them a share of the profits. Quraish were a tribe of merchants. When she heard what she heard about the Messenger of Allah, about his truthfulness in speech, his great faithfulness and his nobility of character, she sent for him and proposed to him that he should take some of her goods to Syria as a merchant, accompanied by a servant of hers called Maiserah, and she would give him the best terms she gave to any merchant. The Messenger of Allah accepted her offer, took her goods, and with her servant Maiserah accompanying him he reached Syria.

The Messenger of Allah dismounted in the shade of a tree near to a monk's cell and the monk looked at Maiserah and said: "Who is this

man who has stopped beneath this tree?". Maiserah said to him: "This is a man of Quraish, one of the people of the sacred territory". The monk said to him: "No one except a prophet has ever stopped beneath this tree!"

When the Messenger of Allah sold the merchandise he had brought, he bought what he wanted and set out on his return journey to Mecca, Maiserah accompanying him. According to what they say, when it was mid-day and the heat was strong, Maiserah saw two angels shading him from the sun as he rode on his camel. When he returned to Khadijah in Mecca she sold what he brought and it made double or nearly so. Then Maiserah told her about what the monk had said and about the shading of him by the angels which he had seen. Khadijah was a lady of resolution, noble, and gifted with a sound judgment, together with the honour that Allah willed for her. When Maiserah told her his story she sent for the Messenger of Allah, according to what they say, and said to him: "My relative, I greatly desire you because of your relationship and high rank amongst your people, your faithfulness, your good character, and your truthfulness in speech". Then she offered herself to him, and Khadijah was at that time the noblest of the Quraishite women in pedigree, the greatest of them in dignity, and the wealthiest of them. All her people hankered after this from her had they been able to secure it.

Genealogy omitted.

When she said that to the Messenger of Allah he told it to his uncles and his uncle Hamzah ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib went with him to Khuwailid ibn Asad and asked him for her hand and he married her.

Ibn Hishām: The Messenger of Allah gave her a dowry of twenty camels. She was the first woman he married and he did not marry another till she died.

Ibn Ishāq: She bore to the Messenger of Allah all his children with the exception of Ibrāhīm: al-Qāsim, by whom he got his kunya, at-Tāhar at-Tayyib, Zainab, Ruqayyah, Umm Kulthūm, and Fātimah.

Ibn Hishām: The eldest of his sons was al-Qāsim, then at-Tayyib then at-Tāhar. The eldest of his daughters was Ruqayyah, then Zainab then Umm Kulthūm, then Fātimah.

Ibn Ishāq: Al-Qāsim, at-Tāhar and at-Ṭayyib died in the Age of Barbarism but all his daughters lived to see the Islamic Era, became Muslims and migrated with him.

Ibn Hishām: As for Ibrāhīm his mother was Mary the Copt. 'Abdallah ibn Wahb related to us on the authority of Ibn Lahī'ah. He said: "The mother of Ibrāhīm was Mary the concubine of the Prophet whom the Muqauqis had sent him as a gift from Hāfn from the province of Ansīnā.

Ibn Ishāq: Khadijah bint Khuwailid related to Waraqah ibn Naufal ibn Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza, who was her cousin and a Christian who followed the Books and was learned in the knowledge of men, what her servant Maiserah had told her of the saying of the monk and what he saw when the two angels shaded him. Waraqah said: "If this be indeed the truth O Khadijah then verily Muhammad is the prophet of this nation. I realised that a prophet for this nation was expected; his time has come", or words to that effect.

Poetry omitted.

The arbitration of the Messenger of Allah between Quraish in the matter of the stone.

When the Messenger of Allah was thirty five years of age Quraish gathered together to build the Ka'bah and they were anxious about that in order to get the roof on for they were afraid of it falling. It was only a course higher than the stature of a man and they wanted to raise and roof it because a band of men had stolen the treasures of the Ka'bah which were in the hollow place in the interior of the Ka'bah. The man with whom the treasures were found was Duwaik a client of the Beni Mulaih ibn 'Amr ibn Khuza'ah, and Quraish cut off his hand, but they say that those who stole the treasures deposited them with Duwaik. Then the sea cast up a ship which belonged to one of the Greek merchants at Jiddah and it was wrecked and they took her timbers and prepared them for roofing the Ka'bah. There was a Coptic carpenter³³ in Mecca so that some of the things needed to repair it were prepared for them amongst themselves. Now a snake was in the habit of emerging every day from the hollow place of the Ka'bah into which were cast the offerings that were given to it, and basking itself in the sun on the wall of the Ka'bah. It was one of the things they dreaded because no one would approach it but it

coiled itself up, hissed, and opened its mouth and they went in fear of it. One day whilst it was basking on the wall of the Ka'bah as it was in the habit of doing, Allah sent a bird which snatched it up and carried it away, so Quraish said: "Verily we hope that Allah is pleased with what we wish to do; we have a workman friend, we have wood, and Allah has protected us from the snake.

When they had agreed to pull it down and rebuild it, Abū Wahb ibn 'Amr..... arose and took a stone out of the Ka'bah and it leapt from his hand and returned to its place and he said: "Men of Quraish, do not put into the building of it any of your gains except they be honest, the dowry of an adulteress shall not enter into it, nor anything sold for usury, neither the rewards of injustice towards any man!"

People wrongly attribute this saying to al-Walīd ibn al-Mughīrah ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Amr ibn Makhzūm.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah ibn Abū Najīh of Mecca related to me that it was related to him on the authority of 'Abdallah ibn Saḥwān ibn Umayyah... ..that he saw a son of Ja'dah ibn Hubairah ibn Abū Wahb ibn 'Amr circumambulating the House and he enquired about him and was told: "This is a son of Ja'dah ibn Hubairah". 'Abdallah ibn Saḥwān said: "The grandfather of this man, meaning Abū Wahb, took a stone out of the Ka'bah when Quraish decided to pull it down and it leapt from his hand and returned to its place. So he said: 'Men of Quraish, do not put into the building of it any of your gains except they be honest, do not put into it the gift for wrongdoing, not that which is sold for usury, neither the reward of injustice towards any man'".

Ibn Ishāq: A bū Wahb was the uncle of the Messenger of Allah on his mother's side. He was a man of dignity and an Arab poet says of him:-

Had I made my mount kneel down at Abū Wahb's place
Its saddle - due to his generosity - would not return empty
More noble is he than both branches of Lu'ai ibn Ghālib
When the noblest of genealogies are collected
Haughty at receiving wrong, he is cheerful in generosity
His two grandfathers were the best of the noble and the good
Many are the ashes of the cooking-pot, he fills his porringers
with bread and brings them to a head like white cloths.

Then Quraish divided up the Ka'bah. The side containing the door was allotted to the Beni 'Abd Manāf and Zuhrah. The part between the black column and the Yemenite column was allotted to the Beni Makhzūm and the tribes of Quraish who were united with them. The back of the Ka'bah was allotted to the Beni Jumah and Sahm, the two sons of 'Amr ibn Husais ibn Ka'b ibn Lu'ai. The part containing the Holy Place was allotted to the Beni 'Abd ad-Dār ibn Qusai and the Beni Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza ibn Qusai and the Beni 'Adi ibn Ka'b ibn Lu'ai, and it was the wall. The people dreaded its being pulled down and were in fear because of it. Then al-Walīd said: "I will give you a start in the work of demolition, took a pick-axe and went up to it, saying as he did so: "O Allah, it is not afraid". (Ibn Hishām: It is also given as "O Allah it does not frighten) "O Allah verily we desire nothing but good. Then he started the work of demolition in the vicinity of the two columns. The people waited that night and said: "We shall see, if he is smitten we will demolish no more of it, but will restore it as it was; and if he is not smitten, Allah is pleased with the demolition we have carried out". So al-Walīd appeared in the morning and went to his work and he and the people with him continued the work of demolition till they reached the foundations, the foundations of Abrahāq, and found some green stones like camels' humps dovetailed into each other.

Ibn Ishāq: One of those who relate traditions told me that one of the Quraishites who was engaged in the work of demolition inserted his crowbar between two stones to pull out one of them and when the stone was moved the whole of Mecca shook so they let the foundation alone.

Ibn Ishāq: It was related to me that Quraish found in the column an inscription in Syriac and did not know what it was till one of the Jews³⁴ read it to them and this was what it was: "I, Allah, am Lord of Mecca; I created it in the day I created the heavens and the earth and formed the sun and the moon and surrounded them with seven angels, Hanīfs: it shall not pass away till its two mountains are removed: blessed to her people in water and milk.

Ibn Ishāq: It was related to me that they found in the standing-place an inscription which read: "Mecca is the sacred House of Allah,

its livelihood comes to it in three ways, and the foremost of its people do not make it secular.

Laith ibn Abū Sulaim claims that they found a stone in the Ka'bah forty years before the mission of Muhammad - if what is said is true - on which was inscribed: "He who sows good will reap happiness, but he who sows evil will reap repentance; ye do evil and are rewarded with good. Yes, as grapes are not gathered from thorns".³⁵

Ibn Ishāq: Then the tribes of Quraish collected the stones wherewith to build it, each tribe collecting separately. Then they built it up till reached the place of the black stone. Then they began wrangling about it, each tribe wanting to set it in position apart from the others, till they parted from each other, formed confederations, and prepared to fight. The Beni 'Abd ad-Dār brought forward a basin filled with blood and they and the Beni 'Adi ibn Ka'b ibn Lu'ai made a covenant together until death and they put their hands in the blood in the basin and so they were called "The Lappers of Blood". Quraish remained in that state four or five nights when they assembled in the place of worship and held a consultation to arrive at an equitable settlement. Some of the story-tellers say that Abū Umayyah ibn al-Mughīrah ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Amr ibn Makhzūm who was at that time the senior man of Quraish said: "Men of Quraish, compose your differences in this way that the first man who enters the door of this place of worship shall adjudicate between you on the matter on which you disagree. They did so, and the first one who came in to them was the Messenger of Allah. When they saw him they said: "Here is the Faithful, we will accept him, this is Muhammad ". When he came to them they told him what had happened and he said: "Fetch me a cloak", and it was brought. Then he took the stone, placed it on it with his hand and said: "Let each tribe take a side of the cloak and then raise it up all together". They did so, and when they had lifted it to its place he put it in position with his hand and they built it in. Quraish used to call the Messenger of Allah 'The Faithful' before any revelation came to him.

Poetry omitted.

The Ka'bah, in the time of the Messenger of Allah, was eighteen

cubits and it was covered with fine Egyptian linen, then it was covered with striped cloth and the first one who covered it with brocade was al-Hajjāj bin Yūsuf.

The Affair of the Hums 36.

Ibn Ishaq: I do not know whether it was before the Elephant or after it that Quraish invented the affair of the Hums, and idea which they devised and executed. They said: "We are the descendants of Abraham, the people of the sacred territory, the guardians of the House, the inhabitants of Mecca who dwell there, so none of the other Arabs have the same rights as we have, nor do they enjoy the same position. They do not acknowledge any other Arab in the way they acknowledge us, nor do they venerate anything outside as they venerate the sacred territory, so if you perform these things the Arabs will treat with disdain your sacred place and say 'They venerate the secular just as they venerate the sacred'. So they gave up standing on 'Arafah and the procession from it although they knew and acknowledged that it was part of the ceremonies and the Pilgrimage and the religion of Abraham. But they considered that the rest of the Arabs should do the standing there and make the procession from it, but they said: "We are the people of the sacred territory and there is no need for us to leave the sacred place or venerate another as we venerate it. We are the Hums and the Hums are the inhabitants of the sacred territory. Then they appointed for those who were born of the Arabs both inside and outside the sacred territory what was theirs by birth allowing them what they allowed them and forbidding them what they forbade them. Kinānah and Khuẓā'ah joined with them in this matter.

Ibn Hishām: Abu 'Ubaidah the Grammarian related to me that the Beni 'Āmir bin Sa'sa'ah bin Mu'āwiyah bin Bqkr bin Hawāzin joined them in that matter and he recited to me (a stanza) by 'Amr bin Ma'di Karib:-

'Abbās? Had our coursers been the finest in Tathlīth
You would not have seized the people of the Hums by
the forelock after me.

Ibn Hishām: Tathlīth was a place in their country, and ash-Shīyār means the fat, the fine and by the people of the Hums he means the

Beni 'Amir bin Sa'sa'ah and by 'Abbās he means 'Abbās bin Mirdās

the Sulamite who had made a raid on the Beni Zubaid in Tathlīth. This stanza is in a poem by 'Amr; He also recited to me (a stanza) by Laqīt ibn Zurārah the Dārimite about the day of Jabalah:-

Withhold! they are the Beni 'Abs
The ones of nobility among the people of the Hums.

Because the Beni 'Abā on the day of Jabalah were the allies of the Beni 'Āmir ibn Sa'sa'ah. The day of Jabalah was between the Beni Hanzalah ibn Mālik ibn Zaid Manāt ibn Tamīm and the Beni 'Āmir ibn Sa'sa'ah. The victory on that day went to the Beni 'Amir ibn Sa'sa'ah against the Beni Hanzalah and Laqīt ibn Zurārah ibn 'Udas was slain that day, and Hājib ibn Zurārah ibn 'Udas was taken prisoner, and 'Amr ibn 'Amr ibn 'Udas ibn Zaid ibn 'Abdallah ibn Dārim ibn Mālik ibn Hanzalah was routed. In connection with it Jarīr says to al-Farazdaq:-

As if thou hadst not witnessed Laqīt and Hājib
And 'Amr ibn 'Amr when he cried: 'Help, Dārim'.

This stanza is in a poem of his. Then they met on the day of Dhū Najab and the victory went to the Beni Hanzalah against the Beni 'Āmir and Hassān ibn Mu'āwiyah the Kindite who was Ibn Kabshah was slain that day and Yazīd ibn as-Sā'iq the Kalbite was taken prisoner, and at-Tufail ibn Mālik ibn Ja'far ibn Kilāb, Abū 'Āmir ibn at-Tufail was put to flight. Al-Farazdaq said about him:-

When Tufail ibn Mālik made his escape on Kurzul
there were some of the routed ones on foot
We smote the head of Ibn Khuwailid
(Thus) increasing (the number) of the heads lying on the ground.

These two stanzas are in a poem of his. Jarīr also said:-

We dyed his turban for Ibn Kabshah
In the body of horsemen he encountered a loud-voiced man.

This stanza is in a poem of his. The account of the day of Jabalah and the day of Dhū Najab is longer than I have given it but what I mentioned in the account of The Sacrilege prevents me from relating it.

Ibn Ishāq: Then they introduced innovations they did not have before that even to the extent of saying that there was no necessity for the people of the Hums to prepare sour cheese or purify butter since they were inside the sacred territory, nor would they go into a tent

of hair or take shelter, if they did so, except in a tent of hide while they were in the pilgrim state. To that they added more and said that the people from outside must not eat the food they had brought with them from without to the sacred territory when they came on the Greater and Lesser Pilgrimages nor must they circumambulate the House when they came to do it for the first time except in the garments provided by the Hums, and if they did not get anything from them they were to circumambulate the House naked. If a man or woman came on pilgrimage and could not obtain garments from the Hums and made the circumambulation in the clothes in which he came from outside, he threw them away when he had finished his circuits; they were of no further use to him, and neither he nor anyone else could ever touch them. The Arabs called these clothes "The Cast-Offs". These things they constrained the Arabs to do and they submitted to them; they stood on 'Arafah, made the procession from it and circumambulated the House naked. The men made the circuits naked - but the women, one of them would lay aside all her clothes with the exception of a shift slit either before or behind in which she would make the circuits. A woman of the Arabs said as she was circumambulating the House in this state:-

To-day part of it or all of it will appear fit
And I will not make free any of it that seems fit.

Whoever made the circuits in the clothes in which he came from the outside cast them away and they were of no further use either to him or anyone else. A man of the Arabs said, mentioning some of his clothes he had left behind which he could not go near although he was fond of them:-

It is sufficient grief that I return to it as if it were
A forbidden cast-off in front of those who circumambulate.

He said: "It cannot be touched".

Thus they remained till Allah sent Muhammad and he sent down to him when he stabilised for him his religion and established for him the institutions of his pilgrimage:-

Then make the procession from where the people have made it
and ask pardon of Allah, verily Allah is forgiving,
compassionate. (Sūrah 2: 199)

He means Quraish, and the people are the Arabs. So he took them up to 'Arafah in the institution of the Pilgrimage, the standing on it

and the procession from it. He also sent down to him about the food and clothes which they forbade to people at the House when they made the circuits naked and pronounced unlawful the food which the people brought from the outside:-

O sons of Adam, take your ornaments at every place of worship and eat and drink but do not spend, verily He loveth not those who spend. Say: "Who hath forbidden the ornaments of Allah which He hath produced for His servants and the good things from the provision?" Say: "These are exclusively for those who have believed in this present life on the Resurrection Day. Thus we make the signs plain for a people who have knowledge. (Surah 7: 31, 32).

Then Allah suppressed the affair of the Hums and all the innovations which Quraish had imposed on the people, by Islam, when Allah sent His Messenger.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah ibn Abū Bakr ibn Muhammad ibn 'Amr ibn Hazm related to me on the authority of 'Uthmān ibn Abu Salmān ibn Jubair ibn Muṭ'am from his uncle Nāfi' ibn Jubair from his father Jubair ibn Muṭ'am. He said: "I saw the Messenger of Allah before the revelations came down to him sitting on his camel on 'Arafah with the people of his tribe until he should along with them take his departure from it under the guidance of Allah, to Whom belong power and glory.

The affair of the beginning of the stonings and the warnings of the soothsayers about the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: The Jewish, Rabbis, the Christian monks, and the Arab soothsayers had told of the affair of the Messenger of Allah before he was sent, when his time drew nigh. As for the Jewish Rabbis and the Christian monks they both found in their Books a description of him and his time in what had come down to them from the time of their prophets about him. As for the Arabian soothsayers, the Satans among the Jinn brought them what they heard by eavesdropping, which they were not precluded from doing by the casting down of stars. There always came from the soothsayers, both male and female, an account of some of his affairs, but the Arabs paid no heed till Allah sent him and those things which they had mentioned came to pass, and they recognised them. When the affair of the Messenger of Allah drew near and his mission had come the Satans were precluded from listening and an intervention was made between them and the seats on which they sat

to eavesdrop, and stars were cast at them, and so the Jinn realised that there was an affair which had taken place by the command of Allah amongst men. Allah, the Blessed, the Exalted, said to His 'rophet when He sent him as He was relating to him the account of the Jinn when they were precluded from listening, and recognised what they recognised and did not deny it when they saw it:-

Say: "It hath been revealed to me that a company of Jinn listened and said: 'Verily, we have heard a marvellous Qur'ān which guides to the right way and we have believed in it and will never associate anyone with our Lord. And that He - may the majesty of our Lord be exalted - has taken for Himself neither wife nor offspring'", down to His saying: "And verily we used to sit on some of the seats to listen but whoever listens now will find a meteor lying in wait for him. And verily we do not know whether evil is intended for those on earth or whether our Lord intends to guide them aright. (Sūrah 72: 1 - 3; 9, 10).

So when the Jinn heard the Qur'ān they realised that they had been prevented from listening before that in case the revelation should be confused with some story from heaven and that what came from Allah to the people of earth should be rendered ambiguous to them till the truth should come to pass and uncertainty be dispelled. So they believed, accepted it as genuine

They went back to their people as warners and said
They said: "O our people, we have heard a Book which has been sent down after Moses confirming what was before it, guiding to the truth and to a straight path. (Sūrah 46: 30)

The saying of the Jinn was (and there were men of mankind who used to take refuge with men of the Jinn but they increased them in malice) that there was a man of the Arabs of Quraish, and others who when he travelled and went down into the lower reaches of a ravine to pass the night in it, said: "I take refuge in the Mighty One of this valley from the Jinn to-night, and from the evil that is in it.

Ibn Hishām: Ar-Rahaq means badness and foolishness. Ru'bah ibn al-'Ajjāj said:-

When she deprives the she-camel maddened by thirst of her reason.

This stanza is in a poem of his on the Rajaz metre. Ar-Rahaq also means to seek a thing till you almost reach it and you either attain to it or you don't. Ru'bah said in description of wild asses:-

They switched their tails and quivered in fear of coming near

This stanza is in a poem of his in the Rajaz metre. Ar-Rahaq is also the verbal noun for the saying amongst men: "I have endured the evil or the difficulty which you laid upon me - a heavy burden". That is: "I have borne the evil or the difficulty you imposed on me - a heavy burden". In the Book of Allah, the Blessed, the Exalted:-

We were afraid that he might impose on them impiety and unbelief. (Sūrah 18: 80)

Also His saying:-

And impose not upon me as part of my affair difficulty. (Surah 18: 73).

Ibn Ishāq: Ya'qūb ibn 'Utbah ibn al-Mughīrah ibn al-Akhnas related to me that it was related to him that the first of the Arabs to be frightened by shooting stars when they fell was the Tribe of 'Thaqīf and that they went to a man of their tribe called 'Amr ibn Umayyah ibn 'Ilāj, who was the shrewdest and wisest of the Arabs, and said to him: "O 'Amr, did you not see the shooting stars in the sky?" He said: "Certainly, look now, if they are the well-known stars by which guidance is given on land and sea, and by which the storms of summer and winter are known, which things are of benefit to man in obtaining his livelihood - if these are the stars that shoot then I swear it means the rolling up of the world and the death of the people who are in it. But if there are other stars which remain fixed as they are that is because of an affair which Allah has willed for this creation, whatever it may be".

Ibn Ishāq: Muḥammad ibn Muslim ibn Shihāb az-Zuhri said on the authority of 'Ali ibn al-Hussain ibn 'Ali ibn Abū Tālib from 'Abdallah ibn al-'Abbās from a number of the Helpers that the Messenger of Allah said: "What did you say about the shooting star?". They said: "O Prophet of Allah, we said when we saw it shoot: 'A king has died'; 'A king has been crowned'; 'Someone has been born'; 'Someone born has died'". The Messenger of Allah said: "That is not the case, but when Allah, the Blessed, the Exalted, has decreed an affair in His universe, the throne-bearers hear of it and offer praises and those who are underneath them offer praises; those who are underneath that again offer praise in response to their praise. Thus the praises cease not to come down till they reach the lowest heaven and they offer

praises. Then they say to each other: "Why are you offering praises?". They answer: 'Those above us did it and we do likewise'. Then they say: "Will you not ask those above you why they praised?". They go on saying that till it comes to the throne-bearers and they say to them: 'Why are you offering praises?'. They say: 'Allah has decreed such and such an affair in His universe, referring to what has taken place, and word of it goes down from one heaven to another till it reaches the lowest heaven, where they relate it, and the Satans are eavesdropping and they get conjectures and contradictions which they bring to the soothsayers of the people of earth, and tell it to them, and they are either deceived or guided aright. Then the soothsayers relate it and guide some aright but cause others to err. Then Allah put a hindrance in the way of the Satans by means of these stars which were cast at them, and to-day soothsaying has been abolished; there is none of it.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Amr ibn Abū Ja'far on the authority of Muhammad ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn Abū Lubaibah from 'Ali ibn al-Hussain ibn 'Ali related to me the same account as Ibn Shihāb.

Ibn Ishāq: A scholar related to me that a woman of the Beni Sahn called al-Ghaitalah was a soothsayer in the Age of Barbarism. Her fellow came to her one night and was thrown down beneath her and said:-

Badr, what is Badr?
A day of barrenness and slaughter.

When news of that reached Quraish they said: "What does he mean?". Then he came to her another night, was thrown down beneath her and said:-

Ravines, what ravines
Where Ka'b will be smitten on the sides.

When word of that came to Quraish, they said: "What does he mean?". This is an affair that will surely come to pass, see what it is". But they did not recognise till the battles of Badr and Uhud in the ravine, and they realised that that was what he brought to his friend.

Ibn Hishām: Al-Ghatalah was from the Beni Murrah ibn 'Abd Manāt ibn Kinānah brothers of Mudlij ibn Murrah and she was the mother of the Ghaitals whom Abu Talib whom Abū Tālib mentioned in the words:-

Idle were the dreams of a people who exchanged
The Beni Khalaf for us and the Ghaitals.

Her descendants are called al-Ghayātal and they are from the Beni Sahm ibn Husaish. This stanza is in a poem of his which I will mention in due course if Allah wills.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Alī ibn Nāfi' the Jurashite related to me that Janb, a Yemenite clan, had a soothsayer in the Age of Barbarism. When the affair of the Messenger of Allah was mentioned it spread amongst the Arabs, and Janb said to him: "Look into the affair of this man for us" They gathered together to him at the foot of his mountain and he came down to them when the sun rose. He stopped and stood before them leaning on his bow, and raised his face to heaven for a long time. Then he started leaping around and said: "O people, verily Allah has honoured Muhammad, and has chosen him and purified his heart and inward parts, and his sojourn amongst you, O people, will be brief". Then he ascended the mountain and returned whence he came.

Ibn Ishāq: One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of 'Abdallah ibn Ka'b a client of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān that it was related to him that 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb was sitting amongst the people in the mosque of the Messenger of Allah when a man of the Arabs approached to enter the mosque desiring 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb. When 'Umar looked at him he said: "Verily this man is in polytheism, he has not yet abandoned it, or he was a soothsayer of the Age of Barbarism". The man greeted him and squatted down and 'Umar said to him: "Have you become a Muslim?" He said: "Yes, O Commander of the Faithful". He said: "Were you a soothsayer in the Age of Barbarism?" He said: "Glory be to Allah, O Commander of the Faithful, you have been suspicious of me and have received me with words which I do not think you have spoken to any of your entourage since you came into what you have". 'Umar said: "O Allah, pardon me. We were in more evil case than this in the times of Barbarism, worshipping images and taking to ourselves idols till Allah honoured us with His Messenger and Islam". He said: "Yes, I was a soothsayer in the Age of Barbarism O Commander, of the Faithful". He said: "Tell me, what did your familiar bring you?". He said: "A short time before Islam about a month or a little less he came to me and said:-

"Hast thou not beheld the Jinn, their acceptance of Islam and their deppair about their religion and their betaking themselves to their young camels and their covers".

Ibn Hishām: This is rhyming prose not poetry.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah ibn Ka'b said: 'Umar said thereupon as he gave the account to the people: " I was at one of the idols of the Age of Barbarism with a few men of Quraish to which one of the Arabs had sacrificed a calf and we were expecting he would divide it - a share to each of us - when I heard a voice from the belly of the calf, and I have never heard a more penetrating voice, and that was a little while before Islam, a month or less, saying:- "Ya Dharīh + A successful affair + A man cries + He says: 'There is no god but Allah'!"

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as: A man cries + In a fluent tongue + And says: 'There is no god but Allah'.

A scholar of poetry recited to me:-

I wondered at the Jinn and their deppair
And their making fast the covers on their noble camels
They come quickly to Mecca desiring the guidance
The believers of the Jinn are not as their unclean ones.

Ibn Ishāq: This is what has come to us from the Arabian soothsayers.

Warnings by Jews about the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim ibn 'Umar ibn Qatādah related to me on the authority of some of his tribe. They said: Amongst the things which induced us to accept Islam, along with the mercy of Allah and His guidance to us, were what we heard from Jewish people when we were polytheists with our idols and they were the people of a Book possessing a knowledge we did not have. There was, and still is, bad feeling between them and us. When we got the better of them in a way they disliked, they would say to us: "Verily the time of a prophet who will be sent draweth nigh, along with whom we shall slay you with the slaughter of 'Ād and Iram!" Often did we hear those words from them. When Allah sent His Messenger, we responded when he called us to Allah knowing that wherewith they threatened us

and we forestalled them in coming to him. We believed in him while they disbelieved. So there came down those verses of "The Cow" about them and us:-

When there came to them a Book from Allah confirming what they had, although before they had asked help against those who had disbelieved, yet when that of which they had knowledge came to them they disbelieved in it, and the curse of Allah is on the unbelievers. (Sūrah 2: 89).

Ibn Hishām: Yastaftihūn means 'they ask for help' It also means 'they pass judgment on one another'. In the Book of Allah, the Exalted:-

O our Lord give a true decision between us and our people
Thou art the best of those who give decisions. (Sūrah 7: 89)

Ibn Ishāq: Sūlih ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Auf ibn Mahmūd ibn Labīd brother of the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal related to me on the authority of Salamah ibn Salāmah ibn Waqash (Salamah was one of the men of Badr). He said: We, in the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal had a neighbour who was a Jew. One day he came out to us from his house and stood before the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal". Salamah said: "At that time I was the youngest of them and I had a striped garment in which I reclined in the courtyard belonging to my family, and he mentioned the Day of Judgment, the Resurrection, the Account, the Scales, the Garden and the Fire. He said that to a party who were polytheists and idol worshippers, and who did not realise there was a resurrection after death, and they said to him: "Out upon you, do you believe it is true that people will be raised up after death to an abode in which is a Garden and a Fire and that they will be recompensed there according to their works?". He said: "Yes, by Him by whom men swear and he would wish that his portion in the Fire should be the greatest furnace in the world, which they would heat, put him inside and plaster him up, rather than escape from that Fire to-morrow". They said: "Out upon you, What is the pledge of that?" He said: "A prophet who will be sent from the direction of this country", and he indicated Mecca and Yemen with his hand. They said: "When will you see him?". He said, as he looked at me, and I was the youngest of them: "If this boy lives his life he will find him". Salamah said: A day and a night had not passed till Allah sent His Messenger, and he lived amongst us, and we believed in him whilst

he wrongly and enviously disbelieved in him. So we said to him: "Out upon you! Are you not the one who said to us what you said about him?". He said: "Certainly, but he is not the one".³⁸

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim ibn 'Umar ibn Qatādah related to me on the authority of a Shaikh of the Beni Quraizah. He said: "He said to me: 'Do you^{KNOW} what brought about the acceptance of Islam by Tha'labah ibn Sa'yah and Usaid ibn Sa'yah and Asad ibn 'Ubaid (a group of Nadal, brothers of the Beni Quraizah who lived with them in the Age of Barbarism and then became their masters in the Islamic Era)'. I said: 'No'. He said: 'A man of the Jews of the inhabitants of Syria called Ibn al-Hayyabān came to us some years before Islam and settled amongst us. We have never seen a man who did not pray the five prayers who was better than he and he remained with us. When the rain failed we would say to him: 'Come out O Ibn Hayyabān and pray for rain for us', and he would say: 'No, not till you bring me part of your produce as alms'. We would say to him: 'How much?', and he would say: 'A measure of dates or two bushels of barley'. So we would bring it out and he would take us outside our corn lands and pray to Allah for rain for us and he would not bring his session to a close till the clouds passed over and we got rain. He did that not one nor twice nor thrice. Then death came to him while he was with us and when he realised that he was dying he said: 'O Jewish people, what, think you, brought me from a land of wine and leaven to a land of poverty and hunger?'. We said: 'You know best'. He said: 'I came to this land only because I expect the coming of a prophet whose time has drawn near and this town will be the place to which he will migrate. I was hoping he would be sent so that I might follow him and his time has come upon you, and you will surely not hasten to him O Jewish people for he will be sent with bloodshed and the captivity of the women and children of those who oppose him. Let not that keep you away from him'. When the Messenger of Allah was sent and he laid siege to the Beni Quraizah, these young men who were then youths said: 'O Beni Quraizah, verily he is the Prophet whom al-Hayyabān promised you'. They said: 'He is not'. They said: 'Certainly it is he according to his description'. So they came down, accepted Islam, and saved their lives, properties, and families.

Ibn Ishāq: This is what has come to us from the accounts of the Jews.*

The Affair of Salmān the Persian.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim ibn 'Umar ibn Qatādah the Helper related to me on the authority of Maḥmūd ibn Labīd. He said: Salmān the Persian related to me, and I heard the words from his own mouth. He said: "I was a Persian, one of the inhabitants of Isfahan of the people of a town called Jayy. My father was the mayor of the town and I was to him the best loved of all Allah's creatures, and in his love for me he went so far as to shut me up in his house as a slave-girl is shut up and I applied myself to the study of Magianism till I became a servant of the Fire. My father had a large estate, and one day he was occupied on a building of his and said to me: 'My son, I am occupied on this building of mine to-day and am kept away from my estate, so then to it and look after it', and he gave me directions about some of the things he wanted. Then he said to me: 'Do not shut yourself away from me for if you do that you will be more of a concern to me than my estate and you will distract me from everything which concerns me. So I set out for the estate to which he sent me and I passed one of the Christian churches and I heard their voices as they were worshipping. I did not know what the affair of the people was because my father had shut me up in his house. When I heard their voices I went inside to see what they were doing, and when I saw them their worship pleased me and I longed for their faith and said: 'This is indeed better than what we have', and I did not part from them till set of sun, nor did I go to my father's estate. Then I said to them: 'Where is the origin of this religion?'. They said: 'In Syria'. Then I returned to my father who had sent men out to look for me so that I distracted him from his work. When I came to him he said: 'My son, where have you been? did I not make with you the agreement I made?'. I said to him: 'My father, I passed by people worshipping in a church of theirs and what I saw of their religion pleased me and I stayed with them till sunset'. He said: 'My son, there is no good in that religion, your religion and that of your fathers is better than it'. I said: 'Not at all, verily it is better than our religion'. So he was afraid of me and put fetters

on my feet and imprisoned me in his house. Then I sent word to the Christians and said to them: 'If a party of horsemen comes your way from Syria give me word of them'. A party of riders came from Syria, they were Christian merchants, and they told me about them. So I said to them: 'When they have finished their business and are desirous of returning to their country give me word of them'. When they were ready to return to their country they gave me word, and I cast the fetters off my feet, set out with them and came to Syria. When I got there I enquired who were the best of the people of this religion in knowledge. They said: 'The Bishop in the Church'. I went to him and said to him: 'I am very keen on this religion and would like to remain with you'.and be your servant in the church and learn from you and worship with you'. He said: 'Come in', and I went in with him. But he was a wicked man who ordered them to bring alms and urged them on to do it. When they collected anything for him he put it away for himself and gave nothing to the poor and in this way he collected seven jars of gold and silver. I disliked him intensely because of what I saw him do. Then he died and the Christians gathered together to bury him and I said to them: 'Verily, this was an evil man who ordered you to bring alms and urged you on to do it, and when you brought them he put them away for himself and gave the poor none of them'. They said to me: 'What knowledge have you got about this?'. I said to them: 'I will show you his hoard'. They said: 'Show it to us'. So I showed them where it was stored and they took out of it seven jars full of gold and silver. When they saw them they said: 'We will never bury him'. So they crucified him and stoned him with stones and they brought another man and appointed him in his place' Salmān says: "I have not seen a man who did not pray the five times who was better than he, more abstemious with regard to this world or more desirous of the world to come, or more industrious than he both by day and by night. I loved him with a love I had never had for anyone before him. I stayed with him for a long time and then death came to him so I said to him: 'O so-and-so, I have been with you and have loved you with a love I have never had for anyone before you, and there has come upon you by the command of Allah that which you see, to whom then will you recommend me or what injunction will you lay upon me?'. He said: 'My son, I know not

anyone to-day who stands on the same ground as I stood. Men have died, they have changed and abandoned the greater part of what they had except a man in Mosul who is so-and-so, who stands on the ground on which I stood, go to him'.

When he died and had been buried I betook myself to the patron of Mosul and said to him: 'O so-and-so, verily so-and-so at the time of his death recommended me to come to you and told me that you are of his persuasion'. He said: 'Stay with me'. I did so and found him the man best versed in the affair of his friend. But it was not long till he died. When his death drew near I said to him: 'O so-and-so, verily so-and-so recommended me to come to you and enjoined me to seek you out, and now death has come to you by the command of Allah. To whom will you recommend me and what injunction will you lay upon me?' He said: 'My son, I know not a man who stands on the same ground as we do except one in Nasībīn and he is so-and-so. Go to him'.

When he was dead and buried I went to the patron of Nasībīn and told him my story and the injunction which his friend had laid upon me. He said: 'Stay with me'. I did so, and found him to be of the same persuasion as his two friends. I stayed with the best of men but it was not long till death came down upon him and when it was near I said to him: 'O so-and-so, verily so-and-so recommended me to so-and-so, and that one recommended me to someone else who recommended me to you, to whom do you recommend me and what injunction do you lay upon me'. He said: 'My son, I know not of one of our persuasion who is still alive to whom I can advise you to go except a man in 'Ammūriyah in the country of the Byzantines. He is of the same persuasion as ourselves. If you like go to him for he stands where we stand'.

When he was dead and buried I betook myself to the patron in 'Ammūriyah and told him my story and he said: 'Stay with me'. So I stayed with the man best versed in the persuasion and convictions of his friends. I prospered and had cattle and sheep till there descended upon him the decree of Allah, the Exalted. When his hour was come I said to him: 'O so-and-so, verily I was with so-and-so and he recommended me to so-and-so, and he recommended me to so-and-so and he recommended me to you, to whom do you recommend me and

what injunction do you lay upon me?' He said: 'My son, I know not one to-day who stands on the same ground as ourselves to whom I would recommend you to go but the time of a prophet who is commissioned with the religion of Abraham and he will appear in Arabia. His migration will take place to a country between two stony tracts between which are palm trees, in it are signs not hidden. He will put gifts to his own use but not the alms; between his shoulders is the seal of the prophetic office; if you are able to get to that country do so'.

He said: "Then he died and was buried and I remained in 'Ammūriyah as long as Allah willed I should remain. Then a company of Kalbite merchants came along my way and I said to them: 'Take me to Arabia and I will give you these cows and sheep of mine'. They said: 'yes' and I gave them the animals and they took me along with them till they reached Wādī al-Qura where they did me an injustice and sold me to a Jew as a slave. Thus I remained with him and saw the palm trees and hoped that it was the country my patron had described to me but in myself I was not sure. Whilst I was with him a cousin of his from the Beni Qurathah of Medina came to him, bought me from him and took me to Medina, and as soon as I saw it I recognised it from my patron's description, and there I stayed. Then the Messenger of Allah was sent and he resided in Mecca for as long as he resided in it, but I heard no mention of him what with my work as a slave. Then he migrated to Medina, and I was in the top of a palm-tree belonging to my master doing some work for him. whilst he sat underneath, when his cousin came up, stood before him and said: 'O so-and-so may Allah fight the Beni Qailah, verily they are now assembled in Qubā for a man who has come to them from Mecca to-day and they assert that he is a prophet.

Genealogy and poetry omitted.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim bin 'Amr bin Qatādah related to me on the authority of Mahmūd bin Labīd on the authority of 'Abdallah bin 'Abbās. He said: Salīmān said: "When I heard that a shivering seized me (Ibn Hishām: 'Urwa is a trembling or shaking due to cold) till I imagined I would fall on top of my master, so I came down from the palm-tree and began to say to his cousin: 'What are you saying? What are you saying?'. My master grew angry, cuffed me severely, and

said: 'What have you to do with this man? get back to your work'. I said: 'Nothing'. I merely wished to ask him to verify what he said. I had with me something I had gathered together and when evening came I took it out and brought it to the Messenger of Allah while he was in Qubā', and I went in to him and said to him: 'Verily, I have heard that thou art a good man, and thou hast friends who are strangers and in need. Here is something I had for alms and I thought that thou wert more entitled to it than anyone else'. So I presented it to him and the Messenger of Allah said to his friends: 'Eat', while he withheld his hand and did not eat. I said: to myself: 'This is one' (sign). Then I took my departure and collected something. The Messenger of Allah moved to Medina and I brought it to him and said: 'I observed that you did not eat the alms but this is a gift I am bestowing on you'. So the Messenger of Allah ate of it and he invited his companions and they ate with him. I said to myself: 'Here are two' (signs). Then I went to the Messenger of Allah when he was in Baqī' al-Gharqad attending the funeral of one of his friends. I was wearing two heavy cloaks of mine, and he was squatting amongst his friends when I greeted him. Then I walked round and looked at his back to see if I could find the seal which my patron had described to me. When the Messenger of Allah saw me going round him he realised that I wanted confirmation of something that had been described to me, so he cast his cloak off his back, and I beheld the seal and recognised it, and I bent down to it and kissed it while I wept. The Messenger of Allah said to me: 'Come round', and I came round, squatted down before him and related to him my story as I have related it to you O Ibn 'Abbās, and the Messenger of Allah was pleased that his friends should hear it. Then the duties of a slave kept Salmān occupied till Badr and Uhud missed him along with the Messenger of Allah. Salmān said: Then the Messenger of Allah said: 'O Salmān draw up a deed of manumission'. So I drew up a deed of manumission with my master on the basis of three hundred palm shoots which I would keep alive for him in a hollow place I had dug out, and forty ounces. The Messenger of Allah said to his friends: 'Help your brother', and they helped me, one with thirty shoots, another with twenty, another with fifteen and another with ten, each man according to what he had till I collected three

hundred shoots. The Messenger of Allah said to me: 'O Salmān, go and dig the hollows for them and when you have finished come to me and I will put them in with my own hand! So I dug the hollows with the help of my friends and when I had finished I went to him and told him and the Messenger of Allah came forth with me and we began handing him the shoots and he put them in with his own hand till we finished. And by Him in Whose hand is the life of Salmān not a single shoot died. Thus I paid up the palms but the money still remained against me. Then someone brought the Messenger of Allah something resembling a chicken's egg of gold from one of the mines and said: 'What about the Persian scribe?'. I was called to his presence and he said: 'O Salmān, take this and pay off any debts you have'. I said: 'But what is this O Messenger of Allah compared with what I owe?'. He said: 'Take it, for verily Allah will pay the price for you with it'. So I took it, and by Him in whose hand is the life of Salmān I weighed out to them the forty ounces and paid them their dues'. Thus Salmān was freed and as a freed man I witnessed the Trench with the Messenger of Allah and after that I did not miss a single battlefield.

Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd ibn Abū Ḥabīb related to me on the authority of one of the Beni 'Abd Qais on the authority of Salmān that he said: 'What is this, O Messenger of Allah compared with what I owe?'. The Messenger of Allah took it, turned it over on his tongue and then said: 'Take it and pay them out of it', and I took it and paid them all their dues, forty ounces.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim ibn 'Umar ibn Qatāḍah related to me. He said: "One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of 'Amr ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Marwān. He said: It was related to me on the authority of Salmān the Persian that he said to the Messenger of Allah when he told him his story, that the patron of 'Ammūriyah had said to him: 'Go to such and such a place in the land of Syria for there is a man between two spinneys who goes out each year from one spinney to the other seeking to pass whilst those afflicted with diseases block his way, and no one for whom he prays goes unhealed. Ask him about this religion which you desire and he will tell you about it. So I set out and went to the place he had described to me

and I found the people gathered together with their sick ones and he came out to them that night trying to pass from the one spinney to the other, and the people thronged him with their sick ones, and no one for whom he prayed went unhealed. They crowded upon me so that I could not get near him till he entered the spinney he wanted to enter all but his shoulder so I took hold of it and he said: 'Who is this?' and turned towards me. I said: 'May Allah have mercy on you, tell me about the Hanīfism, the religion of Abraham'. He said: 'Verily, you ask about something that men do not usually ask about in these days. The time of a prophet from the people of the sacred territory who will be commissioned with this religion has drawn nigh. Go to him and he will bring you to it'. Then he went inside. The Messenger of Allah said to Salmān: 'If you have told me the truth O Salmān you found Jesus Son of Mary'.

The account of the four men who broke away from idol-worship in their search for religion.

Ibn Ishāq: Quraish gathered together one day to celebrate a feast of theirs at one of their idols which they venerated and at which they sacrificed and worshipped and made the circuits. For them that was a feast on a certain day each year. Then four men who were in each other's confidence separated themselves from them and said to each other: "Trust each other and keep silent about each other", and they said "Yes". They were: WARAQAH bin Naufal bin Asad bin 'Abd al-'Uzza bin Qusai bin Kilāb bin Murrah bin Ka'b bin Lu'ai; and 'UBAIDALLAH bin Jahsh bin Ri'āb bin Ya'mar bin Sabrah bin Murrah bin Kabīr bin Ghanam bin Dūdān bin Asad bin Khuzaimah; his mother was Umaimah bint 'Abd al-Muttalib; and 'UTHMĀN bin al-Huwairath bin Asad bin 'Abd al-'Uzza bin Qusai; and ZAID bin 'Amr bin Nufail bin 'Abd al-'Uzza bin 'Abdallah bin Qurt bin Rizāh bin 'Adi bin Ka'b bin Lu'ai. They said to one another: "Know that your people have no ground on which to stand. They have perverted the religion of their father Abraham. What a stone to circumambulate which neither sees nor hears, neither injures nor benefits! O people, seek a religion for yourselves for you have no ground on which to stand". Then they scattered into the countries seeking the Hanīfism¹¹⁰ the religion of Abraham. Waraqah bin Naufal became thoroughly grounded in Christianity, followed the Books of its people and gained knowledge

from the people of the Book. 'Abdallah ibn Jahsh remained as he was in doubt till he accepted Islam, when he emigrated with the Muslims to Ethiopia accompanied by his wife Umm Habībah bint Abū Sufyān who had become a Muslim. When he got there he became a Christian, abandoned Islam, and as a Christian he died there.

Ibn Ishāq: Muḥammad ibn Ja'far ibn az-Zubair related to me. He said: 'When 'Ubaidallah ibn Jahsh became a Christian he was passing some friends of the Messenger of Allah who were in Ethiopia and he said 'We have opened our eyes, but you are still trying to open yours'. That is to say: 'We have seen but you are seeking sight and you do not yet see'. That is because the dog's whelp when he wants to open his eyes to see he makes an attempt to open his eyes that he may see. His word 'Faqqaha' means 'he opened his eyes.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah afterwards got his wife Umm Habībah bint Abū Sufyān ibn Harb.

Ibn Ishāq: Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusain related to me that the Messenger of Allah sent 'Amr ibn Umayyah the Damrite to the Negus in connection with her and the Negus gave her in marriage to him and married her to him and on behalf of the Messenger of Allah he assigned her a dowry of four hundred dinars. Muḥammad ibn 'Alī said: 'It was only on that precedent that we think 'Abd al-Mālik ibn Marwān fixed the dowry of women at four hundred dinars. The man who gave her to the Messenger of Allah was Khālid ibn Sa'īd ibn al-'Ās.

Ibn Ishāq: As for 'Uthmān ibn al-Nuwairith he went to Caesar Emperor of Byzantium, became a Christian, and his standing with him became good.

Ibn Hishām: There is a tradition connected with 'Uthmān ibn al-Nuwairith when he was with Caesar but the circumstances I mentioned in connection with the Sacrilegious War prevent me from telling it.

Ibn Ishāq: As for Zaid ibn 'Amr ibn Naufal he held aloof and did not enter either Judaism or Christianity. He abandoned the religion of his people, abstained from idol-worship, dead things, blood and the sacrifices which were offered at the idols. He forbade the murder of female infants and said: "I worship the Lord of Abraham"; and he showed his people the shame of what they had.

Ibn Ishāq: Hishām ibn 'Urwah related to me on the authority of his father from his mother Asmā bint Abū Bakr. She said: "I saw Zaid ibn 'Amr ibn Naufal as an old man leaning his back against the Ka'bah and saying: 'O people, of Quraish, by Him in whose hand is the life of Zaid ibn 'Amr, not one of you has become a follower of the religion of Abraham except myself'. Then he said: 'O Allah, had I known which way was better pleasing to Thee I would have worshipped Thee in that way but I do not know'. Then he would worship at his ease.

Ibn Ishāq: It was related to me that his son Sa'īd ibn 'Amr ibn Nufail and 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb who was his cousin said to the Messenger of Allah: "Shall we ask forgiveness for Zaid ibn 'Amr". He said: "Yes, for he shall be raised up as a nation in himself". Zaid ibn 'Amr ibn Naufal said in connection with his break-away from the religion of his people and what he encountered from them because of it:-

Is it to be one Lord or a thousand
That I shall worship when the affairs are divided
I have kept away from al-Lāt and al-'Uzza
This is how the man of firmness and patience acts
Neither al-'Uzza do I worship nor her two daughters
Nor do I visit the idols of the Beni 'Amr
Nor Ghanam though he was a lord to us
At the time when my forbearance was in vogue
I wondered, and by night there are wonderful things
But in the day time the seeing one recognises them
(Which are) that Allah has annihilated many men
Whose business was impiety
And has kept alive others by the piety of a nation
Amongst whom the small child has grown up
While a man cools off he returns one day
Just as the well watered branch grows leafy
But I worship the Merciful my Lord
That the Lord the forgiving One may pardon my sin
Preserve the fear of Allah your Lord
When you preserve it you shall not perish
You see the righteous - their abode is gardens
But for the unbelievers is kindled a hot blaze
(They have) shame in life and when they die
They will find that which oppresses their hearts.

Poetry and genealogy omitted.

Ibn Ishāq: Zaid ibn 'Amr had resolved to quit Mecca to wander about in the land in search of the Hanīfism, the religion of Abraham, but whenever Safiyyah bint al-Hadrami, saw him making

preparations for setting out and wishing to go she informed al-Khattāb ibn Naufal - al-Khattāb was his uncle and his brother by his mother and he reprimanded him for forsaking the religion of his people, and he had set Safiyyah to watch over him and said: "If you observe him to be taken up with any matter give me word about it".

Poetry omitted

Ibn Ishāq: It was related to me on the authority of some of the people of Zaid ibn 'Amr ibn Naufal that when Zaid was before the Ka'bah in the place of worship he said:-

Here we come in truth in truth
In worship and service

I have taken refuge in that in which Abraham took refuge
In front of the Ka'bah while he stood up
I am humbled before Thee full of anxiety (to please)
Whatever painful duty you impose on me I will assume
Righteousness I desire, not pride
The traveller in the noon-day heat is not like the one
who takes a siesta.

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as:-

Righteousness is more enduring, not pride
The traveller in the noon-day heat is not like the one
who takes a siesta.

He said: His saying 'in front of the Ka'bah' is on the authority of one of the scholars.

Ibn Ishāq: Zaid ibn 'Amr ibn Naufal said:-

I have submitted myself to Him to whom the earth
which carries the heavy rocks has submitted herself
He spread her out and when He saw her settled on the waters
He fixed on her the mountains
I have submitted myself to Him to Whom the rain-clouds
which carry the sweet light moisture have submitted
themselves.
When they are driven over a country they are obedient
and pour out upon it a copious rain.

And al-Khattāb wrought mischief to Zaid even to the extent of exiling him to Upper Mecca so he settled in Hira opposite Mecca. Al-Khattāb set some young men of Quraish to watch him and some of their stupid ones and said to them: "Do not let him enter Mecca". Thus he could not enter it unless it were unknown to them and if they learned of it they informed al-Khattāb. So they expelled him and wrought him mischief in their disgust that he should corrupt their religion

and that any of them should follow him in his break-away. He said in veneration for his sacred place in opposition to those of his people who made secular what of it they made secular:-

O Allah I am a dweller in the sacred territory not in the free
And verily my house occupies a central position in the place
Beside Safā where no one is led astray.

Then he set out in search of the religion of Abraham, making enquiries of monks and rabbis ⁴² till he came to Mosul and had traversed the whole of Mesopotamia. Then he went on and travelled through Syria till he came to a monk in Maifa'ah in the country of al-Balqā, to whom had come down the knowledge of the Christians, according to what they say, and he asked him about Hanīfism, the religion of Abraham. He said: "Verily you are seeking a religion to which you will find no one to-day to guide you, but the time of a prophet who will appear in the country from which you have come out has drawn near. He will be commissioned with Hanīfism, the religion of Abraham; return there, for he is even now commissioned, his time has come". He had come very near both to Judaism and Christianity but neither was at all acceptable to him. He set out in haste when the monk said to him what he said and made for Mecca but when he was in Lakhmite territory they attacked and killed him. Waraqah ibn Naufal ibn Asad said as he mourned for him:-

Thou wast well guided and favoured O Ibn 'Amr
Thou didst avoid a heated furnace of fire
By thy allegiance to a Lord - no Lord is there like unto Him
And by forsaking the idols of impiety as they were
And thou wert not unmindful to declare the Unity of thy Lord
Thou hast arrived at an abode of noble rank
Where honours come upon thee thick and fast - thou art
fully occupied thereby
There thou shalt find the Friend of Allah
And thou wast never a tyrant of men to be cast down to the
Fire
The mercy of his Lord may overtake man
Though he were underneath the earth (by the depth of)
seventy valleys.

Ibn Hishām: The first two verses of it are attributed to Umayyah ibn Abū 's-Salt, and the last verse of it is in a poem of his*. His words 'idols of impiety' are on the authority of another than Ibn Ishāq.

*Reading of Cairo Text adopted here.

Description of the Messenger of Allah from the Gospel.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what I heard, about that which Jesus Son of Mary established there occurred in that which came to him from Allah in the Gospel for the people of the Gospel a description of the Messenger of Allah which the disciple John confirmed when he transmitted to them the Gospel from the time of Jesus, son of Mary, which concerned the Messenger of Allah, that he said: -

He who hates me hates the Lord, and if I had not done in their presence works none before me did, they would not have had sin. But from now they became ungodly, and supposed that they were getting the better of me and of the Lord. But the word which is written in their Law must be fulfilled: 'They hated me gratuitously', that is, 'in vain'. So if al-Munhamannā had come he whom Allah will send unto you from the Lord and the Spirit of Justice: he who comes forth from the Lord, - he would be a witness to me and you also because of old you have been with me. I have told you this that you may not doubt.

¹¹³
Al-Munhamanna in Syriac is Muhammad and in Greek it is al-Baraqlītis.

Mention of the covenant which Allah took from the prophets in respect of His Messenger.

When Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah, reached the age of forty years, Allah commissioned him as an act of mercy to the worlds and a sufficiency for men. Allah had taken a covenant of every prophet He commissioned before him, of faith in him, confirmation of him, and help to him against all who opposed him, and He required of them that they would transmit that to every one who believed in them and accepted them and they fulfilled this obligation which was laid upon them with regard to him. Allah says to Muhammad:-

When Allah took the covenant of the prophets: "Whatever Book and Wisdom I may have given you and there comes to you a messenger confirming what you have ye shall believe in him and help him". He said: "Do ye assent and take up my task on that (condition)?"- that is, the burden I have laid upon you, my covenant.- They said: "We assent". He said: "Bear witness then and I am with you among those who bear witness"(Surah 3: 81).

Thus Allah took a covenant of all the prophets to confirm him and help him against all who opposed him and they transmitted that to the people of these two Books who believed in them accepted them as genuine.

Mention of the genuine vision by which the Messenger of Allah was started on his career of prophecy.

Ibn Ishāq: Az-Zuhri told me on the authority of 'Urwah ibn az-Zubair from 'Ā'ishah that she related to him that the first time the Messenger of Allah was started on his career of prophecy -when Allah willed to honour him and through him to show mercy to mankind - was by the genuine vision. The Messenger of Allah saw no vision in his sleep that did not come like the dawn of morning. She said: "Allah caused him to grow fond of solitude and there was nothing he liked better than to be alone.

The salutation of the stones and trees to the Prophet.

Ibn Ishāq: (Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abdallah ibn Abū Sufyān ibn al-'Ala ibn Jāriyah the Thaḡifite who had learned it from one of the scholars related to me that when Allah wished to honour the Messenger of Allah and initiated him into the prophetic office, he was in the habit when he went out for any need of his, of going far away so that he was well away from the houses. He would go out into the defiles of Mecca and the bottoms of the valleys and he did not pass by a stone or tree that did not say: "Peace be to thee, O Messenger of Allah". So he would turn and look round him to right, left, and behind, and see nothing but trees and stones. The Messenger of Allah remained in this state hearing and seeing these things for as long as Allah willed he should remain. Then Gabriel brought him the honour he brought him from Allah while he was in Hirā in the month of Ramadān.

The beginning of the descent of Gabriel.

Ibn Ishāq: Wahb ibn Kaisān a client of the family of az-Zubair related to me. He said: "I heard 'Abdallah ibn az-Zubair as he was saying to 'Ubaid ibn 'Umar ibn Qatādah the Laithite: 'Relate to us O 'Ubaid the manner of the commencement of the prophetic office on which the Messenger of Allah was started when Gabriel came to him'. He said: And I was present, in his account to 'Abdallah ibn az-Zubair and the people who were with him: 'The Messenger of Allah was in the habit of withdrawing to Hirā for a month each year. That was part of the religious austerities which Quraish practised in the Age of Barbarism. At-Tahannath means 'to be cleared of' (sin).

Ibn Ishāq: saAbū Tālib said:

And Thaur and He who fixed Thabīr in its place
A climber to ascend Hirā and one to come down.

Ibn Hishām: The Arabs say 'at-Tahannuth' and 'at-Tahannuf' meaning Hanīfism changing the Fā' for the Thā' just as they say 'Jadath' and Jadaf meaning the grave: Ru'bah ibn al-'Ajjāj said:-

Lam kāna ahjāri ma' al-Ajdāfi

He means al-ajdāth. This stanza is in a poem of his in the Rajaz metre, and a stanza of Abū Tālib which I will mention in due course if Allah wills.

Ibn Hishām: Abu 'Ubaidah related to me that the Arabs say 'Fumma' in place of 'THumma substituting Fā' for Thā'.

Ibn Ishāq: Wahb ibn Kaisān related to me. He said: "'Ubaid said to me:: 'The Messenger of Allah was in the habit of going into retreat that month each year and giving food to all the poor people who came to him. When the Messenger of Allah had finished his retreat for that month the first thing he began with when he issued from retreat was the Ka'bah, even before he entered his own house, and he would circumambulate it seven times or as often as Allah willed, after which he returned to his house, till the month came round in which Allah willed for him the honour He willed, the month of the year in which He commissioned him, and that month was Ramadān. The Messenger of Allah went to Hirā (that year) as he had been in the habit of doing for his retreat accompanied by his family, and the night came in which Allah honoured him with His message by which He showed mercy to mankind. That night Gabriel brought him the affair of Allah".

The Messenger of Allah said: "Whilst I was sleeping he brought me a brocade satchel in which was a book and said: "RRecite'. I said: 'What am I to recite?'. Then he squeezed me in it till I thought I would die. Then he released me and said: 'Recite'. I said: 'What am I to recite?' So he squeezed me in it till I thought I would die. Then he released me and said: 'Recite'. I said: 'What am I to recite?' So he squeezed me in ~~it~~ till I thought I would die. Then he released me and said: 'Recite'. I said: 'What am I to recite'. I said that merely to save myself from him that he might not do the same thing to me again.

So he said:-

Recite in the name of thy Lord who created
Who created man of blood coagulated
Recite! for thy Lord is the most generous
Who taught by the pen
Taught man what he did not know. (Sūrah 96: 1 - 5)

He said: "So I recited it, then it was over and he took his departure. I awoke from my sleep and it was like an inscription engraved upon my heart. Then I sat out and when I was amongst the mountains I heard a voice from heaven saying: 'O Muhammad, thou art the Messenger of Allah and I am Gabriel'. I turned my face towards heaven to see and lo Gabriel in the form of a man standing with his feet on the ends of heaven saying: 'O MUhammad, thou art the Messenger of Allah, and I am Gabriel'. So I stood gazing upon him neither going forward nor backward and I began to turn my face away from him to the ends of heaven but I did not look in any direction without seeing him in this fashion. I remained rooted to the spot neither going forward nor returning backward till Khadijah sent messengers in search of me, and they went to Upper Mecca and returned to her while I was standing in that spot. Then he left me and I left him and returned to my people and came to Khadijah, sat in her lap and clung to her. She said: 'O Abū 'l-Qāsim, where have you been, for I sent out my messengers in search of you till they reached Upper Mecca and returned to me?' . Then I told her of what I had seen and she said: 'Rejoice, my cousin, be steadfast, for by Him in Whose hand is the life of Khadijah, I indeed hope that you shall be the prophet of this nation'. Then she rose, gathered her clothes about her and departed to Waraqah ibn Naufal ibn Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza ibn Qusai who was her cousin. Waraqah had become a Christian, read the Books and heard the people of the Law and the Gospel so she told him what the Messenger of Allah had told her that he saw and heard. Waraqah ibn Naufal said: 'Holy! Holy! By him in Whose hand is the life of Waraqah, if you accept what I say as true, O Khadijah, the Greatest Law which used to come to Moses has come to him, and verily he is the prophet of this nation. Tell him, then, to remain steadfast'. Then Khadijah returned to the Messenger of Allah and told him what Waraqah had said and when the Messenger of Allah finished his retreat and went away he did just as he had been in the habit of doing, he began with the Ka'bah and circumambulated it, and Waraqah

* i.e. the angel Gabriel

bin Naufal found him as he was doing this and said: 'O my nephew, tell me what you saw and heard'. The Messenger of Allah did so and Waraqah said to him: 'By Him in whose hand is my life, verily thou art the prophet of this nation and the Angel Gabriel who came to Moses has come to you. They will surely give you the lie, work you injury, thrust you out and fight against you, and were I to live to see that day I would help Allah with a help He would know'. Then he put forward his head and kissed the crown of his head and after that the Messenger of Allah went to his house.

Mention of Khadijah's test of the evidences of the revelation by the Prophet.

Ibn Ishāq: Ismā'īl bin Abū Ḥakīm a client of the family of az-Zubair related to me that it was related to him on the authority of Khadijah that she said to the Messenger of Allah: 'My cousin, can you tell me about this friend of yours who comes to you, when he comes?' He said: 'Yes'. She said: 'When he comes give me word of him'. So Gabriel came to him as he was in the habit of doing and the Messenger of Allah said to Khadijah: 'O Khadijah, Gabriel has come to me'. She said to him: 'Rise, my cousin, and sit on my left leg', and the Messenger of Allah rose and sat there. She said: 'Do you see him?' He said: 'Yes'. She said: 'Change over now and sit on my right leg', and the Messenger of Allah changed over and sat on her right leg. She said: 'Do you see him?' He said: 'Yes'. She said: 'Change over and sit in my bosom', and he changed over and sat in her bosom. She said: 'Do you see him?' He said: 'Yes'. Then she sighed and cast off her covering while the Messenger of Allah sat in her bosom. Then she said: 'Do you see him?'. He said: 'No'. She said: 'O cousin, be steadfast, rejoice, for he is an angel; this is no satan.

Ibn Ishāq: I related this story to 'Abdallah bin Hasan and he said: 'I heard my mother Fātimah bint Husain tell this story on the authority of Khadijah with this difference that I heard her say that she put the Messenger of Allah in between herself and her inner garment and thereupon Gabriel took his departure and she said to the Messenger of Allah: 'This is an angel; this is no satan'.

The beginning of the revelation of the Qu'rān.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah began (to receive) revelations in the month of Ramadān. Allah says:-

The month of Ramadān in which the Qur'ān was sent down as guidance for men and as an explanation of the guidance and Furqan.⁴⁶ (Sūrah 2: 185).

He also said:-

Verily We sent it down on the Night of Power to the end of the chapter. (Sūrah 97)

He also said:-

Hā', Mīm.
By the Book that makes clear
Verily We sent it down on a blessed night
Verily, we were warners
In which We settle each wise affair
An affair from us
Verily We have been sending (messengers) (Sūrah 44: 1 - 5).

He also said:-

If ye have believed in Allah and what He sent down to our servant on the day of the furqān, the day the two parties met. (Sūrah 8: 41)

And that was the meeting of the Messenger of Allah with the polytheists on the day of Badr.

Ibn Ishāq: Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥusain related to me that the Messenger of Allah and the polytheists met at Badr on Friday, the morning of the seventeenth night of Ramadān.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the revelation to the Messenger of Allah was completed and he was a believer in Allah and a confirmer of what came from Him to him. He had accepted it in his acceptance of Him and bore what was laid upon him without regard to the approval or disapproval of men. The prophetic office imposes burdens and troubles which none can bear or be able for, except the people of power and resolution from the Messengers by the help and support of Allah, because of what they encounter from men and the contradictions they endure on account of what they have brought from Allah. But the Messenger of Allah persevered in the affair of Allah in spite of all the opposition and injury he encountered from his people.

Khadījah bint al-Khuwailid accepts Islam.

Khadījah bint al-Khuwailid believed in him and accepted as true what he brought from Allah and strengthened him in his affair..She was the first one to believe in Allah to Whom belong power and glory and in His Messenger and accepted as true what came from Him. And thereby Allah made matters easier for the Messenger of Allah, he did not hear the contradiction he hated, or be accused of lying, and be grieved thereby without Allah giving him comfort for it by means of her. When he came back to her she fortified him, made things lighter for him, declared her trust in him, and smoothed out for him the affair of the people. May Allah have mercy on her.

Ibn Ishāq: Hishām ibn 'Urwah related to me on the authority of his father 'Urwah on the authority of 'Abdallah ibn Ja'far ibn Abū Tālib He said: "The Messenger of Allah said: 'I was commanded to bring Khadījah the good news of a house of pearl in which there would be neither toil nor fatigue.

Ibn Hishām: Al-Qasab here means the hollowed pearl.

Ibn Hishām: One in whom I have confidence related to me that Gabriel came to the Messenger of Allah and said: "Transmit the salutation to Khadījah from her Lord", and the Messenger of Allah said: "O Khadījah, this is Gabriel who transmits salutations to you from your Lord". Khadījah said : "Allah is peace, peace comes from Him, peace be upon Gabriel".

The interval in the revelations and the coming of the chapter "By the Morning".

Ibn Ishāq: Then the revelations ceased from the Messenger of Allah for a period after that till he was in grief and distress. Then Gabriel brought him the chapter "By the Morning", in which his Lord who had honoured him with what He honoured him, swears to him that He has not forsaken him nor been displeased with him. He said:-

By the morning light
And the night when it is still
Thy Lord hath not left thee nor hath He been displeased

He says: He did not forsake thee or abandon thee and "e has not hated thee since the time He loved thee.

The last is for thee better than the first.

That is: Your return to me which I have is better for you than the honour which I have brought to you in advance in the world.

Thy Lord shall give unto thee and thou shalt be satisfied
with vicotry in this world and the reward in the world to come.

Did He not find thee an orphan and give thee shelter?
Did He not find thee erring and guide thee?
Did He not find thee poor and enrich thee?

He makes him realise the honour with which He had started him in the
beginning of his affair, His favour towards him in his orphaned
state, his poverty and his error, from all of which He delivered
him in His mercy.

Ibn Hishām: 'Saja' meanse 'to be still'. Umayyah bin Abū 's-Salt
the Thaqafite said:}

When the midnight hour has come and my companions are
asleep
And the night is still with black darkness.

This stanza is in a poem of his. The eye, when it has ceased to
wink, is called 'sajiyah'. Jarīr bin al-Khatafī said:-

When the women went away they cast towards you from the
slits in the curtains glances meant to kill from
unwinking eyes.

This stanza is in a poem of his. Al-'Ā'il means 'the poor one'.
Abū Khirāsh the Hudhalite said:-

The indigent takes shelter in his house when winter comes
And the late-comer in two shabby garments is a poor man.

Its plural is 'ālah or 'uyyal. This stanza is in a poem of his
which I will mention in due course if Allah wills. Al-'Ā'il also
means 'the one who provides for a household', and it means besides
'the one who is afraid'. In the Book of Allah to Whom belong power
and glory:-

That is more likely to ensure that ye be not partial (or
that ye do not have numerous children). (Surah 4: 3).

Abū Tālib said:-

In a just balance it does not diminish by a single grain
In itself it is a witness who is not partial

This stanza is in a poem of his which I will relate in due course
if Allah wills. Al-'Ā'il also means the thing that weighs down, that
disables. A man may say: "'Qad 'alānī hadha 'l-amr", meaning 'it has
weighed me down and disabled me'. Al Farazdaq said:-

You will see the famous chieftains of Quraish
Whenever the affair is burdensome in its beginnings.

This stanza is in a poem of his.

As for the orphan, do not oppress him
As for the beggar, do not drive him away

That is: Do not be pitiless or proud or obscene or harsh towards the weak ones of the servants of Allah.

As for the favour of thy Lord discourse (of it).

that is: Discourse of His favour and generosity that has come to you in the prophetic office. Discourse: that is make mention of and issue the invitation to it. So the Messenger of Allah began to make mention of what Allah had bestowed on him and on mankind of the prophetic office in secret to those of his people who trusted in him.

The Beginning of the Ordinance of Prayer.

The duty of prayer was laid upon him so he prayed.

Ibn Ishāq: Sālih bin Kaisān related to me on the authority of 'Urwah bin az-Zubair from 'Ā'ishah. She said: "The duty of prayer was laid upon the Messenger of Allah. When it was first ordained each prayer consisted of two cycles. Then Allah brought it to completion in four cycles for inhabited places and confirmed it at two cycles for journeys as it had formerly been ordained.

Ibn Ishāq: A scholar told me that when prayer was laid upon the Messenger of Allah as a duty, Gabriel came to him while he was in Upper Mecca and made a mark with his heel in the vicinity of the valley and there burst forth from it a spring. Then Gabriel purified himself while the Messenger of Allah looked on to show him the manner of purification for prayer and the Messenger of Allah purified himself as he had seen Gabriel do. Then Gabriel took him and led him in prayer and the Messenger of Allah prayed his prayer. After that Gabriel took his departure.

So the Messenger of Allah came to Khadijah and purified himself in her presence to show her how purification for prayer was done as Gabriel had shown him. She purified herself as the Messenger of Allah had done, then he led her in prayer, as Gabriel had led him in prayer, and she prayed his prayer.

Ibn Ishaq: 'Utba bin Muslim a client of the Beni Taim related to me on the authority of Nāfi' bin Jubair bin Mutāam, and Nāfi' had many

traditions derived from Ibn 'Abbās. He said: "When the duty of prayer was laid upon the Messenger of Allah, Gabriel came to him and led him in prayer at noon when the sun began to decline. Then he led him in prayer in the afternoon when his shadow was the same length as himself. Then he led him in prayer at set of sun. Then he led him in prayer in the evening when the twilight faded. Then he led him in prayer in the morning at break of day. Then he led him in prayer at noon when his shadow was the same length as himself. Then, he led him in prayer in the afternoon when his shadow was twice the length of himself. Then he led him prayer in the evening at set of sun at the same time as yesterday, and he led him in the last prayer of the evening when a third of the night had passed. Then he led him in the morning prayer at dawn before sunrise. After that he said: "O Muhammad, prayer is between what you prayed to-day and what you prayed yesterday".

Mention of the fact that 'Ali ibn Abū Tālib was the first man to accept Islam.

Ibn Ishāq: The first man amongst the people who believed in the Messenger of Allah, prayed with him, and accepted as true what he brought from Allah was 'Ali ibn Abū Tālib ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib ibn Hāshim. He was ten years of age at the time. One of the favours that Allah granted 'Ali ibn Abū Tālib was that he was in the confidence of the Messenger of Allah before Islam.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah ibn Abū Najjīh related to me on the authority of Mujāhid ibn Jabr Abu 'l-Najjāj. He said: "It was by the mercy of Allah towards 'Ali ibn Abū Tālib and (in furtherance of) the good which Allah designed and carried out for him that a time of distress came upon Quraish. Abū Tālib had a numerous family and the Messenger of Allah said to his uncle 'Abbās who was more comfortably off than any of the Beni Hāshim: 'O 'Abbās, your brother Abū Tālib has a numerous family, and this distress which you see has befallen the people. Let us then betake ourselves to him and ease him of the burden of his family. I will take one of his sons and you will take another and assume responsibility for them in his place'. 'Abbās said: 'Yes'. So the both of them went to Abū Tālib and said to him 'We wish to ease you of your family burdens, until the conditions in

which the people are shall have passed away'. Abū Tālib said: 'If you leave Aqīl with me do what you please'. (Ibn Hisham: It is also given as Aqīl and Tālib). So the Messenger of Allah took 'Ali and adopted him and al-'Abbās took Ja'far and adopted him and 'Ali remained with the Messenger of Allah till Allah commissioned him as a prophet, when 'Ali became his follower, believed on him, and accepted him as true. Ja'far also remained with al-'Abbās till he accepted Islam and could do without him.

Ibn Ishāq: One of the scholars said that the Messenger of Allah went out into the ravines of Mecca when the time of prayer came, and 'Ali ibn Abū Tālib went with him without the knowledge of his father Abū Tālib, all his relatives and the rest of the people, and they two performed the prayers there and when evening came they returned. They went on doing that for as long as Allah willed they should do it. Then one day Abū Tālib came upon them whilst they were praying and said to the Messenger of Allah: "What is this religion which I perceive you profess?". He said: "O my uncle, this is the religion of Allah, the religion of the angels, the religion of His messengers, and the religion of our father Abraham with which Allah has sent me as a messenger to mankind, or words to that effect. And you O my uncle, are the one best entitled to whom I give this advice and call to the guidance, and you are the best entitled to give your response and to aid me with it", or words to that effect. Abū Tālib said: 'My nephew, I cannot abandon the religion and all that they had, but I swear that no disagreeable consequences shall come upon you whilst I live". They mention that he said to 'Ali: "O my son, what is this religion which you have?". He said: "O my father, I have believed in the Messenger of Allah, I have accepted him as genuine in what he has brought, I have prayed to Allah along with him and have followed him". They claim that he said to him: "Surely he did not call you to anything but good, adhere to him then.

Zaid ibn Hārithah (who was) the second accepts Islam.

Ibn Ishāq: Then Zaid ibn Hārithah ibn Shurahbīl ibn Ka'b ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza ibn Imru 'l-Qais the Kalbite, a client of the Messenger of Allah accepted Islam. He was the first man to accept Islam and pray after 'Ali ibn Abū Tālib.

Ibn Hishām: Hakīm ibn Hizām ibn Khuwailid brought some slaves from

Syria amongst whom was Zaid ibn Hārithah, a slave. His aunt Khadījah bint Khuwailid came to him and she was at that time wife of the Messenger of Allah and he said to her: "Choose O aunt, whichever of these youths you wish and he will be yours". So she chose Zaid and took him and the Messenger of Allah saw him with her and asked her to give him to him and she gave him to him. The Messenger of Allah freed him and adopted him and that was before he had received any revelations. His father greatly grieved for him and mourned for him when he lost him and said:-

I weep for Zaid, I know not what has happened
Is he alive and is there hope, or has death come upon him?
I swear I know not and I am asking
Has the plain or the mountain taken thee after me?
Would that I knew, wilt thou ever return
Your return to me would be enough of the world for me
The sun reminds me of him when it rises
And it brings back his memory when the time of its setting comes
When the breezes blow they stir up his memory
How prolonged my grief for him and how full of fear!
I shall become the swiftest of the travellers in the land
in my efforts
I shall not weary of going around till the camels grow weary
All my life or my fate shall come upon me
Every man is mortal even though hope deceives him.

Then he came to him while he was with the Messenger of Allah and the Messenger of Allah said to him: "If you so desire, remain with me, but if you want to go with your father, do so". He said: "Nay, I shall remain with you", and he continued to be with the Messenger of Allah till Allah commissioned him, and he believed in him, accepted Islam and prayed with him. Then when Allah sent down: "Call them after their fathers", he said: "I am Zaid ibn Hārithah".

Abū Bakr the Faithful accepts Islam.

Ibn Ishāq: Then Abū Bakr ibn Abū Quhāfah whose name was 'Atīq accepted Islam.

Ibn Hishām: The name of Abū Bakr was 'Abdallah and 'Atīq was a nick-name (given) because of the comeliness and openness of his face.

Ibn Ishāq: When Abū Bakr accepted Islam he made his acceptance of it known and blessed Allah, to Whom belong power and glory and His Messenger. Abū Bakr was on friendly terms with his people, well-beloved, easy to get on with. He was the best skilled genealogist

of Quraish for Quraish and the one man amongst them who was best informed about them, who knew both the bad and the good that was amongst them. He was a merchant of standing who did deeds of kindness and the men of his tribe came and associated with him in more than one affair because of his knowledge and business ability and the pleasure of sitting together with him. Then he began to invite those of his people he could rely on who came to him and sat with him to embrace Islam.

Mention of the Companions who accepted Islam on the call of Abū Bakr.

He said: According to what I heard, 'UTHMĀN ibn 'Affān ibn Abū 'l-'Ās ibn Umayyah ibn 'Abd Shams ibn 'Abd Manāf ibn Qusai ibn Kilāb ibn Murrah ibn Ka'b ibn Lu'ai ibn Ghālib accepted Islam on his invitation. Also AZ-ZUBAIR ibn al-'Awwām ibn Khuwailid ibn Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza ibn Qusai ibn Kilāb ibn Murrah ibn Ka'b ibn Lu'ai. Also 'ABD AR-RAHMĀN ibn 'Auf ibn 'Abd 'Auf ibn al-Hārith ibn Zuhrah ibn Kilāb ibn Murrah ibn Ka'b ibn Lu'ai. Also SA'D ibn Abū Waqqās (the name of Abū Waqqās was Mālik) ibn Uhaib ibn 'Abd Manāf ibn Zuhrañ ibn Kilāb ibn Murrah ibn Ka'b ibn Lu'ai. Also TALHAN ibn 'ubaidallah ibn 'Uthmān ibn 'Amr ibn Ka'b ibn Sa'd ibn Taim ibn Murrah ibn Ka'b ibn Lu'ai. Then he brought them to the Messenger of Allah when they responded to him and they accepted Islam and prayed. The Messenger of Allah said, according to what I was told: "I have not called anyone to Islam who did not boggle, delay, and hesitate, except in the case of Abū Bakr ibn Abū Quhafah. He did not hold back from it when I mentioned it to him nor did he hesitate about it.

Ibn Hishām: His saying 'on his invitation' is on the authority of another than Ibn Ishāq.

Ibn Hishām: His word 'akama' means 'to hold back'. Ru'bah said:-

A jumper took her away and did not hold back.

Ibn Ishāq: These were the eight persons who accepted Islam prior to the other people, who prayed and accepted the Messenger of Allah as genuine, and regarded as trustworthy what he brought from Allah.

The first (people) to accept Islam after them.

Then the (following persons) accepted Islam: Abū 'Ubaidah, Abū Salamah al-Arqam, 'Uthmān ibn Maz'un and his two brothers Qudāmah and 'Abdallah, 'Ubaidah ibn al-Hārith, Sa'id and his wife Fātimah, Asmā', 'Ā'ishah, Khabbāb, 'Umair, 'Abdallah ibn Mas'ūd, Mas'ūd, Salīt and his brother Hātib, 'Ayyash and his wife Asmā', Khunais, 'Āmir, 'Abdallah ibn Jahṣ, Ja'far ibn Abū Tālib, and his wife Asmā', Hātib ibn al-Hārith and his wife Fātimah and his brother Khattāb and his wife Fukaiyah, Ma'mar, as-Sā'ib, al-Muttalib, and his wife Ramlah, An-Nahhām (whose name was Nu'aim), 'Āmir ibn Fuhairah, Khālīd ibn Sa'id, and his wife Umainah, Hātib ibn 'Amr, Abū Hudhaifah, Wāqīd, Khalid, 'Āmir, 'Āqil Iyās, 'Amḥār, Suhaib.

Names only given without pedigrees.

Mention of the Messenger of Allah's presentation of Islam to his people and what came of it.

Ibn Ishāq: Then people came over in groups both men and women, until mention of Islam became widespread in Mecca and was a topic of conversation. Then Allah commanded His Messenger to declare what had come to him, to present his affair to the people, and call on them to accept it. The Messenger of Allah did not disclose his affair but kept it a secret till Allah commanded him to reveal it, and that was three years after he was commissioned, according to what I heard. Then Allah said to him:-

Declare what thou hast been commanded and turn away from the polytheists. (Sūrah 15:94).

He also said:-

But warn thy kindred - those nearer to thee
And lower thy wing to the believers who follow thee.
(Surah 26: 214,215)

And say: "Verily I am the clear warner".

Ibn Hishām: Asda' means to differentiate between truth and falsehood. Abu Dhuwaib the Hudhalite (his name was Khuwailid ibn K̄halid) said in describing the females wild asses and their mate:

As if the females were the wrapping for the arrows and he
One casting lots who obtains the arrows and separates (them)

That is: he distributes the arrows and declares what they have drawn. This stanza is in a poem of his. Ru'bah ibn al-'Ajjāj said:-

Thou art the forbearing one and the revenging ruler
Making distribution according to what is right
and expelling those who practise oppression.

These two stanzas are in a poem of his in the Rajaz metre.

Ibn Ishāq: When the friends of the Messenger of Allah prayed they went out into the ravines and kept their prayers a secret from their people. Whilst Sa'd ibn Abū Waqqās was in one of the ravines of Mecca with a few of the friends of the Messenger of Allah a band of the polytheists came upon them as they were praying, disputed with them and reproached them for what they were doing, and they came to blows. Sa'd ibn Abū Waqqās struck one of the polytheists that day with the jaw bone of a camel and opened his head, and that was the first blood shed in Islam.

When the Messenger of Allah presented Islam to his people and

declared what Allah had commanded him, his people did not withdraw from him or refuse to listen to him, according to what I heard, till he mentioned their gods and cast reproach on them. When he did that they thought it a terrible thing, disputed with him and resolved to show him opposition and hostility with the exception of those of them whom Allah preserved by Islam and they were few and in hiding. But his uncle Abū Tālib showed kindness to the Messenger of Allah, afforded him protection, and stood up for him. So the Messenger of Allah went on with the affair of Allah showing forth His affair, nothing could turn him aside from it.

Then when Quraish found that the Messenger of Allah did not give them satisfaction in any of the things wherein they disapproved of him, such as his separation of himself from them, his casting reproach on their gods, and when they saw that his uncle Abū Tālib showed kindness to him, stood up for him, and would not give him up to them, some of the noble men of Quraish went to Abū Tālib - 'Utbah and Shaibah the two sons of Rabī'ah ibn 'Abd Shams ibn 'Abd Manāf ibn Qusai ibn Kilāb ibn Murrah ibn Ka'b ibn Lu'ai ibn Ghālib, Abū Sufyān ibn Harb, Abu 'l-Bakhtarah, al-Aswad ibn al-Muttalib, Abū Jahl (whose name was 'Amr, al-Walīd ibn al-Mughīrah, Nubaih and Munabbih the two sons of al-Hajjāj, and al-'Ās ibn Wā'il.

Names given without pedigrees

Ibn Ishāq: Or those of them who did go. So they said: "O Abū Tālib verily your nephew has cursed our gods, reproached our religion, stultified our clemency, and has found our fathers to have been in error, so either you will make him leave us alone, or else leave him to us, for you are in the same position of opposition to him as we are, and we will make you recompense for him". So Abū Tālib spoke gently to them and gave them a pretty answer and they took their departure. And the Messenger of Allah kept on his way declaring the religion of Allah and calling men to it. But the difference between him and them increased in intensity till men withdrew from each other and hated each other and Quraish oftentimes made mention of the Messenger of Allah amongst themselves, complained about him and stirred up each other against him. Then they went to Abū Tālib a second time and said to him: "O Abū Tālib, you have seniority, dignity, and position amongst us and we besought you to keep your nephew away from us and you have not done that, and verily we shall not endure while he

reviles our forefathers, stultifies our clemency, reproaches our gods, till you keep him back from us or else we will make war on you and on him on that issue till one of the parties be defeated", or words to that effect. Then they took their departure. The separation from his people and their hostility weighed heavily on Abū Tālib but he would not willingly have betrayed the Messenger of Allah or deserted him.

Ibn Ishāq: Ya'qūb ibn 'Utbah ibn al-Mughīrah ibn al-Akhnas related to me that it was related to him that when Quraish said this to Abū Tālib he sent for the Messenger of Allah and said to him: "My nephew, your people have come to me and said such and such a thing," repeating what they had said, "so have pity on me and on yourself and do not lay on me a burden for which I am not able". The Messenger of Allah supposed that the thought had occurred to his uncle to desert and betray him, and that he had weakened in his resolve to help him and remain at his side. The Messenger of Allah said to him: "O Uncle, if they placed the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left on condition that I should abandon this affair I would not abandon it until Allah grants it victory or I perish in it". Then the Messenger of Allah wept and shed tears. So he rose up and when he turned away Abū Tālib called to him and said: "Come here, my nephew", and the Messenger of Allah came to him and he said: "Go my nephew and say whatever you wish for I swear I shall never give you up for anything.

The coming of Quraish to Abū Tālib for the third time with 'Umārah ibn al-Walid the Makhzūmite.

Ibn Ishāq: Then when Quraish realised that Abū Tālib refused to desert the Messenger of Allah or betray him and that he was prepared to break with them over that matter and be hostile to them, they took to him 'Umārah ibn al-Walid ibn al-Mughīrah and said to him according to what I heard: "O Abū Tālib, here is 'Umārah ibn al-Walid, the most gallant youth of Quraish and the handsomest of them. Take him, his blood-wit will be yours and his assistance. Receive him then as a son, he will be yours, and hand over to us this nephew of yours who has disobeyed your religion and the religion of your fathers, who has broken with the community of your people and stultified their clemency, it will only be man for man". He said: "Bad is what

ye ask me to do. Will you give me your son to feed for you and I will give this son of mine for you to slay! It shall never be". Then al-Mut'am ibn 'Adi ibn Naufal ibn 'Abd Manāf ibn Qusai said : "Your people have indeed dealt justly with you and they have striven hard to find a way out of something that is detestable for you but I can see that you are not disposed to accept anything from them". Abū Tālib said to al-Mut'am: "Indeed they have not treated me with justice but you are resolved to abandon me and to help the party against me. Do then what seems fit to you", or words to that effect. So the situation became critical and fighting blazed forth, the people broke their sworn engagements and showed hostility to one another.

Poetry omitted.

Mention of how Quraish tried the believers and tormented them on account of the Faith.

Ibn Ishāq: Then Quraish kept inciting each other against those in their tribes who were friends of the Messenger of Allah and who had become Muslims with him. So each tribe fell upon the Muslims who were in their midst tormenting them and seducing them from their religion. But Allah protected His Messenger through Abū Tālib, his uncle, and when Abū Tālib saw Quraish doing what they did he stood up amongst the Beni Hāshim and the Beni 'Abd al-Muttalib and called upon them to protect the Messenger of Allah as he was doing, and to stand by him. So they gathered together to him, took their stand with him and responded to that to which he called them, with the exception of what came from Abū Lahab the accursed enemy of Allah. When Abū Tālib saw on the part of his people that which pleased him in their effort with him and the kindness they showed him he began to praise them and make mention of their past, to relate the excellence of the Messenger of Allah amongst them and his position with them, to strengthen their resolve that they might along with him treat his affair with kindness. He said:-

When Quraish assembled on a day at the place where they boasted

'Abd Manāf was the purest and most noble of them
If the nobles of 'Abd Manāf were collected
Their noblest and their oldest were amongst Hāshim
If they boasted on a day, verily Muhammad
Was the chosen and the noble one who made them glad.

Quraish cursed us - both their fat and lean ones
But they did not gain the mastery and their senses left them
Of old we did not admit injustice
Whenever they turn away with wry face we perform it
We defend its sanctity in every day of adversity
And we beat back from their enclosure those who desire it
Through us the dried reed has been brought to life
Under our protection its root receives moisture and grows.

The perplexity of al-Walīd bin al-Mughīrah as the Qur'ān describes it.

Then a group of Quraishites gathered themselves together to al-Walīd bin al-Mughīrah, who was a man of seniority amongst them, when the pilgrimage season was near. He said to them: "O people of Quraish the pilgrimage season has come round and during it companies of Arabs will come to you who have heard of the affair of this friend of yours. Agree then on one opinion about him, so that you do not give differing accounts of him, the one contradicting the other". They said: "You O Abū 'Abd Shams, tell us and give us an idea as to what we shall say". He said: "No, you talk and I will listen". They said: "We will say 'He is a soothsayer'". He said: "No, indeed, he is not a soothsayer; we have seen soothsayers and this is not the muttering of the soothsayer or his rhymed prose". Then they said: "We will say: 'He is mad'".⁴⁷ He said: "He is not mad. We have surely witnessed insanity and recognise it well; there is no convulsion, paralysis of the limbs, or evil suggestions which belong to insanity". They said: "We will say: 'He is a poet'". He said to them: "He is not a poet. We recognise all the types of poetry the Rajaz, the Hazaj, the Qariḍ, the Maqbūd, and the Mabsūt, so it is not poetry". They said: "We will say 'He is a sorcerer'". He said: "He is not a sorcerer. We have seen sorcerers and their sorcery and their is neither the blowing nor the knots that belong to it". They said: "What then shall we say, O Abū 'Abd Shams?". He said: "Verily his words have sweetness, his origin is a well laden palm, and his branch gathered fruits (It is also given as 'adhiq) according to what Ibn Hishām says). You cannot say anything like this without it being known for a lie. The nearest description of him is that you say he is a sorcerer, who has brought a message which is sorcery, by which he separates a man from his father, a man from his brother, a man from his wife, a man from his kindred,⁴⁸ and by it they are separated from him

So they began to squat in the way of the people coming to the pilgrimage and no one passed by them that they did not warn about him and mention his affair. So Allah sent down about al-Walīd bin al-Maghīrah and about that saying of his:-

Leave me alone with him whom I have created
And appointed for him extensive wealth
And sons to dwell before him
And for whom I have made everything smooth
Who then desires that I should add more
No, verily to Our signs he was obstinate (Surah 74: 11 - 16).

That is: A foe.

Ibn Hishām: 'Anīd is one who rebels against; one who disobeys.
Ru'bah bin al-'Ajjāj says:-

We are striking at the head of the obstinate (or rebellious) ones.

This stanza is in a poem of his in the Rajaz metre.

I will impose upon him a hard fate
For he thought and he pondered
May he be cursed! how he pondered
Again, may he be cursed! how he pondered
Then he looked
Then he frowned and scowled. (Surah 74: 17 - 22).

Ibn Hishām: 'Easara' means 'he expressed disgust with his face.'
Al-'Ajjāj said:-

Doubling up his jaws with a biting leer.

He describes the loathing (expressed in) his face. This stanza is in a poem of his in the Rajaz metre.

Then he turned his back and swelled with disdain
And said: "This is nothing but magic that is followed
It is nothing but the word of a mortal" (Surah 74: 23 - 25).

Ibn Ishāq: And Allah, to Whom belongs power and glory, sent down about the men who were with him who invented the saying about the Messenger of Allah and about what he brought from Allah

As we sent down to the dividers
Who break up the Qur'an into parts (that is classes)
By thy Lord we shall ask them all about what they have
been doing. (Surah 15: 90 - 93).

Ibn Hishām: The singular of 'Idīn is 'Idah..He says: "'adauhu " means 'they separated him'. Ru'bah said:-

The religion of Allah is not in what is divided.

This stanza is in a poem of his in the Rajaz metre.

Ibn Ishāq: So those men began to say these things about the Messenger of Allah to the people with whom they met and the Arabs brought back from that pilgrimage the affair of the Messenger of Allah and mention of him was spread far and wide throughout the Land of Arabia.

Poetry and list of names omitted.

So when the affair of the Messenger of Allah became widely known and had reached all the provinces it was talked of in Medina. There was no tribe of the Arabs better informed about the affair of the Messenger of Allah when it was mentioned and even before that than the tribes of the Aus and the Khazraj, and that was because of what they heard from Jewish rabbis⁴⁹ who were allies of theirs and lived with them in their country. When he began to be mentioned in Medina and the conversation ran on the disagreements that existed amongst Quraish because of him, Abū Qais bin al-Aslat brother of the Beni Wāqif said: (Genealogy omitted) - and he liked Quraish and was related to them by marriage having married Arnab bint Asad bin 'Abd al-'Uzza bin Qusai and he resided amongst them some years with his wife. He recited a poem in which he venerates the sacred place and forbids Quraish to make war in it, enjoining them to live at peace with each other, mentioning their excellent qualities and forbearance and enjoins to leave the Messenger of Allah alone. He reminds them also of how Allah tested them and defended them from the Elephant and his strategy.

Poetry omitted.

Ibn Hishām: As for his saying 'Did you not know what happened in the war of Dāhis?', Abu 'Ubaidah related to me that Dāhis was a horse belonging to Qais bin Zuhair (etc) which he ran with a mare belonging to Hudhaifah bin Badr (etc) called Ghabrā . So Hudhaifah concealed a party of men in ambush and ordered them to obstruct Dāhis if they saw he was winning. Dāhis came up first and they obstructed him so that al-Ghabrā came up with him. When the jockey of Dāhis came he told Qais the news and his brother Mālik bin Zuhair leapt up and struck Ghabrā on the face. Then Hamal bin Badr rose and struck Mālik. Next Abu 'l-Junaidib the Absite came upon 'Auf bin Hudhaifah and killed him

and a man of the Beni Fazārah came upon Mālīk and killed him. And Hamal ibn Badr brother of Hudhaifah said:-

We slew Malik for 'Amf, he is our revenge
If you seek from us more than what is right you will
regret it.

This stanza occurs in some stanzas of his. Rabī'ah ibn Ziyād the Absite said:-

After the murder of Mālīk ibn Zuhair
Do the women hope for results from purification?

This stanza occurs in some stanzas of his. Then war broke out between 'Abd and Fazārah and Hudhaifah ibn Badr and his brother Hamal ibn Badr were slain and Qais ibn Zuhair said as he elegised and commiserated Hudhaifah:-

How many are called horsemen who are not horsemen
But on al-Habā'ah a horseman who was a brave fighter
Weep then for Hudhaifah you shall never lament his like
Till tribes not yet brought into being shall pass away

These two stanzas occur in some stanzas of his. Qais ibn Zuhair said:

Nevertheless the young man Hamal ibn Badr wrought injustice
And wrong-doing is an unhealthy pasturage

This stanza occurs in some stanzas of his. Al-Hārith ibn az-Zuhair brother of Qais said:-

I left on al-Habā'ah without glory
Hudhaifah, with him the shivered lances.

This stanza occurs in some stanzas of his.

Ibn Hishām: It is also said that Qais sent Dāhis and Ghabrā and Hudhaifah sent al-Khattār and al-Hanfā and the former is the more reliable of the two accounts, but it is a long story, and the fact that it would abbreviate the biography of the Messenger of Allah prevents me from attempting to relate it.

Ibn Hishām: As for his saying 'The war of Hātīb', he means Hātīb ibn al-Hārith (etc) who killed a Jew a neighbour of the Khazraj, and Yazīd ibn al-Hārith (etc) set out by night with a band of the Beni 'l-Hārith ibn al-Khazraj and they slew him, so war broke out between the Aus and the Khazraj. They fought a bitter fight and the Khazraj gained the victory over the Aus. Suwaid ibn Sāmit (etc) was slain that day; al-Mujadhdhar ibn Dhayyār the Balawite slew him.

The name of al-Mujadhdhar was 'Abdallah an ally of the Beni 'Auf ibn al-Khazraj. When the day of Uhud came, al-Mujadhdhar went out with the Messenger of Allah, along with al-Hārith ibn Suwaid ibn Sāmit and al-Hārith ibn Suwaid caught al-Mujadhdhar off his guard and he killed him in revenge for his father. I will give an account of it in due course if Allah wills. Then there were wars between them but that which I have mentioned in connection with the war of Dāhis prevents me from relating this tradition.

Ibn Ishāq: Ḥakīm ibn Umayyah ibn Hārithah ibn al-Auqas the Sulamite ally of the Beni Umayyah who had accepted Islam, said to restrain his people from the hostility which they had determined to show to the Messenger of Allah, and he was honoured and obeyed amongst them:-

Does the one who makes a statement that is true abide by it?
Does the angry man listen to guidance
Does a chieftain whose benefits the clan hopes for
Take in the farther clients as well as those who are nearer?
I have freed myself from all except Him who rules the East
Wind
And I will break with you for so long as there is no one
to let down a bucket or take one up
And I submit my face and my tongue to Allah
Even though terrible things from the friend have affrighted
me.

An account of what the Messenger of Allah encountered from his people.

Ibn Ishāq: Then Quraish because of the misery which came upon them intensified their opposition out of enmity to the Messenger of Allah and those who had become Muslims along with him. They incited their stupid ones against the Messenger of Allah, they accused him of lying, wrought him mischief, and charged him with poesy, sorcery, soothsaying, and madness, whilst the Messenger of Allah declared the affair of Allah, keeping nothing of it back, making plain to them what they detested by his reproach of their religion, his abandonment of their idols, and his separation from them in their unbelief.

Ibn Ishāq: Yahya ibn 'Urwah ibn az-Zubair related to me on the authority of his father 'Urwah from 'Abdallah ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Ās. He said: "I said to him: 'How many things have you seen Quraish inflict on the Messenger of Allah in their hostility which they showed to him?'. He said: 'I was present among them when their chief men assembled one day in the sacred place and they talked

about the Messenger of Allah and said: We have never seen anything like the patience we have shown with regard to the affair of this man, he has stultified our clemency^m reviled our ancestors, cast reproach on our religion, divided our community, and cursed our gods. Surely, we have been patient with him to a remarkable degree, or words to that effect. While they were thus occupied the Messenger of Allah himself appeared and came forward at a walk and kissed the Stone. Then he passed by them making the circuit of the House, and when he did so they passed some disparaging remarks about him. I recognised it in the Messenger of Allah's face. He went on, and when he passed by them the second time they made similar disparaging remarks and I recognised in the face of the Messenger of Allah. Then he passed by them for the third time and they made similar disparaging remarks and he stopped. Then he said: 'Will ye hear, O people of Quraish, by Him in Whose hand is the life of Muhammad I have brought you slaughter! And his word took hold of the people till there was not a man amongst them who was not as if a bird had alighted on his head, so that the most violent of them in stirring up incitement against him before then sought to soothe him with the best words he could find and said: 'Go away, O Abū 'l-Qāsim, for I swear thou wert not ignorant'. They said to each other: 'You have mentioned what he has done to you and what you have heard about him and when he showed you that which you detest you left him alone'. While they were thus occupied the Messenger of Allah himself appeared, and they leapt up as one man and surrounded him saying: 'Thou art he who says such and such things', referring to what he said in the way of reproach to their gods and religion. The Messenger of Allah said: "Yes, I am the one who says that". Then I saw one of them grip the fall of his cloak, and Abū Bakr arose in tears and said: 'Will you slay a man because he says: +My Lord is Allah+'. Then they left him. And that was the most violent thing I ever saw Quraish do to him".

Ibn Ishāq: One of the family of ^Umm Kulthūm bint Abū Bakr related to me that she said: "Abu Bakr returned that day after they had opened his head at the parting of the hair by pulling him by the beard. He was a man who had much hair".

Ibn Hishām: A scholar related to me that the most serious thing the Messenger of Allah experienced at the hands of Quraish was when he went out one day and did not meet a single man who did not accuse him of lying and wrought him harm, whether free man or slave. So the Messenger of Allah returned to his house and wrapped himself up because of the severity of what he had experienced and Allah sent down to him:→

O thou who art enwrapped
Arise and warn (Surah 74: 1, 2).

Hamzah accepts Islam.

Ibn Ishāq: A man of intelligence from Aslūm related to me that Abū Jahl passed the Messenger of Allah at as-Safā, and harmed and reviled him and got from him some of the things he detested such as reproaches on his religion and the weakening of his affair, but the Messenger of Allah did not speak to him. And a clientess belonging to 'Abdallah ibn Jud'ān ibn 'Amr ibn Ka'b ibn Sa'd ibn Taim ibn Murrah was in her house listening to that. Then he went away from him and made for the assembly place of Quraish at the Ka'bah and squatted down amongst them. It was not long till Hamzah ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib came along girded with his bow returning from the chase. He was a hunter of game and followed the chase. Whenever he returned from hunting he did not go to his family till he had circumambulated the Ka'bah and after he had done that he would not pass by the meeting place of Quraish without stopping to greet them and hold converse with them. He was the most powerful youth amongst Quraish and the most inexorable in exacting retribution. So when he passed by the clientess after the Messenger of Allah had returned to his house she said to him: "O Abū 'Umārah, if you had only seen what your nephew Muhammad experienced just now from Abū 'l-Hakm ibn Hishām who found him squatting here, wrought him mischief, cursed him and inflicted on him some of the things he detests, so Muhammad went away from him without speaking to him. So fury drove Hamzah to the honour which Allah willed, and he set out, went on his way and did not stop with anyone. ready for Abū Jahl should he meet him to fall upon him. When he entered the place of worship he saw him squatting amongst the people and he approached him till he stood over him, lifted his bow and gave him a severe wound in the head. Then he said: "Do you revile him while I

am of his religion and say what he says?". Return that one to me if you are able". Then some of the Beni Makhzūm got up to help Abū Jahl against Hamzah, but Abu Jahl said: "Leave Abu 'Umarah alone, for I did indeed curse his nephew with a vile curse". Then Hamzah carried out his acceptance of Islam and persevered in the word which the Messenger of Allah followed. When Hamzah became a Muslim Quraish realised that the Messenger of Allah had grown strong and less assailable and that Hamzah would protect him, so they desisted from some of the things they were doing to him.

The saying of 'Utbah ibn Rabī'ah about the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd ibn Ziyād related to me on the authority of Muhammad ibn Ka'b of Quraizah. He said. "It was related to me that 'Utbah ibn Rabī'ah who was a chieftain said one day as he was squatting in the council hall of Quraish and the Prophet was squatting alone in the place of worship: 'O people of Quraish, shall I not go to Muhammad and speak to him, and put some propositions before him in the hope that he will accept some of them and we will give him whatever he wants so that he may leave us alone'. That was when Hamzah became a Muslim and they saw the friends of the Messenger of Allah increasing and multiplying. They said: 'By all means, O Abū 'l-Walīd, go to him and speak to him'. So 'Utbah went to him, squatted beside the Messenger of Allah and said to him: 'My nephew, you belong to us, being of high rank amongst our kindred as you know and having a place of pre-eminence in our pedigree, and you have brought your people a momentous affair by which you have split their community, stultified their clemency, cast reproach on their gods and religion, and have declared that our forefathers who have passed away were unbelievers. Listen to me then, and I will put before you some propositions for your consideration, perhaps you will accept some of these things'. The Messenger of Allah said: 'Speak on O Abū 'l-Walīd and I will listen'. He said: 'My nephew, if it is only possessions you want for this affair which you have brought us, we will raise it for you out of our possessions till you have more than any of us. If you desire dignity we will make you chief over us, so that we shall decide no affair without you. If you desire the kingly office we will make you king over us. If you are not able to keep away this familiar who comes to you we will seek the treatment for you and

and therein we will sacrifice our possessions till we have freed you of him, for it is possible that the familiar spirit may get the better of a man till he receives treatment for it; or words to that effect, till 'Utbah had finished, while the Messenger of Allah listened to him. He said: 'Have you finished O Abū 'l-Walīd?'. He said 'Yes'. He said: 'Then listen to me'. He said: 'I will do so'. He said: 'In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate

Hā, Mīm

A revelation from the Merciful the Compassionate

A Book whose verses have been made distinct as an Arabic Qur'ān for a people who have knowledge

A bringer of good tidings and a warner but the most of them have turned away, and they do not hear'. (Surah 41:1-4)

Then the Messenger of Allah went on reciting it to him and when 'Utbah heard it he listened to it in silence and put his hands behind his back and supported himself on them while he listened to him. Then the Messenger of Allah came to the prostration part of it and performed it and said: 'You have heard what you have heard, O Abū 'l-Walīd, so it rests with you! So 'Utbah returned to his friends and they said to each other: 'We swear that 'Utbah has returned with a countenance transformed from what it was when he went away'. When he had taken his place with them they said: 'What news do you bring, O Abū 'l-Walīd?' He said: 'The news I bring is that I heard a saying the like of which I have never heard, and indeed it is neither poetry, nor sorcery, nor soothsaying. O people of Quraish, be guided by me, attribute it to me, and leave this man and what he is doing alone, desist from him for there is surely in the saying which I heard momentous tidings. If the Arabs smite you will have been requited of him by others and if he should gain the mastery over them his dominion will be yours and his power will be yours and you will be the most fortunate of men because of him'. They said: 'He has surely bewitched you with his tongue O Abū 'l-Walīd'. He said: 'This is my opinion about him, do what you think best'.

What took place between the Messenger of Allah and the Headers of Quraish and an Explanation of the Chapter of the Cave.

Ibn Ishāq: Then Islam began to spread in Mecca in the tribes of Quraish among men and women and Quraish shut up those they were able to shut^{up} and seduced all they were able to seduce from the Muslims According to what a scholar told me on the authority of Sa'īd bin

Jubair and 'Ikrimah a client of Ibn 'Abbās on the authority of 'Abdallah bin 'Abbās. He said: "Then the chief men of every tribe of Quraish gathered together, 'Utbah, Shaibah, Abū Sufyān, an-Nadr Abū 'l-Bakhtarāh, al-Aswad, Zama'ah, al-Walīd, Abū Jahl, 'Abdallah, al-'Ās, Nubaiyah, Munabbih, Umaiyyah, or those of them who gathered. They gathered after sunset at the back of the Ka'bah and said to one another: 'Send to Muhammad, speak to him, argue with him, so that you may be free of blame in regard to him'. So they sent to him, (saying): 'Verily, the chief men of your people have come together to you to speak with you, come to them then'. The Messenger of Allah came to them with all speed, supposing that that about which he had spoken to them had become clear to them. He hankered after them and wished to guide them whilst their sins bore heavily upon him. He sat down with them and they said to him: 'O Muhammad, verily we have sent to you to speak to you, for we know not a man of the Arabs who has introduced to his people what you have introduced to yours. You have reviled the fathers, cast reproach on religion, insulted the gods, and stultified clemency, divided the community, and there is no other evil thing remaining that you have not brought in between you and us', or words to that effect. If then you have brought this tale merely to ask for possessions, we will make a collection for you from our resources till you have more than we; if you merely seek dignity amongst us we will make you our chieftain; if you desire the kingly office we will make you king over us; and if you think that he who comes to you as a familiar spirit has got the better of you (for so they called the familiar spirit of the Jinn), if by any chance that is the case, we will give up of our substance in search of treatment till we free you from him, and we shall be free of blame in regard to you'. The Messenger of Allah said to them: 'There is nothing of what you say in me. I did not bring what I brought seeking your possessions, or dignity amongst you, or the rule over you, but Allah has sent me as a messenger to you and sent down to me ^{a book} and commanded me that I should be a preacher and a warner to you, and I have passed on to you the messages of my Lord and counselled you. If you accept from me what I have brought to you it will mean good fortune for you in this world and the next, and if you throw it back at me, I will persevere in the affair of Allah till Allah judges between you

and me', or words to that effect. They said: 'O Muhammad, if you will not accept from us any of the things we have offered you, then you know there are no people so straitened as regards territory, none with less water, and none who have more difficulty in getting their livelihood, than we. Ask your Lord then, who has sent you with what He has sent you, on our behalf, that He remove from us these mountains which hem us in, that He extend our territory for us, that He make rivers to flow through it for us like the rivers of Syria and Iraq, and let him send to us some of our fathers who have passed away, and let Qusai bin Kilāb be amongst those whom He shall send to us, for he was a leader who spoke truth, and we will ask them about what you say whether it be true or false. If they declare you to be genuine and you do what we ask we will accept you as true and recognise that your office is from Allah and that He has sent you as a messenger as you say'. He said: 'I was not sent to you for this

I have merely brought to you from Allah that with which He sent me and I have proclaimed to you that with which I was sent to you. If you accept it, it will mean your good fortune in this world and the next, but if you throw it back at me I will persevere in the affair of Allah till Allah judge between you and me'. They said: 'If you will not do this for us, keep it to yourself. Ask your Lord to send an angel with you who will confirm what you say and we will desist from you. Ask Him and He will appoint to you gardens, castles, and treasures of gold and silver, with which He will enrich you for that is what we think you covet. For you stand in the markets (as we do) and seek a living just as we do. Then we shall recognise your excellence and your office from your Lord if you be a messenger as you claim'. The Messenger of Allah said to them: 'I will not do that, and I am not the one to ask his Lord and I have not been sent to you with this. But Allah sent me as a preacher and a warner', or words to that effect. 'If you accept what I have brought you it will mean your good fortune in this world and the next, but if you throw it back at me, I will persevere in the way of Allah till Allah judge between you and me'. They said: 'Cause the heavens to fall in pieces upon us as you claimed your Lord would do if He willed, for verily, we will not believe in you unless you do it'. The Messenger of Allah said: 'That belongs to Allah, if He wills to do it to you,

He will do it'. They said: 'O Muhammad, did your Lord not know then that we would sit with you and question you about what we question you, and seek from you what we seek, that He comes to you and informs you what you are to recapitulate to us, and in it tells you what He will do to us if we do not accept from you what you have brought to us? Word has reached us that a man in al-Yamāmah called ar-Rahmān teaches you this, but we do not believe in ar-Rahmān at all. We have now freed ourselves of blame where you are concerned O Muhammad, and we will not let you go your way merely with what you have heard but will either destroy you or else you will destroy us. One of them said: 'We worship the angels who are the daughters of Allah'. Another said: 'We will never believe in you till you bring Allah and the angels as surety'. When they said that to the Messenger of Allah, he rose up from amongst them, and there rose up with him 'Abdallah ibn Abū Umayyah ibn al-Mughīrah ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Amr ibn Makhzūm - he was his nephew being the son of 'Ātikah bint 'Abd al-Muttalib - and said to him: 'O Muhammad, your people have proposed to you what they have proposed and you did not accept it from them. Then they asked certain things for themselves that they might recognise thereby whether your office is from Allah as you claim, and they would have accepted you as genuine and followed you but you did not do it. Then they asked you to assume your superiority over them and your office from Allah, which they would have acknowledged, and you did not do it. Then they asked you to bring forward for them some of the torments with which you terrify them and you did not do it', or words to that effect: 'I will never believe in you till you place a ladder up to heaven and ascend by it till you get there, while I look on, and there come with you with a written document four of the angels who will bear witness to you that you are what you say, and even if you did that I do not suppose I would believe in you'. Then he left the Messenger of Allah and the Messenger of Allah went away to his family sad and sorrowful because the thing he had desired most of all from his people, when they called him, had eluded him, and because he saw they were shunning him

The story of Abū Jahl and the Prophet and how Allah turned back his stratagem to slay him and put him to shame.

When the Messenger of Allah left them, Abū Jahl said: 'O people of

Quraish, verily Muhammad has refused everything except to cast reproach on our religion, to revile our ancestors, and to stultify our clemency, and insult our gods, which thing you see, and I swear by Allah I will wait for him to-morrow with a stone I am able to carry", or words to that effect. "When he prostrates himself in the course of his prayers, I will break his head with it, and after that you can either hand me over or afford me protection. Thereafter let the Beni 'Abd Manāf do with me what seems good to them". They said: "We will certainly not hand you over on any account, go and do as you wish". When morning came, Abū Jahl took a stone, as he said, then he squatted down expecting the Messenger of Allah. The Messenger of Allah came early as he was in the habit of doing. When the Messenger of Allah was in Mecca he prayed in the direction of Syria and when he prayed it was between the Yemenite stone and the black stone and he put the Ka'bah between him and Syria. So the Messenger of Allah began to pray and Quraish had come out early and squatted down in their council chamber awaiting what Abū Jahl would do. When the Messenger of Allah made his prostration Abū Jahl took up the stone and approached till he got near to him and then turned back in terror and fled with changed colour and his hands stiffened on the stone till he cast it away. The men of Quraish came to him and said: "What is the matter with you, O Abū 'l-Hakm?". He said: "I went up to him to do what I said yesterday I would do and when I got near to him there came in between us a he-camel. I have never seen anything like his head, his neck and his teeth, and it was his intention to devour me.

Ibn Ishāq: It was mentioned to me that the Messenger of Allah said: "That was Gabriel, had he come close he would have seized him".

The story of an-Nadr ibn al-Hārith and his calumnies against the Qur'an.

When Abū Jahl said that to them an-Nadr ibn al-Hārith (etc) arose.

Ibn Ishāq: And said: "O people of Quraish, verily there has come down amongst you an affair and you have not yet arrived at (a solution of) it by stratagem. Muhammad was amongst you as a young man, the most pleasing amongst you, the most reliable of you in speech, and the greatest of you in faithfulness, till you saw the grey hair on

his temples, and then he brought you what he brought you, and you said: 'A sorcerer!'. No he is not a sorcerer. We have seen sorcerers (with their blowing and their knots'. You said: 'A soothsayer!'. No he is not a soothsayer. We have seen the soothsayers with their paralysis of the limbs and have heard their rhymed prose. Then you said: 'A poet!'. No he is not a poet. We have seen poets and have heard all the kinds of poetry its Hajaz and its Raḡaz. Then you said: 'A madman!'. No he is not mad. We have seen insanity, there is no convulsion or evil suggestions or garbled speech. O people of Quraish look to your business, for verily a momentous affair has come down to you". An-Nadr ibn al-Hārith was one of the satans of Quraish and one of those who wrought mischief to the Messenger of Allah and instigated hostility to him. He had gone to al-Hīrah and had learned there the traditions of the Persian kings and the traditions of Rustum and Isfandiyār. So whenever the Messenger of Allah sat in a council and discoursed about Allah and warned his people of the vengeance of Allah which had overtaken the nations which were before them he would follow after him when he rose and say: "O people of Quraish, I am better at telling stories than he. Come then, and I will relate to you something better than his story", and he would relate to them about the kings of Persia and Rustum and Isfandiyār. Then he would say: "In what way is Muhammad better at telling stories than I am?"

Ibn Hishām: According to what I heard it was he who said: "I will send down the same as Allah has sent down".

Ibn Ishāq: Ibn 'Abbās said, according to what I heard: There came down eight verses of the Qur'ān in connection with him; the saying of Allah:

When Our signs are recited to him he says: 'Old world tales.
(Sūrah 68: 15).

and all the stories from the Qur'ān in which he is mentioned.

Despatch by Quraish of an-Nadr and 'Uqbah to Jewish Rabbis to enquire of them about the affair of the Messenger of Allah.

When an-Nadr ibn al-Hārith said that to them they sent him along with 'Uqbah ibn Abū Mu'ait to Jewish Rabbis in Medina and said to them: "Ask them about Muhammad and give them his description and tell them what he says, for they are the people of the First Book and they have

the knowledge of the prophets which we do not possess". So they set out and came to Medina and asked the Jewish Rabbis about the Messenger of Allah, describing to them his affair and informing them of some of his sayings, and said: "Verily you are the people of the Torah and we have come to you that you may tell us about this friend of ours". So the Jewish Rabbis said to them: "Ask him about three things which we shall command you and if he informs you about them he is a prophet commissioned. But if he does not do it the man is a forger, so give your decision about him. Ask him about certain youths who went away in the first age, what was their affair, for verily they had a wonderful tradition. Ask him about a wanderer who reached the east and the west of the globe, what news did he have? Ask him about the spirit, what it is. If he informs you about these three things, follow him for he is a prophet, and if he does not do it he is a forger, and you may do about his affair what seems best to you".

So an-Nadr ibn al-Hārith and 'Uqbah ibn Abū Mu'ait (etc) set out and came to Quraish in Mecca and said: "O People of Quraish, we have brought you a decision in what is between you and Muhammad. The Jewish Rabbis commanded us to ask him about certain things, which they specified, and if he informs you about them he is a prophet. But if he does not do it he is an impostor, so give your decision about him". Then they came to the Messenger of Allah and said: "O Muhammad, tell us about the youths who went away in the first age who had a wonderful story, and about a man who was a wanderer who reached both the eastern and western parts of the earth, and tell us about the spirit what it is". The Messenger of Allah said to them: "I will tell you to-morrow about what you have asked", and did not make any proviso. Then they took their leave of him, and the Messenger of Allah, according to what they say, remained fifteen nights during which Allah did not grant him a revelation, nor did Gabriel come to him. The people of Mecca spread alarming news and said: "Muhammad promised us for to-morrow and now we are fifteen nights past it and he does not inform us of any of the things we asked him". Then the stay of the revelation from him grieved the Messenger of Allah and he was distressed about what the people of Mecca were saying. Then Gabriel brought to him from Allah to Whom belong power and glory the chapter of the Men of the Cave in which He remonstrates with him

for his grief over them and the affair of the youths, the wanderer and the spirit, about which they had asked him.

Ibn Ishāq: I was told that the Messenger of Allah said to Gabriel when he came to him: "O Gabriel, you withdrew from me till I thought evil thoughts". Gabriel said:-

We do not come down except by the command of thy Lord; to Him belongs what is before us and what is behind us, and what is between that; and thy Lord was not forgetful.
(Sūrah 19: 64)

So he opened the chapter of the Blessed the Exalted One with His praise and mention of the prophetic office of His Messenger which they had denied and said:- (Sūrah 18: 1 - 26)

Praise be to Allah who hath sent down to His servant the Book

He means Muhammad. Verily thou art a Messenger from Me. That is; in confirmation of his prophetic office about which they had asked

and hath not put any crookedness in it but straight

That is: Balanced (in all its parts) there is no contradiction in it.

to give warning of a terrible calamity from Him

That is: He has punished promptly in this world and painful portents in the next: that is: from thy Lord Who sent thee as a messenger.

and to give good tidings to the believers who do good that for them is a goodly reward in which they shall remain for ever.

That is: The Eternal World where those who have believed you to speak the truth about what you brought, whilst others believed you were lying about it, and performed the works you commanded them, shall not die.

And to warn those who say: "Allah hath taken to Himself offspring".

He refers to the statement of Quraish: "Verily we worship the angels who are the daughters of Allah.

They have no knowledge of it nor had their fathers Who considered their separation and reviling of their religion a terrible thing

A terrible saying to come out of their mouths;

That is, in reference to their saying that the angels are the daughters of Allah.

Truly they speak nothing but a lie
And perhaps, if they believe not in this narrative, thou wilt
slay thyself out of vexation

That is, in reference to his grief when that which he hoped for from
them was not forthcoming, that is, do not do it.

Ibn Hishām: Bākhi'un nafsak means 'to kill yourself' according to what
Abu 'Ubaidah related to me. Dhu ar-Rummah said:-

Art thou not that passion which slays itself
For something which the Fates have withdrawn from him

Its plural is Bākhi'ūn and Bakha'ah. This stanza is in a poem of his.
The Arabs say: 'Bakha'tu lahu nushī wa nafsī! meaning 'I did all in
my power for him'

Verily, we have appointed what is on the earth as an
adornment for it that we might try them which of them
is best in deed.

Ibn Ishāq: That is, which of them is more likely to follow my affair
and to act in obedience to me.

And verily, we are going to make what is on it high
and barren

That is, the earth and what is on it is transient and evanescent.
And verily the return is to me, I will recompense each according to
his work. Do not then despair, and do not let what you see and hear
on earth grieve you.

Ibn Hishām: As-Sa'īd means 'the earth' and its plural is Su'ud.
Dhu ar-Rummah said in description of a young antelope:-

As if in the early forenoon he would cast it on the
ground

The heady wine which oozes through the bones of the head.

This stanza is in a poem of his. As-Sa'īd also means 'the way'. It
occurs in the Tradition: "Beware of sitting down on the roads",
meaning 'the ways'. Al-Juruz means the ground which does not grow
anything and its plural is Ajrāz'. There is the expression 'a
barren year', or 'barren years' and they are the years in which there
is no rain and in which there is dearth, dryness and distress. Dhu
ar-Rummah said in description of some camels:-

The goading and the barren country have finished off
what was in their stomachs
And nothing remains but the puffed out ribs.

This stanza is in a poem of his.

Ibn Ishāq: Then he began to tell the story of the affair of the youths

about which they had asked them. He said:-

Or hast thou reflected that the men of the cave and ar-Raqīm⁵⁰ were one of our wondrous signs?

That is: There were some of My signs, amongst the arguments (or protests) which I laid upon men, some things more wonderful than that.

Ibn Hishām: Ar-Raqīm was the tablet on which their story was inscribed, and its plural is 'ruqum'. Al-Ajjāj said:-

The abode of the written volume

This stanza is in a poem of his in the Rajaz metre.

Ibn Ishāq: Then he said:-

When the youths betook themselves to the cave and said:
"O our Lord, grant us mercy from Thee and prepare guidance
for us out of our affair". So We struck upon their ears in
the cave for a number of years. Then We raised them up
that We might know which of the two parties could the
better reckon the period they had spent

Then He said:

We will relate to thee their tale in truth

That is, a true account of them

Verily, they were young men who believed in their Lord and
we increased them in guidance. And we strengthened their
hearts when they stood up and said: "Our Lord is the Lord
of the heavens and the earth, we will never call on any
god besides Him; in that case we should say an extravagant
thing.

That is: They did not give Me Associates as you have associated with
Me something of which you have no knowledge.

Ibn Hishām: Ash-Shatat means exaggeration, going beyond the truth.
A'sha of the Beni Qais ibn Tha'labah said:-

They do not restrain themselves nor do they restrain those
who commit excesses
Like the wound in which the oil and lint disappears

This stanza is in a poem of his.

These people of ours have taken for themselves gods
apart from Him, though they produce no convincing proof
for them

Ibn Ishāq: That is: They do not produce a clear argument.

Who then does greater wrong than he who forges a lie
about Allah. And when ye have withdrawn from them and what
they worship besides Allah, then betake yourselves to the
cave, your Lord will show you some of His mercy and prepare
for you a benefit from your affair.

And thou couldst have seen the sun when it rose inclining
from their cave toward the right and when it set passing
by them on the left while they were in an open part of it.

Ibn Hishām: Tazāwar means 'she inclined' and it comes from 'az-zūr'.

Imru 'l-Qais bin Muḥr said:-

Verily I am a leader if I return after being crowned
With a gait you may observe in a courier who bends forward.

This stanza is in a poem of his. Abu 'z-Zahf the Kulaibite said
in description of a country:-

The rough nature of the pasturage was not to our liking
Its riding beasts who went to water once in every five days
were sorely emaciated

This couplet is in a short metre poem of his. Taqrādhū dhāt ash-shammāl means 'to pass them by and leave them on the left'. Dhu ar-Rummaḥ said:-

To the camels with litters which pass the sand dunes of
Mushrif

To the left, while to the right are the sands themselves

This stanza is in a poem of his. Al-Fajwah means 'the space' and its plural is al-Fijā'. The poet said:-

Thou hast clothed thy people with shame and loss
Till they went away and left empty the courtyard of the House

That is one of the signs of Allah.

That is, the argument directed to the people of the Book who knew that much of their affair, of whom He gave these (men) commandment about your affair concerning the genuineness of your prophetic office in confirmation of the account given of them.

He whom Allah guideth is guided aright, but he whom He causeth to err, thou wilt not find for him a patron to set him right. Thou wouldst have thought them awake though they were sleeping, and We turned them to the right and to the left while their dog lay with paws outstretched on the threshold.

Ibn Hishām: Al-Wasīd means 'the door'. The Absite whose name was 'Ubbid bin Wahb, said:-

In a desert country whose door is not shut against me and
in which my favours do not go unacknowledged.

This stanza occurs in some stanzas of his. Al-wasīd also means a courtyard and its plural is 'Wasā'id, or Wusud, or Wusdān, or Asud or Asdan.

Hadst thou observed them thou wouldst have turned from
them in flight down to him saying

down to his saying:-

Those who prevailed in their affair said,
the people of authority and sovereignty amongst them

"Verily, we shall choose (to build) over them a place of
worship". They will say

That is, the Jewish Rabbis who enjoined them to ask about them

"Three and the fourth their dog", and they will say, "Five
and the sixth their dog", guessing at the secret

That is, they have no knowledge

And they will say: "Seven and the eighth their dog". Say:
"My Lord knoweth their number best, none save a few know
them. So do not dispute in regard to them

That is, do not treat them with scorn

Unless with a clear disputation and ask not any one of
them to give a decision about them

for verily they have no knowledge of them

And do not say with regard to anything: "I am going to do
that to-morrow" except (with the reservation) that Allah so
wills and remember thy Lord if thou hast forgotten and say:
"Perhaps my Lord will guide me to something nearer to what
is right than this

That is, do not say with regard to anything about which they question
thee as thou didst about this thing (saying) 'Verily, I will tell you
to-morrow', but make the reservation of the will of Allah, and call
to mind thy Lord if thou hast forgotten and say: "Perhaps my Lord
will guide me to something better than that about which you have
asked me", for verily thou dost not know what I am doing in that
regard.

And they remained in their cave three hundred years and
nine over and above

That is, they will say that

Say: "Allah knoweth best how long they remained, to Him
belong the hidden things in the heavens and the earth. Look
to Him and listen. Apart from Him they have no patron, and
He maketh none to share in His rule

That is, none of the things about which they asked thee are hidden
from Him. (Surah 18: 1 - 26).

And he said about the question which they put to him regarding the
man who was a traveller:-

They will ask you about Dhū 'l-Qarnain.⁵¹ Say: "I will
recite to you an account of him. We established his power
in the earth, and we granted him a way of access to

everything, and he followed a way, (Sūrah 18: 83 - 85)

and so on till he came to the end of his account of him. The account of Dhū 'l-Qarnain was that something was brought to him which was brought to no other and ways of access were opened up for him so that he went from the land to the eastern and western parts of the earth, setting foot on no country without establishing his rule over its inhabitants, till from the Orient and the Occident he went to a point beyond which there was not any part of creation.

Ibn Ishāq: One who derives traditions from foreign sources related to me regarding the knowledge of him that they handed down that Dhū 'l-Qarnain was one of the inhabitants of Egypt whose name was Marzubān ibn Mardhabah, the Greek, one of the descendants of Yūnan ibn Japheth ibn Noah.

Ibn Hishām: His name was Alexander and it was he who built Alexandria which is traced back to him.

Ibn Ishāq: Thaur ibn Yazīd related to me on the authority of Khālīd ibn Ma'dān the Kalā'ite, who was a man who knew that the Messenger of Allah had been asked about Dhū 'l-Qarnain, and he said: "A king who measured the earth from underneath with ways". Khālīd said: "'Umar ibn al-Khattāb heard a man say: 'O Dhū 'l-Qarnain!', and 'Umar said: 'O Allah, pardon!' Are you not content to be named after the prophets that you would be named after the angels?'"

Ibn Ishāq: Allah knows best whether that was so, whether the Messenger of Allah said that or no. If he did say it what he said was true.

And he said concerning what they asked him regarding the affair of the Spirit:-

They will ask thee about the Spirit. Say: "The Spirit belongs to my Lord's affair, but of knowledge only a little to you is given. (Suarh 17:85).

Ibn Ishāq: It was related to me on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās that he said: "When the Messenger of Allah came to Medina, Jewish Rabbis said: 'O Muhammad, have you observed your saying: +But of knowledge only a little to you is given+; are you referring to us or to your people?'. He said: 'Both'. They said: 'You recite about what has come to you, we have received the Torah in which everything is made

clear'. The Messenger of Allah said: 'Verily, where the knowledge of Allah is concerned it is but little, and of that you have enough to do you if you but performed it'. He said: "So Allah sent down to him concerning that about which they asked him:-

If all the trees in the earth were pens and if He should after that swell the seas in seven seas (of ink), the words of Allah would not be exhausted; verily Allah is mighty, wise (Surah 31:26)

That is, the Torah in this regard is but a little of the knowledge of Allah. Allah also sent down to him concerning what his people asked him for themselves, to remove the mountains and cleave the earth and bring back from the dead some of their fathers who had passed away:-

If only by a Qur'ān by which the mountains could be removed or the earth cleft or the dead be spoken to. Nay to Allah belongs the affair entirely. (Sūrah 13: 31)

That is: I will do nothing of that except what I will. He also sent down to him in connection with their saying: 'Take for yourself' the things they asked him to take for himself, that He should appoint for him gardens, castles, and treasures, and send an angel with him to attest the truth of what he said and avert (it) from him:-

And they said: "What is there to this messenger who eats food and walks the streets so long as an angel has not been sent down to him to be with him as a warner? Or a treasure be cast down to him, or he have a garden from which to eat". The wrong-doers also say: "We are following only a man who has been enchanted". See how they coin proverbs for thee but they err and are not able (to find) a way. Blessed be He who if He wills, will give thee something better than that -

That is, then that thou shouldest go about the streets and seek a living

Gardens through which the rivers flow, and He will appoint for thee castles. (Sūrah 25: 7 - 10).

And He sent down about that saying of theirs:-

We have not sent before thee any of the messengers who did not eat food and go about the streets; We made you a test to each other whether ye would be steadfast; thy Lord is discerning. (Sūrah 25: 20).

That is: I made you a trial to each other that ye might have patience, and had I willed to put the world on the side of My messengers that they should not disagree, I would have done it.

And He sent down to him in connection with what 'Abdallah ibn Abū Umayyah said:-

And they said: "We will never believe in thee till thou cause a spring to gush forth for us from the earth, or till thou hast a garden of palm and vine and thou cause rivers to gush forth in its midst, or till thou cause the heaven to fall upon us in fragments as thou hast said, or thou bring Allah and the angels to vouch for thee, or till thou hast a house of ornamental work or ascendest into the heavens, nor shall we believe in thine ascent till thou send down to us a book which we may read". Say: Glory be to my Lord, am I more than a man, a messenger.

Ibn Hishām: Al-Yanbū' is the water that springs out of the earth and other places and its plural is 'yanābī'. Ibn Harmah whose name was Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abdallah the Fihrite said:)

If you shed a tear in every house
Your ducts would flow copiously and your tears would be a
spring

This stanza is in a poem of his. Al-kisaf means 'bits of rags' and its singular is 'kisfah' like 'sidrah' and 'sidar', and it is also the singular of al-kisf. Al Qabīl is 'to be opposite', 'to be face to face'; as in His saying: "or the punishment come upon them openly", that is, face to face. Abu 'Ubaidah recited to me from Ā'sha of the Beni Qais ibn Tha'labah:-

I will make peace with you that you may come with the same
again
Like the cry of a pregnant woman for help to whom her midwife
gives relief.

He means the midwife because she is face to face with her and she receives her child. This stanza is in a poem of his. It is said that the plural of al-qabīl is 'qubul', and it means 'groups'. In the Book of Allah it is said: "And we collected for them everything as guarantors". So 'qubul' is the plural of 'qabil' just as subul is the plural of sabīl and surur the plural of sarīr and qumus the plural of qamīs. Al-qabīl also occurs in one of the proverbs and it is their saying: "He cannot distinguish one who is coming from one who is going". That is, he does not know what is coming towards him from that which is going away from him. Al-Kumait ibn Zaid said:-

Affairs on both their sides were in disorder
So they did not distinguish the one who was going from the one
who was coming.

This stanza is in a poem of his. It is also said that all that is meant by this term 'al-Qabīl' is the spinning of thread. What is spun forwards towards the forearm is 'Qabīl' and what is spun backwards

towards the finger-ends is 'Dabīr' and it comes from the words 'Iqbāl' and 'Idbār' which I have mentioned. It is also said (it refers to) the spinning of the spindle. If it is spun on the knee it is 'Qabīl' if it is spun on the hip it is 'Dabīr'. Al-Qabīl also means the people belonging to a man. Az-zukhruf is gold and al-Muzakhraf means that which is gilded:- Al-'Ajjāj said:-

From the remains (of the camp fire) by night you may
conjure up a book with its drawings and gilded ornamentation.

These two stanzas are in a poem of his in the Rajaz metre. Every ornamented thing is called 'muzakhraf'.

Ibn Ishāq: And He sent down to him in connection with their saying:
"Verily we have heard that it is only a man of al-Yamāmah called
ar-Rahmān who is teaching you and we will never believe in him".

Therefore have We sent thee amongst a nation before which other
nations have passed away, that thou mayest recite to them what
we have revealed to thee, but they disbelieve in the Merciful.
Say: "He is my Lord, there is no god but He, on Him have I
trusted and to Him do I turn in penitence. (Sūrah 13: 30).

He also sent down to him in connection with what Abū Jahl said and
what he purposed:-

Hast thou seen him who obstructs a servant when he prays?
Hast thou observed if he is following the guidance or
enjoining piety?
Hast thou observed if he has treated (the truth) as a lie and
turned his back?
Does he not know that Allah sees?
Nay verily if he do not desist, We shall seize him by the
forelock
A lying sinful forelock
So let him summon his council
We will summon the guards of hell 53
Nay, do not obey him but prostrate thyself and draw near
(Sūrah 96: 9 - 19)

Ibn Hishām: Lanasfa' means 'we will drag' or 'we will seize'. The
poet said:

A people, who when they heard the call for help
Your would observe them, some bridling their mares and
others seizing them by the mane.

The Nādī was the council chamber where the people gathered together
and in which they transacted their business. In the Book of Allah
the Exalted (it is said):-

Ye bring what is disreputable into your assembly (Sūrah 29: 29)

And it was the assembly. 'Abīd bin al-Abras said:-

Be off with you! For I belong to the Beni Asad
the people of the assembly, the people of generosity and the
meeting place.

In the Book of Allah (it is said):-

And best as an assembly (Surah 19: 73).

Its plural is 'Andiyah'. He says: "Let him summon his assembly",
that is, the people of his assembly, just as He said:-

Ask the village (Surah 12: 82)

meaning the people of the village. Salāmah bin Jandal one of the
Beni Sa'd bin Zaid Manāt bin Tamīm said:-

Two days (there be), a day of meetings and assemblies
And a day to go against the enemy a full day's march

This stanza is in a poem of his. Al-Kamīt bin Zaid said:-

In the assembly there are no babblers who multiply words to
no purpose
Nor are any silent through inability to speak* (or because
silence has been forced upon them).

This stanza is in a poem of his. It is also said that 'an-Nādī'
means 'the friends'. 'Az-zabāniyah' means 'the coarse, the strong ones'.
In this passage they are the keepers of the Fire. The Zabāniyah are
also in the world, the helpers of man who serve and aid him. The
singular is 'Zibniyah'. Ibn az-Zab'arī said:-

Giving food in the guest-house, giving thrusts in war
Helpers, stout, great their minds

He says: "Strong ones". This stanza is in a poem of his. Sakhr bin
'Abdallah the Hudhalite who was Sakhr the Ghayite said:-

And from Kabīr a group of strong ones*

This stanza occurs in some stanzas of his.

Ibn Ishaq: Allah sent down to him in connection with the possessions
which they offered him:-

Say: "The reward which I have asked of you is for your own sakes
my reward depends on Allah alone, and He is witness of
everything. (Surah 34: 47).

So when the Messenger of Allah brought them the truth which they
recognised, and they had recognised his truthfulness in all that he
related to them and the place of his prophetic office with regard

*Cairo Text used here.

to what he brought them in the way of (revealing to them) the knowledge of the hidden things, when they asked him about that which they asked him, envy on their part arose between them and his followers, and (prevented them from) acceptance of him as genuine. They were insolent towards Allah and abandoned His affair openly and resorted to the unbelief which they had. One of them said:-

Do not listen to this Qur'ān but talk nonsense, perhaps ye will gain the upper hand. (Surah 41: 26).

That is, make it worthless and useless and take it as a laughing-stock, perhaps ye will gain the upper hand thereby. For verily, if ye discuss and wrangle with him, he will get the better of you.

Abū Jahl said one day when he was making mock of the the Messenger of Allah and the truth which he had brought:- "O people of Quraish, Muhammad claims that the soldiers of Allah who will torment you in the Fire and imprison you in it, are only nineteen in number, and you are the most numerous of peoples. Will each hundred men of you then be powerless against one man of them?". So Allah sent down about that saying of his:-

We have appointed none other than angels to be guardians of the Fire and we have stated their number only as a trial for those who have disbelieved. (Surah 74: 31).

So when they said that to each other they began to withdraw from the Messenger of Allah when he proclaimed the Qur'ān openly as he was praying, and to refuse to listen to him. If any of them wanted to hearken to some of what the Messenger of Allah was reciting from the Qur'ān, while he was praying, he would he would steal along and listen by himself in fear of them. If he thought they knew he was listening to him he went in fear of being molested by them and did not listen. If the Messenger of Allah lowered his voice, the one who was listening supposed they could not hear anything of his recitation while he himself heard some of it apart from them, he listened to him and heard him by stealth.

Ibn Ishāq: Dāūd bin al-Huṣayn a client of 'Amr bin 'Uthmān related to me that 'Ikrimah a client of Ibn 'Abbās related to them, that 'Abdallah bin 'Abbās related to them that this verse was sent down merely on account of those persons:-

And do not proclaim thy prayer openly, neither pronounce it too low but between these seek a (middle) course.
(Surah 17: 110).

He says: Do not speak openly in thy prayers for they will separate themselves from thee, and do not be silent in them so that those who are listening by stealth in their desire to hear apart from them may not be deprived of hearing them, mayhap he will be converted to what he hears and be benefited by it.

The first man to proclaim the Qur'ān openly after the Messenger of Allah proclaimed it in Mecca amongst Quraish.

Ibn Ishāq: Yahya ibn 'Urwah ibn az-Zubair related to me on the authority of his father. He said: The first man who proclaimed the Qur'ān openly after the Messenger of Allah in Mecca was 'Abdallah ibn Mas'ūd. He said: "The friends of the Messenger of Allah gathered together one day and said: "Quraish has never heard this Qur'ān proclaimed openly to them. Which man will declare it to them?" 'Abdallah ibn Mas'ūd said: "I will". They said: "Verily, we are afraid of them on your account, we want a man who has kindred to protect him from the people, if they meant (mischief) to him". He said "Allow me, for verily Allah will protect me". So Ibn Mas'ūd set out in the morning and came to the place of standing in the forenoon and took his stand beside it while Quraish were in their assembly hall. Then he recited:-

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful the Compassionate

Then, lifting up his voice:-

The Merciful taught the Qur'añ (Sūrah 55: 1,2)

Then he confronted them as he recited it, and they considered him and said: "What did this son of a mother of a slave say?". Then they said: "Verily he is reciting part of what Muhammad brought". So they rose up against him and began to beat him on the face but he kept on reciting till he got as far as Allah willed he should get. Then he went away to his friends. They had left marks on his face, and they said to him: "This is what we feared would happen to you". He said: "The enemies of Allah were never more tolerable to me than they were just now, and if you are agreeable, I will go to them early to-morrow with the same thing!" They said: "Nay, enough for you, you have made them listen to what they detest",

The account of Quraish listening to the recitation of the Prophet.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad ibn Muslim ibn Shihāb az-Zuhrī related to me that it was related to him that Abū Sufyān ibn Harb and Abū Jahl

bin Nishām and al-Akhnas bin Sharīq bin 'Amr bin Wabb the Thaqaḥite ally of the Beni Zuhrah set out by night to listen to the Messenger of Allah as he prayed at night in his house. Each of them took up a position in which to listen and none of them knew the position of his companion. They spent the night listening to him and when dawn came they went their separate ways, but they came together on the road and reproved each other and said to each other: "Do not go back, for if one of your stupid people were to see you it would give him ideas". Then they went their ways and when the second night came each of them returned to his position and they spent the night listening to him. When dawn came they went their ways but came together on the road and said to each other the same as they said the first time. Then they went away, and when the third night came each of them took up his position and they spent the night listening to him, and when the dawn came they went their ways but came together on the road. They said to each other: "We will not part till we make a compact not to return". So they made a compact on that basis and parted. When morning came, al-Akhnas bin Sharīq took his staff and went out and came to Abū Sufyān in his house and said: "O Abu Hanthalah give me your opinion about what you heard from Muhammad". He said: "O Abū Tha'labah, I heard things that I recognise and I recognise what is meant by them, and I hear things whose meaning I do not recognise nor what is intended by them". Al-Akhnas said: "By Him by whom you swore, I am in like circumstance". Then he went away from him and came to Abū Jahl and went in to him in his house and said: "O Abū 'l-Hakm, what is your opinion regarding what you heard from Muhammad?". He said: "What have I heard? We and the Beni 'Abd Manāf have been disputing as to (which should have) the precedence. They supplied food and we supplied food; they carried and we carried; they gave and we gave till when we were brought down on our knees and were like two horses running for a wager they said: 'We have a prophet to whom comes revelations from heaven', When will we have anything like this? We will never believe in him nor regard him as trustworthy!" Then al-Akhnas arose and left him.

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah recited the Qur'ān to them and called them to Allah they said in mockery of him: "Our hearts are

in a veil (hidden away) from that to which you call us; we do not understand what you say. In our ears there is deafness; we do not hear what you say; and between you and us is a curtain which has come down. Practise then what you have and we will practise what we have, for verily we understand nothing (that comes) from you. So Allah sent down to him about that saying of theirs:-

When thou recitest the Qur'ān We have put between thee and those who do not believe in the Hereafter a curtain concealed

down to his saying:-

And when in the Qur'ān thou mentionest thy One Lord they turn their backs shunning (it). (Surah 17: 45 - 49).

That is: How did they understand thy declaration of the unity of the Lord, if, as they say, I have laid a veil on their hearts, put deafness in their ears, and placed a curtain between you and them? That is, I have not done this.

We know best what they listen to when they listen to thee, and when they discuss by themselves, when the wrong-doers say: "Ye follow nothing but a man bewitched". (Surah 17: 50).

That is: What they recommend you to do is to abandon that with which I sent thee to them.

See how they coin proverbs for thee, but they have gone astray and are not able (to find) a way. (Surah 17: 51).

That is: They have missed the point of the proverb they coined for thee so by it they get no right guidance, and it is not fitting for them to speak of it.

And they said: "When we have become bones and fragments shall we verily be raised up a new creation? (Surah 17: 52).

That is: Thou hast come telling us that we will be raised up after death even though we are bones and fragments, but that will never be.

Say: "Be ye stones or iron or any other thing that is big in your breasts! Then they will say: "Who will bring us back?" Say: "He who created you at first" (Surah 17: 53).

That is: He who created you, you know from what; and your creation out of clay is not a greater impossibility for Him than that.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abu Najīh related to me on the authority of Mujāhid from Ibn 'Abbās. He said: "I asked him about the saying of Allah to whom belong power and glory "or any other thing that is big in your breasts", what Allah intended by it, and he said: "Death".

An account of the oppression by the polytheists of the weak ones who had accepted Islam through injury and seduction.

Ibn Ishāq: Then they began to ill-treat the friends of the Messenger of Allah who had islamized and followed him. Each tribe seized all the Muslims who were in it and began incarcerating them and tormenting them, by beating them, exposing them to hunger and thirst, and the scorching ground of Mecca when the heat grew excessive. Those of them who were weak they seduced away from their religion and some of them were sorely tried by the severity of the misfortunes which came upon them. Some of them were scorched (by exposure to the sun) and some of them Allah protected. Bilāl, a client of Abū Bakr belonged to some of the Beni Jumah as one of those who were of mixed extraction. He was genuine in his profession of Islam and pure in heart. Umayyah ibn Khalaf ibn Wahb ibn Hudhāfah ibn Jumah had exposed him when the noon-tide heat was at its height by casting him on his back in the torrent bed at Mecca. Then he ordered a huge rock to be placed on his chest and said to him: "I swear you shall indeed remain in this position till you either die or blaspheme Muhammad, and worship al-Lāt and al-'Uzza ; and he said while he was enduring that torment: ONE ONE.

Ibn Ishāq: Hisham ibn 'Urwah related to me on the authority of his father. He said: Waraqah ibn Naufal passed by him while he was being tormented in this way and he was saying ONE ONE, and he said: ONE ONE, O Bilāl. Then he went to Umayyah ibn Khalaf and those of the Beni Jumah who had done this to him and said: "I swear that if you kill him for this I will surely take him for a mercy". Then Abū Bakr ibn Abū Quhāfah, the Faithful passed by him one day while they were treating him in this way, and Abū Bakr's house was amongst the Beni Jumah. He said to Umayyah: "Do you not fear Allah where this poor man is concerned? How long?". He said: "You have corrupted him, deliver him now from that which you observe". Abū Bakr said: "I will do it. I have a black boy more robust than he, and stronger in your religion. I will give you him in exchange for him". He said: "I accept", and he said: "He is yours". So Abū Bakr gave him that boy of his and took him and set him free. Then he freed along with him, when they accepted Islam, six slaves of whom Bilāl was the seventh before he migrated to Medina: 'Āmir ibn Fuhairah

who witness^{ed} Badr and Uhud and was slain a martyr of the day of Bīr Ma'ūnah; Umm 'Ubais, Zinnīrah, whose sight was gone when he set her free, and Quraish said: "None other than al-Lāt and al-'Uzza have taken away her sight". She said: "They have lied, for by the House of Allah, al-Lāt and al-'Uzza neither injure nor benefit". Then Allah restored her sight. He also freed an-Nahdiyyah and her daughter, who both belonged to a woman of the Beni 'Abd ad-Dār. He passed by them when their mistress had sent them with some flour of hers, and she said: "I will never release you two", and Abū Bakr said: "It is allowable O mother of So-and-so". She said: "It is allowable, you have corrupted them so set them free". He set them free and said: "How much for the pair of them?". She said: "So much". He said: "I take them and they are free". Take back to her the flour" They said: "Shall we finish with it and then return it to her?". He said: "So let it be if you wish it". He passed by a slave-girl of the Beni Mu'ammal, a tribe of the Beni 'Adi ibn Ka'b, who was a Muslim, while 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb was tormenting her to make her abandon Islam. He was a polytheist at that time and he beat her till he grew tired of it and said: "I make this excuse to you; I did not give you up except out of weariness". She said: "May Allah do so to thee". So Abū Bakr bought her and set her free.

Ibn Ishāq: Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallah ibn Abū 'Atīq related to me on the authority of 'Āmir ibn 'Abdallah ibn az-Zubair on the authority of one of his people. He said: "Abū Quhāfah said to Abū Bakr: 'My son, I observe you are freeing weak slaves, if only when you do what you do, you freed robust men they would protect you and stand up for you". Abū Bakr said: 'My father, I only want what I want for Allah's sake to Whom belong power and glory, and it is related that these verses were sent down only in connection with him and what his father said to him:-

So as for him who gives and is pious
And accepts as true the Good

down to His saying:-

To no one is he under a favour which requires to be
recompensed
But only out of desire for the face of his Lord the Most High
And surely he shall be satisfied.

Ibn Ishāq: The Beni Makhzūm took out 'Ammār ibn Yāsīr and his father and mother who belonged to the fold of Islam when the noon-tide heat

was at its height to torment them in the torrent-bed of Mecca and the Messenger of Allah passed by them and said; according to what I heard: "Patience O family of Yasīr, you have the promise of Paradise". As for his mother, they killed her, since she refused everything but Islam. Abū Jahl, that evil-doer was the one who incited them against individuals of Quraish. When he heard that a man of rank who was able to defend himself had accepted Islam he rebuked and reproached him and said: "You have abandoned the religion of your father who was better than you, we will surely hold you as stupid minded, declare your views unsound and humiliate your dignity". If he was a merchant he said: "We will surely make your business worthless and destroy your wealth". If he was a weak man he beat and seduced him.

Ibn Ishāq: Makīm ibn Jubair related to me on the authority of Sa'īd ibn Jubair. He said: "I said to 'Abdallah ibn 'Abbās: 'Did the polytheists inflict on the friends of the Messenger of Allah the torment of which they were guilty, in connection with their abandonment of their religion?'. He said: 'Yes, if they beat one of them or starved him or kept him thirsty, till he was no longer able to sit upright because of the harm he had sustained (it was) in order that he might give them the apostasy which they demanded. They would say to him: 'Al-Lāt and al-'uzza are your gods apart from Allah', and he would say 'Yes'. Even if a black beetle passed them they would say to him: 'Is this beetle your god apart from Allah?' and he would answer 'Yes' to free himself from the affliction wherewith they afflicted him.

Ibn Ishāq: Az-Zubair ibn 'Ukāshah ibn 'Abdallah ibn Abū Ahmad related to me that it was related to him that some men of the Beni Makhzūm went to Hishām ibn al-Walīd when his brother al-Walīd ibn al-Walīd ibn al-Mughīrah accepted Islam, and they had resolved to seize some youths belonging to them who had accepted Islam, amongst whom were Salamah ibn Hishām and 'Ayyāsh ibn Abū Rabī'ah. He said: They said to him in fear of the evil he might do: "Verily we wished to censure these young men about this religion which they have initiated, for thereby we will be safe where others are concerned". He said: "The onus of that is on you, censure him then and guard yourselves against him. Then he said:-

Be on your guard each for himself for I swear by Allah that if you kill him I will surely kill one of your noble men. They said: "May Allah curse whoever runs the risk of this thing happening, if he were killed amongst us the noblest, an of us would be slain. So they left him and withdrew and this was one occasion on which Allah protected him from them.

The Account of the First Emigration to the country of Ethiopia.

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah saw the trials which befell his friends and the immunity which he enjoyed in his station from Allah and Abū Tālib his uncle, and that he was unable to protect them from the trials which they suffered, he said to them: "If you were to emigrate to the country of Ethiopia, there is a king in it with whom no one is wronged, and it is a land of righteousness, that Allah may grant you relief from what you now endure". Thereupon the Muslims of the friends of the Messenger of Allah emigrated to the country of Ethiopia in fear of seduction and in flight to Allah with their religion. This was the first emigration that took place in Islam.

Names and genealogies of emigrants omitted.

So the Muslims who betook themselves to the country of Ethiopia and emigrated to it, apart from their children whom they took with them when they were small, or were born there, were eighty three men, if 'Ammār ibn Yāsir was amongst them, but it is doubtful about him.

Poetry omitted.

The mission sent by Quraish to Ethiopia to seek the emigrants and their failure in what they sought because of the strong protection of the Negus.

Ibn Ishāq: When Quraish saw that the friends of the Messenger of Allah were enjoying peace and safety in the country of Ethiopia and that they had found a home there and a place to settle, they determined amongst themselves to send to the Negus in connection with them two strong men from Quraish that he might return them to them so that they could seduce them with regard to their religion, and that he might expel them from their homes where they had found peace and safety. They sent 'Abdallah ibn Abū Rabī'ah and 'Amr ibn al-'Ās ibn Wā'il, and gathered gifts for them to take to the Negus and his Patriarchs. When Abū Tālib saw their plan and the purpose for which they sent them he recited some stanzas for the Negus in which he stimulates him to

afford them safe protection and defend them :-

Would that I knew how Ja'far is faring in the remote place
And 'Amr, and the enemies who are nearly related to the enemy
Have the deeds of the Negus been favourable to Ja'far and his
friends
Or has he turned away from that, deviating from it?
Know, thou hast scorned the curse, verily thou art noble
Generous, and those who have come under thy protection are not
miserable
Know that Allah hath increased thee in well-being
And all the means of good adhere to thee
Verily, thou art abundance, the possessor of an overflowing
bucket
Of which both friends and foes obtain the benefit.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad ibn Muslim az-Zuhri related to me on the
authority of Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn al-Hārith ibn Hishām the
Makhzūmite from Umm Salamah bint Abū Umayyah ibn al-Mughīrah wife of
the Prophet. She said: "When we settled in the country of Ethiopia
we had as neighbours the best of neighbours who gave us safety for (the
practice of) our religion, we worshipped Allah without suffering hurt,
and we did not hear anything we disliked. When that came to the ears
of Quraish they took counsel together to send two of their strong men
to the Negus in connection with us, also that they would present to the
Negus certain gifts from the wares of Mecca, and the most wonderful
thing that came to him from there were the skins. They collected
many skins for him and they did not pass over a single one of his
Patriarchs for whom they did not provide a present. Then they sent
'Abdallah ibn Abū Rabī'ah and 'Amr ibn al-'Ās with these things and
gave them their instructions and said to them: "Take to each
Patriarch his present before you speak to the Negus about them. Then
bring the Negus his gifts and ask him to hand them over to you before
he speaks with them". So they set out and came to the Negus - and we
were in the best of abodes with the best of neighbours - and there
was not one of his Patriarchs to whom they did not hand over his gift
before they talked with the Negus. They said to each Patriarch:
"Verily, certain foolish young men from us have taken refuge in the
king's country who have abandoned the religion of their people and do
not accept your religion, but have brought a schismatical faith which
neither we nor you recognise. We have sent of the noble men of their
people to the king in connection with them that he may return them to
them. So when we speak to the king about them, advise him that he

should hand them over to us without speaking to them, for verily their people are more worthy of regard than they are, and know best the disgrace they have brought upon them". They said to them: "Yes". Then they offered their gifts to the Negus and he accepted them from them, and they spoke to him and said to him: "O King, verily there have taken refuge in your country certain foolish young men who have abandoned the religion of their people and have not entered your religion but have brought a religion they have invented which neither we nor you recognise. So the nobles of their people have sent us to you about them, from their fathers and their relatives and their clans, that you may return them to them, for they are more worthy of regard than they are, and know best the disgrace they have brought upon them, for which they have censured them". There was nothing more hateful to 'Abdallah ibn Abū Rabī'ah and 'Amr ibn al-'Ās than that the Negus should listen to their words. His Patriarchs around him said: "They are quite right O King, their people are more worthy of regard and know best how they have disgraced them, hand them over then to them and they will take them back to their own country and people". So the Negus grew angry and said: "No, I swear that I will not hand them over to them. A people will scarcely become my neighbours, settle in my country and choose me before all others just in order that I should call them and ask them about what these two men have to say about their affair. If they were all they say I would hand them over to them and return them to their own people. But if they be in different case then I will protect them and make good their protection so long as they are my neighbours".

The story of the Negus bringing the emigrants to his presence and questioning them about their religion and their reply to that.

She said: "Then he sent to the friends of the Messenger of Allah and called them. When his messengers came to them they assembled and said one to another: 'What will you say to the man when you come to him?'. They said: 'We will say what we know and what our Prophet has commanded us, come what may'. So when they came to him - and the Negus had called his learned men and they had spread out their scrolls around them - he asked them: 'What is this religion in (the pursuance of) which you have separated yourselves from your people and did not enter my religion or that of one of the sects. It was Ha'far ibn

Abū Tālib who spoke to him and said: "O King, we were a people who lived in barbarism, worshipping idols, eating dead things, practising abominations, setting aside the ties of blood relationship, abusing the duty of granting protection, the strong amongst us devouring the weak. That was that state we were in till Allah sent us a Messenger from amongst ourselves, whose lineage, truthfulness, faithfulness and moderations we recognise. So he called us to Allah, to believe in His unity and worship Him, and to put away from us the things that we and our fathers worshipped apart from Him such as stones and idols. He commanded us to be truthful in speech, to fulfil pledges, to preserve the blood-bond intact, to afford good protection, and to refrain from forbidden things and blood. He forbade us (to practise) abominations, to speak falsely, to devour the orphan's inheritance, and foul accusings of virtuous women. He commanded us to worship Allah and not associate anything with Him; he enjoined us to pray, give alms and fast. Thus he enumerated the enactments of Islam to him. 'So we accepted him as genuine, believed in him, followed him in what he brought from Allah and we worshipped Allah only and did not associate anything with Him. We disallowed what he disallowed and allowed what he allowed. Then our people grew hostile to us, tormented us, and seduced us from our religion to turn us back from the worship of Allah to the worship of idols, and that we should regard as allowable the vices we had formerly regarded as allowable. So when they maltreated us, wronged us, oppressed us, and interfered between us and our religion we emigrated to your country, and we chose you in preference to all others, and coveted your protection, and we hoped that with you we should not suffer wrong, O King'. The Negus said to him: 'Have you got with you anything of what he brought about Allah?', and Ja'far said to Him: 'Yes'. The Negus said to him: 'Recite it to me'. So he recited to him the first part of KAF HĀ' YĀ' AIN SĀD, and the Negus wept till he wet his beard and his bishops wept till they wet their scrolls, when they heard what he recited to them. Then the Negus said: 'Verily this and that which Moses brought have issued from the same niche, be off the pair of you, I will not yield them up nor prove deceitful'.

What the emigrants said regarding Jesus son of Mary before the Negus.
She said: So when they went out from him, 'Amr ibn al-'Ās said: "I will certainly bring to him to-morrow about them that by which I shall

extirpate them". 'Abdallah ibn ar-Rabī'ah who was the more pious of the two men said: "Do not do it for they have their blood relations even if they do disagree with us. We will inform him that they claim the Jesus son of Mary was a creature". Then they went to him early in the morning and said to him: "O King, verily they utter a terrible saying about Jesus son of Mary. Send to them and ask them what they say regarding Him". So he sent to them to ask them about it and nothing like it had come upon us before. The people gathered together and said to each other: "What will you say regarding Jesus son of Mary if he asks you about Him". They said: "We will say what Allah said, and what our Prophet brought, come what may. When they went in to him he said to them: "What do you say regarding Jesus son of Mary", and Ja'far ibn Abū Tālib said: "Regarding Him we say what our Prophet brought. He says He is the Servant of Allah, His Messenger, His Spirit and His Word which He cast into the Virgin Mary". So the Negus struck his hand on the ground, took from it a piece of wood and said: "Jesus son of Mary did not exceed what you have said by as much as this rod". His Patriarchs around him snorted when he said what he said: So he said: "Even if you snort, go your ways for you are the marked people in my country. (Ash-Shuyūm means 'the safe ones'). Whoever curses you will be fined". Then he said: "Whoever curses you will be fined, and I would not like to have a mountain of gold and that I harmed one of you.

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as 'dibrān min dhahab' and it is also given as 'antun suyūm'; and ad-dabr in the Ethiopian tongue means 'the mountain'. "Return to them their gifts, I have no need of them. Allah did not take a bribe from me when He restored to me my kingdom, shall I then take a bribe where He is concerned. He did not carry out the wishes of the people about me, and shall I carry out their wishes where He is concerned". Thus they went forth from his presence in disgrace with what they had brought returned to them, and we remained with him in the best of abodes with the best of neighbours.

She said: We were in that (happy) state when one of the Ethiopians who disputed the kingdom with him came upon him, and indeed I never knew us to grieve more deeply than the grief which we felt for him at that time, in our fear that that man would get the better of the Negus and a man would come who would not recognise our rights in the way the

Negus had done. So the Negus set out to meet him and between them lay the breadth of the Nile. The friends of the Messenger of Allah said: "What man will go and be present at the battle between them and bring us word". Az-Zubair ibn al-'Awwām said: "I will". They said: "You!", for he was the most junior of them in years. Then they inflated a water skin for him and out it on his chest and he swam on it till he came to the place of the Nile where was the rendezvous of the people, and then he went and joined them. We prayed to Allah to bless the Negus with victory over his enemy and to establish him in his country and we were thus engaged, waiting for what was to be, when az-Zubair ibn al-'Awwām appeared running. He made a sign with his garments and said: "Rejoice! The Negus has been victorious and Allah has destroyed his enemy". I never knew us to rejoice with a joy like that. So the Negus returned, Allah having destroyed his enemy, confirmed him in (possession of) his country, and secured to him the rule of Ethiopia. Thus we were with him in the best of abodes till we returned to the Messenger of Allah who was in Mecca.

An account of the beginning of the sovereignty of the Negus over Ethiopia.

Az-Zuhri said: I related to 'Urwah ibn az-Zubair the account of Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān on the authority of Umm Salamah, wife of the Prophet. He said: "Do you understand what he said: 'Allah did not take a bribe from me when he restored me to my kingdom, that I should take a bribe where He is concerned, and He did not carry out the wishes of the people about me, that I should carry out their wishes where He is concerned?'. I said: "No". He said: "'Ā'ishah, mother of the believers related to me that his father was king of his people and he had no son except the Negus. The Negus had an uncle on his father's side from whom issued twelve men and they were the people of the royal house of the Ethiopian kingdom. The Ethiopians said amongst themselves: "If we were to slay the father of the Negus and make his brother king for he has no child except this youth and his brother has twelve sons to inherit the kingdom after him, Ethiopia will endure for ever. So they attacked and killed the father of the Negus and made his brother king. Thus they remained for a time while the Negus grew up with his uncle and he was an intelligent and resolute man. So he gained the upper hand in the affair of his uncle and occupied the chief place in his heart. When the Ethiopians realised

his position with regard to him they said among themselves: "This youth has gained the upper hand in the affair of his uncle and we are afraid he will make him king over us, and if he makes him king over us he will certainly have us all put to death for he knows that we are the ones who slew his father". So they went to his uncle and said to him: "Either you put this youth to death or exile him from amongst us for we fear him on our account!" He said: "Out upon you! You killed his father yesterday and will I kill him to-day? Nay, I will exile him from your country". Then they took him out to the market place and sold him to one of the merchants for six hundred dirhems who put him on a ship and took him away. When the evening of that day came there arose an autumn cloud and his uncle went out to ask for rain beneath it and lightning struck him and killed him. Then the Ethiopians turned to his son for help but he was a stupid (fellow) in whom was no good and he disorganised the affair of the Ethiopians. When their situation became untenable because of that they said to each other: "Learn that your king you have sold one morning - he is the only one will order your affairs aright. If you are in need with regard to the affair of the Ethiopians go after him now". So they set out in search of him and of the man to whom they had sold him and they found him and brought him away from him. When they brought him back they set the crown on his head and placed him on the king's throne and made him king. Then the merchant to whom they had sold him came to them and said: "Either you give me my property or else I will tell him about it". They said: "We will give you nothing". He said: "In that case I will tell him". They said: "Go ahead!". So he came to him, squatted in front of him and said: "O King, I bought a boy in the market-place from some people for six hundred dirhems and they gave me my boy and took my dirhems. Then when I took my boy away they overtook me, took away my boy and withheld my dirhems!" The Negus said to them: "His dirhems must certainly be given to him or else his boy must put his hand in his hand that he may take him away wherever he chooses". They said: "Nay, we will give him his dirhems". So because of that he said "Allah did not take a bribe from me when he restored to me my kingdom that I should take a bribe where He is concerned, and He did not carry out the wishes of the people about me that I should carry out their wishes where He is concerned". And that was the first time he was tested regarding his firmness in his religion and his justice in judgment.

Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd bin Rūmān related to me on the authority of 'Urwah bin az-Zubair from 'Ā'ishah. She said: "When the Negus died it was related that a light has not ceased to be seen on his grave".

The Rising of the Ethiopians against the Negus.

Ja'far bin Muhammad related to me on the authority of his father. He said: "The Ethiopians gathered together and said to the Negus: 'Verily you have abandoned our religion', and they rose against him. So he sent word to Ja'far and his friends and got ships ready for them and said: 'Embark and stay where you are. If I am routed go away till you come to the place where you wish to be, and if I am victorious, remain. Then he turned to a book and wrote in it and he was testifying that there is no god but Allah and that Muhammad was his servant and Messenger, and testifying that Jesus was His servant⁵⁴ and Messenger, His Spirit and His Word which He cast into Mary. Then he put it into his gown at the right shoulder and went out to the Ethiopians who got into rank for him and said: 'Am I not the best entitled to (be king over) you of all people?'. They said: 'Without doubt'. He said: 'And what do you think of my life amongst you?'. They said: 'The best life'. He said: 'What then do you mean?' They said: 'You have abandoned our religion and asserted that Jesus is a creature'. He said: 'And what do you yourselves say about Jesus?' They said: 'We say He is the Son of God'. Then the Negus said - and he laid his hand over his heart on his gown: 'He testifies that Jesus Son of Mary did not add anything to that', referring merely to what he had written; and they were satisfied and took their departure. Word of that came to the Prophet, and when the Negus died he prayed for him and asked forgiveness for him.

The story of the islamization of 'Umar bin al-Khattāb.

Ibn Ishāq: When 'Amr bin al-'Ās and 'Abdallah bin Abu Rabi'ah returned to Quraish without having obtained what they sought from the friends of the Messenger of Allah and the Negus had sent them back with something they disliked, 'Umar bin al-Khattāb islamized. He was an intractable man who did not desire what was behind his back, and the friends of the Messenger of Allah avoided him and Hamzah till they were a match for Quraish. 'Abdallah bin Mas'ūd said: "We were not able to pray at the Ka'bah till 'Umar bin al-Khattāb islamized, and when he islamized he

fought with Quraish until he prayed at the Ka'bah and we prayed with him. The acceptance of Islam by 'Umar took place after the emigration of those friends of the Messenger of Allah who emigrated to Ethiopia.

Al-Bakkā'ī said: Mis'ar ibn Kidam related to me on the authority of Sa'd ibn Ibrāhīm. He said: "'Abdallah ibn Mas'ūd said that 'Umar's acceptance of Islam was a beginning, his migration a victory, and his caliphate a mercy, and we did not pray at the Ka'bah till 'Umar islamized. When he accepted Islam he fought with Quraish till he prayed at the Ka'bah and we prayed with him.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn al-Hārith ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Ayyāsh ibn Abū Rabī'ah related to me on the authority of 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Āmir ibn Rabī'ah from his mother Umm 'Abdallah bint Abū Hathmah. She said: "We were on our way to Ethiopia and 'Āmir had gone on about some of his affairs when 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb came up and stood before me, and he was still a polytheist. From him we suffered trials harmful to us and severe on us. He said: "Surely this is departure O Umm 'Abdallah'. I said: 'Yes, we will indeed go to a country of Allah; you have harmed and maltreated us and Allah is granting us relief'. He said: 'May Allah go with you', and I noticed in him a gentleness I had not noticed before. Then he went away and according to what I saw, our departure had grieved him. Then 'Āmir brought what he had gone to get and I said to him: 'O Abū 'Abdallah if you had only seen 'Umar a little while ago, his gentleness and his grief about us'. He said: 'Do you coevt that he become a Muslim?' I said: 'Yes'. He said: 'He whom you saw will not accept Islam till the ass of al-Khattāb accepts Islam'. She said: (He said this) in despair of him because of what he had seen of his hard-heartedness and brutality towards Islam.

Ibn Ishāq: Umar's acceptance of Islam, according to what I have heard took place because his sister Fātimah bint al-Khattāb who was the wife of Sa'īd ibn Zaid ibn 'Amr ibn Nufail. She had accepted Islam and so had her husband Sa'īd ibn Zaid and they were keeping their acceptance of Islam a secret from 'Umar. Nu'aim ibn 'Abdallah an-Nahhām a man of his people from the Beni 'Adi ibn Ka'b had accepted Islam and he also was concealing his acceptance of Islam in fear of his people. Khabbāb ibn al-Aratt came often to Fātimah bint al-Khattāb to recite to her the Qur'ān. One day 'Umar went out with his sword along round his neck in search of the Messenger of Allah with a party of his friends who had

told him that they had gathered together in a house at as-Safā and they were almost forty people between men and women. With the Messenger of Allah were his uncle Hamzah ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib, Abū Bakr ibn Abū Quhāfah the Faithful, and 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib amongst men of the Muslims who had remained with the Messenger of Allah in Mecca and had not emigrated with those who had gone to Ethiopia. So Nu'aim ibn 'Abdallah met him and said: 'Where are you going O 'Umar?'. He said: 'I am seeking Muhammad the Sābian who has split the affair of Quraish accounts us simple-minded, casts reproach on our religion, and curses our gods, so I will kill him'. Nu'aim said to him: 'You are self-deceived O 'Umar. Do you think the Beni 'Abd Manāf will leave you to walk the face of the earth when you have slain Muhammad?' Will you not then return to the people of our house and set their affair right?'. He said: 'Which people of my house?'. He said: 'Your brother-in-law and cousin Sa'id ibn Zaid ibn 'Amr and your sister Fātimah bint al-Khattāb. They have accepted Islam and followed Muhammad in his religion and your concern is with them'. So 'Umar went back and directed his steps towards his sister and his brother-in-law and Khabbāb ibn al-Aratt was with them and he had a sheet on which was Tā' Hā, which he was reading to them. When they heard the rustle of 'Umar Khabbāb hid himself in a small room belonging to them or in some part of the house and Fātimah bint al-Khattāb took the sheet and put it beneath her thigh. But 'Umar as he drew near to the house had heard Khabbāb reciting to them and when he came in he said: 'What is this subdued voice which I heard?'. They said to him: 'You did not hear anything at all'. He said: 'Certainly I did. I was told that you have followed Muhammad in his religion', and he seized his brother-in-law Sa'id ibn Zaid, and his sister Fātimah rose to pull him away from her husband and he struck her and gashed her face. When he did that his sister and his brother said to him: 'Yes we have accepted Islam and believed in Allah and His Prophet, so do what seems good to you'. When 'Umar saw the blood that was on his sister he repented of what he had done was converted and said to his sister: 'Give me this sheet from which I heard you reading a little time ago that I may see what this is that Muhammad has brought'. 'Umar was a scribe. When he said that his sister said to him: 'Verily we are afraid of you on its account'. He said: 'Have no fear and he swore to her by his gods to return it to her when

he had read it. When he said that she was anxious for his islamization and said to him: 'O my brother, you, in your polytheism, are unclean, and verily, none but the pure touch it'. So 'Umar arose and purified himself and she gave him the sheet on which was Tā', Hā', and he read it. When he had read the opening section of it he said: 'How good and noble are these words', and when Khabbāb heard that he came out to him and said: 'O 'Umar, verily, I hope that Allah has singled you out with the summons of His Prophet, for verily I heard him yesterday as he was saying: O Allah, strengthen Islam with Abū 'l-Hakm bin Hīshām or with 'Umar bin al-Khattāb, and Allah is Allah O 'Umar! Then 'Umar said to him: 'Show me the way to Muhammad O Khabbāb that I may go to him and accept Islam', and Khabbāb said to him: 'He is in a house near Sasā and there is a group of his friends with him there'. So 'Umar took his dagger and hung it around his neck and went in the direction of the Messenger of Allah and his friends and knocked at their door. When they heard his voice one of the friends of the Messenger of Allah got up and looked through the bars of the gate and saw him with his dagger round his neck, and he returned to the Messenger of Allah in a state of panic and said: 'O Messenger of Allah, this is 'Umar bin al-Khattāb with his dagger round his neck! Hamzah bin 'Abd al-Muttalib said: 'Let him come in; if he has come seeking good we will bestow it on him; and if he has come seeking evil we will slay him with his dagger'. So the Messenger of Allah said: 'Let him come in, and the man let him in and the Messenger of Allah rushed up to him, met him in the chamber and seized his waistband or the folds of his cloak. Then he gave it a strong pull and said: 'What brought you here O Ibn al-Khattāb, for I perceive that you will not make an end till Allah sends down a calamity on you! So 'Umar said: O Messenger of Allah, I came to you to believe in Allah, His Messenger, and what has come from Allah. Then the Messenger of Allah uttered a Takbīr by which the people of the house amongst the friends of the Messenger of Allah knew that 'Umar had accepted Islam. So the friends of the Messenger of Allah separated from their place (of meeting) having been strengthened in themselves when 'Umar islamized, along with the islamization of Hamzah, and they realised that they two would defend the Messenger of Allah and by them they would be avenged of their adversaries. This is the account of the reciters of the people of Medina about the islamization of 'Umar when he islamized.

Another account of 'Umar's acceptance of Islam.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah ibn Abū Najīh the Meccan related to me on the authority of his friends 'Atā' and Mujāhid or on the authority of whoever related it that 'Umar's acceptance of Islam, according to the account they gave was (as follows): He said: "I shunned Islam in the Age of Barbarism and was addicted to wine which I loved and drank. We had a council (chamber) where the men of Quraish met in al-Hazwarah by the houses of the family of 'Umar ibn 'Abd ibn 'Imrān the Makhzūmite, so I went out one night intending to take my seat along with them in that council of theirs but when I came to it I found none of them there. Then I said: 'If I had only gone to So-and-so the wine-seller -he sold wine in Mecca - perhaps I could have got wine at his place of which I could have drunk'. So I set out and came to his place but did not find him. Then I said: 'Suppose I went to the Ka'bah, I could perform one or two circuits'. Thus I came to the place of worship intending to circumambulate the Ka'bah, when lo, the Messenger of Allah was standing praying. When he prayed he faced towards Syria with the Ka'bah between him and Syria. His place of prayer was between the two stones, the black stone and the Yemenite stone. When I saw him I said: 'Had I listened to Muhammad to hear what he says', and I said: 'If I get nearer to him to listen to him I could take him him by surprise'. So I came from the sanctum and entered beneath its covering and started walking forward slowly while the Messenger of Allah stood praying and reciting the Qur'ān, till I stood in his Qiblah facing him with nothing between him and me but the covering of the Ka'bah. When I heard the Qur'ān my heart softened towards it, I wept and Islam entered into me, and I remained standing in that position of mine till the Messenger of Allah completed his worship and took his departure. When he went away he passed out by the house of Ibn Abū Husain which was the way he took till he crossed the path, then he went between the house of 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib and the house of Ibn Azhar ibn 'Abd 'Auf the Zuhrite, then by the house of al-Akhnas ibn Shariq, and entered his own house. His dwelling place was in the black and white house which was in the hands of Mu'āwiyah ibn Abū Sufyān. 'Umar said: 'So I followed him till he went in between the house of 'Abbās and the house of Ibn Azhar when I overtook him.

When the Messenger of Allah heard my voice he recognised me and the Messenger of Allah imagined that I had followed him only to do him harm and he reproved me and then said: "What brought you at this hour O Ibn al-Khattāb?" I said: "I came to believe in Allah and His Messenger and in what has come from Allah". So the Messenger of Allah praised Allah and then said: "Allah hath guided thee O 'Umar". Then he rubbed my breast and prayed that I should have constancy. After that I went away from the Messenger of Allah and he entered his house.

Ibn Ishāq: Allah knows best whether that was so.

Mention of the power and firmness of 'Umar in Islam.

Ibn Ishāq: Nafi', client of 'Abdallah ibn 'Umar related to me on the authority of Ibn 'Umar. He said: When my father 'Umar accepted Islam he said: "Which man of Quraish is best able to transmit the news?", and he was told: "Jamīl ibn Ma'mar the Jumahite. So he went to him in the morning and I went out following in his footsteps and observing what he did) I was a boy able to understand what I saw - and he came to him and said to him: 'Did you know O Jamīl that I have accepted Islam and entered the religion of Muhammad?'. I swear he had not time to repeat it till he started to pull him by the cloak, and 'Umar followed him and I followed my father till when he stood at the door of the place of worship he called out at the top of his voice: 'O people of Quraish', and they were in their assembly hall round the Ka'bah, 'verily Ibn al-Khattāb has become a Sābian', and 'Umar from behind him said: 'He lies. Instead I have accepted Islam and testified that there is no god but Allah and that Muhammad is His servant and Apostle'. Then they attacked him and he kept on fighting them and they fighting him till the sun rose overhead. Then he grew weary and sat down so they stood over him while he said: 'Do whatever seems good to you and I swear by Allah that if we were three hundred men we would either have left it to you or you would have left it to us! While they were thus occupied an elder of Quraish appeared wearing striped garments and an embroidered robe and stood in front of them and said: 'What is your business?'. They said: ''Umar has become a Sābian'. He said: 'Go no further!' A man has chosen an affair for himself and what do you intend?'. Do you think the Bani Ka'b will hand over their friend to you

in this way? Leave the man alone! And I swear that it was as if they were a garment that had been taken off him. I said to my father after he had migrated to Medina: 'O my father, who was the man who reproved the people so that they left you alone when they were fighting with you the day you became a Muslim in Mecca?' He said: 'My son, that was al-'Ās bin Wā'il the Sahmite.'

Ibn Hishām: One of the scholars related to me that he said: 'O my father who was the man who reproved the people so that they left you alone when they were fighting with you the day you became a Muslim in Mecca?, may Allah reward him with good!' He said: 'My son, that was al-'Ās bin Wā'il, may Allah not reward him with good!'

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin al-Hārith related to me on the authority of some of the family of 'Umar or some of his people. He said: 'Umar said: "When I became a Muslim that night I called to mind which of the people was strongest in his enmity against the Messenger of Allah that I might go to him and inform him that I had islamized. I said, 'Abū Jahl'. Now 'Umar was the son of Hantamah bint Hishām bin al-Mughīrah. He said: "When I got up in the morning I went along and knocked his door and Abū Jahl came out to me and said 'Welcome, welcome to my sister's son, what has brought you?'. He said: 'I came to inform you that I have believed in Allah and in Muhammad His Messenger, and have accepted as true what he has brought'. So he slammed the door in my face and said: 'May Allah bring shame on you and on what you have brought!'

The Affair of the Ravine and the Parchment.

Ibn Ishāq: When Quraish saw that the friends of the Messenger of Allah had settled in a country where they found safety and security and that the Negus had afforded protection to those of them who had taken refuge with him and that 'Umar had islamized and he and Hamzah bin 'Abd al-Muttalib were on the side of the Messenger of Allah and his friends and Islam began to spread among the tribes, they gathered together and took counsel among themselves to write a document in which they would make a compact with one another against the Beni Hāshim and the Beni al-Muttalib that they would neither marry nor give in marriage to them, that they would neither sell to them nor buy from them. When they were gathered together for that purpose they wrote it on a sheet of parchment, then they swore a covenant and

made an agreement on that basis and hung the parchment up in the interior of the Ka'bah for a confirmation to themselves. The writer of the parchment was Mansūr bin 'Ikrimah bin 'Āmir bin Hāshim bin 'Abd Manāf bin 'Abd ad-Dār bin Qusai.

Ibn Hishām: He is also given as an-Nadr bin al-Hārith. The Messenger of Allah invoked a curse on him and some of his fingers were dried up.

Ibn Ishāq: When Quraish did that, the Beni Hāshim and the Beni al-Muttalib went to Abū Tālib and along with him entered into his ravine (quarter) and they collected to him. But Abū Lahab 'Abd al-'Uzza bin 'Abd al-Muttalib went out from the Beni Hāshim to Quraish and supported them.

Ibn Ishāq: Husain bin 'Abdallah related to me that Abū Lahab met Hind bint 'Utbah bin Rabī'ah when he separated from his people and gave his support to Quraish against them and he said: "O daughter of 'Utbah have I helped al-Lāt and al-'Uzza and separated from those who have abandoned them and given their support against them?". She said: "Yes, and may Allah reward you with good O Abū 'Utbah.

Ibn Ishāq: It was related to me that he said amongst other things which he said; "Muhammad promises me things which I do not see; he claims that they exist after death. What has he put in my hands after that?" Then he would blow upon his hands and say: "May you both perish! I see in you nothing of what Muhammad says". So Allah sent down in connection with him:-

May the hands of Abu Lahab perish! He has perished.⁵⁵ (Surah lll:1).

Ibn Hishām: Tabbat means 'she was lost' and at-Tabāb is 'loss'. Habīb bin Jadrāh the Khārijite one of the Beni Halāl bin 'Āmir bin Sa'sa'ah said:-

O Tīb, verily we are amongst a people whose efforts have gone in ruin and loss.

This stanza is in a poem of his.

Poetry omitted.

They remained in that state for two or three years till they were in distress since nothing reached them except by secrecy and concealment on the part of those of Quraish who wished to have

contact with them. And Abū Jahl bin Hishām, according to what they say, met Ḥakīm bin Hizām bin Khuwailid bin Asad with whom was a boy carrying wheat which he was taking to his aunt Khadijah bint Khuwailid who was the wife of the Messenger of Allah and with him in the ravine. So he fastened on to him and said: "Are you taking food to the Beni Hāshim? You and your food will not cease till I disgrace you in Mecca". Then Abū 'l-Bakhtarah bin Hāshim bin al-Hārith bin Asad came up to him and said: "What is the matter between you and him?" He said: "He is carrying food to the Beni Hāshim". Abū 'l-Bakhtarah said to him: "Food which belonged to his aunt was in his possession. She sent to him for it, and are you going to stop him taking her food to her? Let the man go his way". But Abū Jahl refused till one of them disparaged his friends, and Abū 'l-Bakhtarah seized a camel's jaw-bone and struck him with it and wounded him severely and trampled heavily upon him whilst Hamzah bin 'Abd al-Muttalib was near and witnessed it. They detested that it should come to the Messenger of Allah and his friends in case they should rejoice over them. And the Messenger of Allah under these conditions was calling his people day and night, secretly and openly, manifesting openly the affair of Allah, in regard to which he feared not any man.

Mention of the harm which the Messenger of Allah encountered from his people.

When Allah protected him from them, Quraish began to slander, deride and annoy him when his uncle and his people of the Beni Hāshim and the Beni al-Muttalib stood up for him and interposed between him and the violence they wished to do to him. And the Qur'ān began to come down about Quraish because of their deeds and about those of them who showed enmity to him, some of whom are mentioned for us by name, and others about whom the Qur'ān came down are amongst the generality of the unbelievers of whom Allah made mention. Amongst those of Quraish whose names are given to us about whom the Qur'ān came down was his uncle Abū Lahab bin 'Abd al-Muttalib and his wife Umm Jamīl bint Harb bin Umaiyyah the Carrier of the Fuel. And Allah gave her the name of the Carrier of the Fuel because, as I have heard, she was in the habit of carrying thorns and strewing them in the path of the Messenger of Allah where he would pass. So Allah sent down about the pair of them:-

May the hands of Abū Lahab perish! He has perished.
His wealth and what he has gained shall not avail him
He shall roast in a flaming fire
And his wife the Carrier of the Fuel
With a cord of fibre about her neck. (Sūrah 111: 1 - 5)

Ibn Hishām: Al-Jīd is the neck. A'sha of the Beni Qais ibn Tha'labah said:

On the day when Qutailah reveals to us her long slender neck
which necklaces adorn.

This stanza is in a poem of his. Its plural is 'Ajjād'. Al-Masad is a plant which is beaten in the way flax is beaten and ropes are spun from it. An-Nabighah the Dhubyānite whose name was Ziyād ibn 'amd ibn Mu'āwiyah said:-

This stanza is in a poem of his. Its singular is 'masadah'.

Ibn Ishāq: I have been told that when Umm Jamīl the Carrier of the Fuel heard what had been sent down about her and her husband of the Qur'ān, she came to the Messenger of Allah as he was squatting in the place of worship beside the Ka'bah, Abu Bakr the Faithful being with him and she had in her hand a stone the size of her palm. When she stopped in front of them Allah took her eyes off the Messenger of Allah so that she saw only Abū Bakr and she said: "O Abū Bakr, where is your friend, for I am told he has lampooned me and if I find him I will strike him on the mouth with this stone. But truly I am a poetess". Then she said:-

We have disobeyed one who is blamed
His affair we have rejected
And his religion we have hated.

Then she went away and Abū Bakr said: "O Messenger of Allah, do you not think she saw you"? He said: "She did not see me, Allah took her sight away from me".

Ibn Hishām: Her saying 'and his religion we have hated' is on the authority of another than Ibn Ishāq.

Ibn Ishāq: Quraish called the Messenger of Allah 'The Blamed One', and then they cursed him. The Messenger of Allah said: "Do you not wonder at the injuries of Quraish which Allah turns aside from me; they curse and revile me as 'The Blamed One', but I am Muhammad (The Praised One)."

Mention of Umaiyah bin Khalaf the Jumahite.

Whenever Umaiyah bin Khalaf bin Wahb bin Jumah saw the Messenger of Allah he maligned him and calumniated him. So Allah sent down about him:

Woe to every maligner, defamer
Who gathers wealth and counts it. (Sūrah 104: 1 - 9).

to the end of the Sūrah.

Ibn Hishām: Al-Hamazah is he who maligns a man openly, winks at him with the eyes, and disparages him. Hassān bin Thabit said:-

I maligned thee and thou didst humble thyself in
abjection of soul
In a verse which burned like a flame of fire.

This stanza is in a poem of his. Its plural is 'humazāt'. Al-Lumazah is he who casts reproach on people in secret and works them harm.

Ru'bah bin al-'Ajjāj said:-

Through all my life my vanity and reproach (remained).

This stanza is in a short-metre poem of his. Its plural is 'lumazāt'.

Mention of al-'Ās bin Wā'il the Sahmite.

Ibn Ishāq: And al-'Ās bin Wā'il the Sahmite. Khabbāb bin al-Aratt a friend of the Messenger of Allah, was a blacksmith in Mecca who made swords. He had sold some swords to al-'Ās bin Wā'il which he had made for him so that he owed him money. He went to him seeking payment and he said to him: "O Khabbāb, does not this friend of yours Muhammad, whose religion you follow, claim that in Paradise there will be all the gold, silver, clothing, and servants that its people desire?" Khabbāb said: "Certainly". He said: "Then wait for me till the day of Resurrection, O Khabbāb till I return to that country and there I will give you what I owe you. For neither you nor your friend, O Khabbāb, is more acceptable to Allah than I am, nor have you a greater portion in it. So Allah to Whom belong power and glory sent down about him:-

Hast thou seen him who has disbelieved in Our signs and
said: "Surely I shall be given wealth and children?"
Has he looked upon the unseen.....?

down to his saying:-

We shall be his heir in what he speaks of and he shall
come to Us alone. (Sūrah 19: 77 - 80).

Mention of Abū Jahl bin Hishām the Makhzūmite.

Abū Jahl bin Hishām met the Messenger of Allah, according to what I heard and said to him: "O Muhammad, you shall indeed cease to curse our gods or we shall curse your God whom you worship. So Allah sent down in connection with him:)

Do not curse what they call upon apart from Allah lest they in return curse Allah without knowledge. (Surah 6: 108).

I was told that the Messenger of Allah left off cursing their gods and began calling them to Allah to Whom belongs power and glory.

Mention of an-Nadr bin al-Hārith the 'Abdarite.

An-Nadr bin al-Hārith bin Kaladah bin 'Abd ad-Dār bin Qusai was behind him in the assembly when the Messenger of Allah sat in assembly and prayed to Allah, recited the Qur'ān, and warned Qurāsh of what had happened to the nations who had passed away, and he arose and related to them the story of Rustum the Severe and Isfandiyār and the kings of Persia. Then he said: "Muhammad is no better at telling a yarn than I am and his stories are nothing but tales of the ancients which he had written down as I have done. So Allah, may He be exalted, sent down about him:-

And they said: "Tales of the ancients which he has taken down they are dictated to him morning and evening". Say: "He who knoweth what is secret in the heavens and the earth hath sent it down; verily He is forgiving, compassionate. (Surah 25: 5 - 6

There was also sent down in connection with him:

When Our signs are recited to him he says: "Old-world tales". (Surah 68: 15).

He also sent down about him:-

Woe to every guilty liar who hears the signs of Allah recited to him, and then persists in his haughtiness as if he had not heard them; give him tidings of a painful punishment. (Surah 45: 7 - 8).

Ibn Hishām: Al-Affāk means 'the liar', and in the Book of Allah (it is said):-

Is it not the fact that out of their own falsehood they say: "Allah hath brought forth". Verily they are liars. (Surah 37: 151 & 152).

Ru'bah bin al-'Ajjāj said:-

To no man did he lie with false word.

This stanza is in a short-metre poem of his.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah was sitting one day, according to what I heard, with al-Walīd ibn al-Mughīrah in the place of worship and an-Nadr ibn al-Hārith came and sat with them. There was more than one man of Quraish in the assembly and the Messenger of Allah spoke and an-Nadr ibn al-Hārith opposed him but the Messenger of Allah spoke to him till he had silenced him then he recited to him and to them:-

Lo ye, and what ye worship apart from Allah are coals of Gehenna; to it ye are going down. If these had been gods they would not have gone down to it, but everyone therein abides. For them there is sighing in it, and they therein shall not hear. (Sūrah 91: 28 - 100).

Ibn Hishām: Ḥasab Jehennim means everything by which fire is kindled. Abū Dhuwaib the Hudhalite whose name is Khuwailid ibn Khālīd said:-

Extinguish and do not kindle, neither be a stoker
To the fire of enmity, that its vehemence may fly away

This stanza occurs in some stanzas of his. It is also given as

Do not be a poker.....

The poet said:-

I kindled for him my fire and he beheld its light
Had it not been for the kindling of the fire he would not have
been guided. (Or it would not have been so had the poker not
been guided).

Al-Hadāt is the stick with which the fire is stirred.

The saying of Ibn az-Zib'arī and what Allah sent down about it.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah arose and 'Abdallah ibn az-Zib'arī the Sahmite came up and sat down and al-Walīd ibn al-Mughīrah said to az-Zib'arī: "Verily an-Nadr ibn al-Hārith has not previously opposed Ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib nor did he sit still while Muhammad asserted that we and those gods of our that we worship are the coals of Gehenna." 'Abdallah ibn az-Zib'arī said: "I swear that if I find him I will dispute with him". So they asked Muhammad: "Is everything which is worshipped apart from Allah in Gehenna together with those who worship it? We worship the angels, and the Jews worship 'Uzair and the Christians worship Jesus son of Mary." And al-Walīd and those who were with him in the assembly were astonished at the statement of 'Abdallah ibn az-Zib'arī, and they realised that he had produced an argument and opened a disputation and what Ibn az-Zib'arī said was reported to the Messenger of Allah, and the Messenger of Allah said: "Verily whoever wishes to be worshipped apart from Allah is with him

who worshipped him. Verily they only worship the satans and those whom they have commanded them to worship". So Allah sent down to him:-

Verily those to whom the good things first came from Us, they are far removed from them. They do not hear the slightest sound of it and they abide in what their souls desired.
(Sūrah 21: 101, 102)

That is: Jesus son of Mary, 'Uzair and those of the Rabbis and monks whom they worshipped who have passed away in obedience to Allah, those of the misguided people who worshipped them have taken them as lords apart from Allah. He also sent down according to what they say, that they worship the angels and that they are the daughters of Allah:-

They said: "The Merciful hath taken to Himself offspring. Glory be to Him! Nay, they are but His honoured servants. They anticipate not His speech but His command they perform

down to His saying:-

If any of them say: "I am a god apart from Him", We recompense him with Gehenna; thus do We recompense the wrong-doers.
(Sūrah 21: 26 - 29).

He also sent down about the affair of Jesus son of Mary which has been mentioned that He was worshipped apart from Allah and al-Walīd and those who were present were astonished at his argument and his contention:-

When the Son of Mary is used as a parable, lo, thy people turn aside from it. (Sūrah 43: 57)

That is: They turn aside from thy affair with that saying of theirs. Then he mentioned Jesus and said:-

He is only a creature on whom We bestowed favour and have appointed Him to be a parable for the Children of Isṣāel. Had We willed We could have appointed from you angels to succeed you on earth. Verily He is knowledge for the Hour, so do not be doubtful about it but follow this - a straight path
(Sūrah 43: 59 - 61)

That is: The signs which I gave Him of bringing the dead to life and healing the diseased is enough as a guide to the knowledge of the Hour. He says: "So do not be doubtful about it but follow me; this is a straight path.

Mention of al-Akhnas ibn Sharīq THE Thaqaḥfite.

Ibn Ishāq: Al-Akhnas ibn Sharīq ibn 'Amr ibn Wahb the Thaqaḥfite, ally of the Beni Zuhrah was one of the nobles of the people and one of those to whom they hearkened. He used to injure the Messenger of Allah and contradict him. So Allah to Whom belong power and glory

sent down about him:-

And do not obey every contemptible swearer
A maligner who goes about with calumny

down to His saying:-

Outsider.

And he did not say 'Outsider' with a view to casting a blot on his escutcheon for Allah does not stigmatise any one on account of pedigree but he established thereby his description that he might be recognised Az-Zanīm means the man who is counted among the people and yet does not belong to them. Al-Ḥaṭīm the Tamīmīte said in the Age of Barbarism:-

An outsider - men claim him as an extra
And the hooves are multiplied on the surface of the earth.

Mention of al-Walīd ibn al-Mughīrah.

Al-Walīd ibn al-Mughīrah said: "Shall a revelation be granted to Muhammad and I be left out, I, who am the great man in Quraish and their lord, and Abū Mas'ūd 'Amr ibn 'Umair the Thaqafite lord of Thaqīf be left out, and we are the two great ones of the two towns?". So Allah sent down about him according to what I heard:-

They said: "Why is this Qur'ān not sent down to a man of the two towns who was great?". Is it they who divide out the mercy of thy Lord? It is We who have divided out among them their livelihood in the present life

down to His saying:-

the mercy of thy Lord is better than what they gather.
(Sūrah 43: 31, 32).

Mention of Ubai ibn Khalaf and 'Uqbah ibn Abū Mu'ait.

Ubai ibn Khalaf ibn Wahb ibn Hudhāfah ibn Jumah and 'Uqbah ibn Abū Mu'ait were true friends, all that was between them was good. 'Uqbah had squatted down by the Messenger of Allah and listened to him and that came to Ubai who came to 'Uqbah and said to him: "Have I not heard that you have sat with Muhammad and listened to him?". Then he said: "My face shall not be allowed (to see) your face, and he used many oaths, if you have sat with him or listened to him unless you go to him and spit in his face". And the enemy of Allah 'Uqbah ibn Abū Mu'ait did so. So Allah sent down about the pair of them:-

On the day when the wrong-doer bites his hands saying: "O would that I had chosen along with the Messenger a way. O alas! would that I had not taken so-and-so as a friend

down to His saying:- and Satan is to man a betrayer⁵⁷ (Sūrah 25: 27 - 29)

Then Ubai bin Khalaf went up to the Messenger of Allah with a decayed bone which had crumbled away and said: "O Muhammad, you claim that Allah will raise this up after its has decayed". Then he ground it to dust in his hand and blew in the air in the direction of the Messenger of Allah and the Messenger of Allah said: "Yes, I say that Allah will raise that up, and you too after you have become like it, then He will put you in the Fire". So Allah sent down about him:-

He has coined for Us a parable and forgotten his creation. he has said: "Who will give life to bones when they have decayed?" Say: "He who originated them the first time will give them life; every created thing He knoweth. Who out of the green tree hath given you fire and lo from it ye kindle a flame. (Surah 36: 78 - 80).

Mention of the words that passed between the Messenger of Allah and a group of Quraishite polytheists which brought about the sending down of "Say O ye unbelievers"

According to what I heard, al-Aswad bin al-Muttalib, bin Asad bin 'Abd al-Uzza, al-Walid bin al-Mughirah, Umaiyah bin Khalaf, and al-'As bin Wa'il the Sahmite, who were men of seniority among their people met the Messenger of Allah as he was circumambulating the Ka'bah and said: "O Muhammad, come now, we will worship what you worship and you will worship what we worship and you and we will be partners in the matter. If He whom you worship is better than what we worship we shall have had our share in it and if what we worship is better than what you worship you will have had ~~had~~ your share of it" So Allah, may He be exalted, sent down about them:-

O ye unbelievers

I worship not what ye worship (Surah 109)

the whole Surah. That is, if ye will not worship Allah except on condition that I worship what ye worship, I have no need of that from you. You all have your religion and I have mine.

Mention of Abū Jahl bin Hishām.

Abū Jahl said when Allah to whom belongs power and glory mentioned the tree of Zaqqūm to frighten them thereby: "O people of Quraish, do you know what the tree of Zaqqūm is with which Muhammad is frightening you?" They said: "No". He said: "It is the dates of Yathrib and if we were only able to get hold of it we would glut ourselves with it". So Allah, to Whom belong power and glory sent down about him:-

Verily the tree of Zaqqūm is the food of the guilty
Like molten metal it boils in the belly like the boiling of
hot water. (Surah 44: 43 - 46).

That is: It is not as he says.

Ibn Hishām: Al-Muhl is everything you melt whether it be brass or lead or anything resembling them, according to what Abū 'Ubaidah told me. And we heard on the authority of al-Husain ibn Abū 'l-Husain of Bāsrah that he said: 'Abdallah ibn Mas'ūd was a governor of 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb over the treasury of Kūfah. One day he ordered silver to be melted and when it was done it began to take on many colours. He said: 'Is there anyone at the door?'. They said: 'Yes'. He said: 'Admit them'. He said: 'The nearest thing you will ever see to the molten metal is this'. The poet said:-

My Lord gives him hot molten metal to drink which he gulps
down
It roasts the face but in the belly it melts.

It is also said that al-muhl is the pus of the body.

We heard that when Abū Bakr the Faithful was about to die he ordered two threadbare cloaks to be washed that he might be shrouded in them and 'Ā'ishah said to him: "Allah has enabled you to do without them, buy a shroud". He said: "It is but an hour till it becomes pus". The poet said:-

He mixed distasteful pus from it with water
And gave the backs a second draught after the first

Ibn Ishāq: Concerning him Allāh sent down to him:-

And the tree cursed in the Qur'ān, and we frightened them but
it only increased them in great impiety. (Sūrah 17: 60)

The affair of Ibn Umm Maktūm and the descent of Sūrat 'Abasa.

Al-Walīd ibn al-Mughīrah stood with the Messenger of Allah while the Messenger of Allah spoke to him for he coveted that he should accept Islam. While he was thus engaged Ibn Umm Maktūm the blind man passed by him and spoke to the Messenger of Allah and began to ask him to recite the Qur'-an. That request of his was painful to the Messenger of Allah and it vexed him because it distracted him from the affair of al-Walīd on which he was engaged and his acceptance of Islam which he coveted. When he persisted he turned away from him frowning and left him. So Allah to whom belong power and glory sent down about him:

He frowned and turned away
Because the blind man came to him down to his saying:-

In pages honoured,
Exalted, kept pure (Surah 80: 1 - 14)⁵⁸

That is, I sent thee as a preacher and a warner and I did not send thee specially to one and not to another. Do not forbid it then to whoever desires it and do not set it before those who desire it not.

Ibn Hishām: Ibn Umm Maktūm was one of the Beni 'Āmir bin Lu'ai and his name was 'Abdallah also given as 'Amr.

Mention of those who returned from the country of Ethiopia when news of the islamization of the people of Mecca reached them.

Ibn Ishāq: The friends of the Messenger of Allah who had emigrated to the country of Ethiopia heard of the islamization of the people of Mecca and because of what they heard they returned, but when they drew near to Mecca they heard that what had been related to them about the islamization of the people of Mecca was false. So none of them entered except under protection or in secret. Of those who came to him in Mecca there were some who remained in it till he migrated to Medina and with him witnessed Badr and Uhud. Some were imprisoned on his account till Badr and other (battles) were over and some of them died in Mecca.

List of names omitted.

The story of 'Uthmān bin Math'ūn and his repudiation of al-Walīd's protection.

Ibn Ishāq: As for 'Uthmān, Ṣālih bin Ibrāhīm bin 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin 'Auf related to me on the authority of whoever related it to him on the authority of 'Uthmān. He said: "When 'Uthmān bin Math'ūn realised the misfortunes from which the friends of the Messenger of Allah suffered, while he was coming and going under the protection of al-Walīd bin al-Mughīrah, he said: 'Verily I come and go in safety under the protection of one of the polytheists whilst my friends and the people of my religion are meeting with misfortunes and harm in (the way of) Allah which do not fall upon me - this is a great defect in myself! So he went to al-Walīd bin al-Mughīrah and said to him: 'O Abū 'Abd Shams, your protection has lapsed, I am repudiating your safe-conduct'. He said: 'Wherefore, my nephew? It may be that one of my people has addedneyyuuhamh. He said: 'Nay, but I am better satisfied with the protection of Allah, and I do not desire to seek protection from another'. He said: 'Go to the place of worship then, and return me my safe-conduct publicly, just as I gave it to you publicly'. So they went away and set out and went to the place of

worship and al-Walīd said: 'Here is 'Uthmān who has come to return my safe conduct to me'. He said: 'That is true. I found that he fulfilled the duties of protector in a generous manner but I would like to seek protection from none but Allah and so I have returned to him his safe-conduct'. 'Uthmān then took his departure. Labīd ibn Rabī'ah ibn Mālik ibn Ja'far ibn Kilāb was in an assembly of Quraish reciting to them and 'Uthmān was sitting with them. Labīd said:-

Verily everything except Allah is vain

'Uthman said: 'You are right'. Labīd said:-

And every blessing is without doubt transitory.

Then 'Uthmān said: 'You lie, the bliss of Paradise does not pass away. Labīd ibn Rabī'ah said: 'O people of Quraish, your friend has not been harmed. When did this happen among you?'. A man of the company said: 'This is a stupid person amongst other stupid people who have forsaken our religion. You will certainly not find his word in yourself'. 'Uthmān replied to him till their affair grew serious and that man went up to him and struck him on the eye making it black and al-Walīd ibn al-Mughīrah was at hand and saw what had happened to 'Uthmān so he said: 'My nephew, your eye had no need of what happened to it, you were under a safe protection'. 'Uthmān said: 'Nay, verily my uninjured eye is in dire need of what had happened to its sister in the way of Allah and I am under the protection of One who is mightier and abler than you, O Abū 'Abd ar-Rahmān. Al-Walīd said to him: 'Come my nephew, if you so wish, return to your protection'. He said: 'No'.

The story of Abū Salimah and his safe conduct.

Ibn Ishāq: As for Abu Salimah ibn 'Abd al-Asad my father Ishāq ibn Yasār related to me on the authority of Salimah ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Amr ibn Abū Salimah that he related to him that when Abū Salimah sought protection from Abū Tālib certain men of the Beni Makhzūm came to him and said: 'O Abū Tālib, you have protected from us your brother's son Muhammad, what have you to do with our friend that you protect him from us?'. He said: '"Verily he sought protection from me, and he is my sister's son and if I did not protect my sister's son I should not protect my brother's son". Then Abū Lahab arose and said "O people of Quraish, you have done many things to this shaikh and you are still taxing him unjustly because of his protection amongst

his people. We will certainly either leave him alone or else take our stand with him in all that he stands for till he obtains what he desires". They said: "Nay, we will depart from what is distasteful to you, O Abū 'Utbah". He was their patron and helper against the Messenger of Allah. So they left it at that and Abu Tālāb coveted him when he heard him say what he said and he hoped he would stand with him in the business of the Messenger of Allah.

Poetry omitted.

Abū Bekr's acceptance of protection from Ibn ad-Dughannah and his return of his protection to him.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what Muhammad bin Muslim bin Shihāb the Zuhrite related to me on the authority of 'Urwah from 'A'ishah Abū Bekr the Faithful, when things in Mecca became difficult for him and he received in it the harm he received and saw what he saw of the demonstrations of Quraish against the Messenger of Allah and his friends, he asked permission of the Messenger of Allah to migrate and he granted it. So Abu Bekr set out on his journey and when he had gone a day or two days' journey from Mecca Ibn ad-Dughannah brother of the Beni Hārith bin 'Abd Manāt who was at that time chief of the Ahābīsh met him.

Ibn Ishāq: The Ahābīsh were the Beni 'l-Hārith bin 'Abd Manāt bin Kinānah, al-Hūn bin Khuzaimah bin Mudrikah and the Beni 'l-Mustaliq bin Khuzā'ah.

Ibn Hishām: They all formed a confederation and were called the Ahābīsh because they swore the covenant in a valley called al-Ahbash in Lower Mecca. Another version gives him as Ibn Dughainah.

Ibn Ishāq: Az-Zuhri related to me on the authority of 'Urwah bin az-Zubair from 'A'ishah. She said: Ibn ad-Dughannah said: "Where are you going O Abū Bekr?" He said: "My people have expelled me, they have done me harm and made life impossible for me". He said: "Wherefore? You are the ornament of the kindred and are appointed over the representatives. You show kindness and ^{give to} ~~gain~~ the destitute. Return with me, for you are under my protection!" So he went back with him and when he entered Mecca Ibn ad-Dughannah said: "O people of Quraish I have taken Ibn Abū Quhafah under my protection so let no one show him anything but good". So they let him alone. She said: Abū Bekr had a place of worship at the door of his house

among the Beni Jumah in which he prayed. He was a man of gentle disposition and when he recited the Qur'ān it moved him to tears, And the boys, the slaves, and the women stood by him wondering at what they saw of his demeanour. So some men of Quraish went to Ibn ad-Dughannah and said to him: 'O Ibn ad-Dughannah, surely you did not give protection to this man that he may work us harm. Verily he is a man who becomes gentle when he worships and recites what Muhammad brought and his demeanour and bearing are such that we are afraid for our women, children, and weak ones lest he should seduce them. Go to him then, and command him to go into his house and there do whatever he likes'. So Ibn ad-Dughannah went to him and said to him: 'O Abū Bakr, Verily I did not give you protection that you might work your people harm, they detest the position you have taken up and have suffered harm from you because of it, so go to your house and there do whatever you please'. He said: And shall I return your protection and be content with the protection of Allah'. He said: 'Give me back my protection'. He said: 'I will give it back to you'. So Ibn ad-Dughannah arose and said: 'O people of Quraish, verily Ibn Abu Quhāfah has returned my protection to me and your are free to deal with him'.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin al-Qāsim related to me on the authority of his father al-Qāsim bin Muhammad. He said: "One of the stupid people of Quraish met him as he was making for the Ka'bah and poured dust on his head and al-Walīd bin al-Mughīrah and al-'Ās bin Wā'il passed by Abū Bakr, and Abū Bakr said: 'Do you not see what this stupid fellow is doing?'. He said: 'You have done this to yourself'. And he said: 'O Lord how forbearing Thou art, O Lord how forbearing Thou art! O Lord how forbearing Thou art!'

The affair of the annulment of the Document and the names of those who annulled it.

The names of the five who took part in the annulment of the tyrannical document were:- Hishām bin 'Amr the 'Āmirite; Juhair bin Abu Umaiyyah bin al-Mughīrah the Makhzūmite; al-Mat'am bin 'Adī; Abu 'l-Bakhtarah bin Hāshim; and Zam'ah bin al-Aswad bin al-Muttalib bin Asad.

Ibn Ishāq: It was the Beni Hāshim and the Beni al-Muttalib in their dwellings against whom Quraish made a compact in the document which

they wrote. Then a group of Quraish undertook to annul that document which Quraish had written against the Beni Hāshim and the Beni al-Muttalib, and none showed more bravery about it than Hishām bin 'Amr bin Rabi'ah bin al-Hārith bin Hubayyib bin Naṣr bin Judhaimah bin Mālik bin Hishl bin 'Āmir bin Lu'ai and that was because he was the nephew of the brother of Nadlah bin Hāshim bin 'Abd Manāf by his mother. Hishām was connected with the Beni Hāshim and he was an honoured man amongst his people and according to what I heard he brought a camel by night when the Beni Hāshim and the Beni al-Muttalib were in the ravine which he had loaded with food and when he came near the entrance to the ravine he slipped the rein off its head, struck it on the side and it went into the ravine to them. Then he brought it after having loaded it with cloth (or linen). This is what he did with it.

Ibn Ishāq: Then he went away to Zuhair bin Abū Umayyah bin al-Mughīrah bin 'Abdallah bin 'Amr bin Makhzūm (his mother was 'Atikah bint 'Abd al-Muttalib) and said: "O Zuhair, are you content to eat food, don clothes and marry women, while your uncles are where you know them to be, where no one sells to them or buys from them, where none marry with them or give in marriage to them? As for me, I swear by Allah that had they been the uncles of Abū 'l-Hakm bin Hishām and you had called upon him to do what he called upon you to do to them he would never have assented". He said: "Out upon you O Hishām! What am I to do? I am only one man and if I had another man with me I would undertake to annul it completely". He said: "You have found a man". He said: "And who is he?" He said: "I". Zuhair said to him: "Get us a third". So he went to al-Mat'am bin 'Adī bin Naufal bin 'Abd Manāf and said to him: "O Mut'am, are you content that two sub-tribes of the Beni 'Abd Manāf should perish while you look on in agreement with Quraish, but if you made it possible for them you would find them quicker than you to come to it". He said: "Out upon you! What can I do? I am only one man". He said: "I have found a second". He said: "Who is he?" He said: "I". He said: "Get us a third". He said: "I have done so". He said: "Who is he?" He said: "Zuhair bin Abū Umayyah". He said: "Get us a fourth", and he went to Abū 'l-Bakhtarah bin Hāshim and said to him much the same as he said to Mut'am bin 'Adī and he said: "Is there anyone who will help in this?" He said: "Yes". He said: "Who?" He said: "Zuhair bin

Abū Umaiyyah and al-Mut'am bin 'Adī and I are with you". He said: "Get us a fifth", and he went to Zam'ah bin al-Aswad bin al-Muttalib bin Asad and spoke to him and mentioned their relationship to him and their rights. He said to him: "Is there anyone undertaking this affair to which you call me?" He said: "Yes", and mentioned the people to him by name. So they agreed to be at Hatm al-Hajūn in Upper Mecca by night.

They gathered there and resolved on their affair and made a covenant to carry out (the annulment) of the document. Zuhair said: "I am the foremost of you and so I will be the first to speak. When they got up in the morning they went away to their place of assembly and Zuhair bin Abū Umaiyyah went out early in his garment and circumambulated the House seven times. Then he approached the people and said: "O people of Mecca, shall we eat food and don clothes while the Beni Hāshim are perishing with no one selling to them or buying from them? I will not sit down till this document is torn up for it is both vicious and tyrannical". Abū Jahl who was in the vicinity of the place of worship said: "You lie, and I swear it shall not be torn up". Zam'ah said: "You are a greater liar, we did not consent to its being written when it was written". Abū 'l-Bakhtarāh said: "Zam'ah is right, we do not consent to what is written in it and we do not acknowledge it". Al-Mut'am bin 'Adī said: "You are both right and whoever says anything else lies and we shall be guiltless of it before Allah and of what is written in it". Hishām bin 'Amr said much the same thing. Then Abū Jahl said: "This is an affair which was decided on a night when consultations were held in another place". He spoke while Abū Tālib was sitting in the vicinity of the place of worship. Then al-Mut'am went up to the document to tear it up and he found that a wood-worm had eaten it up - all of it except (the words) "In Thy Name O Allah". The writer of the document was Mansūr bin 'Ikrimah, and according to what they say, his hand dried up.

Ibn Hishām: A scholar mentioned that the Messenger of Allah said to Abū Tālib : "O uncle, verily my Lord Allah hath given the wood-worm power over the document of Quraish and did not leave in it a name which belongs to Allah without confirming it therein, and removed oppression, boycott, and calumny from it". He said: "Did your Lord inform you of this?" He said: "Yes". He said: "None shall come in to you". Then he went out to Quraish and said: "O People of

Quraish, verily my nephew has informed me of such and such a thing. Come then and see your document; if it is as he says, cease to boycott us and desist from what is (written) therein; if my nephew is a liar I will hand him over to you". The people said: "We are satisfied", and they made a compact on those terms. Then they looked and lo, it was even as the Messenger of Allah had said but that only increased them in evil. Thereupon the party from Quraish did what was necessary to render the document null and void.

Poetry omitted.

Account of the islamization of at-Tufail bin 'Amr the Dausite.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah, in spite of what he experienced from his people, was giving them advice and calling on them to escape from the state they were in. When Allah protected him from them, Quraish began warning the people of the Arabs who came to them to beware of him. At-Tufail bin 'Amr the Dausite related that he came to Mecca while the Messenger of Allah was there and certain men of Quraish went to him - at-Tufail was a man of dignity, a poet and possessed sound judgment - and said to him: "O Tufail, verily you have come to our country but this man who is amongst us has given us trouble. He has split our community and disbanded our affair. His words are simply like sorcery, separating a man from his father, a man from his brother, a man from his wife. Verily we are afraid for you and for your people who have come to us, so do not speak to him and do not listen to him at all". He said: "They did not leave me till I resolved not to listen to anything he said or speak to him, and I stopped my ears with cotton when I went to the place of worship in the morning rather than hear anything of what he said. While (I was in this state) not desiring to hear him, I went out to the place of worship early, and lo, the Messenger of Allah was standing worshipping at the Ka'bah. So I stood near to him and Allah refused to do otherwise than cause me to hear some of what he said. I heard good words and I said to myself: 'May my mother be deprived of her child, I am a man of sound judgment, a poet, and the difference between good and evil is not hidden from me, what then prevents me from listening to what this man says. If that which he brings is good, I will accept it, but if it is bad, I will leave it alone.'

alone. So I remained till the Messenger of Allah went away to his house and I followed him and when he entered his house I went in to him and said: 'O Muhammad, your people have told such and such a thing to those to whom they spoke, and they did not leave off frightening me about your affair till I stopped my ears with cotton lest I should hear your words. Then Allah refused to do otherwise than to cause me to hear your words, and I heard good words, so make known to me your affair'. So the Messenger of Allah made Islam known to me and recited the Qur'an to me, and indeed I have never heard better words or an affair more righteous than it. So I accepted Islam and testified the testimony of the truth and said: 'O Prophet of Allah, verily I am a man who is listened to amongst my people, and I am returning to them to call them to Islam, and I pray Allah that He will give me a sign which will be of help to me against them in that whereto I call them'. He said: 'O Allah, grant him a sign'. Then I set out (to go) to my people and when I was in a mountain defile which gave me a view of the settlement, a light like a lamp descended between my eyes and I said: 'O Allah, somewhere else than my face for I am afraid they will imagine it to be a mutilation that has happened to my face because I have abandoned their religion'. So it changed and fell on the top of my whip and the tribe began to see that light one after the other on my whip like a hanging candlestick whilst I was coming down towards them from the mountain defile, till I came to them and was amongst them. When I dismounted my father who was a very old man came to me and I said: 'Stand away! my father! I do not belong to you nor you to me'. He said: 'Wherefore, my son?' I said: 'I have islamized and become a follower of the religion of Muhammad'. He said: 'My son, my religion is your religion'. I said: 'Go, wash and purify your clothes and then come that I may teach you what I have been taught'. So he went and washed and purified his clothes, then he came and I explained Islam to him and he islamized. Then my wife came to me and I said: 'Stand away! I do not belong to you and you do not belong to me'. She said: 'Wherefore, may I ransom you with my father and mother?' I said: 'Islam has separated me from you and I am a follower of the religion of Muhammad'. She said: 'Then my religion is your religion'. I said: 'Go then to Hina dhu ash-Shara and purify yourself from it'. (Ibn Hishām: It is also given as Hima dhu ash-Shara). Dhu ash-Shara was an idol belonging to Daus

and al-Hina was a sanctuary they preserved for him in which was a streamlet which fell down from a mountain. She said: 'May I ransom you with my father and mother, do you fear for the young girl from dhu ash-Shara?' I said: 'I will not be surety for that'. So she went and washed and came back and I explained Islam to her and she islamized. Then I called Daus to Islam but they procrastinated with me. So I came to the Messenger of Allah in Mecca and said to him: 'O Prophet of Allah, the adultery of Daus has got the better of me, so call down the curse of Allah upon them'. He said: 'O Allah, guide Daus aright, return to your people, call them and have pity on them'. Thus I remained in the country of Daus calling them to Islam till the Messenger of Allah migrated to Medina, and Badr, Uhud and al-Khandaq had passed. Then I came back to the Messenger of Allah bringing with me those of my people who had islamized when the Messenger of Allah was at Khaibar and I reached Medina with seventy or eighty families of Daus. Afterwards we caught up with the Messenger of Allah at Khaibar and he gave us a share of the booty along with the Muslims. After that I remained with the Messenger of Allah till Allah gave him victory over Mecca. Then I said: 'O Messenger of Allah send me to dhual-Kaffain, an idol belonging to 'Amr bin Humamah that I may burn it'.

Ibn Ishāq: So at-Tufail went out to it and as he kindled the fire at it he said:-

O dhu al-Kaffain I am not amongst your worshippers
Our birth was more ancient than yours
Verily I have stuffed the fire into your heart.

Then he returned to the Messenger of Allah and was with him in Medina till Allah took away His Messenger. When the Arabs apostatized he went out with the Muslims and marched with them till they had made an end of Tulaiyah and the country of Najd as a whole. Then he marched with the Muslims to al-Yamamah accompanied by his son 'Amr bin at-Tufail. He saw a vision when he was on the way to al-Yamamah and said to his comrades: "I have seen a vision; interpret it to me. I saw that my head was shaved, that a bird came forth out of my mouth, that a woman met me who put me in her womb. I saw my son making an eager search for me, then I saw that he was kept back from me". They said: "It is good". He said: "I have myself interpreted it". They said "What is it?". He said: "The shaving of my head means its being cut off, the bird which came out of my mouth is my spirit,

the woman who put me in her womb is the earth which will be dug for me that I may be buried in it. As for my son's search for me and his being kept back from me; I see that he will strive to obtain that which happened to me. So he was slain a martyr at al-Yamamah may Allah have mercy on him and his son was severely wounded. Afterwards he recovered from his wounds and was slain a martyr in the year of al-Yarmūk in the time of 'Umar.

The affair of A'sha of the Beni Qais bin Thallabah.

Ibn Hishām: Khallād bin Qurrah bin Khālīd of Ḥadāṣ and other elders of Bekr bin Wā'il who are scholars related to me that A'sha of the Beni Qais bin Tha'labah bin 'Ukābah bin Sa'b bin 'Alī bin Bekr bin Wā'il went to the Messenger of Allah wishing to islamize. He said in praise of the Messenger of Allah;

Poetry omitted.

When he was in Mecca or in the vicinity of it some of the polytheists of Quraish met him and asked him about his affair and he informed him that he had come seeking the Messenger of Allah in order to accept Islam. He said to him: "O Abū Basīr verily he forbids adultery". AL-A'sha said: "If that is indeed the case I have no need off it by it". He said to him: "O Abū Basīr: "Verily he forbids wine". AL-A'sha said: "As for this, in it there are amusements for the soul but I will go away and satisfy my thirst with it this year then I will come to him and islamize. So he went away and died that year without returning to the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: And Abū Jahl the enemy of Allah, may Allah humiliate him, (manifested) to the Messenger of Allah whenever he saw him, enmity, hatred and violence.

The affair of al-Irashī who sold Abū Jahl his camel.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abd al-Malik bin 'Abdallah bin Abū Sufyān the Thaqafite who was an attentive person, related to me. He said: "A man from Irāsh (Ibn Hishām: It is also given as Irashah) brought a camel of his to Mecca and Abū Jahl bought it from him but put off paying its

price. Then al-Irashī went up to the assembly place of Quraish and

stood before them and the Messenger of Allah was squatting in the

vicinity of the place of worship, and said: 'O people of Quraish, what man of you will take my part against Abū 'l-Hakm bin Hishām for I am a stranger and a wayfarer for he has got the better of me where my rights are

concerned'. The people of the assembly said to him: 'Do you see that man who is sitting over there', referring to the Messenger of Allah, and they were making mock of him because of the enmity they knew existed between him and Abū Jahl, 'go to him and he will help you against him'. So al-Arāshī went forward and stood before the Messenger of Allah and said: 'O Servant of Allah, verily Abū 'l-Hakm bin Hishām has got the better of me where my rights are concerned. I am a stranger and a wayfarer and I asked these people about a man who would help me with my claim against him and obtain for me my rights from him and they directed me to you. May Allah have mercy on you, get me my rights'. He said: 'Go to him', and the Messenger of Allah got up to go with him and when they saw that he got up to go with him they said to one of those who were with them: 'Follow him and see what he does'. So the Messenger of Allah went out and came to him and knocked on his door and he said: 'Who is there', and he said 'Muhammad, come out to me'. He came out and there was not a drop of blood in his face his colour having changed. He said: 'Give this man what is due him'. He said: 'Yes, do not go away so that I may give him what belongs to him'. Then he went inside, brought out what he owed him, and paid it over to him. Then the Messenger of Allah went away saying to al-Arāshī; 'Go about your business' and the Arāshī went and stood before that assembly and said: 'May Allah reward him with good for he surely obtained for me my dues' Then the man whom they had sent with him came and they said: 'Out upon you, what did you see?' He said: 'A wonder of wonders. What did he do but knock his door and he came out to him but his spirit was not with him and he said to him: Give this man his dues. He said: Yes, do not go away till I bring out to him what belongs to him. He went inside, brought out what he owed him and gave it to him. Then it was not very long till Abu Jahl came in and they said to him: 'Alas for you, what is the matter with you? We have never seen the like of what you have done'. He said: 'Out upon you! All that he did was to knock on my door and I heard his voice and was filled with dread. Then I went out to him and verily above his head was a he-camel the like of whose head and neck and teeth I had never seen on a camel before. Had I refused, he would surely have devoured me.'

The affair of Rukānah the Muttalibite and his wrestling bout with the Prophet.

Ibn Ishāq: My father Ishāq bin Yasār related to me. He said: Rukānah bin 'Abd Yazīd bin Hāshim bin al-Muttalib bin 'Abd Manāf was the most uncompromising of Quraish and one day he was alone with the Messenger of Allah in one of the ravines of Mecca and the Messenger of Allah said to him: 'O Rukānah, will you not fear Allah and accept that to which I call you?' He said: 'Verily if I knew that what you say is true I would follow you'. The Messenger of Allah said to him: 'Do you think that if I wrestled with you you would know that what I say is true?' He said: 'Yes'. He said: 'Then rise that I may wrestle with you'. So Rukānah got up to wrestle with the Messenger of Allah and when he seized him he laid him down and he had no control over himself at all. Then he said: 'Come on again O Muhammad', so he wrestled with him again. Then he said: 'O Muhammad this is indeed a wonderful thing that you can get the better of me'. The Messenger of Allah said: 'A more wonderful thing than that there is which I will show you if you fear Allah and follow my affair! He said: 'What is it?' He said: 'I will call for you this tree which you see and it will come to me'. He said: 'Call it'. So he called it and it came forward and stood in front of the Messenger of Allah. Then he said to it: 'Go back to your place, and it went back to its place. So Rukānah went back to his people and said: 'O Beni 'Abd Manāf, with your friend you can overcome the people of the land in sorcery, for I have not seen a better sorcerer than he'. Then he told them of what he had seen and what he did.

The affair of the delegation of Christians who islamized.⁶⁹

Ibn Ishāq: Then there came to the Messenger of Allah while he was in Mecca twenty Christian men, or nearly so, when news of him reached them, from Ethiopia, and they found him in the place of worship and sat down with him, talked with him and asked him questions while some men of Quraish were in their assembly place around the Ka'bah. When they had finished questioning the Messenger of Allah about that which they wanted, the Messenger of Allah called them to Allah, to Whom belongs power and glory and recited to them the Qur'ān. When they heard the Qur'ān their eyes overflowed with tears. Then they gave him their consent, believed in him, accepted him as genuine, and

in him, recognised his affair which was described for them in their Book. When they went away from him, Abū Jahl ibn Hishām met them with a group of Quraish and said to them: "May Allah confound you as a party! Those of the people of your religion who are behind you sent you to investigate for them and bring them news of the man, and you were barely settled down in session with him till you abandoned your religion and accepted him as true in what he says. We know not of a party more foolish than you", or words to that effect. They said to him "Peace be upon you! We do not think you are fools, we have what we have and you have what you have, and we did not come short of what was good! It is said that the group of Christians were from the people of Najrān but Allah knows best whether that was so. It is also said, but Allah knows best, that those verses came down about them:-

Those to whom we have given the Book before it, they believe in it. And when it is recited to them they say: "We believe in it, verily it is the truth from our Lord, before it we were Muslims

down to His saying:

We have our works and ye have yours; peace be upon you
we desire not the ignorant. (Surah 28: 52 - 55)

Ibn Ishāq: I asked az-Zuhrī about these verses about whom they came down and he said to me: "I have not ceased to hear from our scholars that they were sent down about the Negus and his friends, also the verses from THE TABLE:-

That is because there are amongst them priests and monks
and because they do not count themselves great

down to His saying:-

so write us down with those who bear witness. (Sūrah 5:82,83

The descent of mention of their saying: "Are these the ones amongst us on whom Allah has bestowed His favour?".

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah sat in the place of worship and the weak ones of his friends sat with him, Khabāb and 'Ammār and Abū Fukaiḥah Yasar client of Safwān ibn Umayyah ibn Muharrith and Suhaib and their like of the Muslims, Quraish scoffed at them and said to each other: "These, as you see, are his friends". Are these the ones amongst us whom Allah has favoured with His guidance and the truth? If what Muhammad brought was good these would not have got to him prior to us and Allah would not have given it exclusively to them without us". So Allah sent down about them:-

And do not drive away those who call on their Lord in the morning and in the evening desiring His countenance; nothing of their account falls upon thee, and nothing of thy account falls upon them that thou shouldest drive them away and be one of the wrong-doers. And likewise we have seduced some of them by others to say: "Are these the ones amongst us on whom Allah has bestowed His favour. Does not Allah best know those who are thankful? When those who believe in OUR signs come to thee, say: "Peace be upon you. Your Lord has prescribed mercy for Himself. Verily, whosoever of you does evil in ignorance then afterwards repents and does right, He is forgiving, compassionate. (Surah 6: 52 - 54).

The descent of 'The speech of him whom they hint at is foreign'.

According to what I heard the Messenger of Allah often sat near al-Marwah at the business place of a Christian youth called Jabr, a slave of Ibn al-Hadramī, and they said: "None other than Jabr the Christian, slave of Ibn al-Hadramī teaches Muhammad the most of what he brings. So Allah, to Whom belong power and glory, sent down about that saying of theirs:-

We also know that they say: "It is only a human being who teaches him"; the speech of him whom they hint at is foreign but this is in plain Arabic. (Surah 16: 103).

Ibn Hishām: Yulhidūn ilaihi means 'they swerve towards him'.

Al-Ilhād means swerving from the truth. Ru'bah bin al-'Ajjāj said:

When all who swerved aside followed ad-Dahhāk.

Ibn Hishām: He means ad-Dahhāk the Khārijite. This stanza is in a poem of his in the Rājāz metre.

The descent of Sūrat al-Kauthar.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what I heard, al-'Ās bin Wā'il the Sahmite said whenever the Messenger of Allah was mentioned: "Let him alone; he is only a man with a bob-tail; he has no son and if he should die his remembrance will be cut off and you will be at peace from him". So Allah sent down about that saying of his:-

Verily, we have given thee abundance (Surah 108: 1).

Which is
That is: better for thee than the world and what is in it. Al-Kauthar means 'much'.

Ibn Ishāq: Labid bin Rabi'ah the Kalbite said:-

And the Master of Malhūb in whose house we were afflicted with loss

While at ar-Radā' there was the house of another - a generous man, (or a great man).

He says: Great.

Ibn Hishām: This stanza is in a poem of his. The master of Malhūb was 'Auf bin al-Akhwas bin Ja'far bin Kilāb who died in Malhūb. His saying: "At ar-Radā' there was the house of another - a house of abundance" refers to Shurāih bin al-Akhwas bin Ja'far bin Kilāb who died at ar-Radā'. By 'kauthar' he means 'al-Kathīr'; the word is derived from al-Kathīr. Al-Kumait bin Zaid said in praise of Hishām bin 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwān:-

And thou O Ibn Marwān art plentiful, good
And thy father, the son of noble women, was (a man of)
abundance.

This stanza is in a poem of his. Umayyah bin Abū 'Ā'idh the Hudhalite said in his description of a wild ass:-

He defends the three-year-olds when they run in haste
And he neighs in a cloud of dust like a horse cover.

By al-kauthar he means much dust which because of its abundance upon him he compares to a horse cloth.

Ibn Ishāq: Ja'far bin 'Amr related to me on the authority of 'Abdallah bin Muslim brother of Muhammad bin Muslim bin Shihāb the Zuhrite from Anas bin Mālik. He said: "I heard the Messenger of Allah say when one said to him: 'What is the abundance which Allah, to Whom belong power and glory hath given you, O Messenger of Allah?' 'A river, as it were, between San'ā' and Ailah whose vessels are as the number of the stars of heaven, to which there come birds to drink who have necks like the necks of camels'. 'Umar bin al-Khattāb said: 'Verily they are favoured, O Messenger of Allah'. He said: 'He who eats them is more favoured than they'.

Ibn Ishāq: I heard that the Messenger of Allah said either in connection with this tradition or another one: "Whoever drinks of it will never thirst".

The descent of: "Why has not an angel been sent down to him?"

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah called his people to Islam talking to them and bringing it near to them. So Zam'ah bin al-Aswad, an-Nadr bin al-Hārith, al-Aswad bin 'Abd Yaghūth, Ubai bin Khālaf, and al-'Ās bin Wā'il said to him: "If only an angel were appointed with you O Muhammad to tell the people about you and to be seen with you". So Allah sent down about that saying of theirs:-

They said: "Why has not ^{been} an angel sent down to him. But if
We were to send down an angel the affair would be decided and
they would have had no respite.

But if We had made him an angel we should have made him a man and confused for them what they are confusing. (Sūrah 6: 8, 9)

The descent of: "Messengers have been mocked at before thee".

Ibn Ishāq: According to what we heard, the Messenger of Allah passed by al-Walīd ibn al-Mughīrah, Umayyah ibn Khalaf, and Abū Jahl ibn Hishām and they slandered and mocked him and that roused his ire. So Allah sent down to him about that affair of theirs:-

Messengers have been mocked at before thee but what they scoffed at came down upon those who mocked (Sūrah 6: 10).

The affair of the Night Journey and the Ascent.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah was taken by night from the sacred place of worship to the farther place of worship which is Jerusalem from Ailiyā', when Islam had spread in Mecca among Quraish and among all the tribes.

Ibn Ishāq: The account about his Night Journey according to what I heard on the authority of 'Abdallah ibn Mas'ūd, Abu Sa'īd the Khudrite, 'Ā'ishah the wife of the Prophet, Mu'āwiyah ibn Abū Sufyān, al-Hasan ibn Abū 'l-Hasan of Basrah, Ibn Shihāb az-Zuhrī, Qatadah and other scholars, also Umm Hānī bint 'Abd al-Muttalib, is what is collated in this narrative; each one relating some of what was told of his affair when he was taken away by night. In his Night Journey and what is told about it, there was testing, forgiveness, and an affair from the affair of Allah, to Whom belong power and glory, in his might and authority in it as a warning, to the possessors of wisdom and guidance mercy and confirmation to those who have believed and accepted him as genuine, and he was certain of the affair of Allah. So he took him away by night how He willed and as He willed to show him what of His signs He willed, when he saw what he saw of His affair, His great authority and His might by which He does what He wills. According to what I heard, 'Abdallah ibn Mas'ūd said: "Al-Burāq was brought to the Messenger of Allah; she was the steed on which the prophets before him were carried, and who places her foot on the extreme limit of vision. So he was mounted on her and his companion took him away to behold the signs between heaven and earth till he came to Jerusalem and there found Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, with a group of the prophets who had collected for him, and he led them in prayer. Then ~~three~~ vessels were brought to him, a vessel in which was milk, a vessel in which was wine, and a vessel in which was

water. The Messenger of Allah said: "I heard one say when they were offered to me: 'If he chooses the water he will be submerged and so will his nation; if he chooses the wine he will go astray and so will his nation; if he chooses the milk he will be guided aright and so will his nation'. So I took the vessel of milk and drank it and Gabriel said to me: 'O Muhammad, thou hast been guided aright and so has thy nation'".

Ibn Ishāq: It was related to me on the authority of al-Hasan that he said: "The Messenger of Allah said: 'While I was asleep in the sanctum Gabriel came to me and nudged me with his foot. I sat up but as I did not see anything I went back to my bed. He came to me the second time and nudged me with his foot and I sat up, but as I did not see anything, I went back to my bed. He came to me the third time and nudged me with his foot. I sat up and he took me by the arm and I got up and went with him to the door of the place of worship and lo, a white steed between a mule and an ass, on whose flanks were two wings with which he propelled his legs so that he placed his forefoot on the extremity of his field of vision. So he mounted me on him and he took me away; he did not outgo me, nor did I outgo him.

Ibn Ishāq: It was related to me on the authority of Qatādah that he said: "It was related to me that the Messenger of Allah said: 'When I came near to mount him he grew restive but Gabriel put his hand on his mane and said; 'Are you not ashamed O Burāq of what you are doing for I swear that no servant belonging to Allah^{who} has ever ridden you previous to Muhammad was more honoured in His eyes than he'. So he was ashamed till he glistened with sweat and he settled so that I mounted him.'"

Al-Hasan in his account said: Thus the Messenger of Allah went away and Gabriel went with him till he brought him to Jerusalem where he found Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and a group of the prophets and he became their Imām and led them in prayer. Then two vessels were brought to him in one of which was wine and in the other milk, and the Messenger of Allah took the vessel with the milk and drank from it and left the vessel of wine. Gabriel said to him: 'Thou hast been guided to the Religion and so has thy nation, and wine is forbidden to you'. Then the Messenger of Allah went away to Mecca and when morning came he

went to Quraish and told them the news. But the majority of the people said: 'This is a marvel manifest. A caravan spends a month going from Mecca to Syria and a month coming back and can that Muhammad go in one night and return to Mecca'. So many of those who had accepted Islam apostatized and the people went to Abū Bakr and said to him: 'O Abū Bakr, what do you think of your friend who claims that he went last night to Jerusalem, prayed there and returned to Mecca?' Abū Bakr said: 'You are surely telling lies against him'.

They said: "By no means! There he is in the place of worship telling the people about it". Abū Bakr said: 'If he did say it he spoke the truth. What should amaze you in this? Verily he tells me that the revelations come to him from Allah from heaven to earth in one hour whether it be night or day. I accept that as true and it is something more than what amazes you'. Then he went forward till he came to the Messenger of Allah and said: 'O Prophet of Allah, did you tell these people that you went to Jerusalem last night?' He said: 'Yes' He said: 'O Prophet of Allah describe it to me for I have gone to it'. The Messenger of Allah said: 'It was lifted up for me so that I observed it', and the Messenger of Allah began to describe it to Abū Bakr, and Abū Bakr would say: 'You have spoken the truth. I testify that you are the Messenger of Allah. Whenever he described to him anything in it he said: 'You have spoken the truth. I testify that you are the Messenger of Allah', till, when he had finished, the Messenger of Allah said to Abū Bakr: 'And you O Abū Bakr the Faithful'. On that day he called him 'The Faithful'. Al-Hasan said: Allah sent down about those who went back on their profession of Islam because of it:-

And We did not appoint the vision which We showed thee to be anything but a test for the people and the tree cursed in the Qur'ān and We frighten them but it only increases them in great impiety. (Surah 17: 60).

This is Hasan's account of the Night Journey of the Messenger of Allah and the account of Qatadah included in it.

Ibn Ishāq: One of the family of Abū Bakr related to me that 'A'ishah said: "The body of the Messenger of Allah was not missed but Allah took away his spirit by night".

Ibn Ishaq: Ya'qūb bin 'Utbah bin al-Mughirah bin al-Akhnas (Zuhri) related to me that Mu'āwiyah bin Abū Sufyān said when he was asked

about the Night Journey of the Messenger of Allah: 'It was a true vision from Allah'. But that saying of these two people does not contradict that of al-Hasan that this verse came down about that - the saying of Allah to Whom belong power and glory:-

And we did not appoint the vision which we showed thee to be anything but a test for the people

or to the saying of Allah to Whom belong power and glory in the revelation About Abraham when he said to his son:-

O my son, I see in the dream that I shall sacrifice thee.
(Surah 37: 102).

Then he went on in this way and I recognised that revelations from Allah come to the prophets whether they are asleep or awake.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what I heard, the Messenger of Allah said:- "My eyes sleep but my heart is awake". But Allah knows best whether that was so, but it came to him and in it he saw what he saw of the affair of Allah in whatever state he was whether asleep or awake. All that was truth and reality. Az-Zuhri claims on the authority of Sa'id bin al-Musaiyyab that the Messenger of Allah described Abraham, Moses and Jesus to his friends when he saw them on that night. He said: "As for Abraham, I have never seen a man who more resembles your friend, nor whom your friend resembles so much. As for Moses, he was brown, tall, lean, curly-haired, hook-nosed as if he were from the men of Shanū'ah. As for Jesus, Son of Mary, he was a reddish man of middle height, loose hair, spotted of face as if he had emerged from the bath, ~~as if~~ you would imagine that his head dripped water but there was no water on it and the one of your men who bears the greatest resemblance to him is 'Urwah bin Mas'ūd the Thaqafite"⁶⁰

Description of the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Hishām: The description of the Messenger of Allah was given in what 'Umar client of Ghufrah mentioned on the authority of Ibrāhīm bin Muhammad bin 'Alī bin Abū Tālib. He said: "When 'Ali described the Prophet, he said: ' He was not tall and distended neither was he short and squat, he was of medium build. He was neither fuzzy haired nor straight haired, he was curly haired. He was neither fat nor round faced; he had a fair ruddy complexion, with dark eyes set well apart and long eyelashes, strongly jointed and well shouldered with fine hair on his chest, hairless palms and feet. When he walked it

it was with a jerk as if he were on a declivity and when he turned he did it all together. The seal of prophecy was between his shoulders and he was the seal of the prophets. He was the most open-handed of men, the most brave-hearted of men, the most truthful of men in speech, the most faithful of men in fulfilling obligations, the mildest of them in disposition, the noblest of them in friendship. He who saw him casually stood in awe of him; he who had intercourse with him loved him. The one who describes him said: 'I never saw his like either before or after him'.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what I heard on the authority of Umm Hānī daughter of Abū Talib whose name was Hind, about the night journey of the Messenger of Allah, was that she said: "The Messenger of Allah was not taken away by night except when he was in my house. He slept in my house that night. He prayed the last evening prayer and then went to bed and we did the same. The Messenger of Allah awakened us a little before dawn, and when he had prayed the morning prayer which we prayed with him he said: 'O Umm Hānī, I prayed the last prayer of the evening in this valley, as you saw; then I went to Jerusalem and prayed there; then I prayed the morning prayer with ^{you} just now, as you see'. Then he got up to go out and I seized his cloak so that he was exposed from the breast downwards and he was like fine Egyptian linen rolled up. I said to him: 'O Prophet of Allah do not tell this to the people or they will call you a liar and do you harm'. He said: 'I will surely tell it to them'. I said to an Ethiopian slave-girl of mine: 'Out upon you! Go after the Messenger of Allah that you may hear what he says to the people and what they say to him. When the Messenger of Allah went out to the people he told them and they were astonished and said: 'What is the sign of that O Muhammad, for verily we have never heard anything like this before! he said: 'The sign of that is that I passed a caravan of the Beni So-and-so in such-and-such a valley and the noise of the steed scared them and a camel belonging to them ran away and I showed them where it was while I was on my way to Syria. Then I went on till when I was in Dajnan I passed a caravan of the Beni Se-and-so. I found the people asleep but they had a vessel which they had covered with something in which was water. I took off the covering, drank what was in it, and then covered it up again as it was'. The sign of that is that

their caravan is now coming down from al-Baidā', a mountain-pass of at-Tan'im; in front of it^s a tawny camel bearing two sacks one of which is black and the other black and white'. So the people got to the pass before (their departure) without meeting anyone before the camel as he had described to them and they asked them about the vessel and they told them that they had set it out full of water and covered it, and when they woke up they found it covered as they had covered it but they found no water in it. They asked the others when they were in Mecca and they said: 'He speaks truly. He scared us in the valley he has mentioned, and a camel belonging to us ran away, and we heard the voice of a man calling us towards it till we found it'".

Account of the Ascent and the signs which the Messenger of Allah saw during it.⁶¹

Ibn Ishāq: One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī that he said: "I heard the Messenger of Allah say: 'When I was finished with what was in Bait al-Maqdas I was taken on the Ascent, and I have never seen anything better than it, for it is that to which your dead one lifts his eyes when his time is come. My friend took me up till he brought me to one of the doors of heaven called THE DOOR OF THE ANGELS at which stood one of the angels called Isma'il who had twelved thousand angels under his command, and each one of these angels had twelve thousand angels under his command'. The Messenger of Allah said when he related this account: 'None knoweth the hosts of thy Lord but He. When he brought me inside he said: +Who is this O Gabriel?. He said: +This is Muhammad+. He said: +And has he been commissioned?+ He said: '+Yes+' So he wished me well and said so.

Ibn Ishaq: A scholar related to me on the authority of whoever related it to him on the authority of the Messenger of Allah that he said: The angels met me when I entered the lowest heaven. No angel met me who was not smiling and happy, saying 'Good be thy portion!', and invoking it, till one of the angels met me, who said the same as the others, and invoked what they invoked, except that he did not smile, nor did I observe in him any sign of happiness which I had observed in the others. So I said to Gabriel: 'O Gabriel, who is this angel who said to me what the other said to me but did not smile to me, nor did I observe in him any of the happiness which I observed in the others?'. Gabriel said to me: 'Verily, had he smiled to anyone

before thee or would he smile to any after thee he would indeed have smiled to thee; but he does not smile; this angel is the keeper of the Fire'. I said to Gabriel who occupies with regard to Allah the position he described to you, 'Being obeyed and faithful': 'Wilt thou not command him to show me the Fire?'. He said: 'Certainly, O Angel, show Muhammad the Fire'. So he removed its covering and it leapt forth on high till I imagined it would seize what I saw. I said to Gabriel: 'Command him to make it return to its place'. He commanded it and said to it: 'Subside' and it returned to the place from whence it had come. I could not compare its going back to anything except the falling of a shadow. When it entered the place whence it had come he placed its covering back over it.

Abū Sa'īd says in his account on the authority of the Messenger of Allah. He said: "When I entered the lowest heaven I saw a man sitting there to whom the spirits of men were presented and he said to some of them when they were presented to him: 'Good be thy portion!'. He was pleased with him and would say: 'A good spirit has come forth from a good body'. But he said to others when they were presented to him: 'Fie!', and frown with his face and say: 'A foul spirit has come forth from a foul body'. I said: 'Who is this, O Gabriel?'. He said: 'This is thy father Adam. The spirits of his descendants are presented to him, and whenever the spirit of a believer from amongst them passes by, he is pleased with him and says: +A good spirit has come forth from a good body+; and whenever the spirit of an unbeliever from amongst them passes by, he is disgusted with him, detests him and offends that him and he says: A foul spirit has come forth from a foul body+!

Then I saw men with lips like the lips of camels, in whose hands were coals of fire like stones which they cast into their mouths and they came out behind them. I said: 'Who are these, O Gabriel?'. He said: 'These are they who have wrongfully devoured the property of orphans'. Then I saw men with bellies the like of which I have never seen in the line of Pharaoh's race, over whom pass camels affected by unquenchable thirst, and when they are exposed to the Fire they tread on them and they are not able to remove from their places. I said: 'Who are these O Gabriel?'. He said: 'These are they who have taken usury'. Then I saw men with meat before them juicy and good, and by their side meat lean and tainted, who ate of the lean and tainted meat and left the

juicy and good. I said: 'Who are these O Gabriel?'. He said: 'These are they who abandon the women Allah allowed to them and go after those whom Allah has forbidden to them'. Then I saw women hanging by their breasts and I said: 'Who are these O Gabriel?'. He said: 'These are they who have brought in to their husbands children which did not belong to them.'

Ibn Ishāq: Ja'far bin 'Amr related to me on the authority of al-Qāsim bin Muhammad that the Messenger of Allah said: "The wrath of Allah waxed fierce against a woman who brought into a tribe those who did not belong to them to devour their livelihood and become familiar with their hidden things (or weak points)."

Then he returned to the account of Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī. Then he took me up to the second heaven and in it were the two cousins, Jesus, Son of Mary, and John son of Zacharias. Then he took me up to the third heaven, and in it was a man whose appearance was like that of the moon on the night when it is full. I said: 'Who is this, O Gabriel?'. He said: 'This is thy brother Joseph, son of Jacob'. Then he took me up to the fourth heaven and in it was a man. I asked him who he was and he said: 'This is Idrīs'. The Messenger of Allah says:-

And we raised him up to a high estate (Surah 19: 57).

Then he took me up to the fifth heaven and in it was a man of mature years with white hair and a beard of great length. I never saw a man in his maturity more handsome than he. I said: 'Who is this O Gabriel?'. He said: 'This is Aaron bin 'Imrān the well-beloved among his people'. Then he took me up to the sixth heaven and in it was a brown man, tall and hooknosed as if he were of the men of Shanū'ah. I said: 'Who is this O Gabriel?'. He said: 'This is thy brother Moses bin 'Imrān'. Then he took me up to the seventh heaven and in it was a man of mature years sitting on a seat beside the door of the house inhabited into which there enter every day seventy thousand angels who do not return till the day of the Resurrection. I have not seen a man who more resembles your friend or whom your friend resembles more than he. I said: 'Who is this O Gabriel?'. He said: 'This is Abraham thy father'. Then he took me into Paradise and I saw there a red-lipped slave girl and I asked her: 'To whom do you belong?'. She pleased me when I saw her and she said: 'To Zaid bin Hārithah', and the Messenger of Allah gave her good news of Zaid bin Hārithah.

Ibn Ishāq: The account of 'Abdallah bin Mas'ūd on the authority of the Prophet, according to what I heard, (states) that Gabriel did not take him into any of the heavens without them saying to him when he asked permission to enter it: 'Who is this? O Gabriel', and he would say: 'Muhammad'. Then they would say: 'Has he been commissioned?' and he would say 'Yes'. They would say: 'May Allah preserve him alive, brother and friend that he is', till he brought him at length to the seventh heaven. Then he brought him to his Lord and He laid upon him the duty of fifty prayers every day. The Messenger of Allah said: 'I came forward on my return journey and when I passed by Moses bin 'Imrān -he was an excellent friend to you - he asked me 'how many prayers have been laid upon thee?'. I said: 'Fifty prayers each day'. He said: 'Verily prayer is burdensome and your nation is weak, return to your Lord and ask him to make it less for you and your people'. So I returned and asked my Lord to grant relief to me and my people and he remitted ten. Then I went away and passed by Moses and he said the same thing to me and I returned and asked my Lord and he remitted ten. Then I returned and passed by Moses and he said the same thing to me and I returned and asked Him and He remitted ten. Then every time I returned to him he kept on saying the same thing to me: 'Return and ask thy Lord'till in the end He had remitted them all except five prayers every day and night. Then I went back and passed by Moses and he said the same thing to me and I said: 'I have besought my Lord and asked Him till I am ashamed before Him and I will not do it' Whoever of you fulfils them in faith and in hope of ^{reward} ~~and~~ will receive the recompense of fifty prayers.⁶²

Allah's sufficiency for the affair of the scoffers.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah kept on in the affair of Allah patiently and contentedly transmitting to his people faithful counsel in spite of being accused of lying and the injury and mockery he endured from them. The great ones amongst the mockers were, according to what Yazīd bin Rumān related to me on the authority of 'Urwah bin az-Zubair, five in number -- men belonging to his people. They were men of seniority, held in honour by the people: From the Beni Asad, al-Aswad bin al-Muttalib. The Messenger of Allah, according to what I heard cursed him because of the harm and mockery

that came to him through him, and said: "O Allah, take away his eyesight and deprive him of his child". From the Beni Zuhrah bin Kilāb, al-Aswad bin 'Abd Yaghūth; from the Beni Makhzūm, al-Walīd bin al-Mughīrah; from the Beni Sahn, al-'Ās bin Wā'il; from the Beni Khuza'ah, al-Hārith bin al-Tulātilah.

When they persisted in evil-doing and intensified their mockery of the Messenger of Allah, Allah sent down to him:-

Proclaim publicly that which thou art commanded and turn away from the polytheists. Verily We will be sufficient for thee against the scoffers who set up along with Allah another god; they shall surely know. (Surah 15: 94 - 96).

Yazīd bin Rūmān related to me on the authority of 'Urwah bin az-Zubair or some other scholar that Gabriel came to the Messenger of Allah while they were circumambulating the House and stood and the Messenger of Allah stood by his side. Then al-Aswad bin al-Muttalib passed by him and he cast a green leaf in his face and he became blind. And al-Aswad bin 'Abd al-Yaghūth passed by him and he pointed to his belly and it became dropsical and he died from the swelling. And al-Walīd bin al-Mughīrah passed by him and he pointed to the scar of a wound on the lower side of his ankle bone which he had received years before that when he passed by a man of Khuza'ah who was feathering some arrows of his. One of his arrows got caught in his girdle and made that scratch in his foot which was nothing but it burst open and killed him. And al-'Ās bin Wā'il passed by him and he pointed to the instep of his foot. So he set off on an ass of his making for at-Tā'if and it lay down with him on a thorny plant and a thorn ran into his instep and killed him. And al-Hārith bin at-Tulātilah passed by him and he pointed to his ^{head} and he was in great pain with sores which caused his death.

The story of Abū Uzaihir the Dausite.

Ibn Ishāq: When al-Walīd was near to die he called his sons, who were three, Hishām bin al-Walīd, al-Walīd bin al-Walīd, and Khālīd bin al-Walīd and said to them: "I command you to do three things, do not omit them. My blood is on Mhanā'ah, do not let it go unavenged. I know indeed that they are innocent of it but I fear that you will be reviled for it afterwards. The proceeds of my usury are with Thaqif, do not call it in till you are (in a position) to collect it. and my honour(?) is with Abū Uzaihir the Dausite, let him not get away with it. Abū Uzaihir had married him to a daughter of his then

withheld her from him and did not bring her in to him during his life. When al-Walīd bin al-Mughīrah died the Beni Makhzūm attacked Khuzā'ah demanding from ^{them} the blood-wit of al-Walīd saying: "It was your friend's arrow that killed him and the Beni Ka'b had a treaty with the 'Abd al-Muttalib bin Hāshim . Khuzā'ah refused them that and then they vied with each other in reciting poems and the affair between them grew serious. The man whose arrow wounded al-Walīd was one of the Beni Ka'b bin 'Amr of Khuzā'ah.

Poetry omitted.

Then the people hesitated and they realised that the tribe was afraid only of disgrace, so Khuzā'ah gave them part of the blood-wit and they separated from each other.

Poetry omitted

Ibn Ishāq: Th^e Hishām bin al-Walīd attacked Abu Uzaihir while he was in the market-place of Dhū al-Majāz. Abū Sufyān bin Harb had a daughter of (~~the name of the daughter~~) Abū Uzaihir, and Abū Uzaihir was a man of dignity amongst his people and he killed him for the dowry (?) of al-Walīd which was in his possession in accordance with the command of his father. That took place after the Messenger of Allah migrated to Medina and Badr was past and those of the polytheists of the nobility of Quraish who were slain in it were slain. Th^e Yazīd bin Abū Sufyān went out and collected the Beni 'Abd Manāf while Abū Sufyān was in Dhū al-Majāz . The people said: "Abū Sufyān was betrayed in his father-in-law and he is seeking ~~to~~ seek retaliation for him". When Abū Sufyān heard what his son Yazīd had done, - he was a clement shrewd man who loved his people greatly, - he went down in haste to Mecca fearing lest there should be anything between Quraish on account of Abū Uzaihir, and came to his son who was in al-Hadīd among his people, the Beni 'Abd Manaf and the Mutaiyyibīn. So he snatched the spear from his hand and hit him a blow on the head which quelled him and then said: "May Allah bring disgrace upon you! Do you want to set Quraish at variance among themselves for the sake of a man of Daus? We will give them the blood-wit if they will accept it". Thus he ended that affair. Then Hassān bin Thābit was sent to work up feeling about the blood of Abu Uzaihir to reproach Abu Sufyān about his protection and denounce him as a

coward.

Poetry omitted

When Abū Sufyān heard the words of Hassān he said: "He wants to set us at loggerheads about a man of Daus, evil is what he imagines". When the people of at-Ta'if accepted Islam the Messenger of Allah spoke to Khālīd bin al-Walīd about al-Walīd's usury which was in Thaqīf at the time his father willed it to him. A scholar told me that those verses which forbade the exaction of usury which remained in the hands of men came down in connection with Khālīd's request for that usury:-

O ye who have believed, fear Allah and abandon the usury which remains if ye be believers (Surah 2: 278).

to the end of the story about it. No blood-revenge was exacted for Abū Uzaihir that we know of till Islam made its intervention between the people except that Dirār bin al-Khattāb bin Mirdās the Fihrite went off with a party from Quraish to the country of the Daus and they stayed at the house of a woman called Umm Ghailān, who was a clientess of Daus. She used to braid the women's hair and fit out the brides. Daus wanted to put them to death in revenge for Abū Uzaihir but Umm Ghailān and some women who were with took their part and thus she protected them.

Poetry omitted.

Ibn Hishām: Abū 'Ubaidah related to me that the woman who took the part of Dirār was Umm Jamīl, also given as Umm Ghailān. He said:

"It is possible that Umm Ghailān took her stand with Umm Jamīl amongst those who defended him". When 'Umar bin al-Khattāb came to power Umm Jamīl came to him thinking that he was his brother, and when she claimed a connection with him, he recognised the story and said: "Verily I am not his brother except in Islam. He is a champion and I will make recognition of your kindness to him". So he gave her a present because she was on a journey.

The death of Abū Tālib and Khadijah and what took place before and after that.

Ibn Ishāq: The band of men who wrought harm to the Messenger of Allah in his house were Abū Lahab, al-Hakm bin Abū 'l-'Ās bin Umaiyyah, 'Uqbah bin Abu Mu'ait, 'Adi bin Hamra, the Thaqafite and Ibn al-Asdā the Hudhalite. They were his neighbours and none of them

islamized except al-Hakm bin Abū 'Al-Ās. According to what was told me, one of them threw the entrails of a lamb on him while he was praying and another of them would throw it into his pot when it was set down for him, till the Messenger of Allah betook himself to a sanctum where he would be hidden from them when he worshipped.

According to what 'Umar bin 'Abdallah bin 'Urwah related to me on the authority of 'Urwah bin az-Zubair, when they threw that (thing) on him, the Messenger of Allah took it up on a stick and stood with it at his door and said: "O Beni 'Abd Manāf, what sort of protection is this?", and threw it down on the road.

Ibn Ishāq: They Khadījah bint Khuwailid and Abū Tālib died the same year, and with the death of Khadījah a succession of misfortunes befel the Messenger of Allah. She had been a faithful helper to him in Islam in whom he trusted. With the death of his uncle Abū Tālib (he lost one) who had been a support and a refuge for him in his affair, a defender and a helper against his people. That was three years prior to his migration to Medina. When Abū Tālib died, Quraish inflicted on the Messenger of Allah the harm which they were not bold enough to inflict during his lifetime, to the extent that one of the insolent ones of Quraish accosted him and sprinkled dust on his head. He said: Hishām bin 'Urwah related to me on the authority of his father 'Urwah bin az-Zubair. He said: "When that insolent person sprinkled dust on the head of the Messenger of Allah, the Messenger of Allah entered his house with the dust on his head. So one of his girls got up and began to wash the dust off him, weeping the while. But the Messenger of Allah said to her: 'Do not weep, daughter, for Allah is protecting your father', and he said meantime: 'Quraish did nothing disgusting to me till Abū Tālib died'.

Ibn Ishāq: When Abū Tālib fell sick and Quraish heard of his responsibility, Quraish said to one another: "Hamzah and 'Umar have islamized and the affair of Muhammad has spread through the tribes of Quraish, all of them. Let us go then to Abū Tālib and let him obtain for us an understanding from his nephew, and let him give him an undertaking from us, for indeed we have no security that they will not deprive us of our affair.

Ibn Ishāq: Al-Abbās bin 'Abdallah bin Na'bad bin 'Abbās related to me on the authority of one of his people from Ibn 'Abbās. He said:

"They went to Abū Tālib and spoke with him, and they were the noble men of his people, 'Utbah ibn Rabī'ah, Shaibah ibn Rabī'ah, Abū Jahl ibn Hishām, Umayyah ibn Khalaf, and Abū Sufyān ibn Harb, at the head of some of their aristocracy. They said: 'O Abū Tālib, you know where you stand with relation to us, and that which you see has come to you, and we are afraid for you, and you know what is between us and your nephew, call him and get an understanding from us for him and one for us from him whereby he will leave us alone and we will leave him alone, and he leave us with our religion and we leave him with his'. So Abū Tālib sent for him and when he came to him he said: 'My nephew, these men, the aristocracy of your people have come to you to arrange a policy of give and take as between you and them'. The Messenger of Allah said: 'Yes, a single word you will give me by which you will become masters of the Arabs and the non Arabs shall submit to you'. Abū Jahl said: 'Yes by your father and ten words'. He said: 'You say there is no god but Allah, and put away what you worship other than him'. They clapped their hands and said: 'Do you desire O Muḥammad to make all the deities into one God? Your affair is indeed strange'. Then they said to each other: 'This man is granting you none of the concessions you desired, so go away and follow the religion of your fathers till Allah decides between him and you'. Then they separated, and Abū Tālib said to the Messenger of Allah: 'My nephew, I do not think you asked them an impossible thing'. When Abū Tālib said it, the Messenger of Allah coveted him and began to say to him: 'You say it my uncle and I will make ^{allowable for you} intercession on the Day of Resurrection'. When he saw how eagerly the Messenger of Allah desired him he said to him: 'My nephew, were it not for fear of disgrace on you and your brothers after me, and lest Quraish should suppose I only said it out of fear of death, I would say it. I will not say it except that I may give you pleasure thereby'. When death drew near to Abū Tālib al-'Abbās saw him moving his lips and he bent down his ear to hear him and said: 'My nephew, my brother did indeed say the word you commanded him to say'. The Messenger of Allah said: 'I heard nothing'. So Allah, to Whom belong power and glory, sent down about the party who came to him, to whom he said what he said and they answered what they answered

Sād. By the Qur'ān which contains the reminder but those who have disbelieved it are in pride and schism

down to His saying:-

We have not heard of this (not) in the(very)last form of religion. (Sūrah 2: 451).

referring to the Christians who say: "Allah is the third of three".

This is nothing but an invention. (Sūrah 38: 1 - 7).

Then Abū Tālib died

The journey of the Messenger of Allah to Thaqīf in search of help.

Ibn Ishāq: When Abū Tālib died, Quraish inflicted on the Messenger of Allah the harm which they had not inflicted on him while his uncle Abū Tālib was alive, so the Messenger of Allah went away to at-Tā'if seeking help and protection amongst Thaqīf from his own people, and hoping that they would accept from him what he brought them from Allah. He went away to them by himself.

Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd ibn Ziyād related to me on the authority of Muhammad ibn Ka'b of Quraizah. He said: "When the Messenger of Allah arrived in at-Tā'if, he sought out a few individuals of Thaqīf who were at that time the rulers and the aristocracy of Thaqīf, and they were three brothers: 'Abd Yalīl ibn 'Amr ibn 'Umair, Mas'ūd ibn 'Amr ibn 'Umair, and Ḥabīb ibn 'Amr ibn 'Umair. One of them had a wife from the Beni Jumah of Quraish. So he sat with them and told them the reason why he had come to them, namely that they might lend their aid to Islam and stand in with him against his people who opposed him. One of them said: 'If Allah has sent you, He will tear the vesture of the Ka'bah'. The other said: 'Did Allah find no one to send but you?' The third said: 'I will say nothing to you at all?'. If you are indeed a messenger from Allah as you say, you are of too great rank for me to answer you, and if you are lying about Allah there is no necessity for me to talk to you'. So the Messenger of Allah left them in despair of doing Thaqīf any good, and according to what was told me he said to them: 'Since you have done what you have done keep silence about me'. The Messenger of Allah loathed(the thought)that news of him should reach his people and aggravate their hostility to him.

Ibn Hisham: 'Abīd ibn al-Abras said:-

Word has come to me from Tamīm that they are stirring up trouble for the slain of 'Āmir and have bound on the turban (of war).

They would not do that and set their stupid ones and their slaves on him to revile him and hoot at him until the people gathered together against him and he was forced into a garden belonging to 'Utbah bin Rabi'ah and Shaibah bin Rabi'ah where he took refuge. Then the stupid people of Thaqif who were pursuing him went away from him and he made his way to the shade of an overhanging vine and sat down there while the two sons of Rabi'ah were looking on and observing what he experienced from the stupid ones of the people of at-Ta'if. The Messenger of Allah, according to what I was told, found the woman who was from the Beni Jumah and said to her: "What have we got from your protection?". According to what was told me he said when he had settled down: "O Allah, I make my complaint to thee of my helplessness, frailty and insignificance before men. O most Merciful One, Thou art the Lord of the weak, and Thou art my Lord. To whom wilt Thou entrust me? To one far away who will regard me with scowling face or to an enemy to whom Thou hast given control of my affair? If Thy wrath be not upon me I care not, but Thy favour is more enlarging for me. I take refuge in the light of Thy countenance before which the darkness is dispelled, and the affair of this world and the next is put right, that Thy wrath may not descend upon me, nor Thine indignation light upon me. It is Thine to show favour when Thou art pleased and there is no power or strength but in Thee".⁴³

The story of 'Addās the Christian and the Messenger of Allah.

He said: When the two sons of Rabi'ah, 'Utbah and Shaibah saw him and what he experienced, their compassion went out to him, and they called a Christian youth of theirs named 'Addās and said to him: "Take a bunch of these grapes, put it on this tray, take it to that man and tell him to eat of it". 'Addās did so, brought it forward, placed it in front of the Messenger of Allah, and said to him: "Eat". When the Messenger of Allah put his hand on it he said: "In the name of Allah", after which he ate. 'Addās looked into his face and said: "Verily this is an expression which the people of this country do not use". The Messenger of Allah said to him: "To the people of which country do you belong, O 'Addās? and what is your religion?". He said: "I am a Christian, a Ninevite". The Messenger of Allah said: to him: "From the town of that good man Jonah bin Mattai?". 'Addās said to him: "What gave you knowledge of Jonah bin Mattai?". The Messenger of Allah said: "He was my brother, he was a prophet and I

am a prophet'. Then 'Addās bowed himself down to the Messenger of Allah kissing his head, his hands and his feet. The two sons of Rabi'ah said the one to the other: 'As for your youth, he has traduced him for you'. When 'Addās came to him they said to him: 'Alas for you 'Addās! What is the matter with you that you kiss the head, hands and feet of this man?' He said: 'My lords, there is not in all the world anything better than this. He has informed me of an affair which no one knows but a prophet'. They said: 'Out upon you! 'Addās, let him not turn you away from your religion for your religion is better than his'.

The affair of the Jinn, and the descent of His saying to Whom belongs power and glory "And when we sent to thee a company of the Jinn".

Then the Messenger of Allah departed from at-Ta'if on the return journey to Mecca when he despaired of the good of Thaḳīf. When he was in Nakhlah he arose in the middle of the night to pray, and a company of the Jinn whom Allah, the Blessed, the Exalted had mentioned passed by him, and, according to what was told me, they were seven persons from the Jinn of the people of Nasībīn, and they hearkened to him. When he had finished praying they went back to their people as warners who believed and assented to what they heard. So Allah gave him an account of them and said:-

And when We turned to thee a company of the Jinn to listen to the Qur'ān.....

down to his saying:-

and He will give you protection from a painful punishment. (Sūrah 46: 29 - 31).

Then He said:-

Say: "It has been revealed to me that a company of the Jinn listened.....(Surah 72; 1).

to the end of the account of them in this Sūrah.

The Messenger of Allah's presentation of himself to the tribes.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah returned to Mecca and his people intensified their former attitude of opposition to him and separation from his religion with the exception of a few weak ones who believed in him. And the Messenger of Allah was in the habit of presenting himself to the Arab tribes at the seasonal fairs, when they were held, calling them to Allah, telling them that he was a prophet commissioned, asking them to accept him as genuine and

protect him till he should make plain from Allah the purpose for which He sent him.

Ibn Ishāq: One of our friends who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of Zaid ibn Aslam from Rabī'ah ibn 'Abbād ad-Di'lī or on the authority of him from whom Abū Zanād related it.

Ibn Ishāq: Husain ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Ubaidallah ibn 'Abbās related to me. He said: "I Heard my father relate to Rabī'ah ibn 'Abbād. He said: 'As a young lad I was with my father in Mina, and the Messenger of Allah was standing at the stations of the Arab tribes and saying: +O Beni So-and-so, verily I am the Messenger of Allah to you. He commands you to worship Allah without associating anything with Him; and that you put away these idols which you worship apart from Allah; and that you believe in me and accept me as genuine and protect me till I make plain about Allah and that wherewith He sent me+. Behind him was a man more artful, neat, with two flowing locks, and attired in robes of Aden, and when the Messenger of Allah had finished what he had to say, and the call he issued, that man would say: +O Beni So-and-so, verily this man only invites you to cast off al-Lāt and al-'Uzza from your necks, and your allies the Jinnoof the Beni Mālik ibn Uqaish for the new doctrine and error he has brought. Do not obey him and do not listen to him+. I said to my father: 'Father who is this man who follows him around and contradicts what he says?+ He said: +He is his uncle 'Abd al-'Uzza ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib, Abū Lahab ibn Hishām. An-Nābighah said:-

As if thou wert a camel of the Beni Uqaish
Clattering at his heels with a dried-up water-skin

Ibn Ishāq: Ibn Shihāb az-Zuhri related to us that he came to Kindah in their stations and over them was a chieftain of theirs called Mulaih. He called them to Allah and presented himself to them but they refused him.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Abdallah ibn Husain related to me that he came to Kalb in their stations, to a sub-tribe of them called the Beni 'Abdallah. He called them to Allah and presented himself to them even to the extent of saying to them: 'O Beni 'Abdallah, verily Allah has adorned your father's name,' but they did not accept from him what he offered them.

Ibn Ishāq: One of our friends told me on the authority of 'Abdallah ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik that the Messenger of Allah came to the Beni Hanifah in their stations, called them to Allah, and presented

himself to them, and none of the Arabs gave him such an ugly answer as they did.

Ibn Ishāq: Az-Zuhrī related to me that he came to the Beni 'Āmir ibn Sa'sa'ah, called them to Allah, and presented himself to them, and one of them called Bahairah ibn Firās said: "Were I to take this young man of Quraish I would devour the Arabs with him". Then he said to him: "Do you think that if we gave you our pledge about your affair and Allah granted you victory over those who oppose you, will the affair belong to us after you?". He said: "The affair belongs to Allah, He disposes of it wherever He wills". He said: "Shall we indeed make our throats a target for the Arabs at your side, while if Allah grants you the victory, the affair will belong to others? We do not want your affair". Thus they refused him. When the people went home the Beni 'Āmir went to a shaikh of theirs who was so advanced in years that he was unable to attend the seasonal festivities along with them, and when they returned they recounted to him what had taken place at the festival. When they returned to him that year he asked them what had taken place at the festival and they said: "A young man of Quraish and of the sub-tribe of the Beni 'Abd al-Muttalib came to us claiming that he was a prophet, called on us to protect him, to take his part and to bring him to our country". The shaikh put his hands on his head and said: "O Beni 'Āmir is there any help for it? Is there any point in looking for the bird's tail?*. By Him in Whose hand is the life of So-and-so, no Ishmaelite ever invented it; verily it is the truth; where then were your senses which seemed to have taken leave of you?".

The affair of Suwaid ibn as-Sāmit.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah went on with his affair. Whenever people collected on ferial days, he came to them, calling the tribes to Allah and to Islam, presenting to them himself the guidance and the mercy which he brought from Allah. He did not hear of any of the Arabs coming to Mecca who had a name and an honoured position but he had recourse to him, called him to Islam and offered him what he had.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Asim ibn 'Umar ibn Qatādah the Helper and the Zafrite related to us on the authority of some shaikhs of his people. They said: Suwaid ibn as-Sāmit, brother of the Beni 'Amr ibn 'Auf, came to

*This is a proverb used of the past; the bird has escaped from the trap leaving its tail behind it.

Mecca either on the Greater or Lesser Pilgrimage. His people simply knew him as 'The Perfect' because of his robustness, his poetry his dignity and his pedigree.

Poetry omitted

So the Messenger of Allah, when he heard about him betook himself to him and called him to Allah and Islam. Suwaid said to him: "Perhaps that which you have is like what I have". The Messenger of Allah said to him: "What is it that you have". He said: "The Book of Luqmān", meaning the wisdom of Luqmān. The Messenger of Allah said to him: "Show it to me", and he showed it to him. He said: "Verily these words are good, but that which I have is better, a Qur'ān which Allah has sent down to me which is guidance and light. So the Messenger of Allah recited the Qur'ān to him and called him to Islam and he did not go away from him but said: "This is a good saying". Then he went away from him and returned to his people in Medina and it was not long till al-Khazraj killed him and the men of his people said: "We think he was killed when he was a Muslim. His murder took place before the day of Bu'āth.

The islamization of Iyas bin Mu'ādh and the story of Abū 'l-Haisar.

Ibn Ishāq: Al-Husain bin 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin 'Amr bin Sa'd bin Mu'ādh related to me on the authority of Mahmūd bin Labīd. He said: "When Abū 'l-Haisar Anas bin Rāf' came to Mecca accompanied by some youths of the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal amongst whom was Iyās bin Mu'ādh to seek a treaty with Quraish against their people the Khazraj, the Messenger of Allah heard of them, came to them, sat down by them and said to them: "Have you a mind to obtain something better than that for which you came?" They said to him: "What is that?" He said: "I am the Messenger of Allah whom He has sent (me) to mankind to call them to worship Allah and not to associate anything with Him, and has sent down to me the Book". Then he mentioned Islam to them and recited the Qur'ān to them. So Iyās bin Mu'ādh who was a young man said: "O people, this is indeed better than that for which you came, and Abū 'l-Haisar Anas bin Rāf' took a handful of earth from the river-bed and threw it in the face of Iyās bin Mu'ādh and said: "Let us be quit of you, for by my life we came for something other than this". Iyās was silent and the Messenger of Allah left them and they went away to Medina. The battle of Bu'āth was between the Aus and the

Khazraj. Then it was not long after that Iyās died. Mahmūd bin Labīd said: "Some of his people who were with him at the time of his death told me that they continued to hear him praising Allah, magnifying Him, glorifying Him and blessing Him till he died. They had no doubt that he died a Muslim and Islam made its mark on that gathering when they heard from the Messenger of Allah what they heard."

Mention of the beginning of the affair of Islam among the Helpers.

Ibn Ishāq: When Allah willed to make known His religion, to strengthen His Prophet, and implement His promise to him, the Messenger of Allah went forth on the festal season when a group of the Helpers met him, and presented himself to the Arab tribes as he was in the habit of doing every festal season. While he was at al-'Aqabah he met a party of the Khazraj to whom Allah willed to do good. 'Āsim bin 'Hmar bin Qatādah related to me on the authority of some shaikhs of his people. They said: "When the Messenger of Allah met them, he said to them: 'Who are you?' They said: 'A group of Khazraj'. He said: 'From the patrons of the Jews?' They said: 'Yes'. He said: 'Will you not be seated that I may talk with you?' They said: 'Certainly'. So they sat down with him, and he called them to Allah, offered Islam to them and recited for them the Qur'ān. Part of what Allah did in Islam was that there were Jews living with them in their country who were people possessing a Book and knowledge while they were polytheists and the possessors of idols, and they had made war on a band of them in their country. If anything happened between them they said: 'Verily, a prophet is now commissioned; his time has drawn nigh. Him shall we follow and with him we shall slay you with the slaughter of 'Ād and Iram'.⁶⁴ When, therefore, the Messenger of Allah spoke to that party and called them to Allah they said to one another: 'Know surely, O people that this is the Prophet with which the Jews threaten us; let them not join him before you'. So they assented to that to which he called them, in that they ^{ed} accepted him as true and accept Islam which he had offered them, and they said to him: 'Verily we have abandoned our people. There is not a people amongst whom is the enmity and evil that exists among them. Perhaps by means of you Allah will bring them together, so we shall return to them and call them to your affair and present to them this religion to which we have assented. If Allah shall gather them together by you no man will be stronger than you. Then

they went away from the Messenger of Allah to return to their country after they had believed and accepted him as true.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what was told me they were six persons from the Khazraj, As'ad bin Zurārah, 'Auf bin al-Hārith, Rāf' bin Mālik, Qutbah bin 'Āmir, 'Uqbah bin 'Āmir, and Jābir bin 'Abdallah.

When they returned to Medina to their people they mentioned the Messenger of Allah to them and called them to Islam till it spread amongst them and there remained not a house of the Helpers where there was not mention of the Messenger of Allah.

The Affair of the First 'Aqabah, the deputation of Mus'ab bin 'Umair, and what happened therein.

When the next year came round twelve men of the Helpers came to the festal season. They met him at al-'Aqabah, and this was the First 'Aqabah. They gave the pledge to the Messenger of Allah in terms of the Pledge of Women, and that was before war was laid upon them as a duty.

List of names omitted.

Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd bin Abu Ḥabīb related to me on the authority of Abu Marthad bin 'Abdallah the Yazanite, from 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin 'Usailah the Sunābihite from 'Ubadah bin as-Samit. He said: "I was amongst those who were present at the First al-'Aqabah and we were twelve men and we gave the pledge to the Messenger of Allah in terms of the Pledge of Women, since that was before war was laid upon us as a duty, that we would not associate anything with Allah, that we would not steal or commit adultery or kill our children, that we would not bring to the forefront any calumny we have invented, and that we would not disobey him in anything that is right.⁶⁵ 'If ye fulfil it, Paradise will be yours, and if you prove deceitful in any part of it, your affair belongs to Allah, if He wills He will punish, and if He wills He will forgive.

Ibn Ishāq: Ibn Shihāb az-Zuhri mentioned on the authority of 'A'idh Allah bin 'Abdallah the Khaulānite Abu Idrīs, that 'Ubadah bin as-Samit related to him that he said: "We gave the pledge to the Messenger of Allah on the night of the First 'Aqabah that we would not associate anything with Allah, that we would not steal, commit adultery, or kill our children, that we would not bring to the forefront any calumny we have invented, and that we would not disobey him in anything that is right. If you fulfil it, Paradise will be your

reward, but if you prove deceitful in any part of it, you will be visited with its punishment in this world and that will be expiation for it, and if you are concealed from Him till the Day of "esurrection your affair belongs to Allah, if He wills, He will punish, and if He wills, He will forgive'.

Ibn Ishāq: When the people went away he sent Mus'ab ibn 'Umair ibn Hishām i/bn 'Abd Manāf ibn 'Abd ad-Dār ibn Qusai with them and commanded him to recite the Qur'ān to them, to teach them Islam and to instruct them in the religion. He was called Mus'ab the Reciter in Medina. His lodging-place was with As'ad ibn Zurārah ibn 'Udas Abū Umāmah. 'Āsim ibn 'Umar ibn Qatādah related to me that he led them in prayer and that was because the Aus and the Khazraj hated that one of them should be Imām to the other.

The first Friday Prayer that took place in Medina.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad ibn Abū Umāmah ibn Sahl ibn Hunaif related to me on the authority of his father Abū Umāmah from 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik. He said: I was the leader of my father Ka'b ibn Mālik when his sight left him, and when I took him out to the Friday Prayer and he heard the Adhān he blessed Abū Umāmah As'ad ibn Zurārah. We remained thus for a time not hearing the Adhān for the Prayer without blessing him and asking forgiveness for him. So I said to myself: "This is indeed a weakness on my part that I do not ask him for what reason he blesses Abū Umāmah As'ad ibn Zurārah when he hears the Adhān for the Friday Prayer. So I took him out on a Friday as I was wont to do and when he heard the Adhān for the Friday Prayer he blessed him and asked forgiveness for him. So I said: "My father, for what reason do you bless Abū Umāmah when you hear the Adhān for the Friday Prayer?". He said: "My son, he was the first one who gathered us together in Medina in a depression in the stony tract of the Beni Bayādah called Naqī' al-Khudmāt". I said: "How many were you in number at that time?". He said: "Forty men".

The story of the acceptance of 'Islam by Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh and Usaid ibn Hudair.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Uṣaid Allah ibn al-Mughīrah ibn Muaiqib and 'Abdallah ibn Abū Bakr ibn Muhammad ibn 'Amr ibn Hazm related to me that As'ad ibn Zurārah went away with Mus'ab ibn 'Umair intending to take him to the house of the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal and the house of the Beni Zafar. Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh ibn an-Nu'mān ibn Imru 'l-Qais ibn Zaid ibn 'Abd al-Ashhal was the nephew of As'ad ibn Zurārah and he took him into one of the gardens of the Beni Zafar.

Ibn Hishām: The name of Thafar is Ka'b bin al-Hārith bin al-Khazraj bin 'Amr bin Mālik bin al-Aus. They said: "At a well called Bi'r Marq and they squatted down in the garden and some of those who had islamized gathered to them. Sa'd bin Mu'ādh and Usaid bin Hudair were the chieftains of their people the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal at that time and both of them were polytheists who observed the religion of their people. When they heard about him, Sa'd bin Mu'ādh said to Usaid bin Hudair ; 'May you have no father! Go to these two men who have come to our two houses to make dupes of our weak ones and frighten them away and forbid them to come to our houses. If As'ad bin Zurārah were not related to me in the way you know I would have given you satisfaction on that scare; he is my cousin and I find no way of approach to him'. So Usaid bin Hudair took a spear and went up to them and when As'ad bin Zurārah saw him he said: to Mus'ab bin 'Umair: 'This man who is coming to you is the chieftain of his people and may Allah make it true concerning him'. Mus'ab said: 'If he sits down I will speak to him'. So he stood before them abusing them and saying: 'What brought you to us to make dupes of our weak ones, withdraw from us if you have need of your lives'. Mus'ab said to him: 'Will you sit down and listen, if you like the affair you can accept it, and if you detest it, leave what you detest alone'. He said: 'You are acting impartially' and he stuck his spear in the ground and sat down by them. Mus'ab spoke to him of Islam and recited the Qur'ān to him. They said according to what is told on their authority: 'We recognised Islam in his face before he spoke by his pleasantness and charm, then he said: +How good and beautiful this is; what do you do if you wish to enter this religion+. They said: 'You wash and purify and cleanse your clothes, then you bear witness to the truth and pray. So he arose, washed and cleansed his(his) garments, gave witness to the truth, and performed two prostrations. Then he said to them: 'There is behind me a man who, if he follows you, none of his people will remain behind, Sa'd bin Mu'ādh whom I will send to you at once. Then he took up his spear and went off to Sa'd and his people who were sitting in their place of assembly. When Sa'd bin Mu'ādh saw him coming he said: 'I swear by Allah that Usaid is coming to you with another countenance from that that with which he went away from you. When he stood before the assembly Sa'd said to him: 'What is your news?'. He said: 'I

spoke with the two men and saw no harm in them. I forbade them (to remain here) and they said: +You may do as you please+, and it was related to me that the Beni Hārithah had gone out against As'ad bin Zurārah to slay him, because they recognised that he is your cousin, to bring you into contempt*. So Sa'd rose up in wrath and ran forward menacingly to the man of the Beni Hārithah who had been mentioned to him, took the spear from his hand and said: 'I do not think that you have profited anything'. Then he went out to the two men. When he saw them in perfect composure, Sa'd recognised that Usaid only wanted him to listen to them. So he stood before them abusing them and said to As'ad bin Zurārah: 'O Abū Umamah, were it not for the relationship there is between you and me you would not have desired this of me, will you make dupes of us in our own reservations with something we detest?' Then As'ad bin Zurārah said to Mus'ab bin 'Umair: 'O Mus'ab, the chief of his people who are behind him has come to you. If he follows you two of them will not remain behind'. Mus'ab said to him: 'Will you sit and listen, then if you are pleased with the affair and desire it you can accept it, and if you loathe it we will take the hateful thing away from you! Sa'd said: 'Fairly spoken'. Then he stuck his spear in the ground and squatted down, and he expounded Islam to him and recited the Qur'ān to him. They said: 'We recognised Islam in his face before he spoke by his pleasantness and charm'. Then he said to them: 'What do you do when you islamize and enter this religion?' They said: 'You wash, purify yourself and your clothes, then you bear testimony to the truth and pray performing two cycles of prayer! So he got up, washed and purified his clothes, bore testimony to the truth and performed two prostrations. Then he took up his spear and went off in the direction of the assembly-place of his people accompanied by Usaid bin Hudair. When his people saw him approaching they said: 'We swear by Allah that he is returning to you with a changed countenance from that with which he went away from you. When he stood before them he said: 'O Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal, How do you know my affair amongst you?' They said: 'Our chief the nearest to us, the best of us in judgment, and the happiest of us in disposition.' He said: 'Then the words of your men

and women about me are not permissible till you believe in Allah and His Messenger'. So there was not a single man or woman in the tribe of the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal who did not islamize, and As'ad and Mus'ab returned to the house of As'ad bin Zurārah, and resided with him calling the people to Islam till there did not remain a single house of the Helpers that did not have in it men and women who were Muslims with the exception of the houses which belonged to the Beni Umaiyah bin Zaid, Khatmah, Wā'il, Wāqif, and the Aus Allah who belonged to Aus bin Hārithah, and that was because Abū Qais bin al-Aslat was amongst them who was a Saifit. He was a poet of theirs, a leader to whom they hearkened and whom they obeyed and he kept them back from Islam. He continued doing this till the Messenger of Allah migrated to Medina and Badr, Uhud, and al-Khandaq were over. He said with regard to what he saw of Islam and how the people differed about its affair:-

O Lord of men things which come upon us
Of which the difficult are mingled with the easy
O Lord of men, if we have strayed
Prepare us for the benefit of the way
Had it not been for our Lord we would have been Jews
And the religion of the Jews has not form
Had it not been for our Lord we would have been Christians
With the monks on the mount of Galilee
But when we were created we were created Hanifs
Our religion is distinct from (that of) every nation
We drive the sacrificial victims which hobble along submissiv
With shoulders swathed in horse-cloths

Ibn Hishām: One of the Helpers or of Khuzā'ah recited to me his saying: 'Had it not been for our Lord, and 'Had it not been for our Lord' also his saying: 'With shoulders swathed in roses'.

The affair of the Second 'Aqabah.

Then Mus'ab bin 'Umair returned to Mecca and there went out to the festal season those of the Helpers from the Muslims who went out with the pilgrims of their people who were polytheists and they came to Mecca and gave the Pledge of al-'Aqabah to the Messenger of Allah in the days of Tashrīq, when Allah willed to them what He willed of His honour, aid to His Prophet, strengthening to Islam and its people and humiliation to polytheism and its people.

Ibn Ishāq: Ma'bad bin Ka'b bin Mālik bin Abū 'l-Ka'b bin al-Qain brother of the Beni Salimah related to me that his brother 'Abdallah bin Ka'b, who was one of the best informed people amongst the Helpers related to him that his father Ka'b related to him - and Ka'b was

amongst those who witnessed al-'Aqabah and gave the pledge to the Messenger of Allah there. He said: "We set out with the polytheistic pilgrims of our people after we had prayed and received instruction accompanied by al-Barā' bin Ma'rūr our chieftain and senior man. When we started on our journey and had set out from Medina al-Barā' said to us: 'O you people there! Verily I have an idea and I do not know whether you will agree with me about it or not'. We said: 'What was it?' He said: 'I saw that I ought not to have this building behind me' (meaning the Ka'bah), 'but that I should pray towards it'. We said: 'We have heard nothing else than that our Prophet prays in the direction of Syria and we do not desire to differ with him'. He said: 'Verily I am praying in its direction'. We said to him: 'But we will not do so'. When the time of prayer came we prayed towards Syria while he prayed towards the Ka'bah, (and that went on) till we reached Mecca. We reproached him for what he was doing but he refused to do anything but continue as he was doing. When we arrived in Mecca he said to me: 'My nephew, take us to the Messenger of Allah that we may ask him about what I did on this journey of mine, for a thought has occurred to my mind because of the opposition which I encountered from you with regard to him'. So we set out making enquiries for the Messenger of Allah, for we did not know him, not having seen him before that. We met one of the inhabitants of Mecca and asked him about the Messenger of Allah and he said: 'Would you recognise him?' We said: 'No'. He said: 'Would you recognise al-'Abbās bin 'Abd al-Muttalib his uncle?' We said: 'Yes'. We knew al-'Abbās because he had kept on coming to us in his capacity as a merchant. He said: 'When you enter the place of worship he is the man sitting with al-'Abbās'. We entered the place of worship and lo, al-'Abbās was sitting with the Messenger of Allah beside him and we greeted him and sat down by him. The Messenger of Allah said to al-'Abbās: 'Do you recognise these two men O Abū 'l-Fadl?'. He said: 'Yes, this is al-Barā' bin Ma'rūr the chieftain of his people, and this is Ka'b bin Mālik'. Indeed I shall not forget what the Messenger of Allah said: 'The poet'. He said: 'Yes'. Al-Barā' bin Ma'rūr said to him: 'O Prophet of Allah, verily I set out on this journey of mine after Allah had guided me to Islam and I thought that I ought not to have this building behind me so I prayed in its direction. But my companions differed with me about that till something of that

entered my mind. What do you think of Messenger of Allah?' He said: 'You had a Qiblah if you only persevered with it'. So al-Barā' went back to the Qiblah of the Messenger of Allah and prayed along with us in the direction of Syria. His people claim that he prayed towards the Ka'bah till he died, but it was not so; we know better than they;

Ibn Hishām: 'Aun bin Ayyūb the Helper said:-

The praying one belongs to us, the first of the people to approach the Ka'bah of the Merciful among the sacred sites.

He refers to al-Barā' bin Ma'rūr. This stanza is in a poem of his. Ibn Ishāq: Ma'bad bin Ka'b bin Mālik related to me that his brother 'Abdallah bin Ka'b related to him that his father Ka'b bin Mālik related to him. Ka'b said: Then we went out on the pilgrimage and we made an appointment with the Messenger of Allah at al-'Aqabah during the days of Tashrīq. When we were finished with the pilgrimage and the night for which we had made the appointment with the Messenger of Allah had come, 'Abdallah bin 'Amr bin Harām Abū Jābir one of our chiefs whom we had taken along was with us. We concealed our affair from the polytheists of our people who were with us. So we spoke to him and said to him: 'O Abū Jābir, verily you are one of our chiefs and one of our men of dignity, and we earnestly desire you (to separate) from what you have lest you become fuel for the Fire to-morrow'. Then we called him to Islam and told him of the rendezvous of the Messenger of Allah with us at al-'Aqabah. So he islamized and witness^{ed} al-'Aqabah with us, and he was a head-man. We slept that night in our camp and when a third of the night was past we set forth from the camp to the rendezvous with the Messenger of Allah stealing along like sand-grouse in secrecy till we gathered in the defile at al-'Aqabah. We were seventy three men and with us were two of our women Nusaibah bint Ka'b, mother of 'Umārah one of the women of the Beni Māzin bin an-Najjār, and Asmā' bint 'Amr bin 'Adi bin Nābā one of the women of the Beni Salimah, and she was the mother of Manī'. So we collected in the defile awaiting the Messenger of Allah and he came to us accompanied by his uncle al-'Abbās bin 'Abd al-Muttalib. He was at that time a follower of the religion of his people but he wanted to be present at the affair of his nephew and be taken into his confidence.

When he sat down, the first one to speak was al-'Abbās bin

'Abd al-Muttalib and he said: "O people of Khazraj (the Arabs call the tribe of the Helpers al-Khazraj for al-Khazraj and al-Aus) verily Muhammad is one of us as you know, and we have protected him from his own people who are of our opinion respecting him. He occupies a noble position among his people and enjoys protection in his town but he refuses to do anything but go over to you and join you. If you think you can fulfil for him that to which you call him and protect him from those who are opposed to him that which you undertake is your affair. But if you think you will hand him over or betray him after taking him away with you, leave him now for he is in a position of influence and safety among his people in his "country". We said to him: "We have heard what you said, so speak O Messenger of Allah and take what you like for yourself and for your Lord. So the Messenger of Allah spoke, recited the Qur'ān, called on Allah, and inspired a desire for Islam. Then he said: "I will pledge you to defend me from that from which you protect your women and children". So al-Barā' bin Ma'rūr took him by the hand and said: "Yes, By Him who has commissioned you as a Prophet with the truth we shall indeed protect you that from which we protect our women. We have given our pledge O Messenger of Allah and we are men of war and the people of arms which we have inherited, the son from the father". But Abū 'l-Haitham bin al-Taihan interrupted the speech while al-Barā' was still addressing the Messenger of Allah, and said: "O Messenger of Allah, verily there are bonds between us and these men (meaning the Jews) which we are severing, and might it not be that if we do this, Allah may enable you to return to your people and you will leave us?" The Messenger of Allah smiled and said: "Blood is blood, and bloodshed is bloodshed, you belong to me and I to you. I will war against those who you war against and I will be at peace with those with whom you are at peace".⁶⁶

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as 'al-hadam al-hadam meaning 'sacred things'. He said: My sacred things (or the things I protect) are yours and my blood is your blood"

Ka'b bin Mālik said: "The Messenger of Allah said: 'Bring to me twelve of your head men that they may be responsible for their people with what is among them'. So they brought out twelve head men nine from the Khazraj and three from the Aus.

List of names and poetry omitted.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr related to me that the Messenger of Allah said to the headmen: "You are surety for your people and what they have in the way His disciples were surety for Jesus Son of Mary, and I am surety for my people". They said: "Yes".

'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah related to me that when the group assembled to give the pledge to the Messenger of Allah, al-'Abbās bin 'Ubbādah bin Nadlah the Helper, brother of the Beni Sālim bin 'Auf said: "O people of Khazraj do you understand the conditions on which you give your pledge to this man?" They said: "Yes". He said: "Verily you have pledged yourselves to him to fight the red and black of mankind and if thinking that your wealth will be exhausted and your noble men slain, you hand him over, from now on, if you do this, there will be the shame of this world and the next. If you think you can fulfil the thing for which you have called him though it should entail the exhaustion of your resources and the slaughter of your noble men, take him for he is the best in this world and the next". They said: "We shall surely take him even though it entail the exhaustion of our resources by misfortune and the slaughter of our noble men, what then will we get O Messenger of Allah if we perform this?" He said: "Paradise". They said: "Stretch out your hand". He stretched out his hand and he gave him their pledge. But 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah said: "Al-'Abbās said this merely with a view to fastening the yoke of the Messenger of Allah more securely on their necks". 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr said: "Al-'Abbās said this merely with a view to detaining the people that night in the hope that 'Abdallah bin Ubai bin Salūl would come since he would be the strongest for the affair of the people", but Allah knows best whether that was so.

Ibn Hishām : Salūl was a woman of Khuza'ah and she was the mother of Ubai bin Mālik bin al-Harith bin 'Abīd bin Mālik bin Sālim bin Ghanam bin 'Auf bin al-Khazraj.

Ibn Ishāq: The Beni an-Najjār claim that Abū Umamah As'ad bin Zurarah was the first to strike his hand, but the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal say it was Abū 'l-Haitham bin at-Taihan.

Ibn Ishāq: Ma'bad bin Ka'b related to me in his account on the authority of his brother 'Abdallah bin Ka'b from his father Ka'b

ibn Mālik. He said: "The first one who struck the hand of the Messenger of Allah was al-Barā' ibn Ma'rūr and then the group gave their pledge. So when we had pledged ourselves to the Messenger of Allah, Satan cried out from the summit of al-'Aqabah in the most penetrating voice I have ever heard: "O people of the encampments, (al-Jabājib means 'the encampments') have you no concern for Mudhammam (the blamed) and the Sābians who are with him? They have resolved on war with you". The Messenger of Allah said: "This is the demon of al-'Aqabah, the son of the devil. (Ibn Hishām: It is also given as Ibn Uzaib). Listen, O enemy of Allah, I will surely be quit of you". Then the Messenger of Allah said: "Scatter to your tents". Al-'Abbās ibn 'Ubādah ibn Nadlah said to him: "By Allah Who has sent you with the truth, if you will, we will surely make trial of the people of Mina with our swords to-morrow". But the Messenger of Allah said: "We have not been commanded to do that, go back to your tents". So we went back to our couches and slept there till morning.

The morning visit by Quraish to the Helpers about the business of the Pledge.

He said: When morning came the chief men of Quraish came to us early even to our encampments and said: "O people of Khazraj, it has been reported to us that you have come to this friend of ours to take him away from our midst, and have given him a pledge to make war on us, and verily there is no Arab tribe with whom an outbreak of war between us and them would be more detestable to us than you". So the polytheists of our people who were there sprang up to swear by Allah that there was nothing in it and that we knew nothing of it. They spoke the truth, they did not know, and we all looked at each other. Then the party got up and amongst them was al-Hārith ibn Hishām ibn al-Mughīrah the Makhzūmite who was wearing a pair of new sandals, so I spoke a word to him as if I wanted the group to share in it, according to what they said: "Could you not, being one of our chieftains, get sandals like this Quraishite youth?". Al-Hārith heard us, took the sandals off his feet, threw them to me and said to me: "You shall indeed put them on". Abū Jābir said: "Easy now, you have put the youth out of temper, give him back his sandals". I said: "I shall certainly not return them. A good omen! If the omen speaks correctly I will despoil him (of his sandals)."

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr related to me that they came to 'Abdallah bin Ubai bin Salūl and said to him the same thing as Ka'b had mentioned. He said to them: "Verily this is a serious affair. My people have never done anything without consulting me that was of this magnitude. I had no knowledge that it was in existence". So they left him.

Quraish goes out in search of the Helpers.

He said: The people dispersed from Mina and the tribe (Quraish) ascertained the news and found out that it had taken place so they set out in search of the company. They overtook Sa'd bin 'Ubādah in Adhākhir and al-Mundhir bin 'Amr brother of the Beni Sā'idah bin Ka'b bin al-Khazraj and each of them was a headman. Al-Mundhir escaped from them but Sa'd they captured and bound his hands to his neck with the thong of his camel's saddle and they took him away till they brought him into Mecca, beating him and dragging him along by his locks, and he had much hair. Sa'd said: 'While I was in their hands a band of Quraishites came upon them, and amongst them was a man fair and white and pleasing more than the (other) men. I said to myself: 'If there is good in one of these people it is in him'. When he came near to me he lifted his hand and struck me a hard blow and I said to myself: 'After this they have no good with them'. So there I was in their hands and they were pulling me along when one of them took pity on me and said: 'Unhappy man! Have you got no protection, or this there no compact between you and any one of Quraish?' I said: 'Indeed I have! I was the protector for Juhair bin Mut'am bin 'Adi bin Naufal bin 'Abd Manāf of his merchants, and I protected them from all in my country who wished to do them wrong. and also for al-Hārith bin Harb bin Umayyah bin 'Abd Shams bin 'Abd Manāf'. He said: 'Unhappy man! Call out the names of the two men and mention what is between you and them'. I did so, and that man went away to them and found them in the place of worship at the Ka'bah and said to them: 'Verily a man of the Khazraj who is now being beaten in the river-bed and he calls on you saying there is (a deed of protection between you and him'. They said: 'Who is he?' He said: 'Sa'd bin 'Ubādah'. They said: 'He speaks the truth, he did indeed protect our merchants for us and defended them from being wronged in his country'. So they came and delivered Sa'd from their hands and he went his way. The one who struck Sa'd was Suhail bin 'Amr one of

the Beni 'Āmir bin Lu'ai.

Ibn Hishām : The man who took pity on him was Abū 'l-Bakhtarah bin Rāshim.

Story of the idol of 'Amr bin al-Jumūh.⁶⁷

He said: When they returned to ~~Medina~~ they proclaimed Islam there. But amongst their people was a remnant of Shaikhs who followed their religion of polytheism amongst whom was 'Amr bin al-Jumūh bin Zaid bin Harām bin Ka'b bin Ghānam bin Ka'bb bin Salimah. His son Mu'ādh bin 'Amr had witnessed al-'Aqabah and had given his pledge to the Messenger of Allah there, and 'Amr bin al-Jumūh was one of the chiefs of the Beni Salimah and one of their noble men. He had chosen for himself an idol of wood in his house called Manāt, as noble men were in the habit of doing, they chose a god which they revered and purified (or proclaimed). When two young men of the Beni Salimah islamized, Mu'ādh bin Jabal and his son Mu'ādh bin 'Amr bin al-Jumūh along with some youths of theirs who islamized and witnessed al-'Aqabah they went by night to that idol of 'Amr's, carried it away and threw it into a ditch belonging to the Beni Salimah in which was human excrement, upside down on its head. When 'Amr got up in the morning he said: 'Alas for you! Who has attacked our god to-night'. Then he went out early in search of it and when he found it he washed, purified and anointed it. Then he said: 'If I only knew who did this to thee I would pour contempt on him' When night came and 'Amr was asleep they attacked it and did the same thing, and he went out early and found it in the same condition of filth as before and he washed, purified and anointed it. Then they would return when evening came and do the same thing. When they had done this repeatedly he extracted it one day from the place where they had thrown it, and washed, purified and restored it. Then he brought a sword, hung it on it and said to it: 'I do not know who is doing to you what you see, but if there is any good in you defend yourself, you have this sword. When night came and he was asleep they returned to it, and took the sword off its neck. Then they took a dead dog and tied him to it with a rope, and threw him into one of the pits of the Beni Salimah in which was human excrement. 'Amr bin al-Jumūh went out early but but did not find it in the place where it was wont to be so he went after it till he found it in the pit upside down tied to a dead dog.

When he had seen it, observed its condition, and some of his people who had islamized spoke to him, by the mercy of Allah, he islamized and became a good Muslim. After he islamized and recognised from Allah what he recognised, he said in mention of his idol and its affair which he observed and gave thanks to Allah who had delivered him from the state of blindness and error in which he had been:-

If you were indeed a god you would not be in a pit
tied to a dog with a rope
Fie on the way you are thrown out - a god humiliated
Now we have found you out as the evil of folly
Praise be to Allah, the Exalted, the Possessor of favour
The Bestower, the Provider, the Judge of religion
He it is who delivered me before
I should be plunged to the darkness of a grave.

The conditions of the Pledge in the last 'Aqabah.

Ibn Ishāq: When Allah allowed His messenger to fight, there were in the pledge to make war conditions other than the conditions imposed on them in the First 'Aqabah. The First was on the basis of the Pledge of the Women, and that was because Allah, to Whom belong power and glory had not permitted His messenger to make war. When Allah gave him permission for it, the Messenger of Allah pledged them in the last 'Aqabah to make war on black and red; he took it for himself and exacted the condition from the people for his Lord and upon their fulfilment thereof he appointed for them Paradise. 'Ubādah ibn al-Walīd ibn 'Ubādah ibn as-Sāmīt related to me on the authority of his father al-Walīd from his father 'Ubādah ibn as-Sāmīt, who was one of the head-men. He said: "We gave the pledge of war to the Messenger of Allah, and 'Ubādah was one of the twelve men who gave him their pledge in the First 'Aqabah, on the basis of the Pledge of the Women, to hear and to obey, in hardship and ease, in things liked and disliked, in preference to ourselves, that we would not have recourse to litigation with his people on any matter, that we would speak the truth wherever we were, not fearing in (the way of) Allah the blame of any blamer.

List of names omitted.

The coming down to the Messenger of Allah of the authorisation to fight.

In the preceding account Muḥammad ibn Ishāq said the Messenger of Allah was not allowed to make war before al-'Aqabah nor was blood-shedding permitted to him. He was only commanded to pray to Allah

to bear wrong with patience, and to turn away from the ignorant. Quraish persecuted the emigres of his people who followed him till they seduced them from their religion, or exiled them from their country, so that they were either being seduced on account of his religion, enduring torments at their hands, or had fled the country as a way of escape from them. Some of them were in the country of Ethiopia, some were in Medina, and in other places. When then, Quraish in insolence against Allah, threw back at Him the honour He would have conferred on them, gave the lie to His Prophet, tormented and exiled those who worshipped Him, adhered to their belief in the unity, accepted His Prophet as genuine, and placed their confidence in his religion, Allah permitted His Messenger to fight, and to seek revenge from those who oppressed and treated them unjustly. The first verse to be sent down to him permitting him to engage in war and allowing him to shed blood and fight those who treated them unjustly, was, according to what I heard on the authority of 'Urwah bin az-Zubair and other scholars, the saying of Allah, the Blessed the Exalted:-

Permission is granted to those who fight because they have suffered wrong, and verily Allah is well able to succour them

and he went on reciting till he came to (the words):-

to Allah belongs the issue of affairs. (Surah 22: 39 - 41).

That is: I have permitted them to make war only because they are oppressed and have done no wrong either in their relationships with each other or with the people, except that they worshipped Allah and that when they appeared they performed the Prayer and gave alms, commanded good deeds and prohibited that which is sinful, meaning the Messenger of Allah and his friends. Then He sent down:-

Fight them till there be no seduction

that is: Till the believer shall not be seduced from his religion

And religion shall belong to Allah (Surah 2: 193).

that is: Till Allah is worshipped without another being worshipped along with Him.

Ibn Ishāq: When Allah permitted war and the tribe of the Helpers pledged themselves to Islam, and to help him and those who followed him and those Muslims who had taken refuge with them, the Messenger of Allah commanded his friends the Emigres of his people and those Muslims who were with him in Mecca to migrate to Medina and join

their brethren the Helpers. He said: "Verily Allah hath appointed for you brethren and an abode where you will be safe". So they went away in companies, but the Messenger of Allah remained in Mecca waiting till his Lord should grant him permission to leave it and migrate to Medina.

Mention of the Emigres to Medina.

The first of the friends of the Messenger of Allah who migrated to Medina from amongst the Quraishite emigres (was) from the Beni Makhzūm. (He was) Abū Salamah bin 'Abd al-Asad bin Hilāl bin 'Abdallah bin 'Umar bin Makhzūm, and his name was 'Abdallah, who migrated to Medina a year before the pledge of the men of al-'Aqabah. He had returned to Mecca to the Messenger of Allah from the country of Ethiopia but when Quraish wrought him harm and news of the islamization of the Helpers who islamized came to him, he went away to Medina as an emigre.

Ibn Ishāq: My father Ishāq bin Yasār related to me on the authority of Salamah bin 'Abdallah bin 'Umar bin Abū Salamah from his grandmother Umm Salamah, wife of the Prophet. She said: "When Abū Salamah decided to go to Medina, he saddled his camel for me, mounted me on it, and along with me my son Salamah bin Abū Salamah, who lay in my bosom, took me away, and he was leading the camel. When the men of the Beni al-Mughīrah bin 'Abdallah bin 'Umar bin Makhzūm saw him they said: 'So this is your intention! You have forced this on us! Have you thought of this wife of yours?' Why should we allow you to take her through the country?' So they snatched the camel-rein from his hand and took me away from him. But the Beni 'Abd al-Asad, kindred of Abū Salamah were enraged at that and said: 'No, we will certainly not leave our son with her since you have taken her away from our friend by force', and both of them pulled my son Salamah in opposite directions till they (the Beni 'Abd al-Mughīrah) let go his hand and the Beni 'Abd al-Asad took him away. The Beni 'Abd al-Mughīrah kept me in their custody and my husband Abū Salamah went away to Medina. Thus I was parted from my husband and my son and I used to go out every morning and sit in the river-bed and I did not cease to weep till almost a year had passed. Then one of my cousins of the Beni al-Mughīrah^{passed by me}. He saw what was the matter with me and took pity on me and said to the Beni al-Mughīrah: 'Do not

Will you not send this poor woman away? And: You have separated her from her husband and her child". So they said to me: "Go and join your husband if you wish". Thereupon the Beni 'Abd al-Asad returned to me my son, I saddled my camel, took my son, laid him in my bosom, and set out to seek my husband in Medina. There was not a single creature with me, but I said: 'I will be satisfied with whoever I may meet till I reach my husband', and when I was in at Tan'im I met 'Uthmān bin Talhah bin Abū Talhah brother of the Beni 'Abd ad-Dār and he said: 'Where are you going, O bint Abū Umayyah?'. I said: 'I am seeking my husband in Medina'. He said: 'And is there no one with you?'. I said: 'No one but Allah and this my son'. He said: 'You shall not be left', and he took hold of my camel rein and went with me to speed me on my way. Truly, I have never been in the company of any of the Arabs who showed himself more honourable than he. When we reached the stopping-place he made my beast kneel down and withdrew from me and when I had dismounted he took away my beast, undid its harness and tied it to a tree, Then he turned aside to a tree and lay down underneath it. When evening came he went to my camel, brought it up, saddled it, then withdrew from me and said: 'Mount'. So when I had mounted and settled myself on my camel, he came, took its rein and led it till he put me down again. He did not cease doing this till he brought me to Medina. When he saw the village of the Beni 'Amr bin 'Auf in Qubā' he said: 'Your husband is in this village', and Abū Salamah was staying there, 'enter it with the blessing of Allah', and he went away on his return journey to Mecca. She said: "I do not know the people of any house in Islam to whom there happened what happened to the family of Abū Salamah, and I have never seen a friend more honourable than 'Uthmān bin Talhah.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the first of the Emigres to come to Medina after Abu Salamah was 'Āmir bin Rabi'ah ally of the Beni 'Adi bin Ka'b accompanied by his wife Lailah bint Abū Hathmah bin Ghānim bin 'Abdallah bin 'Auf bin 'Abīd bin 'Auwaij bin 'Adi bin Ka'b, 'Abdallah bin Jahsh, who bore patiently with his people and his brother 'Abd bin Jahsh, who was Abū Ahmad. Abū Ahmad was a blind man and he went the rounds of Mecca both Upper and Lower without a guide. He was a poet and had (to wife) the daughter of Abū Sufyān bin Harb, al-Qar'ah. His mother was Umaimah bint 'Abd al-Muttalib bin Hisham
The house

of the Beni Jahsh was closed because of the migration and 'Utbah bin Rabi'ah, al-'Abbās bin 'Abd al-Muttalib and Abū Jahl bin Hishām passed by - which to-day is the house of Abān bin 'Uthmān in ar-Radm as they were going to Upper Mecca, and 'Utbah bin Rabi'ah looked at it with its flapping doors, in its desolation with no inhabitant and when he saw it in this state he heaved a deep sigh and said:-

Every house even though it has enjoyed peace for a long time
Yet one day misfortune and affliction will overtake it.

Ibn Hishām: Al-Hūb means 'pain' and in another place it means 'need'. It is also said that al-Hūb means 'fault' or 'crime'. This stanza is the work of Abu Dū'ād al-Iyādī in a poem of his.

Ibn Ishāq: Then 'Utbah bin Rabi'ah said: "The house of the Beni Jahsh has been emptied of its people". Abū Jahl said: Why do you lament over it - they are unknown people (or they are but few in numbers)

Ibn Hishām: Al-Qull means 'one'. Labīd bin Rabi'ah said:-

All the Beni Hurrah - their destiny is to be few
Even though they increase in numbers.

Then he said: "This is the work of my nephew who has created a breach in our community, caused a cleavage in our affair, and brought dissension amongst us. The lodging place of Abū Salamah bin 'Abd al-Asad, 'Āmir bin Rabi'ah, 'Abdallah bin Jahsh, and his brother Abū Ahmad bin Jahsh was with Mubishshir bin 'Abd al-Mundhir bin Zanbar in Qubā' amongst the Beni 'Amr bin 'Auf. Then the Emigres came in batches.

List of names and poetry omitted.

Migration of 'Umar and the story of 'Ayyāsh (who was) with him when they came to Medina.

Ibn Ishāq: The 'Umar bin al-Khattāb and 'Ayyāsh bin Abū Rabi'ah the Makhzūmite set out and came to Medina.

Nāfi' a client of 'Abdallah bin 'Umar related to me on the authority of 'Abdallah bin 'Umar from his father 'Umar bin al-Khattāb. He said: "When we wished to migrate to Medina, I and 'Ayyāsh bin Abū Rabi'ah and Hishām bin al-'Ās bin Wā'il the Sahmite, I specified at-Tanādub as the trysting place, one of the water spots of the Beni Ghifār above Sarif, and we said: 'Whichever one of us does not get to it has been held in custody and his two companions should go their way'. So 'Ayyāsh bin Abū Rabi'ah and I got to at-Tanādub but Hishām was

was held in custody, put to the test and seduced. When we reached Medina we stayed among the Beni 'Amr ibn 'Auf in Qubā. Then Abū Jahl ibn Hishām and al-Hārith ibn Hishām set out and came to us in Medina while the Messenger of Allah was in Mecca, and went to 'Ayyāsh ibn Abū Rabī'ah who was their cousin and their brother by their mother and spoke to him and said: 'Verily your mother has taken a vow that no comb shall touch her head till she has seen you, nor will she seek shade from the sun till she has seen you. Have pity on her then'. I said to him: 'O 'Ayyāsh, verily these men desire you only to get you away from your religion, so beware of them. Surely if the lice do your mother harm she will indeed use the comb, and if the heat of Mecca be too strong for her she will seek the shade'. He said: 'I will keep inviolate my mother's oath. I have property yonder which I shall obtain'. I said: 'I know that I am the greatest property owner amongst Quraish and the half of my wealth will be yours. Do not go with them'. But he refused me everything but that he should go away with them and when he refused everything but that, I said to him: 'Since you have decided what to do, take this she-camel of mine for she is of noble breed and good-natured and cling to her back, and if you suspect anything on the part of the people make your escape on her'. So he set^{out} on her along with them and when they had gone some way Abū Jahl said to him: 'My nephew, I find this camel of mine sluggish, will you let me take turns on this she-camel of yours?'. He said: 'Of course'. He said: 'So he made his camel kneel down and both made their camels kneel so that he could change over to her and when they were all on the ground, they attacked him, bound him, and brought him to Mecca where he was put to the test and seduced. Ibn Ishāq: A member of the family of 'Ayyāsh ibn Abu Rabī'ah related to me that when they brought him into Mecca they brought him in by day in bonds and said: 'O people of Mecca, deal with your stupid ones as we have dealt with this stupid one of ours'.

'Umar's letter to Hishām ibn al-'Ās.

Ibn Ishaq: Nāfi' said on the authority of 'Abdallah ibn 'Umar from 'Umar in his account. He said: "We used to say: 'Allah does not accept those who have been seduced neither by artifice nor ransom nor repentance; a people who knew Allah and turned back to unbelief because of a calamity which befell them'. They were saying that to themselves. When the Messenger of Allah came to Medina,

Allah to Whom belong power and glory sent down about them and our saying and what they said to themselves:-

Say: "O my servants who have committed extravagances against themselves.....

then he recited till he came to (the words):-

the punishment comes to you suddenly when ye are not aware.
(Sūrah 39: 53 - 55).

'Umar said: "So I wrote them out with my hand on a sheet and sent them to Hishām bin al-'Ās. Hishām bin al-'Ās said! When they came to me I began to read them in Dhū Tuwa as I ascended it with them and I approved but did not understand till I said: 'O Allah, make me to understand'. So Allah put it into my heart that they were sent down merely in connection with us and what we said about ourselves and what was said about us. Then I returned to my camel, mounted it and joined the Messenger of Allah who was in Medina".

Departure of al-Walīd bin al-Walīd to Mecca in connection with the affair of 'Ayyāsh and Hishām.

Ibn Ishāq: One in whom I have confidence related to me that the Messenger of Allah said when he was in Medina: "Who will be responsible to me for 'Ayyāsh bin Abū Rabī'ah and Hishām bin al-'Ās?" Al-Walīd bin al-Walīd bin al-Mughīrah said: "I will be responsible to thee for them, O Messenger of Allah". So he set for Mecca, came to it in secret and found a woman carrying food. He said to her: "Where are you going, O handmaid of Allah?". She said: "I am going to these two who are being kept in custody", meaning those two. So he followed her and found out where they were, and they were kept in a house without a roof. When evening came he climbed in to them, took a hard white stone, put it beneath their bonds, struck them with his sword and severed them. Because of that his sword was called 'Dhū al-Marwah'. Then he mounted the two of them on his camel and led them away. But he stumbled and bled his finger and said:-

Art thou any more than a finger bloodied
But how much thou hast found in the way of Allah!

Then he brought them to the Messenger of Allah in Medina.

List of names omitted.

Migration of the Messenger of Allah.

The Messenger of Allah remained in Mecca after his friends the Emigres expecting that permission would be granted him to migrate

Not one of the Emigres was left behind with him in Mecca apart from those who were in custody or were seduced but 'Alī bin Abū Tālib and Abū Bakr bin Abū Quhāfah the Faithful. Abū Bakr had often sought permission from the Messenger of Allah to migrate, and the Messenger of Allah would say to him: "Do not hurry; perhaps Allah will provide a companion for you", and Abū Bakr coveted greatly that it should be he.

The gathering of the chief men of Quraish and their consultations about the affair of the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: When Quraish saw that the Messenger of Allah had a following and friends other than themselves in another town and observed the departure of his friends the Emigres to them, they recognised that they had found a home and obtained protection from them, so they guarded against the departure to them of the Messenger of Allah, for they recognised that he had decided to make war on them. So they gathered in their house of assembly, (which was the house of Qusai bin Kilāb and Quraish decided no matter unless it were there), when they became afraid of him, and consulted as to what they should do about the affair of the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: One of our friends who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of 'Abdallah bin Abu Najīh from Mujāhid bin Jubair Abu 'l-Hajjāj from 'Abdallah bin 'Abbās and others who are above suspicion from 'Abdallah bin 'Abbās. He said: When they had agreed on this course and promised each other to go into the house of assembly to consult together regarding the affair of the Messenger of Allah, they went early on the day they had appointed. That day was called 'the Day of the Crowd'. The devil presented himself to them in the form of a shaikh of noble mien wearing a coarse garment, and stood at the door of the house. When they saw him standing at the door they said: 'Who is the shaikh?'. He said: 'A shaikh of the people of Najd who heard of the tryst you made, and he is present with you to hear what you say, perhaps you will not find him lacking in ideas and advice'. They said: That is so. Come in'. He went in with them, and the nobility of Quraish had gathered there.

List of names omitted.

They said to each other: 'You have observed what has come out of the affair of this man, and now we cannot rely on him not to launch an

attack on us with those outside of us who have followed him. Decide then what, in your opinion, should be done with him'. They consulted together and then one of them said: 'Imprison him in chains and lock the door on him, and then wait for what happened to those poets like him who were before him, such as Zuhair and an-Nābighah and those who died in this way, till there befall him what befell them'. But the shaikh from Najd said: 'No, this is not my advice to you. If you imprison him as you say, his affair will issue from behind the door you have locked on him, to his friends and they will likely attack you and snatch him out of your hands. Then with him they would outnumber you and get the better of you. This is not a good idea for you, you must consider something else'. They consulted together and one of them said: 'We will expel him from our midst, and exile him from our country, and when he has gone away from us we care not where he goes or where he should happen to be, so long as he is away from us and we are through with him. We could then set our affair in order and restore things as they were'. But the shaikh from Najd said: 'This is no advice for you. Have you not observed the beauty of his speech, the pleasing way in which he expresses himself, and his mastery over the hearts of men by what he brings. If you follow this course, I cannot be sure that he will not come to an Arab tribe and get the better of them with that quality of speech of his so that they will pledge themselves to him, and then he will march against you with them, tread you underfoot with them, and take your affair out of your hands. Then he will do with you as he pleases. You must devise some other idea (for dealing with) him. Abū 'ahl bin Hishām said: 'I have an opinion which I do not think has occurred to any of you as yet'. They said: 'What is it, O Abū 'l-Hakm?' He said: 'I think that we should take from each tribe a young man, steadfast, of good birth, and of good position, and give each of them a trusty blade, then let them go to him and smite him with the stroke of a single man and slay him. So shall we be relieved of him. If they did that his blood would be spread over all the tribes, and the Beni 'Abd Manāf, not being able to make war on all their people, would be content with the blood-wit which we would give them'. The shaikh from Najd said: 'What the man has said is the only plan, I see no other (way). Thereupon the people, having resolved on this course, dispersed.

The Prophet leaves his house and puts 'Alī on his bed in his place.
HE SAID: So Gabriel came to the Messenger of Allah and said to him: 'Do not sleep to-night in the bed where you are wont to sleep'. When the darkness of night came on they gathered together at his door lying in wait for him when he should go to sleep so that they could attack him. When the Messenger of Allah saw the station they had taken up, he said to 'Alī bin Abū Tālib : 'Sleep in my bed, and wrap yourself up in this green Hadramite garment of mine and sleep in it and nothing you dislike will come to you from them'. The Messenger of Allah used to sleep in that garment of his whenever he slept.

Ibn Ishāq : Yazīd bin Ziyād related to me on the authority of Muhammad bin Ka'b the Qurathite. He said: "When they assembled at his place Abū Jahl bin Hishām was amongst them, and he said as they were at his door: 'Verily Muhammad claims that if you follow him in his affair, you will be kings of the Arabs and the non-Arabs. Then you will be raised up after death and gardens like those of Jordan will be appointed for you. If you do it not, it will be his (to bring) slaughter amongst you and after death you will be raised up and a Fire appointed for you in which you will be burned'. Then the Messenger of Allah went out to them and took up a handful of dust in his hand and said: 'Yes, I say that, you are one of them'. So Allah took away their sight from him that they did not see him and he began to sprinkle the dust on their heads as he recited these verses from Yā'Sīn:-

Yā' Sīn.

By the wise Qur'ān

Verily thou art one of the messengers

Upon a straight path

down to His saying:-

We have set before them a barrier, and behind them a barrier, and we have thrown a cover over them so that they do not see. (Sūrah 36: 1 - 9).

till the Messenger of Allah finished these verses, and there remained not one of them on whose head he had not put the dust. Then he went away wherever he wanted to go. So someone who was not with them came to them and said: 'What are you waiting here for?' They said: 'Muhammad'. He said: 'May Allah disappoint you! Muhammad came out to you, and left not a man of you without putting dust on his head, and then went about his business; do you not realise what has happened to you?' So each of them put his hand on his head, and lo,

there was dust on it. Then they began looking around and they spotted 'Ali on the bed wrapped up in the cloak of the Messenger of Allah, and they said: 'Surely this is Muhammad asleep with his cloak over him. Thus they remained till morning came and 'Ali arose from the bed, and they said: 'He who related this to us told us the truth'. Ibn Ishāq: The Qur'ān which Allah sent down about that day and what they had resolved to (do to) him, (was):-

When those who have disbelieved were plotting against thee to the end of the verse. Also the saying of Allah to Whom belong power and glory:-

Or do they say: "A poet for whom we may await the uncertainty of Fate?". Say: "Wait, but I am one of those who wait with you". (Sūrah 52, 30, 31).

Ibn Hishām: Al-Manūn means 'death', and Raib al-manūn means 'that which happens to him but about which he is in doubt'. Abū Dhu'aib the Hudhalite said:-

Is it of Fate and its uncertainty that you complain
Since time does not satisfy those who are anxious

This stanza is in a poem of his.

Ibn Ishāq: Thereupon Allah permitted His prophet to migrate. Abū Bakr was a man of means and when he asked leave of the Messenger of Allah to migrate, he said to him: "Do not hurry, perhaps Allah will provide a companion for you", so he coveted that the Messenger of Allah should mean only himself. He was merely referring to himself when he said that to him. So he bought two riding animals and fed them in preparation for that.

The story of the migration of the Messenger of Allah to Medina.

Ibn Ishāq: One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of 'Urwah ibn az-Zubair from 'Ā'ishah, mother of the believers that she said: "The Messenger of Allah did not fail to come to the house of Abū Bakr one end of the day, either in the morning or the evening, till, when the day in which Allah permitted His messenger to migrate and depart from Mecca from the midst of his people, came, the Messenger of Allah came to us at mid-day, at an hour when he was not in the habit of coming to us. When Abū Bakr saw him he said: 'The Messenger of Allah has not come at this hour except on account of something that has happened'. When he came in, Abū Bakr kept back from his couch out of deference to him and the Messenger of Allah sat down.

There was no one with Abū Bakr but myself and my sister Asmā' bint Abū Bakr, and the Messenger of Allah said: 'Send out from me those who are with you'. He said: 'O Messenger of Allah, these are merely my two daughters. What is the matter? May my father and mother be thy ransom'. He said: 'Verily Allah has given me permission to depart and migrate'. Abū Bakr said: 'O Messenger of Allah, (remember) the friendship'. He said: 'The friendship'. I had never realised before then that one could weep for joy till I saw Abū Bakr weep that day. Then he said: 'O Prophet of Allah, verily these two animals are riding camels which I have got ready for this purpose'. So they hired 'Abdallah bin Arqat, a man of the Beni ad-Du'il bin Bakr, whose mother was a woman of the Beni Sahn bin 'Amr, and he was a polytheist, to guide them on the way. They handed the two riding-camels over to him and they remained with him and he fed them for the appointed time.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what we heard, no one knew of the departure of the Messenger of Allah when he went away except 'Ali bin Abū Tālib and Abū Bakr the Faithful, and the family of Abū Bakr. As for 'Ali, the Messenger of Allah informed him of his departure, according to what I have heard, and commanded him to remain behind him in Mecca, and give back, on behalf of the Messenger of Allah, the deposits which he held for the people. There was no one in Mecca who had anything for whose safety he feared that did not deposit it with the Messenger of Allah because of what was known of his truthfulness and honesty.

The story of the Messenger of Allah in the cave with Abū Bakr.

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah resolved to go away he went to Abū Bakr bin Abū Quhāfah, and the two of them went out by a wicket-gate of Abū Bakr's at the rear of his house and made for a cave in Thaur, a mountain in Lower Mecca, into which they entered. Abū Bakr had commanded his son, 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr, that he listen for them to what people were saying about them that day and come to them in the evening with anything that had transpired that day. He also commanded 'Āmir bin Fuhairah his client to pasture his sheep that day and bring them back to them in the cave when evening fell. Asmā' bint Abū Bakr brought them what food they needed in the evening.

Ibn Hishām: A scholar related to me that al-Hasan bin Abu 'l-Hasan said: 'The Messenger of Allah and Abū Bakr reached the cave by night

and Abū Bakr went in before the Messenger of Allah and felt the cave with his hand to see whether there was any wild beast or snake in it, thus keeping the Messenger of Allah safe by risking himself.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah remained in the cave three days in the company of Abū Bakr. When Quraish missed him they offered a hundred she-camels to whoever would return him to them. 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr was amongst Quraish that day and heard what they had devised and what they said about the business of the Messenger of Allah and Abū Bakr. Then he came to them in the evening and gave them the news. And 'Āmir bin Fuḥairah client of Abū Bakr was herding with the shepherds of the inhabitants of Mecca, and when evening came he brought the sheep of Abū Bakr to them and they milked and slaughtered. When 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr went away from them in the morning to Mecca, 'Āmir bin Fuḥairah followed in his footsteps with the sheep to obliterate them. When three days had passed and the people desisted (from the search) for them, their friend whom they had hired brought them their two camels along with one of his own, and Asmā' bint Abū Bakr brought them their provisions for the journey. She had forgotten to include a thong and when she went to hang up the wallet(of food) it had no thong, so she unfastened her girdle, made it into a thong and hung it up with it, so Asmā' bint Abū Bakr was called 'The mistress of the girdle' on that account.

Ibn Hishām: I have heard more than one scholar say: 'Mistress of the two girdles', the explanation of it being that when she wished to hang up her food wallet, she tore her girdle in two, hung up the wallet with one piece, and girded herself with the other.

Ibn Ishāq: When Abū Bakr brought up the two riding-camels to the Messenger of Allah he offered him the better of the two and said: 'Mount, may my father and mother be your ransom'. The Messenger of Allah said: 'I will certainly not ride a camel that does not belong to me'. He said: 'She is yours then, O Messenger of Allah who art dearer to me than my father and mother'. He said: 'Nay, for what price did you purchase her?'. He said: 'For so much'. He said: 'I will take her at that price'. He said: 'She is yours O Messenger of Allah. Then they mounted and rode away and Abū Bakr mounted his client 'Āmir bin Fuḥairah behind him to serve them on the journey.

Ibn Ishāq: It was related to me on the authority of Asmā' bint Abū Bakr that she said: "When the Messenger of Allah and Abū Bakr went away a band of Quraish came to us, amongst whom was Abū Jahl and stood at Abū Bakr's door. I went out to them and they said: 'Where is your father, O daughter of Abū Bakr?' I said: 'Indeed I do not know where my father is'. Then Abū Jahl, who was a foul and gross man, lifted his hand and struck me a blow on the cheek from which my ear-ring dropped!"

The news by an unseen crier of the Jinn about the direction of the journey of the Messenger of Allah.

She said: "Then they took their departure. For three nights we were without information as to which way the Messenger of Allah had gone, until a man of the Jinn came from Lower Mecca, chanting stanzas from the Lyrics of the Arabs. The people were following him and hearing his voice without seeing him till he went away by Upper Mecca. He said:-

Allah, the Lord of men has given the best of rewards
Two friends who alighted at the two tents of Umm Ma'bad
They alighted with a benison and departed in the evening
Success to him who has become the companion of Muhammad
To be of benefit to the Beni Ka'b, the position of whose
tribes and their dwelling places are a watch-tower for the
believers.

Ibn Hishām: Umm Ma'bad bint Ka'b was a woman of the Beni Ka'b from Khuza'ah. His saying: 'they alighted at the two tents of Umm Ma'bad with a benison and departed in the evening is on the authority of another than Ibn Ishāq.

Ibn Ishāq: Asmā' bint Abū Bakr said: "When we heard what he said we knew whether the Messenger of Allah was going, that his face was set towards Medina. There were four of them: the Messenger of Allah, Abū Bakr, 'Amir bin Fahairah, client of Abū Bakr, and 'Abdallah bin Arqat their guide.

Ibn Hishām: He is also given as 'Abdallah bin Uraiqit.

Abū Quhāfah's visit to Asmā'.

Ibn Ishāq: Yahya bin 'Abbād bin 'Abdallah bin az-Zubair related to me that his father 'Abbād related to him on the authority of his grandmother Asmā' bint Abū Bakr. She said: "When the Messenger of Allah went away and Abū Bakr went away with him, the latter took all his

money away with him. He had five or six thousand dirhems which he took with him. My grandfather Abū Quhāfah whose sight had gone, came to see us and said: 'I see that he has put you in straits by taking his money away with him'. I said: 'Not at all my father, verily he has left us much good'. So I took some pebbles, put them in a recess of the house where my father put his money, put a garment over them, took him by the hand and said: 'My father, put your hand on this money'. He put his hand on it and said: 'No matter! If he has left this to you he has done well, and there is a sufficiency for you here'. Indeed he left us nothing but I wanted to soothe the old man by this (ruse).

The story of Surāqah and his ride in pursuit of the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: Az-Zuhrī related to me that 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin Mālik bin Ju'sham related to him on the authority of his father from his uncle Surāqah bin Mālik bin Ju'sham. He said: 'When the Messenger of Allah set out from Mecca to migrate to Medina, Quraish offered a hundred she-camels to anyone who would bring him back to them. While I was sitting in the assembly-place of my people, one of our men came up, stood before us, and said: 'I saw a party of three riders pass by me some time ago and I believe they are Muhammad and his friends'. I signalled to him with my eye to keep silence and said: 'They are only the Beni So-and-so searching for a lost beast of theirs'. He said: 'That may be so', and kept quiet. So I remained a little time, then got up, went to my house, ordered my horse to be led to the bottom of the valley, ordered my arms to be taken out by the back of my room, and taking my arrows with which I drew lots I went away. I put on my breastplate, took out my arrows to draw lots, and the arrow I detested turned up, 'It will do him no harm'. I was hoping I would bring him back to Quraish and get the hundred camels. So I rode out in pursuit of him, but whilst my horse was racing at speed, he stumbled and I fell off. I said: 'What does this mean?'. So I took out my arrows, drew lots with them, and the arrow I detested turned up 'It will do him no harm'. But I refused to do anything to do anything other than follow him, and rode on in pursuit of him, but whilst my horse was racing at speed he stumbled and I fell off. I said: 'What does this mean?' So I took out my arrows, drew lots with them, and the arrow I detested turned up 'It will do him no harm'.

But I refused to do anything other than follow him, and rode on in pursuit of him, and when the party came in view and I saw them, my horse stumbled, his two fore feet sank into the ground and I fell off him. Then he plucked his fore feet out of the ground and smoke like dust driven by the wind came up after them. When I saw that I realised that he was protected from me and had the better (of me). I called to the party: 'I am Surāqah bin Ju'sham, behold me, I am speaking to you. I shall not deceive you nor shall any hurt come to you through me' The Messenger of Allah said to Abū Bakr: 'Ask him what he wants with us', and Abū Bakr asked me that. I said to him: 'You will write me a letter which will be a sign between you and me'. He said: 'Write it for him, O Abū Bakr'. So he wrote me a letter either on bone or paper or pottery, threw it to me, and I took it and put it in my quiver. Then I returned and kept silence not mentioning anything of what had happened. When the conquest of Mecca by the Messenger of Allah took place after he had finished with Hunain and at-Ta'if, I went out bringing with me the letter he had given me, to meet him and I found him at al-Jifranah. I got into a detachment of horse belonging to the Helpers and they began to belabour me with their lances and say 'Stand off! What do you want?'. I approached the Messenger of Allah who was on his she-camel and verily, I saw his leg in the stirrup as it were a burning coal and I raised my hand with the letter in it and said: 'O Messenger of Allah, this is the letter you gave me, I am Surāqah bin Ju'sham'. The Messenger of Allah said: 'A day of fulfilment (of promises) and blessing, bring him near'. So I came up to him and islamized. Then I remembered something about which I would ask the Messenger of Allah, but I did not mention it, I only said: 'O Messenger of Allah, the one of my camels that strays comes to my watering trough when I have filled it for the camels, will I have any reward since I give her water?' He said: 'In every living creature there is a reward'. Then I returned to my people and brought my alms to the Messenger of Allah.

Place names connected with Migration omitted.

Residence of the Messenger of Allah in Medina, his abodes in it and the erection of his mosque.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad bin Ja'far bin az-Zubair related to me on the authority of 'Urwah bin az-Zubair from 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin 'Uwaim

bin Sa'idah. He said: "Some of my people who were friends of the Messenger of Allah said: 'When we heard of the departure of the Messenger of Allah from Mecca and were expecting his arrival, we went out after morning prayer to outside of our stony tract expecting the Messenger of Allah. We did not leave there till the sun drove us to seek shade, and when we could not any longer find shade we came inside, for it was hot weather. When the day came on which the Messenger of Allah arrived, we sat, as we were in the habit of doing, till no shade was left and we went into our houses. The Messenger of Allah arrived after we had gone into our houses. The first man to see him was one of the Jews. He had observed what we were doing and that we were expecting the arrival of the Messenger of Allah, and he cried out at the top of his voice: 'O Beni Qailah, your good fortune has come'.⁶⁸ So we went out to the Messenger of Allah who was under the shade of a palm tree along with Abū Bekr who was about his own age. Most of us had not seen the Messenger of Allah till then, and the people pressed around him not recognising him from Abū Bekr till the shade passed from the Messenger of Allah and Abū Bekr got up and shaded him with his cloak, and then we recognised him.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what they say, the Messenger of Allah became the guest of Kulthūm bin Hidm brother of the Beni 'Amr bin 'Auf and from the sub-tribe of the Beni 'Ubaid. Others say: 'No, he went as a guest to Sa'd bin Khaithamah. Those who state that he became the guest of Kulthūm bin Hidm say that he went out of the house of Kulthūm bin Hidm to grant audience to the people in the house of Sa'd bin Khaithamah, and that was because he was a bachelor and had no family. It was the abode of the bachelors among the emigre friends of the Messenger of Allah, and because of this it has been said that he became the guest of Sa'd bin Khaithamah, and the house of Sa'd bin Khaithamah was called the House of the Bachelors, but Allah knows best whether that was so - we heard it all. Abū Bekr the Faithful went to live with Khubaib bin Isāf one of the Beni 'l-Hārith bin al-Khazraj in as-Sunh. But some one else says he made his abode with Khārījāh bin Zaid bin Abū Zuhair brother of the Beni 'l-Hārith bin al-Khazraj. 'Ali bin Abū Talib remained three days and three nights in Mecca and paid back on behalf of the Messenger of Allah

the deposits which the people had entrusted to him and when he had completed that he joined the Messenger of Allah and became a guest along with him at the house of Kulthūm bin Hidm. 'Ali bin Abū Tālib remained in Qubā' only one or two nights. There was a Muslim woman in Qubā' who had no husband. He said: "I saw a man come to her house at night when all was quiet, and knock her door. He would knock her door, she would come out to him, and he would give her something he had with him which she took. I was suspicious about his business and said to her: 'O handmaid of Allah, who is this man who knocks at your door every night, and you come out to him and he gives you something, I know not what, and you a Muslim woman with no husband'. She said: 'This is Sahl bin Hunaif bin Wāhib, who knows I am a woman with no one belonging to me. When evening comes he attacks the idols of his people, breaks them, and brings them to me and says +Make firewood of these+'. 'Ali related this affair of Sahl bin Hunaif till the time he died with him in Iraq.

Ibn Ishāq: Hind bin Sa'd bin Sahl bin Hunaif related to me this account given by 'Ali about him.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah remained in Qubā' among the Beni 'Amr bin 'Auf Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and laid the foundation of their mosque. Then on Friday Allah took him out of their midst, and the Beni 'Amr bin 'Auf claim that he stayed amongst them longer than that, but Allah knows best. So the Friday found the Messenger of Allah among the Beni Sālim bin 'Auf, and he worshipped that day in the mosque at the bottom of the valley, the valley Ranūnā', and that was the first Friday he worshipped in Medina. Then 'Itbān bin Mālik and 'Abbās bin 'Ubādah bin Nadlah came to him with some men of the Beni Sālim bin 'Auf and said: "O Messenger of Allah, stay with us where there are numbers, equipment and means of defence". He said: "Let her go her way, for verily she has received commandment", (referring) to his she-camel, and they let her go her way. She went on till she was in front of the house of the Beni Bayādah where Ziyād bin Labīd and Farwah bin 'Amr met him with some men of the Bayādah and said: "O messenger of Allah, come to us, where there are numbers, equipment, and means of defence". He said: "Let her go her way for verily she has received commandment", and they let her go her way. She went on till she passed the house of the Beni Sā'idah,

where Sa'd bin 'Ubādah and al-Mundhir bin 'Amr met him with some men of the Beni Sa'idah and said: "O Messenger of Allah, come to us where there are numbers, equipment, and means of defence". He said: "Let her go her way, for verily she has received commandment", and they let her go her way. She went on till she was opposite the house of the Beni 'l-Hārith bin al-Khazraj when Sa'd bin Rabi'ah, Khārijah bin Zaid, and 'Abdallah bin Rawāhah met him with some men of the Beni 'l-Hārith bin al-Khazraj, and said: "O Messenger of Allah, come to us where there are numbers, equipment, and means of defence". He said: "Let her go her way for verily she has received commandment", and they let her go her way. She went on and when she passed by the house of the Beni 'Adi bin an-Najjār who were his near relatives - Umm 'Abd al-Muttalib Salma bint 'Amr was one of their women -, Salīt bin Qais and Abū Salīt, Usairah bin Abū Khārijah met him with some men of the Beni 'Adi bin an-Najjār and said: "O Messenger of Allah, come to your relatives where there are numbers, equipment, and means of defence". He said: "Let her go her way, for verily she has received commandment", and they let her go her way. She went on till she came to the house of the Beni Mālik bin an-Najjār, when she knelt down at the door of his mosque. It was a drying-floor at that time belonging to two orphan boys of the Beni an-Najjār and from the sub-division of the Beni Mālik bin an-Najjār who were under the protection of Mu'ādh bin 'Afrā', Sahl and Suhail sons of 'Amr. When she knelt down with the Messenger of Allah on her back and he did not get off she jumped up and went forward a little way while the Messenger of Allah let her rein hang loose, not guiding her with it, then she turned back to the place where she had first knelt and knelt there. Then she shook herself and stuck firmly to the ground and lowered her neck and the Messenger of Allah dismounted. Abū Ayyūb, Khālīd bin Zaid took away his saddle and placed it in his house. So the Messenger of Allah went to stay with him and made enquiry as to the owner of the drying-floor. Mu'ādh bin 'Afrā' said to him: "O Messenger of Allah, it belongs to Sahl and Suhail the sons of 'Amr who are orphans in my care. Take it for a mosque and I will compensate them for it".

The building of the Mosque

The Messenger of Allah gave orders that a mosque should be built and he stayed with Abū Ayyūb till he had built his mosque and dwelling-houses. The Messenger of Allah worked on it himself to stimulate the Muslims to work, and the Emigres and the Helpers worked on it with might and main. One of the Muslims said:-

If we had sat still while the Prophet worked
That work would have been lost to us.

The Muslims recited as they builded in these words:-

There is no life but the life of the Hereafter
O Lord, have mercy on the Helpers and the Emigres

Ibn Hishām: This is prose and not short-metre verse.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah would say:-

There is no life but the life of the Hereafter
O Lord, have mercy on the Emigres and the Helpers.

The Prophet's testimony to 'Ammār during the building of the Mosque that a wicked clique would kill him.

He said: Then 'Ammār bin Yāsir came in. They had loaded him with clay bricks and he said: *O Messenger of Allah, they have killed me, they lade me with that which they will not carry*. Umm Salamah, wife of the Prophet said: * I saw the Messenger of Allah ruffle his long thick hair with his hand - he was a curly-haired man - and say: 'Alas for you, Ibn Sumayyah! They are not the ones who will slay you, only the wicked clique will do that'. 'Ali bin Abū Tālib recited at that time:-

Those who build mosques are not all on the same level
Some exert themselves in it whether standing or sitting*
And some are seen shying away from the dust.

Ibn Hishām : I asked more than one student of poetry about these ~~Rājazametnestanza~~ and they said: "We heard that Ali bin Abū Tālib recited them but we do not know whether he composed them or not".

Ibn Ishāq: So 'Ammār bin Yasar took them up and began to recite them.

Ibn Hishām: When he repeated them a number of times, one of the friends of the Messenger of Allah imagined that he was alluding to him, according to what Ziyād bin 'Abdallah related to us on the authority of Ibn Ishāq, and Ibn Ishāq gave the man's name.

*Cairo Text used here.

Ibn Ishāq: He said: "I have only to-day heard what you have said, O Ibn Sumayyah and indeed, I think I shall beat you on the snout with this stick". He had a stick in his hand. The Messenger of Allah grew angry and said: "What have they to do with 'Ammār? He calls them to Paradise and they call him to the Fire. Verily 'Ammār is the skin between my eyes and nose, and when that is attained by a man he is not allowed to live, so leave him alone".

Ibn Hishām : Sufyān bin 'Uyaynah said on the authority of Zakariya from ash-Sha'bī. He said: "The first one to build a mosque was 'Ammār bin Yāsār.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah resided in the house of Abū Ayyūb till his Mosque and dwelling-houses were built for him, then he moved from the house of Abū Ayyūb into his own quarters.

Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd bin Abū Habīb related to me on the authority of Marthad bin 'Abdallah the Yazanite from Abū Ruhm the Samā'ite. He said: Abū Ayyūb related to me. He said: "When the Messenger of Allah came to stay at my house, he went into the lower storey while Umm Ayyūb and I were in the upper storey, so I said to him: 'O Prophet of Allah, you are as dear to me as father and mother, I dislike it and think it a terrible thing that I should be above you and you beneath me, come out then, and occupy the top part and we will come down and occupy the bottom part'. He said: 'O Abū Ayyūb, verily it is easier for us and for those who come to us that we should be below'. Thus the Messenger of Allah remained in the lower part of the house while we were in the upper part above him. A large earthenware jar of ours which contained water got broken and Umm Ayyūb and I took a velvet blanket of ours with which to mop up the water. It was all we had for a quilt, but we were afraid some of the water would drip through on the Messenger of Allah and do him harm. We used to make supper for him and send it down to him, and when he sent back to us what was left over, I and Umm Ayyūb thought the place his hand had touched would bring good fortune and we ate from that place, being desirous of a blessing thereby. One night we sent him his supper into which we had put onions or garlic, and the Messenger of Allah returned it, but I could see no trace of his hand having touched it. So I came down to him in fear and said: 'O messenger of Allah, you are as dear to me as father and mother, you returned your supper and

I could see no trace of your hand having touched it. When you sent it back to us Umm Ayyūb and I thought the place your hand had touched would bring good fortune being desirous of a blessing thereby'. He said: 'I found in it the atoma of this herb, and I am a man who is whispered to, so take it and eat it yourselves'. We ate it and did not prepare that herb for him again".

The Emigres join the Messenger of Allah in Medina.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Emigres began to join the Messenger of Allah one after another, and none of them stayed in Mecca but those who were either seduced or in confinement. The people who migrated from Medina to Allah and His messenger did not take all their families and properties with them, with the exception of certain specified houses, namely the Beni Maz'ūn from the Beni Jumah, the Beni Jahsh ibn Ri'āb allies of the Beni Umayyah, and the Beni al-Bukair from the Beni Sa'd ibn Laith, allies of the Beni 'Adi ibn Ka'b, whose houses in Mecca were locked up when they migrated and none dwelt in them. When the Beni Jahsh ibn Ri'āb went away from their house, Abū Sufyan ibn Harb acted unjustly in connection with it and sold it to 'Amr ibn 'Alqamah brother of the Beni 'Āmir ibn Lu'ai. When news of what Abū Sufyān had done with their house came to the Beni Jahsh, 'Abdallah ibn Jahsh told the Messenger of Allah, and the Messenger of Allah said to him: "O 'Abdallah, are you not content that Allah should give you in place of it, a better house than it in Paradise?". He said: "Certainly". He said: "Then that (house) is yours". When the Messenger of Allah took Mecca, Abū Ahmad spoke to him about their houses, but the Messenger of Allah was slow to answer him, and the people said to Abū Ahmad: "Verily the Messenger of Allah dislikes (the thought) that you would go back to any of your property which has been taken from you in (the way of) Allah". So he refrained from speaking to the Messenger of Allah and said to Abū Sufyān:-

Tell Abū Sufyān of an affair whose consequences he will regret

The house of your cousin which you sold to pay your fine
Your ally by Allah, the Lord of men is diligent in division
Take it! Take it! You have had it conferred on you as
the pigeon's ring.

So the Messenger of Allah resided in Medina after he came to it in the month of Rabi' I, till Safar of the following year when his mosque and dwelling-house were built for him. The acceptance of Islam by the

tribe to which the Helpers belonged went on apace till not a house of the Helpers remained whose people had not islamized except Khatmah, Wāqif, Wā'il, Umayyah and the Aus Allah who were a sub-tribe of the Aus, who remained in their polytheism.

His first oration.

He said: The first oration the Messenger of Allah delivered, according to what I heard on the authority of Abū Salamah ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān - we take refuge in Allah lest we attribute to the Messenger of Allah something he did not say - was when he stood up amongst them, and praised and blessed Allah as He is worthy to be praised and said: "O people, bring forward something for yourselves. You assuredly know that one of you shall be stricken dead and leave his sheep without a shepherd,⁶⁹ then his Lord will surely say to him when he has no interpreter or doorkeeper to hinder him from access to Him: 'Did not My messenger come to you and tell you. I gave you property and bestowed favour on you and you did not bring forward (something) for yourself'. Then he shall indeed look to left and right and not see anything, and he shall look in front of him and see nothing but ~~Gehenna~~, and whoever is able to preserve his face from the Fire even by as much as half a date, let him do it. And whoever does not find (a half date) then (let him preserve it) with a good word, for verily goodness will be rewarded thereby from ten to seven hundred times. Peace be upon you and the mercy and blessing of Allah".

His second oration.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah delivered an oration to the people another time and said: "Verily, praise be to Allah; I praise Him and ask His help. We take refuge in Allah from the evils in ourselves and the wickedness of our deeds. He whom Allah guides has no one to lead him astray, but he who goes astray has no one to guide him aright. I testify that there is no god but Allah alone, He has no partner. Verily the best communication is the Book of Allah. Prosperous is he whom Allah has adorned in heart and brought him into Islam after unbelief, and has chosen it in preference to other human tales. Verily it is the best communication and the most eloquent. Love what Allah loves; love Allah with your whole hearts. Grow not weary of the word of Allah and His reminder. Let not your hearts

Let not your hearts be hardened against it for out of all that Allah creates He chooses (it). He has designated it the best of all His works, the choicest of his creatures, the best of communications and of all that has been brought to men (telling them) of what is allowable and what is forbidden.. Worship Allah, then, associate nothing with Him, and show all piety towards Him. Speak the truth to Allah Who makes good what you say with your lips, and love one another in the spirit of Allah (which is) among you. Verily Allah is angry if His covenant is broken. Peace be upon you and the mercy of Allah."

The Charter of the Messenger of Allah which he drew up (to regulate matters) between the Emigres and the Helpers and his (attempt to) conciliate the Jews.⁷⁰

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah drew up a charter (to regulate matters) between the Emigres and the Helpers in which (he attempted to) conciliate the Jews by offering them a compact confirming to them their religion and possessions and granting and imposing conditions.

"In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is a charter from the Prophet Muhammad (to regulate matters) between the Muslims and believers of Quraish, and the Muslims and believers of Yathrib, and those who have followed with them, joined them, and striven with them. Verily they are one nation, apart from the people. The Emigres of Quraish shall, as was their previous practice, defray the price of blood shed among themselves, and shall ransom their prisoners, who are believers, with kindness and justice. The Beni 'Auf, according to their custom, shall discharge their prime blood-wits, and each sect shall ransom its prisoners who are believers with kindness and justice. The Beni 'l-Hārith, according to their custom, shall discharge their prime blood-wits, and each sect shall ransom its prisoners who are believers who are believers, with kindness and justice. The Beni Sā'idah, according to their custom, shall discharge their prime blood-wits, and each set shall ransom its prisoners who are believers, with kindness and justice. The Beni Jusham, according to their custom, shall discharge their prime blood-wits, and each sect shall ransom its prisoners who are believers, with kindness and justice. The Beni an-Najjār, according to their custom, shall discharge their prime blood-wits, and each sect shall ransom its

shall ransom its prisoners who are believers with kindness and justice. The Beni 'Amr ibn 'Auf shall, as was their previous practice, discharge their prime blood-wits, and each set shall ransom its prisoners who are believers with kindness and justice. The Beni an-Nabīṭ shall, as was their previous practice, discharge their prime blood-wits, and each set shall ransom its prisoners who are believers with kindness and justice. The believers shall not abandon anyone amongst them who is in debt but shall give to him out of kindness whather it be for a ransom or a blood-wit.

Ibn Hishām: Al-Mufrah means the one who is burdened with debt or dependants. The poet said:-

Since you have not ceased giving security and bearing other responsibilities, the deposits have made you bankrupt.

No believer shall make a treaty with the client of another believer in his absence. Verily the pious believers shall be against whoever of them covets or desires an attitude of tyranny, crime, injustice, or corruption among the believers, verily their hands shall be against him even though he were the son of one of them. A believer shall not slay another believer for the sake of an unbeliever, nor shall he help an unbeliever against a believer. The protection of Allah is one, He protects them all, even the humblest of them. The believers shall be clients of each other apart from other people. Whoever of the Jews follows us shall have help and example to imitate without being oppressed or their enemies being helped against them. The peace of the believers shall be one; believer shall not make peace apart from believer when fighting in the way of Allah except on a basis of equity and justice between them. On every expedition they undertake they shall take turns with each other. The believers shall compensate each other for the bloodshed they sustain in the way of Allah; verily the pious believers have the best and truest guidance. No polytheist shall protect the persons or property of Quraish nor interpose between them and the believers. Whoever slays a believer wrongfully there will be retaliation for him when evidence is produced, unless the patron of the slain man is satisfied, verily the believers as a whole shall be against him, and nothing else will be possible for them but to rise up against him. It shall not be

permissible for a believer who has acknowledged what is in this document and believed in Allah and the Last Day to aid an innovator or give refuge to him, and whoever helps him or gives him refuge, verily the curse and wrath of Allah will be (visited) upon him on the day of Resurrection and no repayment or requital will be accepted from him. Whatever you may disagree about should be referred to Allah and to Muhammad. Verily the Jews shall contribute their share along with the believers so long as they are fighting. The Jews of the Beni 'Auf are one people with the believers; the Jews have their religion and the Muslims have their religion, both they and their clients, except whoever does wrong or commits crime, for he destroys none but himself and the people of his house. The Jews of the Beni an-Najjār shall have the same terms as the Jews of the Beni 'Auf. The Jews of the Beni 'l-Hārith shall have the same terms as the Jews of the Beni 'Auf. The Jews of the Beni Jush'am shall have the same terms as the Jews of the Beni 'Auf. The Jews of the Beni Tha'labah shall have the same terms as the Jews of the Beni 'Auf, except those who do wrong and commit crime, for he destroys none but himself and the people of his house. Jafnah, a sub-division of Tha'labah are the same as themselves. The Beni ash-Shutaibah shall have the same terms as the Jews of the Beni 'Auf. Verily righteousness is aloof from wrong-doing. The clients of Tha'labah shall have the same terms as themselves. None of them shall go forth except with the permission of Muhammad, and none shall be hindered from avenging a wound. Whoever commits murder it shall be on himself and the people of his house except he who does wrong. Verily Allah has the most righteous method of this matter. The Jews shall bear their own expenses and the Muslims shall bear their own expenses, but they shall help anyone who makes war on the people of this document. There shall be sincerity of counsel between them, and righteousness is aloof from wrongdoing. No man shall commit a crime against his ally; help shall be forthcoming for the oppressed. The Jews shall contribute their share along with the believers so long as they are fighting. The interior of Yathrib shall be sacred for the people of this charter. The neighbour shall

be as the man himself - inviolable if he commit no offence. Women shall not be protected except with the consent of their people. If any incident or disagreement takes place among the people of this charter from which mischief is feared it shall be referred to Allah and ~~(the)~~ Muhammad the Messenger of Allah. Allah is the holiest of all that is in this charter and the most righteous. Neither Quraish nor any who give them help shall receive protection. They shall help each other against whoever would take Yathrib by surprise. If they are called upon to draw up peace terms in an ambiguous fashion they shall do so, but if they issue the call for some such thing, they shall get it in spite of the believers, except such as fight in the way of religion. Every one will get his portion from his neighbour next to him. The Jews of Aus, both their clients and themselves, shall be on the same footing as the people of the charter (receiving) genuine righteous treatment from the people of the charter.

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as 'the righteousness which does good from the people of the charter'.

Ibn Ishāq: Verily righteousness is aloof from wrongdoing. No one shall make a gain except to his own detriment, and Allah is the most truthful and the most righteous of all that is in this charter. This charter shall not take effect in the case of the wrong-doer and criminal. He who goes forth shall be secure, and he who remains in Medina shall be secure except he does wrong and commits crime. Verily Allah is the protector of the righteous and the godly and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Hishām: Yūtiḡhu means 'he destroys' or 'he corrupts'.

The Fraternity which the Messenger of Allah established between the Emigres and the Helpers.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah created a bond of brotherhood between his friends the Emigres and the Helpers. He said, according to what I heard, and we take refuge in Allah lest we attribute to him something he did not say: "Become brethren in Allah, two by two". Then he took 'Ali bin Abū Tālib by the hand and said: "This is my brother". So the Messenger of Allah, chiefest of the Messengers, leader of the godly, the Messenger of the Lord of the worlds, who has no equal or peer among men, and 'Ali bin Abū Tālib became brethren. And Hamzah bin 'Abd al-Muttalib, the lion of Allah and

His Messenger, the uncle of the Messenger of Allah and Zaid bin Hārithah became brethren. Hamzah made him his trustee on the day of Uhud when he went into battle, in case death should overtake him. Ja'far bin Abū Tālib the possessor of the two wings, the flyer in Paradise and Mu'adh bin Jabal brother of the Beni Salimah became brethren.

Ibn Hishām: Ja'far bin Abū Tālib was at that time absent in the land of Ethiopia.

Ibn Ishāq: Abū Bakr the Faithful and Khārijah bin Zaid bin Abū Zuhair brother of the Beni 'l-Hārith bin al-Khazraj became brethren. 'Umar bin al-Khattāb and 'Itbān bin Mālik brother of the Beni Sālim bin 'Auf bin 'Amr bin 'Auf bin al-Khazraj became brethren.

Remainder of list omitted.

These are the names of his friends who are given to us betwixt whom the Messenger of Allah created a bond of brotherhood. When 'Umar bin al-Khattāb composed his registers in Syria; and Bilāl had gone to Syria and remained there to carry on the struggle; 'Umar said to Bilāl: "With whom shall we inscribe you, O Bilāl?" He said: "With Abū Ruwaihah. I will never separate from him on account of the brotherhood which the Messenger of Allah established between him and me". So he was included with him, and the register of the Ethiopians was included in that of Khath'am because of the place Bilāl had amongst them, and it is Khath'am to this day in Syria.

Death of Abu Umamah As'ad bin Zurarah and the Prophet's saying to the Beni an-Najjar about the chieftainship.

Ibn Ishāq: Abu Umamah As'ad bin Zurarah died during the months in which the Mosque was being built. It was either Diphtheria or Whooping Cough that ended his days. 'Abdallah bin Abū Bekr bin Muhammad bin 'Amr bin Hazm related to me on the authority of Yahya bin 'Abdallah bin 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin As'ad bin Zurarah that the Messenger of Allah said: "The dead man Abū Umamah is bad for the Jews and the hypocrites of the Arabs who will say: 'If he were a prophet his friend would not have died', but I do not hold from Allah anything either for myself or my friend".

Ibn Ishāq: 'Asim bin 'Umar bin Qatadah the Helper related to me that when Abū Umamah As'ad bin Zurarah died the Beni an-Najjar gathered

together to the Messenger of Allah - Abū Umāmah was their chieftain - and said to him: "O Messenger of Allah, this man had a place amongst us as you know, so appoint one of us in his place to manage our affairs as he did" The Messenger of Allah said to them: "You are my relatives and I am aware of the custom that obtains amongst you. I will be your chieftain" The Messenger of Allah disliked (the thought) of selecting one of them in preference to the rest. The Beni an-Najjār reckoned that the superiority they enjoyed over their people was due to the Messenger of Allah being their chieftain.

The beginning of the Call to Prayer.⁷¹

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah was at rest in Medina and his brethren the Emigres were gathered around him, the affair of the Helpers consolidated, and Islam securely established, Prayer was introduced, alms and fasting ordained, things allowable and forbidden were instituted and Islam penetrated into their midst. It was the tribe of the Helpers who maintained the fold (of Islam) and the faith. When the Messenger of Allah came to Medina the people were in the habit of gathering to him for prayer at the stated times without a call. The Messenger of Allah thought of appointing a trumpet like that of the Jews with which they give the call to their prayers but that became repugnant to him. Then he ordered a gong which was cut out, to be beaten as a means of calling the Muslims to prayer. While they were engaged on this work, 'Abdallah bin Zaid bin Tha'labah bin 'Abd Rabbah brother of the Beni 'l-Hārith bin al-Khazraj, had a vision of the call, came to the Messenger of Allah and said to him: "O Messenger of Allah, a vision has appeared to me, a man passed by me wearing two green garments, carrying a gong in his hand, and I said to him: 'O servant of Allah, will you sell this gong?'. He said: 'What would you do with it?'. I said: 'We will give the call to prayer with it'. He said: 'Shall I not point you to something better than that?'. I said: 'What is it?'. He said: 'You shall say: ALLAH IS MOST GREAT: ALLAH IS MOST GREAT: ALLAH IS MOST GREAT: ALLAH IS MOST GREAT: I TESTIFY THAT THERE IS NO GOD BUT ALLAH: I TESTIFY THAT THERE IS NO GOD BUT ALLAH: I TESTIFY THAT MUHAMMAD IS THE MESSENGER OF ALLAH: I TESTIFY THAT MUHAMMAD IS THE MESSENGER OF ALLAH: COME TO PRAYER: COME TO PRAYER: COME TO SALVATION: COME TO SALVATION: GOD IS MOST GREAT: GOD IS MOST GREAT: THERE IS NO GOD BUT ALLAH. When he told it to the Messenger of Allah, he said: "Verily it is a genuine vision, if

Allah wills, go up with Bilāl, pass it on to him, and let him give it out as the call to prayer, for he has a better-carrying voice than you! When Bilāl called it out, 'Umar bin al-Khattāb heard it as he was in his house and he went out to the Messenger of Allah, dragging his cloak, and said: "O messenger of Allah, by Him who has sent you with the truth, I saw the same as he saw". The Messenger of Allah said: "To Allah be the praise!"

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad bin Ibrahim bin al-Hārith related this tradition to me on the authority of Muhammad bin 'Abdallah bin Zaid bin Tha'labah bin 'Abd Rabbah who got it from his father.

Ibn Hishām: Ibn Juraih says: "'Atā'said to me: I heard 'Abīd bin 'Umair the Laithite say: 'The Prophet and his friends conferred together about (using) the gong to assemble the people for prayer, and when 'Umar bin al-Khattāb was about to purchase two pieces of wood for the gong, 'Umar saw in a dream that they should not set up the gong but give a call to prayer. So 'Umar went away to the Messenger of Allah to tell him about what he had seen, but the revelation about that had come to the Prophet, and nothing took Umar by surprise, but Bilāl giving the call to prayer. The Messenger of Allah said when he told him about it: "The revelation about it came before you".

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad bin Ja'far bin az-Zubair related to me on the authority of 'Urwah bin az-Zubair from a woman of the Beni an-Najjār. She said: "My house was the highest of those around the Mosque and Bilāl gave the call to prayer on it every morning at dawn. He came just at daybreak and squatted on the house-top awaiting the dawn and when he saw it he spread out his arms and said: "O Allah, I praise Thee and ask Thy help for Quraish that they may perform Thy religion", then he gave the call to prayer. I never knew him miss a single night"

The affair of Abū Qais bin Abū Anas. 72.

Ibn Ishāq: When the house of the Messenger of Allah was enjoying quietness, and Allah had manifested His religion in it and satisfied him with the (number of) Emigres and Helpers from his kith and kin which Allah had gathered together for him, Abu Qais, Sirmah bin Abu Ahas brother of the Beni 'Adi bin an-Najjār said:-

Ibn Ishāq: He was a man who had become a monk in the Age of Barbarism donned the hairy habit, abandoned idols, performed the ablutions for legal impurity, and purified himself from menstruating women. He had the intention of embracing Christianity but held back from it and entered a house which he chose as a place of worship, where no menstruous woman or polluted person came to him. He said: 'I worship the Lord of Abraham', and he abandoned idols in disgust. When the Messenger of Allah came to Medina he accepted Islam, when an old man, and became a good Muslim. He was a fluent speaker of the truth, extolling Allah in the Age of Barbarism, uttering elegant poetry about that, and it was he who said:-

Poetry omitted, also list of names.

'Abdallah ibn Salām accepts Islām.

Ibn Ishāq: The account of 'Abdallah ibn Salām, as some of his people related it to me on his authority, and his acceptance of Islam when he became a Muslim, and he was a learned Rabbi (is as follows). He said: "When I heard of the Messenger of Allah I recognised his description, his name, and the time when we were expecting him, but I kept it a secret and was silent about it till the Messenger of Allah came to Medina. When he stopped in Qubā with the Beni 'Amr ibn 'Auf, a man came and gave news of his arrival while I was up a palm tree of mine doing something to it, and my aunt Khālidah bint al-Harith was sitting beneath me. When I heard the news of the arrival of the Messenger of Allah I uttered a Takbīr, and when my aunt heard my Takbīr she said: 'May Allah frustrate you! You would not have done more if you had heard that Moses ibn 'Imrān was coming'. I said: 'My aunt, he is the brother of Moses ibn 'Imrān, a follower of his religion who is sent with what he was sent'. She said: 'My nephew, is he the Prophet of whom we have been told that he will be sent with the Hour itself?'. I said to her: 'Yes', and she said: 'It is he then'. Then I went to the Messenger of Allah, accepted Islam, came back to the people of my house, commanded them, and they accepted Islam, but I kept my acceptance of Islam a secret from the Jews. Then I went to the Messenger of Allah and said: 'O Messenger of Allah, verily the Jews are a people given to calumny, and I would like you to put me in one of your houses and remove me from them. Then you could enquire of them about me and they will tell you what kind of a man I was amongst them before they knew I had accepted Islam, for if they know of it they will slander me and put me to shame. So the Messenger of Allah put me in one of his

houses, and they went in to him, spoke with him and enquired of him. Then he said: 'What sort of a man is al-Husain bin Salām amongst you?'. They said: 'Our chieftain, our chieftain's son, our Rabbi and man of learning'. When they had finished what they had to say, I came out to them and said to them: 'O Jewish people, be piously disposed towards Allah and accept what he has brought you. You do indeed know that he is the Messenger of Allah whom you will find mentioned by name and description⁷³ in the Torah you have. I testify that he is the Messenger of Allah, I believe in him, accept him as genuine, and recognise him'. They said: 'You lie', and rushed at me. I said to the Messenger of Allah: 'O Prophet of Allah, did I not tell you that they are a people given to calumny, a treacherous, lying, and wicked community'. Thus I made known my islamization and that of the people of my house, and my aunt Khālidah bint al-Hārith islamized and her islamization was genuine.

The islamization of Mukhairīq.

Ibn Ishāq: The account of Mukhairīq. He was a learned Rabbi, a rich man with much wealth in the way of palm trees. He recognised the Messenger of Allah by his description and what he found in his learning. But the comradeship of his religion got the better of him and he remained in this state till the day of Uhud came. The day of Uhud was a Saturday. He said: 'O Jewish people, you verily know that it is incumbent on you to aid Muhammad'. They said: 'To-day is Saturday'. He said: 'You have no Saturday'. Then he took up his arms, went out and came to the Messenger of Allah and his comrades at Uhud. He made an agreement with his people who were behind him: 'If I am slain to-day my property belongs to Muhammad to do with as Allah shall show him'. When the people joined battle he fought till he was slain. According to what I heard, the Messenger of Allah said: 'Mukhairīq was the best of the Jews'. Then the Messenger of Allah took possession of his property, and all the alms of the Messenger of Allah in Medina were derived from it.

A testimony on the authority of Safiyyah.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr bin Muhammad bin 'Amr bin Hazm related to me. He said: It was related to me on the authority of Safiyyah bint Huyai bin Akhtab that she said: 'I was the best-loved child of my father and also of my uncle Abū Yāsir. I never found

them in the company of another child of theirs that they did not take me instead of him. When the Messenger of Allah came to Medina and stopped with the Beni 'Amr bin 'Auf, my father Huyai bin Akhtab and my uncle Abū Yāsir bin Akhtab waited on him early one morning, having journeyed before dawn. They did not return till sunset and they came tired out, exhausted, in a state of collapse, and with halting gait. I was cheerful with them as I always was, but neither of them turned in my direction because of the sorrow that was in them. I heard my uncle Abū Yāsir say to my father Huyai bin Akhtab : 'Is it he?'. He said: 'Yes'. He said: 'Do you recognise and confirm him?' He said: 'Yes'. He said: 'What is in your heart with regard to him?'. He said: 'Enmity to him as long as I live'.

The Hypocrites among the Helpers who went over to the Jews.

Ibn Ishāq: The hypocrites of the Aus and the Khazraj who joined the Jews whose names have been given to us, but Allah knows best, were:- From the Aus and from the sub-division of the Beni 'Amr bin 'Auf bin Mālik bin al-Aus, and from the sub-division of the Beni Laughān bin 'Amr bin 'Auf, Zuwai bin al-Hārith. From the Beni Hubayyib bin 'Amr bin 'Auf, Julās bin Suwaid bin Sāmī and his brother al-Hārith bin Suwaid. It was Julās who said - he was amongst those who remained behind the Messenger of Allah in the expedition of Tabūk; "Verily, if this man speak the truth we are worse than asses". 'Umair bin Sa'd who was one of them, reported that saying of his to the Messenger of Allah. He was in the room of Julās to which Julās had succeeded with his mother after his father, and 'Umair bin Sa'd said to him: "O Julās, you are the best beloved of people to me and the best of them in my opinion, at lending a helping hand the dearest of them to me lest anything he disliked should befall him. You have spoken a word which if I report it to him, I will cause you disgrace and if I keep silence my religion will perish, and one of the two is easier for me than the other". So he went to the Messenger of Allah and told him what Julās had said, and Julās swore by Allah to the Messenger of Allah: "'Umair has indeed lied against me. I did not say what 'Umair bin Sa'd said". So Allah sent down in connection with him:-

They swear by Allah that they did not say (it), but they did say the word of unbelief, and have disbelieved after becoming Muslims, and had in mind what they could not attain

to, and they had nothing for which to take revenge save that Allah and his Messenger had enriched them from His bounty. If they repent it will be better for them, but if they turn away Allah will punish them with a painful punishment in this world and the Hereafter, and on earth they shall have neither patron nor helper. (Sūrah 9: 74).

Ibn Hishām: Al-Alām means 'that which causes pain' Dhu ar-Rummaḥ said in description of some camels:-

And we rise up from the breasts of tall camels
Upon whose faces there beats a fierce painful heat.

This stanza is in a poem of his.

Ibn Ishāq: They say that he repented and that his repentance was genuine, so that Islam and what was good were recognised in him. And his brother al-Hārith bin Suwaid who slew al-Mujadhdhar bin Dhiyār the Balawite and Qais Bin Zaid one of the Beni Dubai'ah on the day of Uhud. He went out with the Muslims but was a hypocrite, and when the people joined battle, he attacked the two of them, slew them, and then joined Quraish.

Ibn Hishām: Al-Mujadhdhar bin Dhiyār had slain Suwaid bin Sāmīt in one of the wars that took place between the Aus and the Khazraj, and when the day of Uhud came, al-Hārith bin Suwaid sought to find al-Mujadhdhar off his guard, that he might slay him for his father, and he killed him alone. I have heard more than one scholar say: "The proof that he did not slay Qais bin Zaid is that Ibn Ishāq does not mention him among the slain of Uhud."

Ibn Ishāq: Mu'adh bin 'Afrā' slew Suwaid bin Sāmīt by treachery in another war, before the day of Bu'ath, in which he shot him with an arrow and killed him.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what they say, the Messenger of Allah had ordered 'Umar bin al-Khattāb to slay him if he should gain the mastery over him, but he escaped from him, and was in Mecca. Then he sent to his brother Julās, seeking forgiveness that he might return to his people. So Allah sent down about him according to what I have heard on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās:-

How shall Allah guide a people who have disbelieved after having believed, and have testified that the Messenger is true, and the Evidences have come to them? Allah does not guide the people (who are) wrong-doers. Sūrah 3: 80).

to the end of the story.

From the Beni Dubaiah bin Zaid bin Mālik bin 'Auf bin 'Amr bin 'Auf, Bijād bin 'Uthmān bin 'Āmir.

From the Beni Laudhān bin 'Amr bin 'Auf, Nabtāl bin al-Hārith.

According to what I heard, it was he of whom the Messenger of Allah said: "Whoever wishes to see Satan let him look at Nabtāl bin al-Hārith". He was a heavily built man, tall and black, with hair standing on end, with red eyes and dark red cheeks. He used to come to the Messenger of Allah, talk to him and listen to him, and then report his conversation to the Hypocrites. It was he who said: "Muhammad is but an ear, if anyone tells him anything he believes it". So Allah sent down about him:-

There are some of them who harm the Prophet and say: "He is but an ear". Say: "An ear of good for you! He believes in Allah and believes in the believers, and is a mercy to those of you who believe, but those who harm the Messenger of Allah shall have a painful punishment. (Sūrah 9: 61).

Ibn Ishāq: One of the men of the Beni 'l-'Ajlān related to me that it was related to him that Gabriel came to the Messenger of Allah and said to him: "Verily there sits with you a man who is tall and black, with hair standing on end, with dark-red cheeks and red eyes, as if they were brazen urns, whose liver is coarser than that of a donkey, and who reports your conversation to the Hypocrites; beware of him" According to what they say, that was the description of Nabtāl bin al-Hārith.

From the Beni Dubai'ah, Abū Hubaibah bin al-Az'ar who was one of those who built the Mosque of Contention. And Tha'labah bin Hātim and Mu'attib bin Qushair, and they were the two who made a covenant with Allah: "If he brings us some of his favour we will accept him as true and we will be amongst those who do well", to the end of the story. It was Mu'attib who said on the day of Uhud: "If we had had anything to do with this affair we would not have been slain here", and Allah sent down about that saying of his:-

A section of them were concerned about themselves, thinking about Allah what is not true, the thoughts of the Age of Barbarism, saying: "If we had had anything to do with the affair we would not have been slain here. (Sūrah 3: 154).

to the end of the story. It was he who said on the day of the Parties: "Muhammad promised us that we should devour the treasures of Chosroes and Caesar, but not one of us considers himself safe to go to the privy". So Allah sent down in connection with him:-

When the Hypocrites and those in whose hearts was disease were saying: "Allah and His Messenger have promised us nothing but illusion". (Sūrah 33: 12).

And al-Hārith bin Hātib.

Ibn Hishām: Mu'attib bin Qushair, Tha'labah and al-Hārith the two sons of Hātib, who were from the Beni Umayyah bin Zaid, were amongst the men of Badr and did not belong to the Hypocrites, according to what a scholar in whom I have confidence told me, and Ibn Ishāq places their pedigree amongst the (Beni) Umayyah bin Zaid in the (list of) names of the men of Badr.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abbād bin Hunaif brother of Sahl bin Hunaif and Bahzaj who was amongst those who built the Mosque of Contention and 'Amr bin Khidhām and 'Abdallah bin Nabtāl.

From the Beni Tha'labah bin 'Amr bin 'Auf, Jāriyah bin 'Amir bin al-'Attāf and his two sons Zaid and Mujamma', the sons of Jāriyah. They were amongst those who took possession of the Mosque of Contention. Mujamm' was a youth who collected the greater part of the Qur'ān and he led them in prayer in the Mosque. When the Mosque was destroyed and some men of the Beni 'Amr bin 'Auf went away they prayed with the Beni 'Amr bin 'Auf in their mosque. This was in the time of 'Umar bin al-Khattāb, and he was asked about Mujamma' if he might pray with them, and he said: "No, Was he not the Imām of the Hypocrites in the Mosque of Contention?" . He said to 'Umar: "O Commander of the believers, by Allah, besides whom there is no god, I know nothing of their affair. I was only a boy who recited the Qur'ān. They had no Qur'ān with them, so they brought me forward to lead them in the Prayer, and I did not suppose their affair was other than as good as they said". The say that 'Umar let him be and he led his people in prayer.

From the Beni Umayyah bin Zaid bin Mālīk, Wadī'ah bin Thābit who was amongst those who built the Mosque of Contention. It was he who said: "We were merely dipping (into topics of conversation) and playing". So Allah sent down about him:-

If thou askest them they will no doubt say: "We were merely dipping (into topics of conversation) and playing". Say: "Were ye scoffing at Allah and His signs and His Messenger. (Sūrah 9: 65).

to the end of the story.

From the Beni 'Ubaid bin Zaid bin Mālik, Khidhām bin Khālīd - it was from his house that the mosque of ad-Dirār was expelled - and Bishr and Rafi' bin Zaid.

From the Beni an-Nabīṭ (Ibn Hishām: An-Nabīṭ was 'Amr bin Mālik bin al-Aus).

Ibn Ishāq: And from the sub-division of the Beni Hārithah bin al-Hārith bin al-Khazraj bin 'Amr bin Mālik bin al-Aus, Mīrba' bin Qaithī. It was he who said to the Messenger of Allah when he crossed his garden as the Messenger of Allah was going to Uhud: "I will not allow you even though you are a prophet O Muḥammad to cross my garden". Then he took up a handful of earth and said: "Did I know that I would not get some one else with this earth I would throw it on you". The people ran up to him to slay him but the Messenger of Allah said: "Let him be! This blind man is blind in heart and discernment. Sa'd bin Zaid, brother of the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal struck him with his bow and wounded him. And his brother Aās bin Qaithī. It was he who said to the Messenger of Allah on the day of al-Khandaq: "O Messenger of Allah, verily our houses are exposed to danger, grant us leave that we may return to them." So Allah sent down about him:-

They say: "Verily our houses are exposed to danger"; they are not exposed to danger, they are only wishing to flee. (Sūrah 33: 13)

Ibn Hishām: 'Aurah means 'exposed to the enemy, lost'. Its plural is 'Aurāt. An-Nābighah the Dhubyānite said:-

When you find them you will not find the house in danger
Nor a protector refused, nor the cause lost.

This stanza occurs in some stanzas of his. Al-'Aurah also means a man's wife! It also means "shameful parts" (of the body)

Ibn Ishāq: From the Beni Thafr (the name of Thafr is Ka'b bin al-Hārith bin al-Khazraj), Hātīb bin Umaiyyah bin Rāfi'. He was a large-bodied old man who had grown old in his paganism, and he had a son who among the best of the Muslims called Yazīd bin Hātīb, who was wounded on the day of Uhud and his wounds disabled him and he was carried to the house of the Beni Thafr.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah related to me that all the men and women of the Muslims who were there gathered together to him when he was at the point of death and they took to saying to him: "Rejoice O Ibn Hātīb, because of Paradise". Thereupon his hypocrisy showed

itself and his father began to say: "Yes, indeed, a Garden of rue!"⁷⁴
 You have made him reckless with himself.

Ibn Ishāq: And Bushair bin Ubairiq Abu Tu'mah who stole the two suits of armour about whom Allah sent down:-

Do not dispute about those who betray themselves; verily Allah loves not anyone who is a guilty traitor. (Sūrah 4:107)

And Quzmān an ally of theirs. 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah related to me that the Messenger of Allah said: "Verily he is one of the people of the Fire". When the day of Uhud came he fought a fierce fight and killed nine of the polytheists but his wounds disabled him and he was carried to a house of the Beni Thafr. One of the Muslims said to him: "Rejoice, O Quzmān, you have been gallant to-day, and this has befallen you in (the way of) Allah". He said: "What have I got to rejoice about? I only fought out of zeal for my people. When his wounds grew severe and caused him harm he took an arrow from his quiver, cut the veins in his hand and thus killed himself.

Ibn Ishāq: Amongst the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal there was no known hypocrite either man or woman except ad-Dahhāk bin Thābit one of the Beni Ka'b kinsman of Sa'd bin Zaid. He was suspected of Hypocrisy and love for the Jews. Hassān bin Thābit said;

Who will tell ad-Dahhāk that his arteries
 Are impotent against Islam, lest they should be praised
 Dost thou love the Jews of the Hedjaz and their religion
 The ass's liver - and lovest not Muhammad
 A religion which, by my life, does not agree with our
 religion
 As long as men dash across the plain on prancing (steeds)

Ibn Ishāq: According to what I heard, Julās bin Sāmī, before his conversion, Mu'attib bin Qushair, Rafi' bin Zaid, and Bishr were invited to Islam. Some of their people who were Muslims gave them the invitation to (come to) the Messenger of Allah in a discussion which took place between them, and they invited them to the soothsayers the arbiters of the Pagans. So Allah sent down about them:-

Hast thou not seen those who say that they have believed in what has been sent down to thee, and in what has been sent down before thee, desiring to carry their disputes to Taghūt, though they have been commanded to disbelieve in it? Verily Satan desires to lead them far astray.
 (Surah 4: 60).

to the end of the story.

From the Khazraj and from the sub-division of the Beni an-Najjār, Rāfi' Bin Wadi'ah and Zaid bin 'Amr, 'Amr bin Qais, and Qais bin 'Amr bin Sahl.

From the Beni Jusham bin al-Khazraj, and from the sub-division of the Beni Salimah, al-Jadd bin Qais. It was he who said: "Admit me and do not tempt me". So Allah sent down about him:-

Some of them say: "Admit me and do not tempt me"; have they not fallen into sedition? (Sūrah 9: 49).

to the end of the story.

From the Beni 'Auf bin al-Khazraj, 'Abdallah bin Ubai bin Salūl. He was the chief of the hypocrites and around him they gathered. It was he who said about the expedition of the Beni al-Mustaliq: "If we returned to Medina the more powerful elements among us would surely expel the weaker ones". The whole 'Chapter of the Hypocrites' came down about that saying of his, about him, Wadi'ah, a man of the Beni 'Auf, Mālik bin Abū Qauqal, Suwaid, and Dā'is, who were kinsmen of 'Abdallah bin Ubai, as well as about 'Abdallah bin Ubai (himself).

These were the individuals of his tribe who were intriguing with the Beni an-Nadīr, when the Messenger of Allah laid siege to them, that they might hold out, (saying): "Surely, if ye are expelled we shall go out along with you, we shall never obey anyone in regard to you, and if ye are attacked, we shall come to your assistance". So Allah sent down about them:-

Hast thou not seen those who have played the hypocrite, saying to their brethren the People of the Book who have disbelieved: "Surely, if ye are expelled we shall go out along with you, we shall never obey anyone in regard to you, and if ye are attacked we shall come to your assistance. Allah testifieth that they are lying. (Sūrah 59: 11)

Then follows the account in the chapter till he comes to the saying:-

Like Satan, when he said to men: "Disbelieve", and when he had disbelieved, said: "I have nothing to do with thee, I fear Allah, Lord of the worlds. (Sūrah 59: 16).

The Jewish Rabbis who islamized hypocritically.

Ibn Ishāq: Amongst the Jewish Rabbis who took refuge in Islam, entered it with the Muslims, and professed it openly while they were hypocrites, were: From the Beni Qainuqā', Sa'd bin Hunaif, Zaid bin al-Lusait, Nu'mān bin Aufa bin 'Amr, and 'Uthman bin Aufa. It was Zaid bin al-Lusait who fought with 'Umar bin al-Khattāb in the

market-place of the Beni Qainuqa', and when the she-camel of the Messenger of Allah strayed it was he who said: "Muhammad claims that heavenly intelligence comes to him and yet he does not know where his she-camel is". The Messenger of Allah said, when word of what the enemy of Allah had said about his beast came to him, and the Messenger of Allah was shown where to find his she-camel: "A certain one has said 'Muhammad claims that heavenly intelligence comes to him and yet he does not know where his she-camel is. And verily, I do not know anything except what Allah teaches me, and He has shown me where she is. She is in this ravine (quarter), a tree is holding her by her bridle. Some of the Muslims went and found her where the Messenger of Allah had said and in the position he had described.

And Rāfi' bin Huraimlah. According to what I heard it was he of whom the Messenger of Allah said when he died: "There has died to-day one of the great ones among the hypocrites.

And Rifā'ah bin Zaid bin at-Tābūt. It was he of whom the Messenger of Allah said, when the wind blew upon him as he was returning from the expedition against the Beni al-Mustaliq, and it grew in strength till the Muslims were afraid of it, and the Messenger of Allah said to them: "Fear not, it merely blew for the death of one of the great ones of the unbelievers". When the Messenger of Allah returned to Medina he found that Rifā'ah bin Zaid bin at-Tābūt died on the day on which the wind blew.

And Silsilah bin Birhām and Kinānah bin Sūryā'.

These hypocrites were attending the mosque, listening to the conversations of the Muslims and then mocked them and scoffed at their religion.

The story of the insults and revilings of the hypocrites and their expulsion from the mosque.

One day some of them gathered in the mosque, and the Messenger of Allah observed them conversing in undertones amongst themselves and keeping close together, and the Messenger of Allah ordered them to be expelled by force. Abū Ayyūb bin Zaid bin Kulaib went up to 'Amr bin Qais, brother of the Beni Ghanam bin Mālik bin an-Najjār, who was the guardian of their gods in the Age of Barbarism, took him by the foot, dragged him along, and thrust him out of the mosque, while he kept saying: "O Abū Ayyūb, do you thrust me out from the drying-floor

of the Beni Tha'labah?" The Abū Ayyūb went up to Rāfi' ibn Wadī'ah also, one of the Beni an-Najjār, wrapped him up in his cloak, pulled him along roughly, struck him on the face and thrust him out of the mosque, saying the while: "Shame on you foul Hypocrite! Be off from the mosque of the Messenger of Allah by the way you came". And 'Umārah ibn Hazm went up to Zaid ibn 'Amr, who was a man with a long beard, took him by the beard, led him away by it in a rough manner, and thrust him out of the mosque. Then 'Umārah brought his hands together and struck him a blow from which he fell down. He said: "O 'Umārah, you have scratched me". He said: "May Allah curse you, Hypocrite! How much more terrible is the punishment Allah has prepared for you! Come not near the mosque of the Messenger of Allah"

Ibn Hishām: Al-ladm means a blow with the palm of the hand. Tamīm ibn Ubai ibn Muqbal said:-

The heart has a throbbing under its artery
The striking of al-Walīd behind the depression with the
stones.

Ibn Hishām: Al-Ghaib is the part of the ground that is low; al-abhar is an artery of the heart.

Ibn Ishāq: Abū Muhammad a man of the Beni an-Najjār who was at Badr and Abū Muhammad Mas'ūd ibn Aus ibn Zaid ibn Asram ibn Zaid ibn Tha'labah ibn Ghanam ibn Mālik ibn an-Najjār went up to Qais ibn 'Amr ibn Sahl. Qais was a young man, and no other young man but he was known to be among the Hypocrites, and he began pushing him by the back of the neck and thrust him from the mosque. A man of the Beni Khudrah ibn al-Khazraj, a kinsman of Abū Sa'īd the Khudrite called 'Abdallah ibn al-Hārith, who, when the Messenger of Allah gave the order for the expulsion of the Hypocrites from the mosque, went up to a man called al-Hārith ibn 'Amr who had abundance of hair, seized him by his locks, dragged him along roughly on the ground and thrust him out of the mosque. He said to him: "You are treating me roughly Ibn al-Hārith". He said to him: "You deserve it, enemy of Allah, according to what Allah sent down concerning you. Come not near the mosque of the Messenger of Allah for you are unclean". A man of the Beni 'Amr ibn 'Auf went up to his brother Zuwai ibn al-Hārith and thrust him roughly from the mosque, called him a disgraceful person, and said: "Satan and his affair have got the better of you". These were the Hypocrites who were present in the mosque that day when the Messenger of Allah gave orders for their expulsion.

The part of the Sūrat al-Baqarah that came down in connection with the Hypocrites and the Jews.

According to what I heard, but Allah knows best, the first part of the 'Chapter of the Cow' up to the hundredth verse came down in

connection with these Jewish Rabbis and the hypocrites from the Aus and the Khazraj. Allah, glory be to Him and praise, says:-

Alif, Lām, Mīm.

That is the Book in which there is no doubt.

That is: There is no dubiety about it.

Ibn Hishām: Sā'idah bin Ju'ayyah the Hudhalite said:-

They said: "We made a compact with the tribe who surrounded it

And there was no doubt that a slain man was there".

This stanza is in a poem of his. Ar-raib also means 'anxiety'.

Khālid bin Zuhair the Hudhalite said:-

As if I suspected him greatly

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as 'arabtuhu':

As if I created doubt in him with (my) doubt

This stanza occurs in some stanzas of his. He was the nephew of Abū Dhu'aib the Hudhalite.

Guidance to those who fear Allah.

That is: Those who take precautions against the retribution which would come from Allah for abandoning the guidance they know, and who hope for His mercy by accepting as true what has come from Him.

Who observe the Prayer, and out of what We have bestowed upon them give freely.

That is: Who observe the Prayer as an ordinance and give alms in hope of a reward.

Who believe in what has been sent down to thee and in what has been sent down before thee

That is: They accept thee as true in regard to what thou hast brought from Allah, to Whom belong power and glory, also what the Messengers who were before thee have brought, making no distinction between them and not denying what they brought from their Lord.

And of the Hereafter are convinced

That is: About the Resurrection, the Judgment, Paradise, the Fire, the Account and the Scales. That is: Those who claim that they have believed in what came before thee and in what thou hast brought from thy Lord

Such have guidance from their Lord

That is: They have light and uprightness from their Lord (in following) what has come to them

And they are the ones who prosper.

That is: Those who have obtained what they sought and escaped from the evil from which they fled.

As for those who have disbelieved

That is: In what has been sent down to thee even if they said: 'We have believed in what came to us before thy time'

It is all one whether thou hast warned them or not; they will not believe

That is: Verily they have disbelieved in the reminder of thee which they had, and have denied the covenant which was taken from them for thee. They have disbelieved in that which came to thee and also in that which others brought them. How then will they hearken to thee as a warner or exhorter when they have disbelieved the knowledge of thee which they have?

Allah hath set a seal upon their hearts, and over their hearing and their sight is a covering

That is: From the guidance, that they may never attain to it. He means: The truth which came to thee from thy Lord about which they accused you of lying when they should have believed in it, even if they believed in all that came before thee, and for them because of the opposition which they show towards thee is

A severe punishment.

That was in connection with the Jewish Rabbis wherein they declared the truth to be lies after they had knowledge of it.

Of the people too are some who say: "We have believed in Allah and the Last Day", but who are not believers

He refers to the Hypocrites of the Aus and the Khazraj and those who were of their persuasion.

They would fain deceive Allah and those who have believed but they deceive only themselves without knowing it; their hearts are diseased

That is: Doubt

and Allah hath increased the disease

That is: Doubt

for them a painful punishment (is in store) because of the accusations of falsehood they have made. When it was said to them: "Do not cause corruption in the land", they said: "We are merely setting matters right".

That is: All we desire is reconciliation between the two parties, the believers and the People of the Book. Allah to Whom belong power and glory says:-

Is it not they themselves who are the workens of corruption?
But they do not perceive.

When it is said to them: "Believe as the people have
believed", they say: "Shall we believe as the fools have
believed?" Is it not they who are the fools? But they
do not know.

When they meet those who have believed they say: "We have
believed", but when they go apart to their satans

Of the Jews who command them to make accusations of falsehood against
the truth and contradict what the Messenger has brought

they say: "Verily, we are on your side

That is: Verily, we are on the same ground as you

we are only making fun

That is: We are only laughing at the people and making sport of them.

Allah, the Exalted says:

Allah will make fun of them and let them go on their
rebellion blindly wandering

Ibn Hishām: Ya'mahūn means 'they are perplexed'. The Arabs say: 'Rajul
'amih' also 'Āmih, both meaning 'perplexed. Ru'bah bin al-'Ajjāj
said in description of a town:

Guidance is darkened for the ignorant and confused

This stanza is in a short-metre poem of his. 'Ummah is the plural of
'Āmih but the plural of 'Amih is 'Amihūn, and the feminine is 'Amihah
and 'Amhah.

These are they who have bartered the guidance for error;

That is: Unbelief for faith

Their trade has not been profitable and they have not been
(rightly) guided.

Ibn Ishāq: Then he coined for them a parable and said:-

They are like one who had kindled a fire, and then when it
had lit up the surroundings, Allah took away their light
and left them in darkness unable to see.

That is: They did not see the truth and profess it till they bring it
out of the darkness of unbelief; they quench it by their unbelief in
him and their hypocrisy towards him, so Allah left them in the
darkness of unbelief, and they neither see the true guidance nor are
upright in truth.

Deaf, dumb, and blind, they will not return.

That is: They will not return to the guidance; deaf and dumb to good
they will not return to good nor will they obtain deliverance so long
as they are in their present state.

Or like a downpour from the heavens, in which are darkness and thunder and lightning. They put their fingers in their ears because of the thunder-claps to guard against death - Allah is round about the unbelievers

Ibn Hishām: As-sayyab means 'the rain'. It comes from Sāb, yasūb, just as the word 'Sayyid' comes from Sād yasūd, or al-Mayyit from Māt yamūt. Its plural is 'Saya'ib'. 'Alqamah bin 'Abadah one of the Beni Rabī'ah bin Mālik bin Zaid Manāt bin Tamīm said:-

As if a cloud had poured out its thunder-claps on them
(Changing) their flying birds into creeping things
Do not put me on the same level as the ignorant*
The water containers, the clouds have provided thee with water when they poured forth.

These two stanzas are in a poem of his.

Ibn Ishāq: That is: They are in the darkness in which they are because of unbelief, and the guarding against death comes from the opposition to and fear of you in which they are, according to the description he has given of him who, in the darkness of the rain-cloud, puts his fingers in his ears because of the thunder-claps to guard against death. Allah says:-*

Allah is round about the unbelievers

That is: He sends that down upon them in vengeance

The lightning almost takes away their sight;

That is: Because of the strength of the light of the truth

whenever it gives them light they walk in it; but when it becomes dark upon them they stand still;

That is: They know the truth and profess it and by their profession of it are in the path of rectitude, but when they relapse from it into unbelief they stand still in perplexity.

if Allah so willed He would take away their hearing and their sight;

That is: Because of the truth which they abandoned after they had knowledge of it

verily, Allah hath power over everything.

Then he said:-

O people, serve your Lord

to the two parties together, the unbelievers and the hypocrites.

That is: Acknowledge the unity of your Lord

Who created you and those who were before you perhaps ye will act piously.

Who made for you the earth a carpet and the heaven a dome; who hath sent down water from heaven, and thereby produced fruits as a provision for you, so do not set up peers to Allah, when ye know (better).

Ibn Hishām: Al-Andād means 'the likes', its singular is Nidd. Labīd bin Rabi'ah said:-

I praise Allah for He has no peer
Good is in His hands; what He wills He does.

This stanza is in a poem of his.

Ibn Ishāq: That is: Do not associate equals with Allah which neither benefit nor do harm and you know you have not other Lord but He to provide you with sustenance; you know that he who calls you to him is the Messenger; the acknowledgement of His unity to which His Messenger calls you is the truth; there is no doubt in it.

If ye are in doubt about what We have sent down to Our servant,

That is: In doubt about what he has brought you

bring forward a sūrah like it, and call your witnesses apart from Allah,

That is: Whoever you are able to (bring forward) of those who aid you with what you have

if ye speak the truth.

If ye do not do it - and ye will never do it,

the truth has indeed been made plain to you

then protect yourselves against the Fire of which the people and the stones are the fuel, prepared for the unbelievers.

That is: For those who are in the same state of unbelief as you.

Then in his desire to win them he warned them against breaking the covenant which He had taken of them for His Prophet when he came to them, and He mentioned to them the beginning of their creation when He created them, the business of their father Adam and his affair and what He did to him when he disobeyed Him. Then He said:-

O Children of Israel

to the Jewish Rabbis

remember the good which I bestowed upon you

That is: My trials with you and with your fathers, when He had delivered them from Pharaoh and his people

fulfil my covenant

which I made with you to My Prophet Ahmad when he comes to you

and I shall fulfil your covenant

I will fulfil to you what I promised you provided you accept him as true and follow him by laying aside whatever burdens and impediments lie upon you because of your sins which have issued from your misdeeds.

so to Me give reverence

That is: Lest I send down upon you the punishment of being turned into monkeys and so forth, of which you have knowledge, which I sent down upon your fathers before you.

Believe in what I have sent down in confirmation of what is with you, and be not the first to disbelieve in it

Since you have knowledge of it which others do not have

and to Me show piety

Do not confuse the truth with error, nor conceal the truth knowingly

That is: Do not conceal the knowledge you have of My messenger and what he brought you since you will find it with you in the Books which you know.

Will ye enjoin the people to do what is right and forget yourselves though ye recite the Book? Have ye no sense?

That is: Will you forbid the people to disbelieve in the prophecy and covenant you have from the Torah and leave out yourselves? That is: You disbelieve in My covenant with you which is in them (the Books) to confirm My messenger, you break my covenant and deny My Book of which you have knowledge.

Then he recounted to them their misdeeds and mentioned to them the calf and what they did with it, and His relenting towards them and remission of their sins, and their saying: "Show us Allah openly".

Ibn Hishām: That is, appearing to us with nothing to hide Him from us. Abu Akhzar al-Himmānī whose name is Qutaibah, said:-

He reveals what is inside the earth-laden waters

This stanza is in a poem of his in the Rajaz metre. Yajhar, he says, means to reveal, to take away from it the sand and other things that hide it.

Ibn Ishāq: The thunderbolt took them thereupon because of their negligence. Then He brought them to life after their death, overwhelmed them with the cloud, sent down to them manna and quails and said to them:-

Enter the gate doing obeisance and say 'Hittah'

That is: Say what I command you, by it I shall put your sins away from you. But they substituted (another word) for that saying of His in mockery of his commandment and He forgave them that after their mockery.

Ibn Hishām: The manna was something which fell on their trees at dawn and they gathered it sweet like honey and ate and drank it.

A'sha of the Beni Qais bin Tha'labah said:-

Had they been fed on manna and quails in their place
The people would not have seen food in which was benefit

This stanza is in a poem of his. As-Salwa means 'birds' and its singular is 'Salwāt', and it is said that it is the quail. Honey also is called as-salwa. Khālīd bin Zuhair the Hudhalite said:-

And he swore to her by Allah (saying)
In truth, you are sweeter than the honey when we
collect it from the hive.

This stanza is in a poem of his. Hittah means 'put (away) from us our sins.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what Sālīh bin Kaisān related to me on the authority of Sālīh a client of at-Tu'mah bint Umaiyyah bin Khalaf from Abu Hurairah and one above suspicion from Ibn 'Abbās from the Messenger of Allah, who said: "Their substitution of another word consisted in this. When they entered the door by which they were commanded to enter doing obeisance, on their knees whilst they said: 'Hint fī sha'īr' (wheat in barley).

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as 'Hintah fī sha'īr'.

Ibn Ishāq: And Moses sought water for his people and He commanded him to strike the rock with his staff and from it twelve wells gushed out for them, to each tribe a well, from which they might drink, and each tribe knew its own well from which to drink. And they said to Moses: "We will not put up with one kind of food, call on thy Lord for us that He may bring forth for us the herbs which the earth produces, such as cucumbers, corn, lentils and onions.

Ibn Hishām: Al-Fūm means 'wheat'. Umaiyyah bin Abu 's-Salt said:-

On top of the wooden bowls which are like water troughs
On which are slices of pure bread like pieces of polished
silver.

This stanza is in a poem of his.

Ibn Hishām: Al-Wadhīl means 'pieces of silver'. The singular (of Fūm) is 'Fūmah'.

And its lentils and its onions. He said: "Do ye seek to exchange that which is mean in place of that which is better? Go down to Egypt for ye shall have what ye asked".

Ibn Ishāq: They did not do so. He raised the mountain over them that they might take what they were brought. Also the Metamorphosis which took place among them when he turned them into apes for their misdeeds, and the cow which he showed them as a warning about the slain man concerning whom they differed, and His affair was made plain to them after the apostasy against Moses in the description of the cow, and the hardness of their hearts thereafter, till they were like stones or even harder. Then He said:-

There are some stones from which rivers well up and water comes out of some of them when they are cleft, and some of them fall down out of reverence for Allah

That is: Verily, there are some stones softer than your hearts with regard to the truth to which you are called

Allah is not neglectful of what ye do.

Then he said to Muhammad and the believers who were with him to make them give up hope of them:-

Are ye eager that they should believe you, - though a part of them have been hearing the word of Allah and then after they have understood it, perverting it knowingly?

His saying that they have been hearing the Torah does not mean that all of them heard it, He says 'A part of them', that is, a section, according to what I heard on the authority of a scholar, said to Moses "O Moses, an intervention has been made between us and the vision of Allah, the Exalted, let us then hear His words when He speaks to you" Moses sought that from his Lord and He said to him: "Yea, command them to purify themselves and their clothes and fast", and they did so. Then he took them out and brought them to the mountain, and when the cloud covered them, Moses gave the command and they fell down in obeisance, and His Lord spoke to him and they heard His word whose power is almighty giving them commands and prohibitions so that they understood what they heard. Then he took them away to the Children of Israel and when he came to them a part of them perverted what He had commanded and said: "When Moses said to the Children of Israel 'Verily Allah hath commanded you to do such-and-such things', that party whom Allah to Whom belong power and glory mentioned, said: He only said such-and-such things', contradicting what Allah had said

They are the people whom Allah indicated to His messenger Muhammad
Then He said:-

When they meet those who have believed they say: "We
have believed

That is: In your friend the Messenger of Allah, but he is
specifically yours.

but when they are alone with one another, they say: "Do
not tell the Arabs about this".

For by him you used to ask for deliverance against them and he
appeared among them. So Allah sent down about them:-

When they meet those who have believed they say: "We have
believed", but when they are alone with one another, they
say: "Do ye tell them of what Allah hath revealed to you
that they may thereby dispute with you in the presence of
your Lord. Have ye no sense".

That is: You admit that he is a prophet, and you have recognised that
a covenant was taken from you for him to follow him; he tells them
that he is the prophet whom we have been expecting and whom we find
in our Book. Abjure him and make no acknowledgement of him to them.
Allah, to Whom belong power and glory says:-

Do they not know that Allah knoweth what they keep secret
as well as what they publish, and some of them are
illiterate who do not know the Book except to recite (it).

Ibn Hishām on the authority of Abū 'Uбайдah says: 'Illa amānī' means
'except by reciting', for the illiterate is one who recites but does
not write. He says: "They do not know the Book except as a
recitation".

Ibn Hishām on the authority of Abū 'Uбайдah and Yūnus says that they
derived this interpretation for the saying of Allah to Whom belong
power and glory, from the Arabs. Abū 'Uбайдah related that to me.

Ibn Hishām: Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb the Grammarian and Abū 'Uбайдah related
to me that the Arabs say 'Tamanna' with the meaning 'He read or
recited'. And in the Book of Allah the Blessed the Exalted:-

We have not sent before thee any messenger or prophet but
when he recited, Satan cast something into his
recitation. (Sūrah 22: 52)

Abu 'Uбайдah recited to me:-

He read the Book of Allah by night alone
As David read the Psalms, slowly (or deliberately)

He also recited to me:-

In the former part of the night he recited the Book of Allah

In the latter part (of the night) his destined end overtook him

The singular of al-amānī is 'Umniyyah'. Al-amānī also means that a man desires wealth or something else.

Ibn Ishāq: And they only cherish opinions.

That is: They neither know the Book nor understand what is in it, and they deny thy prophetic office on a mere supposition.

And they say: "The Fire will not touch us except for days which are numbered". Say: "Have ye made a contract with Allah Who will not break His contract, or do ye say about Allah what ye do not know?"

Ibn Ishāq: A client of Zaid ibn Thābit related to me on the authority of 'Ikrimah or on the authority of Sa'īd ibn Jubair from Ibn 'Abbās He said: "When the Messenger of Allah came to Medina the Jews were saying: 'The duration of the world is seven thousand years, and Allah will punish people in the Fire for every thousand years of the days of the world only one day in the Fire of the days of the Hereafter, which is only seven days, and then the punishment will cease. So Allah sent down about that saying of theirs:-

And they say: "The Fire will not touch us except for days which are numbered".

to the end of the verse. Then He says:-

Nay, those whose only gains are evil and whose sin encompasses them

That is: Those who do the same deeds as you do, and disbelieve in the way you disbelieve, till their unbelief encompasses whatever good they may have

They will be inmates of the Fire therein to abide for ever

That is: Eternally.

But those who have believed and wrought the works of righteousness will be inmates of Paradise - therein to abide for ever.

That is: Those who have believed what you have disbelieved, and performed His religion which you abandoned, Paradise will be theirs and they will abide in it for ever. He is informing them that the recompense of good and evil is for ever established for his people; there is no end to it.

Ibn Ishāq: Then he said, reprimanding them

When We made a covenant with the Children of Israel

That is: Your covenant.

Ye shall not worship any god but Allah, be good to parents to near relatives, the orphan and the poor; speak good to the people, observe the Prayer and pay the Zakāt, then ye turned away except a few of you averting (yourselves).

That is: You abandoned all that and not bit by bit.

When We made a covenant with you: "Ye shall not shed your own blood;

Ibn Hishām: Tasfikūn means 'you are spilling or pouring out'. The Arabs say: 'Safak damahu', meaning that he spilled his blood. 'Safak az-ziqq means 'he emptied out the wine skin'. The poet said:-

When a guest arrived in our country we used to shed the victim's blood on the muddy earth.

Ibn Hishām: By al-Hāl he means clay which is mixed with sand which is called as-Sihlah' (sea-sand thrown up). In the Tradition it is mentioned that when Pharaoh said:-

I have believed that there is no god but He in Whom the Children of Israel have believed. (Sūrah 10: 90).

Gabriel took some sea-sand along with the dirt adhering to it and struck him on the face.

Ibn Ishāq: Nor expel your own people from your dwellings, and ye then confirmed it, ye yourselves being witnesses

that this is a right in the covenant which I have with you.

Then ye are the ones who are killing each other and expelling a part of you from their dwellings and ye lent help against them with guilt and enmity

That is: The polytheists, that they might shed their blood along with them and along with them expel them from their houses

and if they come to you as prisoners ye will redeem them since you recognised that that was your duty in your religion

though it was forbidden to you in your Book
in your Book

to expel them. Do ye believe in part of the Book and disbelieve in part?

Is it on that account ye redeem them as believers and expel them as unbelievers?

What then is the recompense of those of you who do that but humiliation in this nearer life and that on the Day of Resurrection they will be sent back to the severest punishment? Allah is not neglectful of what ye do. These are they who have purchased the present life at the expense of the Hereafter; so the punishment will not be alleviated for them, nor will they be helped.

Thus he reprimanded them for what they did when the shedding of their blood was forbidden them in the Torah and the duty of redeeming their captives was laid upon them. They were two parties; one was the Beni Qainuqā' and those who were reckoned amongst them, the allies of the Khazraj; the other was an-Nadīr, Quraithah, and those who were reckoned amongst them, the allies of the Aus. Whenever there was war between the Aus and the Khazraj, the Beni Qainuqā' went out with the Khazraj, and an-Nadīr and Quraithah went out with the Aus. Each of the two parties aided its allies against their own brethren and shed each other's blood, although they possessed the Torah in which they might recognise their obligations and their privileges. The Aus and the Khazraj were polytheists who worshipped idols, knowing neither Paradise nor Fire, nor Resurrection, nor Last Day, nor Book, nor what is allowable nor what forbidden. When the war was over they redeemed their captives in accordance with what was in the Torah, and on this basis they received (back prisoners) from one another. The Beni Qainuqā' redeemed their prisoners who were in the hands of the Aus, while an-Nadīr and Quraithah redeemed those of their number who were in the hands of the Khazraj. But they overlooked the bloodshed and those who had been slain amongst them in aiding the polytheists against each other. Allah, to Whom belong power and glory, reprimanded them for that when He said:

Do ye believe in part of the Book and disbelieve in part That is: Ye redeem them in accordance with the law of the Torah, but ye slay them, while according to the law of the Torah you might not so to do. Ye slay them, expel them from their dwellings, and give your help against them to those who give associates to Allah, and worship idols apart from Him, in your desire for the gain of the present life. According to what I heard, this passage came down in connection with what they did with the Aus and the Khazraj. Then He said:-

We gave Moses the Book and followed him up by the messengers after him, and We gave Jesus, son of Mary, the Evidences

That is: The signs which He gave to Him, such as raising the dead, creating the figures of birds out of clay, blowing into it, and it became a bird by the permission of Allah, curing diseases, informing them of the hidden things they had stored up in their houses, and restoring to them the Torah along with the Gospel which Allah

created for him. Then he mentioned their disbelief in all that and said:-

Whenever then a messenger comes to you with what ye yourselves do not like, do ye act proudly, and treat some as liars while some ye kill?

Then He said:

They say: "Our hearts are uncircumcised"

That is: In veils. Allah says:-

Way, Allah hath cursed them for their unbelief; little will they believe

When a Book came to them from Allah confirming what was with them, although they had formerly asked deliverance from those who disbelieved, but when that which they recognised came to them they disbelieved in it, and the curse of Allah is upon the unbelievers.

Ibn Ishaq says on the authority of 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah on the authority of some old men of theirs. He said: "They said that this passage came down about them and us. We were superior to them in strength in the Age of Barbarism, although we were polytheists and they the people of a Book. They used to say (to us): 'Verily a prophet will be sent now whom we will follow; his time has come. With him we shall slay you with a slaughter like that of 'Ād and Arim'. When Allah sent His Messenger from Quraish and we followed him, they disbelieved in him". Allah says:

Yet when that which they recognised came to them they disbelieved in it, and the curse of Allah is on the unbelievers

For a poor price have they sold themselves in disbelieving what Allah hath sent down out of spite that Allah should send down of His bounty on whomsoever of His servants He willeth;

That is: Because He appointed him among others.

so they have settled under wrath upon wrath, and for the unbelievers is a shameful punishment.

Ibn Hishām: 'Ba'ū bighadab' means 'they have admitted it and borne it'.

A'sha of the Beni Qais bin Tha'labah said:-

I will make peace with thee that thou mayest render the same thing

Like the cry of a pregnant woman whose mid-wife grants her relief.

This stanza is in a poem of his.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Wrath upon wrath' refers to the part of the Torah they neglected when they had it, and wrath at their unbelief in this prophet whom Allah sent to them. Then He informed them about the

lifting up of the mountain over them and their taking to themselves the calf for a god apart from their Lord. Allah says to Muhammad:-

Say: "If the future dwelling-place with Allah is yours alone to the exclusion of the people, wish for death if ye speak the truth

That is: Call down death upon whichever of the two parties is the greater liar. But they refused to do that for the Messenger of Allah. Allah says to His Prophet:-

They will never wish for it, because of what their hands have sent forward

That is: Because they know the knowledge they have of thee and their disbelief of it. It was said that had they desired it on the day he said it to them there would not have remained a Jew on the face of the earth who had not died. Then he mentions their eagerness for the present life and length of days, and says:-

Thou wilt indeed find them the keenest of the people for life

The Jews

more even than the polytheists; one of them wishes that he might be kept alive for a thousand years but that will not remove him from the punishment

That is: That will not deliver him from the punishment, Because the polytheist does not hope for a resurrection after death he loves long life. Because the Jew knows the humiliation that awaits him in the Hereafter because of the knowledge he had and lost. Then He said:-

Say: "Whoever is an enemy to Gabriel - for verily, he hath brought it down upon thy heart with the permission of Allah

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin Abū Husain of Mecca related to me on the authority of Shahr bin Ḥaushab the Ash'arite that a group of Jewish Rabbis came to the Messenger of Allah and said: "O Muhammad, give us information regarding four things about which we shall ask thee, If thou doest it we will become thy followers, accept thee as true, and believe in thee". The Messenger of Allah said: "With regard to that you have the covenant and compact of Allah, if I then told you about it, you would accept me as true". They said: "Yes He said: "Ask what seems good to you". They said: "Tell us how a child resembles his mother when the semen comes from the man alone". The Messenger of Allah said: "I adjure you by Allah and His days with the Children of Israel, do you know that the semen of the man is white and thick and that of the woman thin and yellow, and the resemblance goes with whichever one of them gets the ascendancy over

the other! They said: "Yea, verily". They said: "Tell us about the manner of your sleep". He said: "I adjure you by Allah and His days with the Children of Israel, do you know that the sleep of him whom you claim that I am not he (is) that his eyes sleep but his heart is awake". They said: "Yea, verily". He said: "Such is my sleep; my eyes sleep but my heart is awake". They said: "Tell us about that which Israel made unlawful for himself". He said: "I adjure you by Allah and His days with the Children of Israel, do you know that the food he liked best was the milk and flesh of the camel. Hechadda a complaint and Allah restbreddhim, and in gratitude to Allah he made unlawful for himself his best-loved food and drink; he made unlawful for himself the flesh and milk of the camel". They said: "Yea, verily". They said: "Tell us about the Spirit". He said: "I adjure you by Allah and His days with the Children of Israel, do you^{know} Him - Gabriel; it is he who comes to me?" They said: "Yea, verily, but he is an enemy of ours O Muhammad. He is an angel who brings only violence and bloodshed. Had it not been for that we would have followed you". So Allah sent down in connection with them:-

Say: "Whoever is an enemy to Gabriel - for verily, he hath brought it down upon thy heart with the permission of Allah, confirming what was before it, and as guidance and good tidings to the believers

down to His saying:-

Whenever they have made a compact does a part of them discard it? Nay, the most of them do not believe. When a messenger came to them from Allah confirming what is with them, a part of those to whom the Book has been given cast the Book of Allah behind their backs as if they did not know; And followed what the Satans used to recite in the reign of Solomon

That is: Sorcery.

Solomon did not disbelieve but the Satans disbelieved teaching the people sorcery.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what I heard, this was because when the Messenger of Allah mentioned Solomon son of David amongst the messengers, some of the Rabbis said: "Are you not amazed at Muhammad? He claims that Solomon son of David was a prophet, and indeed, he was nothing but a sorcerer". So Allah sent down about that saying of theirs:-

Solomon did not disbelieve but the satans disbelieved

That is: Because they followed sorcery and practised it

And what was sent down to the two angels in Babel, Hārūt and Mārūt, and they did not teach anyone.....

Ibn Ishāq: One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of 'Ikrimah from Ibn 'Abbās that he said: "That which Israel made unlawful for himself were the two appurtenances of the liver, the kidneys and the fat, except what was on the back, for that was offered as a sacrifice and the fire consumed it.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what a client of the family of Zaid bin Thābit related to me on the authority of 'Ikrimah or on that of Sa'īd bin Jubair from Ibn 'Abbās, the Messenger of Allah wrote to the Jews of Khaibar: -

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. From Muhammad the friend and brother of Moses and the confirmer of what Moses brought. Has not Allah said to you O people of the Tōrah, and you will surely find it in your Book:- "Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah and those who are with him are violent against unbelievers, compassionate amongst themselves. You will see them bowing and prostrating themselves in desire of bounty and acceptance from Allah; they bear their mark on their faces from the effect of prostration; that is what they are compared to in the Torah; what they are compared to in the Gospel is a seed which puts forth its shoot and strengthens it, so that it grows strong and stands upright on its stalk, to the admiration of the sowers, that He may enrage the unbelievers by them. Allah hath promised those of them who have believed and wrought righteousness, forgiveness and a great reward". (Surah 48: 29). Verily I adjure you by Allah, I adjure you by what He has sent down to you, I adjure you by Him who fed your tribes who were before you with manna and quails, and I adjure you ^{by} Him who dried up the sea for your fathers and delivered them from Pharaoh and his work, that you inform me (of this): Do you find in what Allah hath sent down to you that you should believe in Muhammad. If you do not find that, no blame attaches to you, the right way has been differentiated from error so I call you to Allah and to His Prophet.

Ibn Hishām: Shata'hu means 'his shoots; the singular is 'shatāt'. The Arabs say: 'Ashta' az-zara' when it has sent forth its shoots. Āzarahu means 'he strengthened it', and (that which was before it) was like a mother. Imru' 'l-Qais said;

On a slope where the shoot strengthened the Dāl

The passage way for both conquering and defeated armies

This stanza is in a poem of his. Humaid bin Mālik al-Arqat one of the Beni Rabī'ah bin Mālik bin Zaid Manāt said:-

(With) a seed and a tree in full leaf strengthening the shoots. This stanza is in a short-metre poem of his. Sūqūhu is not hamzated being the plural of Sāq, like 'Saq ash-shajarah' (the trunk of the tree).

Ibn Ishāq: Amongst those about whom the Qur'ān specifically came down were some Rabbis and unbelieving Jews who were questioning and annoying him in order to confuse the truth with error, (and), according to what was told me on the authority of 'Abdallah bin 'Abbās and Jābir bin 'Abdallah bin Ri'āb, Abū Yāsir bin Akhtab passed by the Messenger of Allah as he was reciting the opening part of THE COW:-

Alif, Lām, Mīm

That is the Book in which there is no doubt (Surah 2: 1).

and he went with some men of the Jews to his brother Huayy bin Akhtab and said: "Know, verily, I have heard Muḥammad recite according to what has been sent down to him:-

Alif, Lām, Mīm

That is the Book.....

They said: "You heard him?". He said: "Yes". So Huayy went with that group of Jews to the Messenger of Allah and said to him: "O Muḥammad, has it not been told us that you recite according to what has been sent down to you:-

Alif, Lām, Mīm?"

The Messenger of Allah said: "Certainly". They said: "Did Gabriel bring it to you from Allah?". He said: "Yes". They said: "Allah did indeed send prophets before you but we do not know that He revealed to any one of them except you the duration of his dominion and his nation's means of subsistence". Huayy bin Akhtab said as he went up to those who were with him: "The Alif is one, the Lām is thirty, and the Mīm is forty. This makes seventy one years. Will you then enter a religion the duration of whose dominion and the means of subsistence for whose people is seventy one years?". Then he went up to the Messenger of Allah and said: "O Muḥammad, is there any more besides this?". He said: "Yes". He said: "What?". He said: "Alif, Lām, Mīm, Sād". (Surah 7: 1). He said: "This is weightier and longer. The Alif is one, the Lām is thirty, the Mīm is forty, and the Sād is ninety. This makes one hundred and thirty one years. Is there any more besides this, O Muḥammad?". He said: "Yes, Alif, Lām, Rā'".

He said: "This is weightier and longer. The Alif is one, the Lām is thirty, and the Rā' is two hundred. This makes two hundred and thirty one. Is there any more besides this, O Muhammad?" He said: "Yes, Alif, Lām, Mīm, Rā'". He said: "This is weightier and longer. The Alif is one, the Lām is thirty, the Mīm is forty, and the Rā' is two hundred. This makes two hundred and seventy one years". Then he said: O Muhammad, your affair has been rendered obscure for us so that we do not know whether you have been given much or little", and they went away from him. Abū Yāsir said to his brother Huayy bin Akhtab and to those Rabbis who were with him: "What do you think?, perhaps all these have been added together for Muhammad; seventy one, one hundred and thirty one, two hundred and thirty one, and two hundred and seventy one, and that makes seven hundred and four years". They said: "His affair is ambiguous for us! They claim that these verses were sent down merely in connection with them:-

In it are verses perspicuous which are the essence of the Book, and others are ambiguous. (Sūrah 3: 7).

Ibn Ishāq: I heard a scholar who is above suspicion mention that these verses were sent down about the people of Nejran, when they came to the Messenger of Allah to ask him about Jesus, Son of Mary.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad bin Abū Umamah bin Sahl bin Hunaif related to me that he heard that these verses were sent down about a group of Jews, but he did not explain it to me, and Allah knows best whether that was so.

According to what I heard on the authority of 'Ikrimah a client of Ibn 'Abbās or on the authority of Sa'īd bin Jubair from Ibn 'Abbās, the Jews invoked the help of the Messenger of Allah against the Aus and the Khazraj before his coming, but when Allah sent him from the Arabs they disbelieved in him and denied what they had said about him. Mu'adh bin Jabal and Bishr bin al-Barā' bin Ma'rūr brother of the Beni Salimah said to them: "O Jewish people, act piously towards Allah and become Muslims. You used to invoke the help of Muhammad against us when we were polytheists, tell us that he was commissioned, and give us his description". Salām bin Mishkam brother of the Beni an-Nadīr said: "He has brought us nothing we recognise and he is not the one whom we mentioned to you". So Allah sent down about that saying of his:-

When there came to them a Book from Allah confirming what was with them, though they used formerly to ask for help against those who have disbelieved, and when that which they recognised came to them, they disbelieved in it, so the curse of Allah is upon the unbelievers. (Sūrah 2: 89).

Ibn Ishāq: Mālik bin ad-Daif said when the Messenger of Allah was sent and mentioned the covenant concerning him which they had and the agreement which Allah had entered into with them about him: "No covenant was made with us about Muhammad and no compact was entered into with us in regard to him". So Allah sent down about him:-

Whenever they have made a compact, does a part of them discard it? Nay, the most of them do not believe. (Sūrah 2: 101)

Abū Salūbā al-Fityūnī said to the Messenger of Allah: "O Muhammad you have not brought us anything we recognise and Allah hath not sent down to you a clear evidence by which we might follow you": So Allah sent down about that saying of his:-

We have sent down to thee clear evidences and no one disbelieves in them but the reprobate. (Sūrah 2: 99)

Rāfi' bin Huraimlah and Wahb bin Zaid said to the Messenger of Allah: "O Muhammad, bring us a book which you will send down to us out of heaven which we may read, make rivers to flow for us and we will follow you and accept you as genuine. So Allah sent down about that saying of theirs:-

Or do ye intend to question your messenger as Moses was questioned of old. He who exchanges belief for unbelief has strayed from the middle of the way. (Sūrah 2: 108).

Ibn Hishām: Sawā' as-sabīl means 'the middle of the way'. Hassān bin Thābit said:-

Alas for the Helpers of the Prophet and his kindred
After him who has been buried in the midst of the grave

This stanza is in a poem of his which I will mention in due course if Allah wills.

Ibn Ishāq: Huayy bin Akhtab and his brother Abū Yāsir bin Akhtab were the strongest of the Jews in their envy of the Arabs when Allah singled them out with His Messenger, and they were making every effort in their power to bring people back from Islam. So Allah sent down about the pair of them:-

Many of the People of the Book would like to render you unbelievers again after your having believed, because of envy on their part after the truth has become clear to them

so overlook and pay no attention till Allah brings in His affair. Verily, Allah hath power over all things. (Sūrah 2: 109).

The disputation between the Jews and the Christians in the presence of the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: When some of the Christian people of Najrān came to the Messenger of Allah, some of the Jewish Rabbis came as well and they had a disputation in the presence of the Messenger of Allah. Rāfi' bin Huraimlah said: "You have no ground on which to stand", and denied Jesus and the Gospel. Then one of the Christians of Najrān said to the Jews: "You have no ground on which to stand, abjured the prophetic office of Moses, and denied the Torah. So Allah sent down about that saying of theirs:-

The Jews say: "The Christians have no ground on which to stand", and the Christians say: "The Jews have no ground on which to stand", though they both recite the Book. So also those who have no knowledge say the same thing. Allah will judge between them on the Day of Resurrection in regard to that in which they have differed. (Sūrah 2: 113).

That is: Each of them recites in his Book confirmation for what he denies, namely: The Jews disown Jesus and they have the Torah in which is the confirmation of Jesus which Allah received from the lips of Moses, while in the Gospel there is confirmation of Moses in that which Jesus brought, and also that of the Torah which He brought from Allah. Each of them denies what the other possesses.

Rāfi' bin Huraimlah said to the Messenger of Allah: "O Muhammad, if you are a messenger from Allah as you claim, speak to Allah that He speak to us so that we may hear His word". So Allah sent down about that saying of his:-

Those who have no knowledge say: "Why does not Allah speak to us, or a sign come to us?". So, with like words said those who were before them; their hearts are alike. We have made clear the signs for a people who are convinced. (Sūrah 2: 112)

'Abdallah bin Sūrai, the one-eyed, al-Fityaūni said to the Messenger of Allah: "The guidance is nothing but that which we have, so follow us, O Muhammad and you will be guided". The Christians said much the same thing. So Allah sent down about the saying of 'Abdallah bin Sūrai and what the Christians said:-

They say: "Become Jews or Christians and ye will be guided".

Say: "Nay, the creed of Abraham who was a Hanīf and not one of the polytheists

then follows the story till the saying of Allah:-

That is a nation which has passed away, to it belongs what it has earned and to you belongs what ye have earned, ye will not be asked about what they used to do.
(Surah 2: 135 - 141)

What the Jews said when the Qiblah was changed to the Ka'bah.

Ibn Ishāq: When the Qiblah was changed from Syria to the Ka'bah - it was changed in Rajab at the beginning of the seventeenth month after the Messenger of Allah came to Medina; Rifa'ah bin Qais, Fardam bin 'Amr, Ka'b bin al-Ashraf, Rāfi' bin Abū Rāfi', al-Hajjāj bin 'Amr, ally of Ka'b bin al-Ashraf, ar-Rabī' bin ar-Rabī', bin Abū 'l-Huqaiq and Kinānah bin ar-Rabī' bin Abū 'l-Huqaiq came to the Messenger of Allah and said: "What has turned you away from the Qiblah which you have been observing since you claim that you follow the creed of Abraham and his religion. Go back to the Qiblah which you have been observing and we will follow you and accept you as genuine". They only wis^hed to seduce him from his religion. So Allah sent down about them:-

The stupid ones among the people will say: "What has turned them away from the Qiblah which they have been observing?"

Say: "The East and the West belong to Allah; He guideth whom He willeth to a straight path.

Thus we have made you an intermediate nation that ye may be witnesses in regard to the people, and that the Messenger may be a witness in regard to you

We appointed the Qiblah which thou hast been observing only that we might know those who would follow the messenger from those who would turn on their heels,

That is: Through trial or testing

though it was a big thing except to those whom Allah guided.

That is: From seduction; namely, those whom Allah hath made firm.

But Allah will not certainly let your faith be lost;

(That is: Your faith) in the first Qiblah, your acceptance of your Prophet as genuine, your following of him to the latter Qiblah, and your obedience to your prophet in regard to both of them. That is: He will surely give you the reward of them both together.

verily Allah is gentle and compassionate with the people.

Then He said:-

We see thee turning thy face about in the heavens. So We shall put thee in possession of a Qiblah that will

satisfy thee, turn thy face in the direction of the Sacred Mosque, and wherever ye are, turn your faces in its direction. .

Ibn Hishām: Shatrahū means 'Towards him, in his direction'. 'Amar bin Ahmar the Bahilite said in description of his she-camel:-

She runs quickly with us in the direction of the gathering although she is in the first stages of pregnancy And the pregnancy has ^{drawn} the saddle-girth away from her protuberance.

This stanza is in a poem of his. Qais bin Khuwailid the Hudhalite said in description of his she-camel:-

Verily, the she-camel has a disease which has spread through her system And he cast in her direction the glance of one tired out

Ibn Hishām: An-Na'ūs means his she-camel, and she had a disease and he cast upon her the glance of one tired out. (Hasīr is from His saying 'and he was wearied out'. Sūrah: 67: 4).

Those to whom the Book has been given know that it is the truth from their Lord and Allah is not neglectful of what they do.

Even if thou shouldest bring those who have been given the Book every sign, they will not follow thy qiblah; thou art not a follower of their qiblah, nor are they followers of each other's qiblah; and if after the knowledge which has come to thee, thou follow their wishes, thou wilt in that case assuredly be among the wrong-doers

Ibn Ishāq: Down to his saying:-

The truth is from thy Lord, so be not thou of those who doubt: (Surah 2: 142 - 147).

Their concealment of the truth which was in the Torah.⁷⁵⁷

Mu'ādh bin Jabal brother of the Beni Salimah and Sa'd bin Mu'ādh brother of the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal and Khārijah bin Zaid brother of the Beni 'l-Hārith bin al-Khazraj asked a group of Jewish Rabbis about some of the things in the Tōrah, but they concealed them from them and refused to tell them about them. So Allah sent down about them:-

Verily those who conceal the Evidences and the guidance which We have sent down, after that We have made it clear to the people in the Book, Allah will curse, and others too will curse. (Sūrah 2: 159).

Their reply to the Prophet when he called them to Islam.

He said: The Messenger of Allah called the Jews, who were of the People of the Book, to Islam, inspired them with a desire for it, and warned them of the punishment and vengeance of Allah. So Rāfi'

bin Khārijah, and Mālik bin 'Auf said to him: "Nay, O Muhammad, we shall follow that which we found with our fathers, for they were more learned and better than we. So Allah, to Whom belong power and glory, sent down about that saying of theirs:-

When one says to them: "Follow what Allah hath sent down", they say: "Nay, we will follow what we found our fathers doing, even though their fathers were utterly without understanding and were not (rightly) guided. (Sūrah 2: 170).

Their assembly in the market-place of the Beni Qainuqā'.

When Allah smote Quraish on the day of Badr, the Messenger of Allah gathered the Jews together in the market-place of the Beni Qainuqā' when he returned to Medina and said: "O Jewish people, become Muslims before Allah smite you with much the same thing as He smote Quraish". They said to him: "O Muhammad, let no one delude you out of your senses. You slew a number of Quraish who were inexperienced and did not know the ways of war, but if you make war on us you will find out that we are the people whose like you have not met". So Allah sent down about that saying of theirs:-

Say to those who have disbelieved: "Ye will be overthrown and driven in a flock to Gehenna - a bad bed. Ye have already had a sign in two parties which met, one fighting in the way of Allah, another unbelieving, who saw them with their eyes twice as many as they were, Allah supporteth with His help whom He willeth; verily in that is a lesson for those who have sight. (Sūrah 3: 12 & 13).

The Messenger of Allah goes in to them in the synagogue.

He said: The Messenger of Allah went in to a company of Jews in the synagogue⁷⁶ and called them to Allah. An-Nu'mān bin 'Amr and al-Hārith bin Zaid said to him: "Of which religion are you a follower, O Muhammad?". He said: "Of the creed of Abraham and his religion". They said to him: "Verily Abraham was a Jew". The Messenger of Allah said to them: "Let us consult the Torah which is between you and us", but they refused. So Allah sent down about them:-

Hast thou not seen those to whom a portion of the Book has been given being called to the Book of Allah that it might judge between them; then a part of them turned away averting themselves.

That is because they say: "The Fire will not touch us except for a specified number of days. What they have been inventing has deluded them in their religion. (Sūrah 3:23-24).

The Jewish Rabbis and the Christians of Najrān said when they gathered together to the Messenger of Allah and disputed with each other. The Rabbis said: "Abraham was nothing else than a Jew", and the Christians of the people of Najrān said: "Abraham was nothing else than a Christian". So Allah sent down about them:-

O People of the Book, why do ye dispute about Abraham, seeing that the Torah and the Gospel were not sent down till after his time? Have ye no understanding?

There ye are! Ye have disputed about a thing of which ye have knowledge, why then will ye dispute about things of which ye have no knowledge? Allah knoweth but ye do not know.

Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian, he was a Hanīf, a Muslim, and he was not one of the polytheists. Verily, the people who are nearest to Abraham are those who followed him, and this prophet and those who have believed; and Allah is the patron of the believers. (Sūrah 3: 65 - 68).

'Abdallah bin Daif, 'Adi bin Zaid, and al-Hārith bin 'Auf said to one another: "Come, we will believe in what has been sent down to Muhammad and his friends in the morning and disbelieve it in the evening, so that we may confuse their religion for them, and perhaps they will do as we do and turn away from their religion". So Allah sent down about them:-

O People of the Book, why do ye confuse the true with the false, and conceal the truth when ye know?

A party of the People of the Book have said: "Believe in what has been sent down to those who have believed at the beginning of the day, and disbelieve at the end of it, perhaps they will return

But do not believe anyone but those who follow your religion". Say: "Verily, the guidance is Allah's guidance. (And do not believe) that there is given to anyone the like of what has been given to you, or they will dispute with you in the presence of your Lord". Say: "Verily, bounty is in the hand of Allah; He giveth it to whomsoever He willeth; Allah is unrestricted, knowing". (Surah 3: 71 - 73).

Abū Nāfi' al-Qurathī said when the Jewish Rabbis and the Christians from the people of Najrān gathered in the presence of the Messenger of Allah, and he called them to Islam: "O Muhammad, do you desire us to worship you in the way the Christians worship 'esus, Son of Mary?" and one of the Christians of Najrān called ar-Rabīs said: "Is that what you desire from us O Muhammad, and is it that to which you call us?", or words to that effect. The Messenger of Allah said: "Allah forbid that I should worship any other than Allah, or command the

worship of another. It was not for that that Allah sent me, nor did He give me commandment", or words to that effect. So Allah sent down about that saying of theirs:-

It was not for a human being that Allah should give him the Book and the Wisdom and the prophetic office and that he should then say to the people: "Be worshippers of me apart from Allah", but: "Be ye scholars in virtue of your teaching the Book and in virtue of your having studied it". (Surah 3: 79).

Ibn Hishām: Ar-Rabbāniyūn means 'scholars, learned men, or chiefs', and its singular is 'Rabbānī'. The poet said:-

Even though I were abiding in the monk's cell her speech would have decoyed me and decoyed also a learned Rabbi.

Ibn Hishām: Al-Qūs is the monk's cell. Aftanani is the dialect of Tamīm and Fatanani is the dialect of Qais. Jarīr said:-

There is no union when Hind is cut off even though she stood in the monk's cell and asked me to come down with the owner of the two garments of hair-cloth. (i.e. the monk).

That is: The monk's cell. Ar-Rabbānī is derived from ar-Rabb, meaning lord. In the Book of Allah (it is said):-

He will pour out wine for his lord (Sūrah 12: 41).

That is: His master. He said:-

He does not command you to take the angels and the prophets as Lords; will He command you to (show) unbelief after ye are Muslims. (Sūrah 3: 81)??

The Ishāq: Then he mentioned the covenant which He took from them and from their prophets in confirmation of him when he should come to them and their acknowledgment against themselves. He said:-

When Allah took the covenant of the prophets: "Whatever Book and Wisdom I may have given you and there comes to you a messenger confirming what is with you, ye shall believe in him and help him". He said: "Do ye assent, and do ye accept my compact on these terms?". They said: We assent". He said: "Bear witness then, and I am with you among those who bear witness. (Sūrah 3: 81).

to the end of the story.

Their attempt to cause trouble among the Helpers.

Ibn Ishāq: Sha's bin Qais who had become greatly hardened in unbelief, and was strong in his hatred of the Muslims and his envy of them, passed by a group of the friends of the Messenger of Allah in a company in which they were gathered talking to each other. The friendship, the community spirit, and the good personal relationship, which he saw amongst them because of Islam after the enmity which had been among

them in the Age of Barbarism, enraged him and he said: "The chief men of the Beni Qailah have combined in this country and if their chief men effect a combination it will be impossible for us to live with them here"..So he gave instructions to a Jewish youth who was with him and said: "Go to them, sit among them and mention the day of Bu'āth and what came before it and recite to them some of the things they have said to each other about it in poetry. The day of Bu'āth was a day on which the Aus and the Khazraj fought a battle on which the Aus were victorious over the Khazraj. Hudair bin Simāk the ash-halite, Abu Usaid bin Hudair was the leader of the Aus on that day, and 'Amr bin an-Nu'mān al-Bayādī was the leader of the Khazraj, and both of them were slain.

Ibn Hishām: Abu 'l-Qais bin al-Aslat said:-

Since I have been distressed for the man of wrath
Perpetual sorrow for him has kept returning to me
Verily, if you slay him, then as for 'Amr
I will cut off his head with furbished blade

These two stanzas are in a poem of his. The account of the day of Bu'āth is longer than I have given it, but (the desire to avoid) abbreviating (the biography) which I have mentioned prevents me from relating it.

Ibn Ishāq: He did so, and thereupon the people began to talk and dispute and vie with one another in boasting till two men from the two tribes leapt to the stirrup, Aus bin Qaithī, one of the Beni Hārithah bin al-Hārith, from the Aus, and Jabbār bin Sakhr, one of the Beni Salimah from the Khazraj, and disputed. Then one of the two said to his friend: "If you so desire, we will go back to things as they formerly were. Both the parties were chagrined and said: "It is done! Your meeting place the stony tract! To arms! To arms!". So they went out to it and news of that came to the Messenger of Allah and he went out to them with those of his Emigre friends who were with him and came to them and said: "O Muslim people, O Allah, O Allah (do you still adhere to) the call of the Barbarism while I am in your midst, after that Allah has guided you to Islam, honoured you with it, through which he removed from you the affair of the Barbarism, delivered you from unbelief, and united your ranks". So the people recognised that it was an incitement from Satan and guile on the part of their enemy, and they wept and the men of Aus and Khazraj embraced

each other. Then in obedience to the Messenger of Allah they went away with him, Allah having put away from them the guile of the enemy of Allah, Sha's bin Qais. So Allah sent down about Sha's bin Qais and what he did:-

Say: "O People of the Book, why do ye disbelieve the signs of Allah while Allah is a witness of what ye do?" Say: "O People of the Book why do ye turn aside from the way of Allah those who have believed, desiring it to be crooked, though ye are witnesses? Allah is not neglectful of what ye do.
(Surah 3: 98 & 99).

And Allah sent down about Aus bin Qaithī and Jabbār bin Sakhr and along with them those of their people who did what they did in the affair of the Barbarism which Sha's introduced to them:-

O ye who have believed, if ye obey a part of those to whom the Book has been given, they will make you unbelievers again after your having believed. And how can ye disbelieve when the signs of Allah are recited to you and His Messenger is amongst you? He who seeks protection in Allah has been guided to a straight path. O ye who have believed, fear Allah with the fear which is due to Him, and do not die except as Muslims

down to His saying:-

these will have a great punishment. (Sūrah 3: 100 - 105)

Ibn Ishāq: When 'Abdallah bin Salām, Tha'labah bin Sa'yah, Usaid bin Sa'yah, Asad bin 'Ubaid, and the Jews who islamised with them and believed, accepted him as genuine, were eager for Islam and became established in it, the Jewish Rabbis who were the unbelievers amongst them said: "No one has believed in Muhammad or followed him except our evil doers. Had they been our best people they would not have abandoned the religion of their fathers and gone over to another religion". So Allah sent down about that saying of theirs:-

They are not all alike; there is a community of the People of the Book which is steadfast reciting the signs of Allah in the hours of the night, prostrating themselves (Surah 3: 113).

Ibn Hishām: Inyān al-layl means 'the hours of the night' and its singular is Inā. Al-Mutanakhkhil the Hudhalite whose name is Mālik bin 'Uwaimar said in lament for his son Uthailah:-

Sweet and bitter was his character like the side of the arrow
Through each hour of the night he was shod (or journeying)

This stanza is in a poem of his. Labīd bin Rabī'ah said in description of a wild ass:-

He sings throughout the hours of the day as if he were one
bemused whom a drinking companion had supplied (with wine)
at the wine-shop.

This stanza is in a poem of his. It is also given as Ina according to what Yūnus told me.

Believing in Allah and the Last Day, joining good and forbidding evil and vying in good deeds; these are the upright

Ibn Ishāq: There were some of the Muslims who were friendly to some of the Jews because of the treaties of protection that existed between them in the Age of Barbarism. So Allah sent down about them, forbidding them friendly intercourse with them:-

O Ye who have believed do not choose intimates outside of yourselves, they will not fail you in disloyalty, they like that which causes distress to you; hatred has appeared out of their mouths, but that which their hearts conceal is greater; We have made the signs clear to you, if ye have been understanding

There ye are! Ye love them but they do not love you; ye believe in the Book, all of it,

That is: Ye believe in their Book and in your own Book and in the Books that came before that, while they disbelieve in your Book, so you have more reason to hate them than they have to hate you

And when they meet you they say: "We have believed," but when they are alone they bite their fingers at you for anger. Say: "Die in your anger, verily Allah knoweth what is in the breasts. (Surah 3: 118 & 119).

What happened between Finhās and Abū Bakr the Faithful.

Abū Bakr the Faithful went into the synagogue of the Jews and found many of them collected around one of their men called Finhās who was one of their scholars and Rabbis, and along with him was one of their Rabbis called Ashya'. Abū Bakr said to Finhās: "Out upon you O Finhās be pious toward Allah and islamize, for you indeed that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah who has brought you the truth from Him, which you will find recorded with you in the Torah and the Gospel!" Finhās said to Abū Bakr: "O Abū Bakr we have no need of Allah, Allah, but Allah has need of us; we do not beseech Him in the way He beseeches us; verily, we can do without Him but He cannot do without us. If He were rich without us, He would not ask us for our wealth on loan as your friend claims that He prohibits you from taking usury and gives it to us. If He were rich without us, He would not give us usury". Abū Bakr was enraged, struck Finhās a severe blow on the face and said: 'By Him in whose hand is my life were it not the covenant that is between us, I would have struck you on the head, O enemy of Allah.

Finhās went to the Messenger of Allah and said: "O Muhammad, look what your friend did to me". The Messenger of Allah said to Abū Bakr: "What made you do what you did?". Abū Bakr said: "O Messenger of Allah, verily the enemy of Allah said a terrible thing; he claimed that Allah was poor for them and they were rich without Him. When he said that, I was enraged on Allah's account because of what he said, and I struck him on the face". But Finhās denied that and said: "I did not say that". So Allah sent down as a reply to what Finhās said and confirmation for Abū Bakr:-

Allah hath certainly heard the words of those who said: "Surely Allah is poor and we are rich". We shall write down what they have said, together with their killing of the prophets wrongfully, and we shall say: "Taste the punishment of the burning (Sūrah 3: 181).

And there came down about Abū Bakr and the anger which came upon him in this connection:-

Ye shall surely hear many hurtful things from those to whom the Book has been given before you as well as from the polytheists; but if ye endure and act piously, that is one of the determining factors of affairs. (Sūrah 3: 186)

Then He said about what Finhās and the Jewish Rabbis who were with him said:-

When Allah took the covenant of those who were given the Book: "Ye shall surely make it clear to the people and shall not conceal it", but they threw it behind their backs and bought with it a small gain - bad is what they buy Think not that those who rejoice in what they have brought and like to be praised for what they have not done - think not that they are in a place of safety from the punishment; for them is a painful punishment. (Sūrah 3: 187 & 188).

He means Fihās Ashya' and their like of the Rabbis who rejoice in what they have got of this world for the error they have adorned for the people; who love to be praised for what they have not done; that men should say 'scholars' when they are no scholars; they never brought them to guidance and the truth but they love people to say they have done it.

Their injunction to the believers to be stingy.

Ibn Ishāq: Kardam bin Qais ally of Ka'b bin al-Ashraf, Usāmah bin Hubaib, Nāfi' bin Abū Nāfi', Bahrī bin 'Amr, Huyyāi bin Akhtab and Rifā'ah bin Zaid bin at-Tabūt came to some of the Helpers with whom they mixed and acted as good advisers to them against the friends of

the Messenger of Allah and saying to them: "Do not spend your money, for we fear poverty for you when it is gone, and do not vie in spending, for you do not know what it is for". So Allah sent down about them:-

Those who are stingy and enjoin the people to be stingy
and conceal the bounty which Allah hath bestowed upon them,

That is: The Torah, in which is confirmation of what Muhammad brought

We have prepared for the unbelievers a humiliating
punishment.

And those who expend their wealth for show before the people
and do not believe in Allah and the Last Day

down to his saying

Allah was knowing about them (Sūrah 4: 37 - 39).

Their denial of the truth.

Ibn Ishāq: Rifā'ah bin Zaid bin at-Tabūt was one of the great men among the Jews, and when he spoke to the Messenger of Allah, he twisted his tongue and said: "O Muhammad give us your attention (?) and we will make you understand". Then he disparaged and stigmatised Islam, so Allah sent down about him:-

Hast thou not seen those to whom a part of the Book has been given buying error and wishing that ye would err as regards the way? Allah knoweth your enemies; Allah is sufficient as patron, Allah is sufficient as helper. Those who having become Jews, change the words from their position and say: "We hear and rebel", and "hear" something that is not made audible and regard us

That is: Give us your attention (listen to us).

twisting their tongues and disparaging the faith.

If they had said: "We hear and obey" and "Hear and regard us" it would have been better for them and more correct; but Allah hath cursed them for their unbelief, so they do not believe except a few. (Sūrah 4: 44 - 46).

Then the Messenger of Allah spoke with some of the leading Jewish Rabbis amongst whom was 'Abdallah bin Sūrā the one-eyed and Ka'b bin Asad. He said to them: "O Jewish people act piously towards Allah and become Muslims, for you indeed know that what I have brought you is the truth". They said: "We do not recognise that, O Muhammad". Thus they denied what they recognised and persisted in unbelief. So Allah sent down about them:-

O ye to whom the Book has been given, believe in what We have sent down in confirmation of what ye had before We obliterate countenances and turn them on their backs, and curse them as We cursed the men of the Sabbath and the affair (or command) of Allah was accomplished. (Sūrah 4: 47).

Ibn Hishām: Natmas means to wipe them out and level them so that there is not seen in them either eyes, or nose, or mouth, or any of the parts that are seen in the face. Thus:-

We wiped out their eyes.... (Sūrah 54: 37).

He who has his eye wiped out is he who has no crease between his eyelids. There is also the saying: "I wiped out the book and its traces so that nothing of it is to be seen". Al-Akhtal whose name is al-Ghauth bin Hubairah bin as-Salt the Taghlibite said in description of a camel on which he imposed (the task) he mentions:-

We imposed on her the task of (going through) places far away where there are no guiding posts where you see the chameleon turning itself about (=in the heat of the sun).

Ibn Hishām: As-Suwa are the marks by which the roads are indicated and also the waters. He says: "They are wiped out and made level with the ground and there is nothing in it that stands out" This stanza is in a poem of his.

Ibn Hishām: The singular of as-suwa is 'suwwah'.

The group who formed parties apart from the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: Those of the Quraish, Ghatafān and the Beni Quraiṭhah who formed sects were: Huyyay bin Akhtab, Sallām bin Abū 'l-Huqaiq Abū Rāfi', ar-Rabī' bin ar-Rabī' bin Abū 'l-Huqaiq, Abū 'Ammār, Wahwah bin 'Amir and Hūdḥah bin Qais. Wahwah, Abū 'Ammār and Hūdḥah were from the Beni Wā'il, and the remainder of them from the Beni an-Nadīr. When they came to Quraish they said: "These are Jewish Rabbis and men learned in the First Book, ask them then whether your religion or the religion of Muhammad is the better." They asked them and they said: "Nay, your religion is better than his, and you are better guided than is he and those who follow him. So Allah sent down about them:-

Hassthou not seen those to whom a part of the Book has been given believing in Jibt and Tāghūt....

Ibn Hishām; In the opinion of the Arabs, al-Jibt is that which is worshipped apart from Allah, the Blessed, the Exalted; and at-Tāghūt is all that led astray from the truth. The plural of al-Jibt is 'Jūbūt and the plural of at-Tāghūt is 'Tawāghīt and I have heard on the authority of Ibn Abū Najīh that he said: "Al-Jibt is sorcery, and at-Tāghūt is Satan.

and saying to those who have disbelieved: "These are better guided as to the way than those who have believed.

Ibn Ishāq: Down to His saying:

Or are they jealous of the people on account of the bounty which Allah hath bestowed upon them. Verily, We have bestowed upon the family of Abraham the Book and the Wisdom and We have bestowed upon them mighty power. (Surah 4: 51-54)

Their denial of the Revelation.

Ibn Ishāq: Sukain and 'Adi bin Zaid said: " O Muhammad, we have no knowledge that Allah sent down anything to men after Moses. So Allah sent down about that saying of theirs:-

Verily, we have made a revelation to thee as we made revelations to Noah and the prophets after him; and we made revelations to Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the Patriarchs, to Jesus, Job, Jonah, Aaron, and Solomon, and to David We gave the Psalms, 78

and messengers whom we have already recounted to thee and messengers whom we have not recounted, and to Moses Allah spoke directly

Messengers bringing good tidings and warnings, so that the people should have no argument against Allah, after the messengers; Allah is mighty, wise. Surah 4: 163 - 165).

A group of them went in to the Messenger of Allah and he said to them: "Do you not know that I am indeed a messenger (come) to you from Allah? They said: "We do not know it neither do we bear witness to it". So Allah sent down about that saying of theirs:-

But Allah bears witness to what He hath sent down to thee; in His knowledge hath He sent it down to thee, and the angels bear witness, but Allah is sufficient as a witness (Surah 4: 166).

Their banding together to hurl down a rock on the Messenger of Allah.

The Messenger of Allah went out to the Beni an-Nadīr seeking their help in connection with the blood-wit of two men of 'Amr whom 'Amr bin Umaiyah the Damrite had slain. When they were alone with one another they said: "You will never get Muhammad nearer than he is now so what man will go up on this house, hurl a rock down upon him and give us rest from him?". 'Amr bin Jihāsh bin Ka'b said: "I will". But word of it came to the Messenger of Allah and he departed from them. So Allah sent down about him and about what he and his people meant to do:-

O ye who have believed, remember the goodness of Allah towards you, when a people meditated stretching out their hands against you and He restrained their hands from you; show piety towards Allah and upon Allah let the believers put their trust. (Surah 5: 11).

Then Nu'mān bin 'Adā, Bahri bin 'Amr, and Sha's bin 'Adi came to the

Messenger of Allah and spoke with him, and the Messenger of Allah spoke with them, called them to Allah, and warned them of his punishment, and they said: "O Muhammad of what would you make us afraid? we are the children of Allah and His beloved ones", just like what the Christians say. So Allah sent down about them:

The Jews and the Christians say: "We are the sons and the beloved of Allah", say: "Why then does He punish you for your sins?" Nay, ye are human beings (part) of those whom He hath created; He forgiveth whom He pleaseth and punisheth whom He pleaseth, to Allah belongs the sovereignty of the heavens and the earth, and what is between them, and to Him is the trend. (Surah 5: 18).

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah called the Jews to Islam and eagerly desired to have them in it, and warned them of the jealousy and chastisement of Allah but they refused him and disbelieved in what they brought them. Mu'adh bin Jabal, Sa'd bin 'Ubādah, and 'Uqbah bin Wahb said to them: "O Jewish People, act piously toward Allah, for you well know that he is the Messenger of Allah, and indeed, you were making mention of him to us before his coming and giving us his description". And Rāfi' bin Muraimlah and Wahb bin Yahūdiah said: "We never said this to you, Allah has sent down no book after Moses, nor has He sent any preacher of good tidings or warner after him". So Allah sent down about that saying of theirs:-

O People of the Book, Our Messenger has come to you to make things clear for you at an interval amongst the messengers, lest ye should say: "Neither preacher of good tidings nor warner has come to us; so now there has come to you both a preacher of good tidings and a warner; Allah hath power over everything. (Surah 19: (Surah 5: 19).

Then He related to them the account of Moses, what he encountered from them, their rebellion against him and the affair of Allah which they discarded so they wandered in the earth forty years as a chastisement.

Their return to the Prophet in connection with the judgment of the stoning.

Ibn Ishāq: Ibn Shihāb the Zuhrite related to me that he heard a man of Muzainah who was a scholar relate to Sa'īd bin al-Musayyab that Abū Hurairah related to them that certain Jewish Rabbis gathered in the synagogue when the Messenger of Allah came to Medina. One of their men had committed adultery after his marriage with a Jewish woman who was married, and they said: "Send this man and this woman to Muhammad

and ask him what the sentence on them is to be. Make him responsible for pronouncing sentence on the pair, and if he treats them in the way you treat them by beating them (the beating meant flogging with a rope of palm fibre covered with a coating of tar, blackening their faces, then being carried on two donkeys with their faces turned to the donkeys' posteriors), follow him for he is only a king and accept him as genuine. If he sentences them to be stoned, then he is a prophet, so be on your guard against him with regard to what is in your hands lest he deprive you of it". Then they came to him and said: "O Muhammad, this man, after his marriage, committed adultery with a married woman, pronounce sentence on the pair, then; we have given you authority to sentence them". The Messenger of Allah walked away till he came to the Rabbis in the synagogue and said: "O Jewish people, bring your learned men out to me". They brought out to him 'Abdallah bin Sūrā.

Ibn Ishāq: One of the Beni Quraithah related to me that along with Ibn Sūrā they brought out that day Abū Yāsir bin Akhtab and Wahb bin Yahūdhan and said: "These be our scholars". So the Messenger of Allah asked them questions and summed up their affair so that they said to 'Abdallah bin Sūrā: "This is the most learned in the Torah of all men living".

Ibn Hishām: From his saying, 'One of the Beni Quraithah related to me' down to 'the most learned in the Torah of all men living' is from the words of Ibn Ishāq, and what comes after it is from the account which precedes it. then.

Then the Messenger of Allah went aside with him - he was a young man, the most junior of them in years - and plied him with questions, saying to him: "O Ibn Sūrā, I adjure you by Allah and I remind you of His days with the Children of Israel, do you know that Allah passed the sentence of stoning in the Torah on whosoever should commit adultery after his marriage?". He said: "Yea, verily. But indeed, O Abū 'l-Qāsim, they know that you are a prophet commissioned but they are envious of you". So the Messenger of Allah went out and gave the command for them to be stoned at the door of his mosque among the Beni Ghanam bin Mālik bin an-Najjār. Then after that Ibn Sūrā disbelieved and denied the prophetic office of the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: So Allah sent down about them:-

O thou messenger, let not those who vie with each other in unbelief grieve thee, of those who say with their mouths: "We have believed", but whose hearts have not believed, for of those who have become Jews are listeners to falsehood, listeners to another people who have not come to thee

That is: They who sent those whom they sent and remained behind and gave them the instructions they gave them to change the judgment from its place. Then He said:-

who change the words after they have been set in their places and say: "If this is given to you, accept it but if it is not given to you (i.e. the stoning) then beware. (Sūrah 5: 41).

to the end of the story.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad bin Talḥah bin Yazīd bin Rukānah related to me on the authority of Isma'īl bin Ibrāhīm from Ibn 'Abbās. He said: "The Messenger of Allah commanded them to be stoned and they were stoned at the door of his mosque. When the Jew felt the stones he went to his companion, bent over her, shielding her from the touch of the stones till they were both slain. That was part of what Allah did for His Messenger in verification of their adultery.

Ibn Ishāq: Ṣālih bin Kaisān related to me on the authority of Nāfi' a client of 'Abdallah bin 'Umar from 'Abdallah bin 'Umar. He said: "When they appointed the Messenger of Allah to judge them, he called upon them in the name of the Tōrah, while one of their Rabbis sat reading it. He had put his hand over the verse of stoning and 'Abdallah bin Salām struck away the hand of the Rabbi and said: "O Prophet of Allah, here is the verse of stoning which he refuses to read to you". The Messenger of Allah said to them: "Out upon you, Jewish people, what possessed you to abandon the sentence of Allah when you have it in your hands". They said: "Indeed, it was carried out amongst us till one of us who was of royal blood and noble people committed adultery after his marriage and the king protected him from being stoned. After that a man committed adultery and he wanted to stone him but they said: 'No indeed, till you stone so-and-so'. When they said that, they gathered together, emended their affair to a fine and suppressed all mention of stoning and its practice". The Messenger of Allah said: "I am the first to bring to life the affair of Allah, His Book, and the practice of it". Then he gave orders for them to be stoned at the door of his mosque. 'Abdallah said: "I was amongst those who stoned them".

Their wrong-doing in connection with the blood-wit.

Ibn Ishāq: Dāūd bin al-Husain related to me on the authority of 'Ikrimah from Ibn 'Abbās that the verses from THE TABLE in which Allah says:-

....Judge between them or turn away from them; if thou turn away from them they will not injure thee at all, but if thou act as judge, then judge between them with fairness; Allah loveth those who act with fairness. (Sūrah 5: 42).

were sent down merely in connection with the blood-wit between the Beni an-Nadīr and the Beni Quraithah. That was because the Beni an-Nadīr, being honourable people, paid the blood-wit in full for the men they slew, while the Beni Quraithah paid the half of the blood-wit. They brought the case to the Messenger of Allah for adjudication and Allah sent down this in connection with them. Thus the Messenger of Allah induced them to do what was right in that regard and made the blood-wit equal.

Ibn Ishāq: Allah knows best whather that was so.

Their purpose to seduce the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: Ka'b bin Asad, Ibn Salūbā, 'Abdallah bin Sūrā, and Sha's bin Qais said amongst themselves: "Let us betake ourselves to the Messenger of Allah, perhaps we will seduce him from his religion for he is but human". So they came to him and said: "O Muhammad, verily you recognise that we are Rabbis of the Jews, their noble men and their leaders, and if we follow you the Jews will follow you and will not disobey us. Verily, there is a contention between us and some of our people, shall we summon them to you, and you will give judgment for us against them, and we will believe in you and accept you as genuine". But the Messenger of Allah refused (to do) that and Allah sent down about them:-

And judge between them by what Allah hath sent down; do not follow their lusts and beware of their beguiling thee away from any part of what Allah hath sent down to thee; then if they turn away, know that Allah merely wills to bring upon them some of their sins. Verily, many of the people are reprobate.

Do they then desire the judgment of the Age of Barbarism? But who is better than Allah in judgment to a people who are convinced? (Sūrah 5: 49 & 50).

Their denial of the prophetic office of Jesus.

Ibn Ishāq: Some of them, to wit Abū Yāsire bin Akhtab, Nāfi' bin Abū Nāfi', 'Āzir bin Abū 'Āzir, Khālīd, Zaid, Izār bin Abū Izār and

Ashya' came to the Messenger of Allah and asked him on which of the Messengers he believed. He said:-

We believe in Allah and what has been sent down to us and what has been sent down to Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the Patriarchs and what has been given to Moses and Jesus, and what has been given to the prophets from their Lord, making no distinction between any of them; and to Him are we submissive (Sūrah 2: 130 -

When he mentioned Jesus Son of Mary they denied His prophetic office and said: "We do not believe in Jesus Son of Mary, nor in those who believe in Him". So Allah sent down about them:-

Say: "O People of the Book, do ye reproach us for anything but that we have believed in Allah, and in what has been sent down to us, and what has been sent down in former times and because most of you are reprobate. (Sūrah 5: 59).

Then Rāfi' ibn Hārithah, Sallām ibn Mishkam, Mālik ibn ad-Daif and Rāfi' ibn Huraimlah came to the Messenger of Allah and said: "O Muhammad, do you not claim that you are a follower of the faith and religion of Abraham, and believe in the Torah which we have, and bear witness that it is truth from Allah?". He said: "Certainly, but you have made innovations and denied what was in it, and the covenant which was made with you in it, and you concealed of it that which you were commanded to make plain to the people; I am innocent of your innovations". They said: "We accept what we have, and verily we are in the way of the guidance and the truth, and we will not believe in you nor follow you". So Allah sent down about them:-

O People of the Book, ye have no ground on which to stand until ye observe the Torah and the Gospel and what has been sent down to you from your Lord. But what has been sent down to thee from thy Lord will surely increase many of them in arrogance and unbelief, so do not worry about the unbelieving folk. (Sūrah 5: 68).

Ibn Ishāq: An-Nahhām ibn Zaid, Fardam ibn Ka'b and Bahrī ibn 'Amr came to the Messenger of Allah and said to him: "O Muhammad, do you not know that along with Allah there is another god?". The Messenger of Allah said: "Allah, there is no god but He; with that (message) was I sent and to that I give the call". So Allah sent down about them and their saying:-

Say: "Which is stronger in witness?". Say: "Allah is witness between you and me; and this Qur'an has been revealed to me that I may warn you thereby and whomsoever it may reach. Do ye testify that with Allah there are other gods?". Say: "I do not so testify". Say: "He is only one God and I am innocent of what ye associate (with Him)

Those to whom We have given the Book recognise it as they recognise their own sons, but those who have lost themselves they do not believe. (Sūrah 6: 19 & 20).

Rifā'ah bin Zaid bin at-Tābūt and Suwaid bin al-Hārith had made a profession of Islam and became hypocrites and some of the Muslims had an affection for them, and Allah sent down about them:-

O ye who have believed, take not as your friends those who take your religion as ridicule and fun, from amongst those who have been given the Book before you and the unbelievers, act piously toward Allah if ye are believers

down to His saying:-

And when they come to you they say: "We have believed" though they have gone into unbelief and in it have departed and Allah knoweth very well what they have been concealing. (Sūrah 5: 57 - 61).

Jabal bin Abū Qushair and Shamwīl bin Zaid said to the Messenger of Allah: "O Muhammad, if you be a prophet as you say, tell us when the Hour will come". So Allah sent down about them:-

They ask you about the Hour, for what time is its coming fixed; say: "The knowledge of it is with my Lord alone, no one will disclose it at its time but he; it is of weighty import in the heavens and the earth; it comes to you not otherwise than suddenly".

They ask thee as if thou wert familiar with it; say: "The knowledge of it is with Allah only, but most of the people have no knowledge. (Sūrah 7: 187).

Ibn Hishām: Ayyān Mursāhā means 'when is its arrival' (due to take place). Qais bin al-Hudādiyyah the Khuza'ite said:-

I came with the secret between her and me, hidden
To ask her when the one who had gone away would return

This stanza is in a poem of his. Mursāhā means 'her end' and its plural is Marāsī. Al-Kumait bin Zaid of Asad said:-

Those who attain to a gate where the people go not astray
The place where the regulations of Islam come to port.

This stanza is in a poem of his. Mursā as-safīnah is the place where the ship ends her voyage. 'As if thou wert familiar with it' (means to know) about its being advanced or put back. He says: They ask thee about it as if thou wert familiar with them and would tell them what you do not tell others. Al-Haffī means 'the country which is frequented' and in the Book of Allah:-

verily He hath been with me condescending (Sūrah 19: 47).

Its plural is 'Ahfiyāh. A'shā of the Beni Qais bin Tha'labah said:-

If you enquire about me - how many enquirers there are who ask repeatedly when al-A'sha will come.

This stanza is in a poem of his. Al-Hafī also means 'the enquirer after the knowledge of anything, the one who perseveres in his quest'. Ibn Ishāq: Sallām bin Mishkam, Nu'mān bin Aufā Abu Anas, Mahmūd bin Dahyah, Sha's bin Qais and Mālik bin ad-Daiq came to the Messenger of Allah and said to him: "How can we follow you when you have abandoned our Qiblah and you do not claim that 'Uzair was a son of Allah". So Allah sent down about that saying of theirs:-

The Jews say that 'Uzair is the son of Allah and the Christians say that the Messiah is the son of Allah; that is what they say with their lips, conforming to what was formerly said by those who disbelieved; Allah fight them! How they are involved in lies! (Surah 9: 31).

to the end of the story.

Ibn Hishām: Yadhūn, that is: Their words resemble the words of those who have disbelieved. For example, you relate a tale and someone else relates much the same sort of tale he is said to conform to you.

Ibn Ishāq: Mahmūd bin Saihān, Nu'mān bin Adā' Bahrī bin 'Amr, 'Uzair bin Abū 'Uzair, and Sallām bin Mishkam came to the Messenger of Allah and said: "Is it true O Muhammad, that this which you have brought is truth from Allah for we do not think it is put together in the way in which the Torah is put together?". The Messenger of Allah said to them: "Verily you recognise that it is from Allah and you find it written with you. Even if men and Jinn combined to bring the like of it they could not bring it". Then they said - the names of the lot of them were, Fihās, 'Abdallah bin Sūrā, Ibn Salūbā, Kinānah bin ar-Rabī' bin Abū 'l-Huqaiq, Ashya', Ka'b bin Asad, Shamwīl bin Zaid, and Jabal bin 'Amr bin Sukainah: "O Muhammad, did neither men nor Jin n teach you this?". The Messenger of Allah said to them: "Verily, you know that it is from Allah, and that I am indeed the Messenger of Allah, you will find that written with you in the Torah". They said: O Muhammad, verily Allah does from His messenger what He desires when He sends him, and he is able to get from Him what he desires, bring down to us a book from heaven which we may read and recognise; if not we will bring you the same as you bring". So Allah sent down about them and what they said:-

Say: "Verily if men and Jinn agree to produce the like of this Qur'an, they will not produce the like of it though

though one was a helper to the other". (Surah 17: 88).

Ibn Hishām: Ath-Thahīr means 'helper', and from it comes the saying of the Arabs 'Tathāharū 'alaihi', meaning 'they helped each other against him'. The poet said:-

O Namesake of the Prophet thou hast become a mainstay for religion and a helper for the Imam.

That is: A helper. Its plural is 'thuharā'.

Ibn Ishāq: Huyyay bin Akhtab, Ka'b bin Asad, Abū Nāfi', Ashya', and Shamwīl bin Zaid said to 'Abdallāh bin Salām when he islamized: "The prophetic office does not exist amongst the Arabs, but your friend is a king". Then they came to the Messenger of Allah and asked him about Dhu al-Qurnain and he related to them what had come to him from Allah about him what he had related to Quraish. They were among those who enjoined Quraish to ask the Messenger of Allah about him when they sent an-Nadr bin al-Hārith and 'Uqbah bin Abu Mu'ait to them.

Ibn Hishām: It was related to me on the authority of Sa'īd bin Jubair that he said: "A deputation of Jews came to the Messenger of Allah and said to him: 'O Muhammad, this Allah called creation into being but who created Him?'. The Messenger of Allah grew enraged, his colour changed, and he rushed on them in rage for his Lord, and Gabriel came to him, calmed him down and said: 'Compose yourself, O Muhammad. He brought him from Allah the answer to what they had asked him :-

Say: "He is Allah, One
Allah, the Eternal
He brought not forth, nor hath He been brought forth
Co-equal with Him there hath never been any one.
(Sūrah 112: 1 - 4).

When he recited it to them they said: "O Muhammad, describe for us how he was created, what his fore arm is like and what his upper arm is like'. The Messenger of Allah was even more enraged than the first time, rushed upon them, and Gabriel came to him and said to him the same thing as he had said the first time, and brought him an answer from Allah about that which they asked him. Allah says:-

They have not estimated the power of Allah aright; the earth as a whole He taketh in the hollow of His hand on the day of resurrection, and the heavens will be rolled up in His right hand; may He be blessed and exalted far above what they associate with Him. (Surah 39: 67).

Ibn Ishāq: 'Utbah bin Muslim a client of the Beni Tamim related to

me on the authority of Abū Salimah ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān from Abū Hurairah. He said: "I heard the Messenger of Allah say: 'The people will be quick to ask their prophet and one of them will say: +This Allah created the universe but who created Allah?+. If they say that say ye:-

Allah is One
Allah, the Eternal
He brought not forth nor hath He been brought forth
Co-equal with Him there hath never been any one.

Then let a man spit three times to his left and seek refuge in Allah from Satan the Stoned'

Ibn Hishām: As-samad is that towards which one directs oneself or that which is sought as a refuge from fear. Hind bint Ma'bad ibn Nadlah said in lament for 'Amr ibn Mas'ūd and Khālīd ibn Nadlah her two uncles from Asad whom an-Nu'mān ibn al-Mundhir the Lakhmite slew and built over them the two mausoleums which are in Kūfah :-

Verily the mourner rose early with the news of the two
best men of the Beni Asad
'Amr ibn Mas'ūd and the lord to whom recourse is had.

The affair of as-Sayyid, al-Āqib, and the Imprecation. 80

A deputation of the Christians of Najran came to the Messenger of Allah comprised of sixty riders amongst whom were fourteen men of their nobility, and amongst these fourteen were three persons on whom rested the responsibility for their affairs: Al-'Āqib, the commander of the people, their adviser and counsellor, without whose advice they would not proceed (with any matter), and his name was 'Abd al-Masīh. As-Sayyid was the manager of their business and the man responsible for their journeyings and gatherings, and his name was al-Aiham. Abū Hārithah ibn 'Alqamah one of the Beni Bakr ibn Wā'il was their Bishop Rabbi, and Imām, and the head of their churches. Abū Hārithah occupied a position of prominence among them and had studied their books till his knowledge of their religion was quite extensive. The Byzantine kings who were Christians had honoured him, given him property and servants, built churches for him, showered dignities upon him, because of his knowledge and zeal in their religion of which they had heard. So when they set out from Najrān in the direction of the Messenger of Allah, Abū Hārithah rode on a mule of his on his way to the Messenger of Allah and by his side was a brother of his called Kūr ibn 'Alqamah. (Ibn Hishām: He is also given as Kūz). The mule of Abū Hārithah stumbled and Kūz said to him

"May the one who is farther away stumble", meaning the Messenger of Allah. Abū Hārithah said to him: "Nay, but mayest thou stumble". He said: "Wherefore, my brother?". He said: "Verily he is the prophet whom we have been expecting". Kūz said to him: "What then keeps you back from him since you know this?". He said: "That which this people have done to us, they have honoured me, given us properties, and bestowed dignities upon us, refusing to do anything contrary to that. If I do this they will take from me all this that you see". So his brother Kūz kept it back from him and accepted Islam after that, and, according to what I heard, it was he who related this story about him.

Ibn Hishām: I heard that the chiefs of Najrān had inherited the books that were in their possession. Whenever one of their chiefs died and the chieftainship passed to another, he stamped a seal on those books along with the seals that were there before it, without breaking them. The chief who ruled in the time of the Prophet went out walking and stumbled and his son said to him: "May the one who is farther away stumble", meaning the Messenger of Allah. His father said to him: "Do nothing for he is a prophet and his name is in the archives" (meaning the books). Then he died and his son who had no desire that did not become a passion with him, broke the seals, found in them mention of the prophet, accepted Islam, and became a good Muslim, and made the Pilgrimage. It was he who said:-

Towards thee there runs a beast whose girth is loose
The embryo in her womb hinders her progress
Her religion is contrary to the religion of the Christians.

Ibn Hishām: Al-Wadīn means 'the saddle girth', the saddle girth of the she-camel. Hishām ibn 'Urwah said: "The people of Iraq added to it:-

The embryo in her womb hinders her progress

However, Abū 'Uḡaidah recited this as part of it

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad ibn Ja'far ibn az-Zubair related to me. He said: When they came to the Messenger of Allah at Medina they went in to him in his mosque while he was at afternoon Prayer wearing the Yemenite robes of the Rabbis, long-sleeved gowns and cloaks in all the elegance of the men of the Beni 'l-Hārith ibn Ka'b. Some of the friends of the Messenger of Allah who saw them on that day said: "We did not see after their time a deputation like them". When their time of prayer came, they began to pray in the mosque of the Messenger of Allah.

The Messenger

of Allah said: "Let them be", and they prayed towards the east.

Ibn Ishāq: The names of the fourteen on whom rested the responsibility for their affairs were: al-'Āqib who was 'Abd al-Masīh, as-Sayyid, who was al-Aiham, Abū Hārithah bin 'Alqamah brother of the Beni Bakr bin Wā'il, Aus, Hārith, Zaid, Qais, Yazīd, Nubaih, Khuwailid, 'Amr, Khālid, 'Abdallah and Yuhannas, with sixty horsemen. Abū Hārithah bin 'Alqamah, al-'Āqib 'Abd al-Masīh, and al-Aiham as-Sayyid who were followers of Christianity the religion of the King, spoke with the Messenger of Allah. But there was a difference in their affair. Some (of them) say: "He is Allah", others, "He is the son of Allah", and still others, "He is the third of three". Such is the assertion of Christianity. They bring as an argument in support of their contention that he is Allah, the fact that he raised the dead, cured diseases, told of the hidden things, created the form of a bird out of clay, breathed into it and it became a bird. But all that was by command of Allah, the Blessed the Exalted and to make it a sign for the people. Further, they argue in support of their statement that he is the son of Allah by saying that he had no known father, and that he spoke in the cradle, which is something none of the children of Adam had ever done before him. And they argue in support of their statement that he is the third of three from the saying of Allah: 'We performed; 'We commanded; 'We created; and 'We determined', saying: "If He were one He would not say other than, 'I performed', 'I determined', 'I commanded', 'I created'; but it was He and Jesus and Mary; and about all that they said the Qur'ān came down. When the two bishops spoke to the Messenger of Allah, he said to them: "Become Muslims". They said: "We have become Muslims". He said: "Indeed, you have not become Muslims, so islamize". They said: "Certainly, we were Muslims before your time". He said: "You lie, your claim that Allah has a son, your worship of the cross, and your eating of swine's flesh prevent you from becoming Muslims". They said: "Who was his father, then, O Muhammad?", but the Messenger of Allah kept silence and gave them no answer. So Allah sent down about that saying of theirs and the whole matter of their difference of opinion, the opening part of the Chapter of the Family of 'Imrān, up to the eightieth verse and more. He said:-

Alif, Lām Mīm.

Allah, there is no god but He the Living, the Self-existent.

He opens the chapter by dissociating Himself entirely from what they say, and a declaration of His Unity in creation and the affair, without any partner, as a reply to them and the unbelief they have invented in giving Him equals; and as an argument against what they asserted about their friend to make them realise thereby their error. He said:-

Alif, Lām, Mīm

Allah, there is no god but He

There is no other partner with Him in His affair

The Living, the Self-existent

The Living: He who does not die. But Jesus died and was crucified according to what they say. The Self-existent: The One Who remains in His place in the universe because of His authority; He passes not away. But Jesus did indeed pass away, according to what they say, from the place in which He was and departed from it to another.

He hath sent down the Book to thee with the truth

That is: With the truth about which they disagree

And He sent down the Torah and the Gospel

The Torah to Moses and the Gospel to Jesus as He sent down the Books to those who were before him

and He sent down the Furqan

That is: The separation between truth and error in regard to the affair of Jesus and other matters about which the parties differed.

Verily, for those who have disbelieved in the signs of Allah is a severe punishment; Allah is mighty, the wielder of vengeance.

That is: Allah takes vengeance on those who have disbelieved in His signs after that they have known them and recognised that in them something had come from Him

Verily from Allah nothing is hid, either in the earth or in the heaven;

That is: He knows what they intend, what plots they hatch and what they are like by their words about Jesus when they made him a Lord and a God. They have more of his knowledge besides that in their deceit towards Allah and disbelief in Him.

He is it who forms you in the wombs, as He pleases;

That is: Jesus was amongst those who were formed in the wombs, as other sons of Adam were formed; they do not refute nor deny that

How then is he a God since he belonged to that order of beings. Then He said to dissociate Himself from what they had put along with Him and by way of asserting His unity;-

there is no god but He; the Mighty the Wise.

The Mighty in His victory over those who disbelieve in Him, if He wills. The Wise in the arguments and reasons He gives His servants.

He it is who hath sent down to thee the Book in which are clearly formulated verses; these are the essence of the Book

In them are the arguments of the Lord and protection for men, a defence against contention and error, and they cannot be changed or altered from the form in which they were given

and others are ambiguous

They are capable of being changed and bear (variant) interpretations. Allah tests men by means of them just as He tested them with things allowable and forbidden, that they might not be changed to error or altered from the truth. Allah says:-

As for those in whose hearts is an inclination to fall away That is: A tendency away from the guidance

they follow the ambiguous part of it,

That is: The part of it that has been changed that they may accept it as true and what they have invented and created to make out a case for themselves, so for them there is doubt about what they say

out of desire of dissension

That is: Confusion

and seeking its explanation

That was about the error on which they embarked when they said:

"We created" and "We determined". He says:-

and none knows its explanation

That is: That by which they desired what they desired

except Allah; And those well-grounded in knowledge say:
"We believe in it, all is from our Lord.

How then can it be contradictory when it is one saying from one Lord? Then they rejected the explanation of the ambiguous (verses) in spite of the explanation of the perspicuous (verses) which they recognised for which there is nothing but one explanation, and according to what they said, the Book was compiled, one part of which verified the other part, by it the argument was clenched, the plea became evident, error was removed and unbelief was overcome. Allah says:-

No one takes warning but those of insight.
O our Lord, do not incline our hearts to go astray after
having guided us.

That is: Do not make our hearts to err: and if we have erred by our
misdeeds

grant us mercy from Thyself; Thou art the Giver.

Then He said:-

Allah hath testified that there is no god but He, likewise
the angels and the people of knowledge;

in contradiction of what they said,

dispensing justice,

That is: Righteousness

there is no god but He, the Mighty, the Wise.
Verily the religion in Allah's sight is Islam;

That is: What you follow O Muhammad, the assertion of the unity of
the Lord, and confirmation of the messengers.

and those to whom the Book has been given did not differ
until after the knowledge had come to them,

That is: What came to you, that Allah is the One who has no associate.

out of jealousy among themselves; if anyone disbelieves in
the signs of Allah, Allah is quick to reckon
So if they dispute with thee,

That is: About the falsehood they bring when they say: "We created",
"We performed", "We commanded"; it is only the confusion of
falsehood. They have recognised how much truth there was in it.

say: "I have surrendered myself to Allah,

That is: (To Him) alone

likewise those who have followed me,
And say to those to whom the Book has been given and to
the common people who have no Book: "Have ye surrendered
yourselves?". If they surrender themselves then they have
been guided aright, but if they turn away, thou art only
responsible for the proclamation, and Allah is observant
of (His) servants.

Then he includes the People of the two Books, mentions what they had
done amiss and invented - both Jews and Christians, and said:-

Verily those who disbelieve in the signs of Allah and kill
the prophets wrongfully, and slay those men who enjoin
uprightness....

down to His saying:-

Say: "O Allah, the possessor of power

That is: Lord and King of men, other than Whom no one judges them.

Thou givest power to whom Thou willest, and withdrawest power from whom Thou willest; Thou exaltest whom Thou willest, and abasest whom Thou willest ; in Thy hand is good;

That is: It belongs not to another.

verily Thou hast power over all things

That is: None but Thou art able to do this by Thy authority and power.

Thou causest the night to interpenetrate the day, and the day to interpenetrate the night; Thou bringest forth the living from the dead, and the dead from the living;

by that might.

and Thou providest for whom Thou willest without reckoning.

None but Thee is capable of that; none but Thee can perform it. That is: If I had given Jesus authority over the things wherein they assert that he is Divine, such as bringing the dead to life, curing diseases, creating birds of clay, and telling of the hidden things, (it was in order that) I might thereby make him a sign for the people and for a confirmation of him in his prophetic office wherewith I sent him to his people; but part of the power and authority which I did not confer on him was the setting up of kings ^{through} the affair of the prophetic office and its disposal wherever I will; the interpenetration of the night in the day, and the day in the night; the bringing forth of the living from the dead, and the bringing forth of the dead from the living; and making provision for whomsoever I willed both of the righteous and the wicked without reckoning. I did not give Jesus authority over all this and I did not appoint him king over it, nor have they any example or evidence that even if he were Divine all that would have belonged to him. Also, according to their knowledge, he fled from the kings and moved away from them from one town to another in the land.

Then he addresses the believers, warns them, and says:-

Say: "If ye love Allah...

That is: If what you say is really out of love to and veneration for Allah

follow me, and Allah will love you and will forgive you your sins;

That is: You unbelief which is past

Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

Say: "Obey Allah and the Messenger

for you will recognise him and find him in your Book.

then if they turn away -

That is: To their unbelief

Allah doth not love the unbelievers.

Then He brought up the affair of Jesus and the manner of the commencement of what He willed for him, and said:-

Verily Allah hath chosen Adam and Noah and the family of Abraham and the family of 'Imrān above the worlds; descendants one of the other, Allah is one who hears and knows.

Then He mentioned the affair of the wife of 'Imrān with regard to her saying:-

O my Lord, I vow to Thee what is in my womb dedicated (to Thy service)

That is: I have vowed him and made him a slave whose service is to Allah; he shall not profit by anything of the world.

accept (it) from me, verily Thou art one who hears and knows. Then when she was delivered of it, she said: "O my Lord, what I have been delivered of is a female;" Allah knew quite well what she had been delivered of; the male is not like the female -

That is: The male is not as the female for the purpose for which I have dedicated her to Him as a consecrated (child)

I have named her Mary and I seek refuge with Thee for her and her posterity from Satan the stoned.

Allah, the Blessed, the Exalted says:-

So her Lord vouchsafed her a good acceptance and caused her to shoot up a goodly growth and Zechariah took charge of her. after her father and mother.

Ibn Hishām: Kaffalahā means 'he took her to himself'.

Ibn Ishāq: Then he mentioned her in orphanhood and gives her story and that of Zechariah, what he prayed for and what He gave him when He bestowed Yahya on him. Then he mentioned Mary and what the angels said to her:-

O Mary, verily Allah hath chosen thee and purified thee, and chosen thee above the women of the worlds
O Mary, be obedient to thy Lord, prostrate thyself and bow with those who bow.

Allah says:-

That is one of the stories of the unseen, which we give thee by inspiration and thou wast not with them when they cast their pens (to decide) which of them should take charge of Mary.

Ibn Hishām: Aqlāmahum is 'their arrows'. He means the divining arrows with which they drew lots for her: and the divining arrow of Zechariah came out and he took her, according to what al-Hasan bin Abū 'l-Hasan said.

Ibn Ishāq: Juraih the monk, one of the Children of Israel, a carpenter got charge of her at this time. The divining arrow came out in his favour that he should accept responsibility for her which he did. Zachariah had had charge of her before that, but the Children of Israel were smitten by a severe famine, and Zachariah was unable to support her, and they cast lots for her (to decide) which of them should have charge of her, and the divining arrow came out in favour of Juraih the monk, that he should have charge of her, which he undertook.

and thou wast not with them when they were contending
That is: Thou wast not with them when they contended about her. He informs him of the secret of the knowledge which they had concealed with themselves in confirmation of his prophetic office and as an argument against them with regard to the things he brought them which they were concealing from him. Then He said:-

When the angels said: "O Mary, Allah giveth thee tidings of a word from Himself, whose name is the Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary,

That is: His affair was on this wise, not as they say
an eminent one in this world and the Hereafter

That is: With Allah
and is one of those brought near
And he will speak to the people in the cradle and as grown man, one of the upright

He informs them of his state in which he will experience change in his life, just as all the sons of Adam, small and great experience changes in their lives, excepting that Allah singled him out by his speaking in the cradle as a sign of his prophetic office, and as a way of causing men to recognise the sphere in which his might is exercised.

She said: "My Lord, how shall I have a child, seeing no man hath touched me?". He said: "Thus Allah createth what He willeth

That is: He performs what He pleases and creates what He wills both of men and (creatures) other than men

when He decideth on a thing He simply saith to it "Be" and it is

What He wills and how He wills and it is as He pleases. Then He tells her what He wills for him and says:-

And We will teach him the Book and the Wisdom and the Torah which was amongst them from the time of Moses before him and the Gospel

another Book which Allah gave to him. They had only the merest mention of him that he was one of the prophets after him.

and a messenger to the Children of Israel

Verily I have come to you with a sign from your Lord

That is: He verifies thereby my prophetic office that I am a messenger to you from Him.

Verily I will create for you from clay the form of a bird and I will breathe into it and it will become a bird by the permission of Allah

Who sent me to you; He is my Lord and your Lord

and I will heal the blind and the leprous.....

Ibn Hishām: Al-Akmah means one who was born blind. Ru'bah ibn al-'Ajāj said:-

I roused (him) up and he went back like one born blind

Its plural is 'kumh'

Ibn Hishām: Harrajtu means 'I called out against the lion and brought (the people) upon him'. This stanza is in a poem of his.

and bring the dead to life by the permission of Allah, and I shall announce to you what ye may eat and what ye may store up in your houses; verily in that is a sign for you

that I am a messenger to you from Allah

if ye are believers. And (I have come) to confirm the Torah which was before me

That is: The part of it that preceded me

and to make allowable to you some things which have been forbidden you.

That is: I will tell you of that which has been forbidden you and which you have given up and I will make it allowable for you to lighten your burdens so that you may get relief from them and be secured against any consequences.

I have brought you a sign from your Lord, so act piously toward Allah and obey me; verily Allah is my Lord and your Lord

That is: That he may be clear of what they say about him, and as an argument for his Lord against them.

so serve Him, this is a straight path.

That is: This is the guidance which I have prevailed upon you to follow, and which I have brought you.

So when Jesus perceived unbelief on their part,
And enmity to him,

he said: "Who are my helpers towards Allah?" The Apostles replied: "We are the helpers of Allah, we have believed in Allah,

This was their saying by which they obtained the bounty from their Lord.

And bear witness that we are Muslims.

Not what these who dispute with thee say about him.

"O our Lord, we have believed in what Thou hast sent down and followed the messenger; so write us down among the witnesses".

That is: These were their words and (this was) their faith.

Then He mentions His raising of Jesus to Himself when they combined to slay him. He said:-

They plotted and Allah plotted but Allah is the best of plotters.

Then He told them, refuting his crucifixion, which they acknowledged was carried out by the Jews, how He raised him up and purified him from them:-

When Allah said: "O Jesus, I am going to bring thy term to an end and raise thee to Myself, and purify thee from those who have disbelieved; 8'

Since they have purposed towards you what they have purposed

and I am going to set those who have followed after thee above those who have disbelieved until the day of resurrection;

and the story till he ends with His saying:-

So much do we recite to thee

O Muhammad

of the signs and the wise Reminder.

Which convinces and sets out the truth of the statement about Jesus in which is no admixture of error, and about his affair concerning which they differed, so do not accept another statement

Jesus in Allah's eyes is in the same position as Adam; He created him of dust, then said to him "Be", and he is The truth from thy Lord,

the statement which has come to you regarding Jesus.

so be not thou of those who doubt.

That is: The truth from thy Lord has come to thee so do not doubt it. And if they say that Jesus was created without a male, verily I created Adam by that power apart from both male and female, and he was human like Jesus, having flesh, blood and hair. So the creation of Jesus without a male was not more wonderful than that.

If anyone dispute with thee concerning him after the knowledge which has come to thee

That is: After the statement which We have given you about him and the manner of his affair

say: "Come, let us call our sons and your sons, our wives and your wives, ourselves and yourselves, then let us make supplication and lay the curse of Allah on those who lie.

Ibn Hishām: Abū 'Uḡaidah said: Nabtahil means 'to invoke the curse'. A'sha of the Beni Qais ibn Tha'labah said:-

Do not sit down when thou hast fed it with fuel
One day thou wilt seek refuge and make supplication (for deliverance) from its evil.

This stanza is in a poem of his. Nabtahil also means 'to beseech'. He says: "We will invoke the curse". The Arabs say: "Bahal Allah Fulān meaning: "May Allah curse So-and-so. Also "'Alaihi bahlat Allah" (also given as "buhlat Allah"), meaning the curse of Allah. Nabtahil also means that we make earnest prayer.

Ibn Ishāq:

Verily this

The account of Jesus which I have brought
is the true account

Of his affair

and there is no god but Allah, and verily Allah is the Mighty, the Wise.

If then they turn away - Allah knoweth the corrupters.

Say: "O People of the Book, come to a word which is fair between you and us, that we worship no one but Allah, that we associate nothing with Him, and that we do not take one another as Lords apart from Allah", if they turn away, say: ye: "Bear witness that we are Muslims.

Thus he called them to do what was fair and took away from them their plea.

When the information about him came from Allah to the Messenger of Allah, and the decree of separation between him and them and he was given the commandment he was given to curse them if they refused that, he called them (to follow this course). So they said to him: "O Abū

'l-Qāsim, let us look into our affair and we will bring you (word) of what we wish to do about that to which you have called us", and they went away from him. Then they went aside with al-'Aqib who was their counsellor and said: "O 'Abd al-Masīh, what do you think?". He said: "O Christian people, you have indeed recognised that Muhammad is a prophet commissioned, and he has brought you the decisive word about the story of your friend. You know that no people has ever cursed a prophet and their grown ups remained alive and their young ones reached maturity; it will surely mean extermination for you if you do so. If then you refuse (everything) except to adhere to your religion and to stand by the statement about your master which you have, seek a reconciliation with the man and go away to your country". So they came to the Messenger of Allah and said: "O Abū 'l-Qāsim, we are of the opinion that we should not utter any denunciation of you but that we should leave you in your religion and we return in our religion, but send with us one of your friends whom you shall choose for us, who shall decide between us on matters of property on which we have disagreed, for you are acceptable with us. Muhammad bin Ja'far said: "The Messenger of Allah said: 'Come to me in the evening and I will send with you the strong and faithful one'". He said: "Umar bin al-Khattāb said: 'I never had a desire for a position of command like what I had that day, in the hope I would get it. I went to the noon prayer before the time and when the Messenger of Allah had prayed with us the noon prayer, he gave the salutations and looked both to right and left. I tried to make myself taller that he might see me but his glances continued to probe around till they lighted on Abū 'Ubaidah bin al-Jarrāh and he called him and said: +Go with them and decide rightly between them in regard to that about which they have differed+'. 'Umar said: 'So Abū 'Ubaidah went away with them'".

Extracts from the account of the hypocrites.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah related to me, the Messenger of Allah came to Medina when the chieftain of the people there was 'Abdallah bin Ubai bin Salūl the 'Aufite, and one of the subdivision of the Benu 'l-Hublā. No two of his people would have disagreed about him as far as his rank was concerned. The Aus and the Khazraj had never agreed on a single man from either of the two divisions except him, either before or after his time; till Islam came.

The man who shared the leadership of the Aus with him was a nobleman of his people the Aus, respected and obeyed, Abū 'Āmir, 'Abd ḤAmr ibn Saifī ibn an-Nu'mān, one of the Beni Dubai'ah ibn Zaid. He was Abū Hanzalah the one who was washed (by the Angels) on the day of Uhud. He had become a monk in the Age of Barnarism, donning the garments of hair, and he was called "The Monk", but they were unfortunate in their dignity and it harmed them.

As for 'Abdallah ibn Ubai, his people had prepared for him the chaplet wherewith to crown him and make him king over them, but while they were taken up with that Allah brought them His messenger. So when his people left him to go over to Islam, he was filled with rancour, because he realised that the Messenger of Allah had snatched the kingdom from him. When he saw that his people refused everything but Islam, he entered it against his will and persisted in hypocrisy and malice.

As for Abū 'Āmir, he refused everything except unbelief and separation from his people when they agreed on having Islam, and he went away from them to Mecca with a few dozen men, separating himself from Islam and the Messenger of Allah. According to what Muhammad ibn Abū Umamah related to me on the authority of one of the family of Hanzalah ibn Abū 'Āmir, the Messenger of Allah said: "Do not say: 'The Monk', but say: 'The Impious'".

Ibn Ishāq: Ja'far ibn 'Abdallah ibn Abū 'l-Hakam, who both heard and understood and was a reciter, related to me that Abū 'Āmir came to the Messenger of Allah when he came to Medina before he went to Mecca and said: "What is this religion you have brought?". He said: "I have brought Hanīfism, the religion of Abraham". He said: "That is what I follow". The Messenger of Allah said to him: "Verily you have it not". He said: "Certainly we have, you have introduced into Hanīfism O Muhammad what does not belong to it". He said: "I have not done so, I have brought it pure and white". He said: "The liar, may Allah cause him to die an outcast, a stranger and alone", alluding to the Messenger of Allah, meaning to say: "This is how you brought it". The Messenger of Allah said: "Yes, whoever is a liar Allah will do that to him". It was he who was the enemy of Allah. He went to Mecca, when the Messenger of Allah entered Mecca he went to at-Tā'if, and when the people of at-Tā'if accepted Islam he went to Syria and died there

an outcast, a stranger and alone. 'Alqamah ibn 'Ulāthah ibn 'Auf ibn al-Ahwas ibn Ja'far ibn Kilāb, and Kinānah ibn 'Abd Yalīl ibn 'Amr ibn 'Umair the Thaqaḥite went with him. When he died they took their dispute over his inheritance to Caesar, Emperor of Byzantium and Caesar said: "Let townspeople inherit from townspeople and let nomads inherit from nomads". So Kinānah ibn 'Abd Yalīl the townsman, became his heir apart from 'Alqamah. Ka'b ibn Mālik said to Abū 'Āmir about what he had done:-

Allah forfend a vile deed like your behaviour in the tribe
O 'Abd 'Amr
Either you said to me: "Honour and palm trees"
Of old you bartered faith for unbelief.

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as: "Either you said to me: 'Honour and wealth'".

Ibn Ishāq: As for 'Abdallah ibn Ubai, he continued to hold his position of honour among his people in Medina, hesitating till Islam got the better of him, and he entered it against his will.

Ibn Ishāq: Muḥammad ibn Muslim az-Zuhrī related to me on the authority of 'Urwah ibn az-Zubair from Usāmah ibn Zaid ibn Hārithah the beloved of the Messenger of Allah. He said: The Messenger of Allah rode out to (see) Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah, to visit him in an illness which had come upon him, on a donkey on which was a pawk-saddle with a velvet covering of Fadak tied with a rein of palm-fibre, and the Messenger of Allah had mounted me behind him. He passed by 'Abdallah ibn Ubai as he was in the shade of Muzāhim, his fort,

Ibn Hishām: Muzāhim was the name of his fort.

Ibn Ishāq: and some of his people were around him. When the Messenger of Allah saw him, he was careful not to pass without alighting. So he dismounted, greeted him, sat a little while, reciting the Qur'ān, calling to Allah, reminding of Allah, cautioning, giving good tidings, and uttering warnings. He remained silent without speaking till the Messenger of Allah had finished what he had to say and then he said: "You there! There is nothing better than this discourse of yours if only it were true. Sit then in your own house and relate it to whoever comes to you, but do not weary with it him who does not come to you, and do not bring to him where he is sitting that which he dislikes". 'Abdallah ibn Rawāḥah, who was with some Muslims who were with him said: "By all means, bring it to us and give it to us in our assemblies and dwellings and houses, for it

is the thing we like, and Allah has honoured us with it and guided us to it. 'Abdallah bin Ubai said when he observed the difference of opinion (that existed among) his people:-

When thy lord is thine opponent thou dost not cease to be despised and those with whom you fight will overcome thee
Can the eagle rise without his wings and if his feathers were to be plucked one day he would surely fall.

Ibn Hishām: The second stanza is on the authority of another than Ibn Ishāq.

Ibn Ishāq: Az-Zuhrī related to me on the authority of 'Urwah bin az-Zubair from Usāmah bin Zaid. He said: So the Messenger of Allah rose up and went to Sa'd bin 'Ubadah with what the enemy of Allah bin Ubai had said appearing on his face and he said: Verily, O Messenger of Allah I see something in your face which is as if you had heard something you dislike". He said: Yes", and told him what Ibn Ubai had said. Sa'd said: "Be kind to him, for I swear that when Allah brought you to us we had already prepared the chaplet wherewith to crown him, and he sees that you have snatched the kingdom out of his grasp".

Mention of those friends of the Messenger of Allah who fell ill.

Ibn Ishāq: Hisham bin 'Urwah and 'Umar bin 'Abdallah bin 'Urwah related to me on the authority of 'Urwah bin az-Zubair from 'Ā'ishah. She said: When the Messenger of Allah came to Medina he did so at the time when it was the most plague-stricken country on earth with fever from which trial and illness befell his friends but Allah diverted that from His Prophet. Abū Bakr, 'Amir bin Fuhairah and Bilāl, two clients of Abū Bakr, were in the same house with Abū Bakr when the fever came upon them. I went in to visit them - that was before the veil was imposed on us - and none but Allah knows the severity of the pain they endured from the fever, so I went up to Abū Bakr and said to him: "How do you find yourself my father?". He said:-

Every man is given the morning greeting in his family while death is nearer than his sandal-straps

I said: "Verily, my father knows not what he says". Then I went up to 'Amir bin Fuhairah and said: "How do you find yourself, O 'Amir?"

He said:-

Verily, I have experienced death before tasting it
The fate of the coward is from above
Each man is striving with all his might
Like the ox protecting his skin with his horn

By 'Tūqihi' he means 'Taḡātihi' (with all his strength) according to what Ibn Hishām says.

I said: "Verily 'Āmir does not know what he is saying". She said: "Bilāl, when the fever left him, was lying in the courtyard of the house and he lifted up his voice and said:-

Would that I knew whether I will spend a night in Fakhkh
with the rushes and grass around me
Shall I come one day to the waters of Majannah and will
Shāmah and Tafīl appear to me?

Ibn Hishām: Shāmah and Tafīl are two mountains.

'Ā'ishah said: I mentioned to the Messenger of Allah what I had heard from them and said: "They are raving and out of their senses because of the severity of the fever". The Messenger of Allah said: "Make Medina to be beloved by us as Thou didst make Mecca beloved by us, O Allah, or even more than that, bless her in her measures and bushels and remove her plague to Mahī'ah; and Mahī'ah is al-Juhfah.

Ibn Ishāq: Ibn Shihāb az-Zuhrī mentioned on the authority of 'Abdallah ibn 'Umar ibn al-'Ās that when the Messenger of Allah and his friends came to Medina, the fever of Medina came upon them so that they were exhausted by illness, but Allah warded it off from His Prophet, and they could not pray unless they were seated. The Messenger of Allah went out to them when they were praying in this fashion and said to them: "Know that the prayer of him who squats is only half as good as the prayer of him who stands". Then the Muslims forced themselves to stand in spite of the weakness and sickness that lay on them, in entreating the favour (of Allah).

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah made preparations for fighting and undertook the holy war against the enemy which Allah had commanded, and made war on the idolaters of the Arabs who followed them, whom Allah had commanded him to fight.

Date of the Migration.

In the foregoing chain of authorities on the authority of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Hishām he said: Ziyād ibn 'Abdallah al-Bakka'ī related to us on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq the Muṭṭalibite. He said: The Messenger of Allah came to Medina on the Monday after the twelfth night of Rabī' I when the forenoon was well advanced and the sun was almost at the zenith. That was the date, according to what Ibn Hishām says.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah was at that time fifty three years of age, which was thirteen years after Allah commissioned him. He remained (in Medina) for the remainder of the month Rabi' al-Awwal the other Rabi', the two Jumādis, Rajab, Sha'bān, the month of Ramadān, Shawwāl, Dhu al-Qa'dah, Dhu al-Hijjah, - the polytheists were in control of that pilgrimage - and al-Muharram. Then he set out on a raid in Safar at the beginning of the twelfth month from the time of his arrival in Medina, and appointed Sa'd bin 'Ubādah governor of Medina, according to what Ibn Hishām says.

The Raid of Waddān.

This was his first raid.

Ibn Ishāq: Till he got to Waddān; and this is the raid of al-Abwā'; in search of Quraish and the Beni Damrah bin Bakr bin 'Abd Manāt bin Kinānah. The Beni Damrah effected a reconciliation with him there and the man who conciliated him towards them was Makhshī bin 'Amr the Damrite, who was their chieftain at that time. Then the Messenger of Allah returned to Medina without meeting any opposition and resided there for the remainder of Safar and the first part of the month of Rabi' al-Awwal.

Ibn Hishām: This is the first raid he made.

The raiding party of 'Ubaidah bin al-Hārith.

This was the first occasion on which he mounted a standard.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah, during that stay of his in Medina, despatched 'Ubaidah bin al-Hārith bin al-Muttalib bin 'Abd Manāf bin Qusai with sixty or eighty horsemen of the Emigres, amongst whom there was not a single one of the Helpers. He went on till he came to water in the Hijāz in Lower Thaniyyat al-Marrah where he found a large party of Quraishites. No fighting took place between them that day except that Sa'd bin Abū Waqqās was shot with an ^{arrow}, and it was the first arrow to be shot in Islam. Then the two parties broke away from each other, the Muslims having a rearguard. Al-Miqdād bin 'Amr al-Bahrānī, ally of the Beni Zuhrah, and 'Utbah bin Ghazwān bin Jābir the Māzinite, ally of the Beni Naufal bin 'Abd Manāf, who were Muslims but had gone out to join the unbelievers, fled from the polytheists to the Muslims. 'Ikrimah bin Abū Jahl was in charge of the party.

Names and poetry omitted.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what I heard, the standard of 'Ubaidah was the first standard the Messenger of Allah mounted for any of the Muslims in Islam and one scholar claims that he sent him out when he was on the way back from the raid of al-'Abwā' before he reached Medina.

The raiding party of Hamzah (which went) to the coast.

During that stay of his he also sent Hamzah bin 'Abd al-Muttalib bin Hashim to the sea-shore in the vicinity of al-'Is with thirty horsemen of the Emigres amongst whom was not a single one of the Helpers. He encountered Abū Jahl bin Nishām on the sea shore with three hundred horsemen of the inhabitants of Mecca and Majdī bin 'Amr the Juhanite, who was on good terms with both parties interposed between them. So the parties separated one from the other and no fight took place between them. Some people say that the standard of Hamzah was the first standard the Messenger of Allah mounted for any of the Muslims, but that was because his expedition and that of 'Ubaidah took place together which made it confusing for people. They have claimed that Hamzah recited poetry about that (event) in which he mentions that his standard was the first one the Messenger of Allah mounted. If Hamza did indeed say that then it was the truth, if Allah wills, for he would say nothing but the truth; but Allah knows best whether that was so. But what we heard from our scholars was that 'Ubaidah bin al-Nārith was the first for whom a banner was mounted.

Poetry omitted.

The Raid of Būwāt

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah made a raid in the month of Rabī' al-Awwal in search of Quraish.

Ibn Nishām: He appointed as-Sā'ib bin 'Uthmān bin Math'ūn governor of Medina.

Ibn Ishāq: He went as far as Būwāt in the vicinity of Radwā and then returned to Medina without meeting any opposition and he remained there for the remainder of the month of Rabī' II and part of Jumādī I.

The Raid of al-'Ushairah.

Then he made a raid on Quraish and he appointed Abū Salimah bin 'Abd al-Asad governor of Medina, according to what Ibn Nishām says.

Ibn Ishāq: He went by Naqb of the Beni Dīnār then by Taifā' al-Khabār and dismounted beneath a tree in the river-bed of Ibn Azhar called 'The possessor of the (great) trunk' and prayed beside it, and there was his place of worship. Food was prepared for him there some of which he ate and the people ate with him - the place where the tripod of the cooking-pot stood is known there - and he was given water to drink there called 'Al-Mushtarīb!'. Then the Messenger of Allah journeyed on leaving al-Khalā'iq on the left and passed along a narrow path called 'the path of 'Abdallah', and that is its name to-day, then he turned left, descended to Yalyal, and alighted at the encampment there and the encampment of ad-Dabū'ah, and he drank from a well in ad-Dabū'ah; then he crossed the plain, the plain of Malal, and found the route in Sukhairāt al-Yamām. From there on the route was on level ground till he reached 'Ushairah, which belonged to a sub-tribe of Yanbu', and he stayed there during Jumādī I and some days of Jumādī II, and conciliated the Beni Mudlij and their allies from the Beni Damrah. Then he returned to Medina without encountering opposition. It was during that expedition that he said to 'Ali bin Abū Tālib what he said.

Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd bin Muḥammad bin Khaitham the Muhāribite related to me on the authority of Muḥammad bin Ka'b the Qurāthite from Muḥammad bin Khaitham Abu Yazīd from 'Ammār bin Yāsir. He said: 'Ali bin Abū Tālib and I were companions in the raid of al-'Ushairah. When the Messenger of Allah reached it and stayed in it we saw some men of the Beni Mudlij working about a well and some palm trees belonging to them. 'Ali said to me: "O Abu 'l-Yaḥṭhān, do you think we should go over to these men and see how they do it?" I said: "Just as you please". So we went over to them and watched them at work for an hour when sleep overcame us, and 'Ali and I went away and lay down in a grove of palm trees on a patch of bare earth. We slept, and what should rouse us but the Messenger of Allah nudging us with his foot. We were soiled with that earth in which we had slept that day and the Messenger of Allah said to 'Ali bin Abū Tālib: "What is the matter with you, Father of Earth?", because of the earth which he saw on him, "Shall I not tell you about the two most wretched of men?" We said: "Certainly, O Messenger of Allah". He said: "Uḥaimir of Thamūd who

hamstrung the she-camel, and he who strikes you here O 'Ali", and he put his hand on the side of his head, "so that he makes this mpist with it", and he took him by the beard.

Ibn Ishāq: A scholar related to me that the Messenger of Allah merely called 'Ali 'father of earth', because when he was annoyed with Fātimah about anything, he did not speak to her nor did he say anything to her she disliked but he took dust and put it on his head. When the Messenger of Allah saw earth on him he knew he was annoyed with Fātimah, and said: "What is the matter with you, Father of Earth"; but Allah knows best whether that was so.

The raiding party of Sa'd bin Abū Waqqās

Ibn Ishāq: In the meantime, the Messenger of Allah had despatched Sa'd bin Abū Waqqās on a raiding expedition with eight men of the Emigres, and he set out and reached al-Kharrār in the country of the Hijāz. Then he returned without encountering opposition.

Ibn Hishām: One of the scholars says that this expedition of Sa'd was after (that of) Hamzah.

The raid of Safawān which is the First (Expedition of) Badr.

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah returned from the raid of al-'Ushairah, he had not stayed in Medina more than a few nights, less than ten, when Kurz bin Jābir the Fihrite made a swoop on the herds of Medina, and the Messenger of Allah sallied forth in search of him and appointed Zaid bin Hārithah governor of Medina, according to what Ibn Hishām says.

Ibn Ishāq: He came to a valley called Safawān in the vicinity of Badr, but Kurz bin Jābir eluded him and he did not come up with him. This was the the first expedition to Badr. Then the Messenger of Allah returned to Medina and stayed there for the remainder of Jumādi, Jumādi II, Rajab and Sha'bān.

The raiding party of 'Abdallah bin Jahsh, and the descent of: "They will ask thee about the sacred months."

On his return from the First Badr he sent out 'Abdallah bin Jahsh bin Ri'āb the Asadite with eight men of the Emigres amongst whom was not a single one of the Helpers. He wrote a letter for him and commanded him not to look at it till he was two days' march away and then he should see it, go ahead with what he was commanded to do,,but should not force any of his comrades (to go with him) against his will.

List of names omitted.

When 'Abdallah bin Jahsh had marched for two days he opened the letter and read it and therein (was written);

When you read this letter of mine, go forward till you come to Nakhlah between Mecca and at-Ta'if and there lie in wait for Quraish and give us news of them.

When 'Abdallah bin Jahsh had read the letter he said: "I hear and obey" Then he said to his comrades: "The Messenger of Allah has ordered me to go to Nakhlah there to lie in wait for Quraish that I may bring him news of them. He has forbidden me to force any of you (to go); whoever of you then desires martyrdom and covets it let him go, but whoever dislikes that let him turn back. As far as I myself am concerned I will go forward in accordance with the command of the Messenger of Allah". So he went on, and his comrades went on with him; not one of them remained behind. He went through the Hijāz and when he was in Ma'dan above the ravine called Bahrān, Sa'd bin Abū Waqqās and 'Utbah bin Ghazwān lost a camel of theirs on which they were taking turns to ride and they fell behind him to go in search of it. 'Abdallah bin Jahsh went on with the rest of his comrades till he reached Nakhlah. Then a caravan belonging to Quraish passed by carrying raisins, skins, and other merchandise belonging to Quraish, in charge of which was 'Amr bin al-Hadramī.

Ibn Hishām: The name of al-Hadramī was 'Abdallah bin 'Abbād (it is also given as Mālik bin 'Abbād) one of the Siddaf, and the name of as-Siddaf was 'Amr bin Mālik one of the Sakūn bin Ashras bin Kindah, also given as Kindi.

Ibn Ishāq: And 'Uthmān bin 'Abdallah bin al-Mughīrah and his brother Naufal bin 'Abdallah, both Makhzūmites, and al-Hakm bin Kaisān a client of Hishām bin al-Mughīrah. When the party saw them they were alarmed and halted near them. So 'Ukāshah bin Mihsin who had shaved his head showed himself to them and when they saw him they were reassured and said: "People on the Lesser Pilgrimage, you need fear no harm from them". Then the (raiding) party held a consultation about them. It was the last day of Rajab, and they said: "If you leave the people alone this night they will enter the sacred territory and there be safe from you, and if you fight against them you will be (guilty of) fighting in the sacred month". So they hesitated and were afraid to advance upon them. Then they plucked up

courage to attack them and they resolved to kill as many of them as they could and take what they had. So Wāqid bin 'Abdallah the Tamīmīte shot 'Amr bin al-Ḥadramī with an arrow and killed him.

'Uthmān bin 'Abdallah and al-Ḥakm bin Kaisān were taken prisoner but Naufal bin 'Abdallah made his escape from the party and they were unable (to take him). Then 'Abdallah bin Jahsh took the caravan and the two prisoners to the Messenger of Allah at Medina.

One of the family of 'Abdallah bin Jahsh mentioned that 'Abdallah bin Jahsh said to his comrades: "Verily the fifth of the booty we have captured belongs to the Messenger of Allah". That was before Allah made a fifth of the spoils obligatory. So he set aside a fifth of the caravan for the Messenger of Allah and divided the remainder amongst his comrades.

Ibn Ishāq: When they returned to the Messenger of Allah in Medina, he said: "I did not command you to fight in the sacred month". So he put the caravan and the two prisoners aside and refused to accept any of it. When the Messenger of Allah said that, they were confounded, they supposed they had been condemned, and their brethren the Muslims upbraided them for what they did. Quraish also said: "Muhammad and his friends have profaned the sacred month; they have shed blood during it, taken booty during it, and made men prisoners during it". The Muslims who were in Mecca said in reply to them: "They took what they took in Sha'bān". The Jews recognised in that a good omen against the Messenger of Allah and said: "'Amr bin al-Ḥadramī whom Wāqid bin 'Abdallah killed (is explained thus): 'Amr means "Amarat al-Ḥarb"; al-Ḥadramī means: "Ḥadarat al-Ḥarb"; and Wāqid bin 'Abdallah means: "Waqadat al-Ḥarb". Allah made that to be against not for them. When the people made a considerable fuss about that, Allah sent down to His Messenger:-

They will ask thee about the sacred month whether they may fight therein; say: "Fighting therein is serious, but debarring people from the way of Allah and unbelief in Him, (debarring people) from the sacred mosque and expelling its people from it, is in Allah's sight more serious still (Sūrah 2: 217).

That is: Even if you have fought during the sacred month, they have debarred you from the way of Allah, along with (their) unbelief in Him, and from the sacred mosque, and their expulsion of you from it when you are His people, is a more serious thing in the sight of

Allah than the killing of those whom you killed.

persecution (or seduction) is more serious than killing; That is: They were seducing the Muslim in that matter of his religion that they might return him to unbelief after he had believed, and that in the sight of Allah is more serious than killing.

Nor will they cease to fight you until they turn you from your religion, if they are able. (Surah 2: 217).

That is: Then they are continuing with the most wicked and most terrible (part) of it neither showing repentance nor abandoning it. When the Qur'ān came down with this regarding the affair and Allah dispelled from the Muslims the fear in which they had been, the Messenger of Allah took possession of the caravan and the two prisoners Quraish sent to him regarding the ransom of 'Uthmān bin 'Abdallah and al-Hakm bin Kaisān, and the Messenger of Allah said: "We will not allow you to ransom them till our two friends return", - Sa'd bin Abū Waqqās and 'Utbah bin Ghazwān - "for we are afraid of what you may do to them; if you kill them, we will kill your two friends". Then Sa'd and 'Utbah returned and the Messenger of Allah accepted the ransom for them. As for al-Hakm bin Kaisan, he islamized and his islamization was genuine, and he remained with the Messenger of Allah till he was slain a martyr on the Day of Bi'r Ma'ūnah. As for 'Uthman bin 'Abdallah, he reached Mecca and died there an unbeliever.

When the difficulty in which 'Abdallah bin Jahsh and his friends were at the time the Qur'ān came down, had been cleared up, they coveted the reward and said: "O Messenger of Allah, shall we covet that there be for us a raid in which we shall be given the reward of those who fight?", and Allah sent down about them:-

Verily those who have believed, and those who have migrated and striven in the way of Allah have hope of the mercy of Allah; Allah is forgiving, compassionate. (Sūrah 2: 218).

Thus Allah gave them the greatest hope of (attaining) that. The account of this is on the authority of az-Zuhrī and Yazīd bin Rūmān on the authority of 'Urwah bin az-Zubair.

Ibn Ishāq: One of the family of 'Abdallah bin Jahsh mentioned that Allah divided the booty when he made it allowable, and gave four-fifths to those who had taken it and a fifth to Allah and His Messenger. So it fell out in accordance with what 'Abdallah bin Jahsh had done about that caravan.

Ibn Hishām: This was the first booty the Muslims obtained, 'Amr bin al-Hadramī was the first man the Muslims killed, and 'Uthmān bin 'Abdallāh and al-Hakm bin Kaisān were the first prisoners they took.

Ibn Ishāq: Abū Bekr the Faithful said about the raid of 'Abdallāh bin Jahsh. But it is said on the contrary that 'Abdallāh bin Jahsh said it when Quraish (when Quraish) said: "Muhammad and his friends have profaned the sacred month; they have shed blood during it, taken booty during it, and made men prisoners during it".

Ibn Hishām: It is the work of 'Abdallāh bin Jahsh.

You reckon murder in the sacred month an important matter
But more important is it that a man in the right way
should see good guidance
You shun what Muhammad has to say
And disbelieve in it while Allah sees and witnesses
You expel the people from the mosque of Allah
So that no one prostrating himself to Allah would be seen
in the House
Even though you do reproach us for killing him
The wrongdoer and envious spread evil reports about Islam
We watered our spears with (the blood of) Ibn al-Hadramī
In Nakhlah, when Wāqid kindled the fight
And 'Uthmān bin 'Abdallāh is amongst us
Abstain though of hide disputes with him ()

The date of the change of Qiblah to the Ka'bah.

Ibn Ishāq: It is said that the Qiblah was changed in Sha'bān at the commencement of the eighteenth month after the arrival of the Messenger of Allah in Medina.

The raid of Badr the Greater.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah heard that Abū Sufyān was coming from Syria with a huge caravan belonging to Quraish in which were their goods and merchandise, and with it thirty or forty men of Quraish amongst whom were Makhramah bin Naufal bin Uhaib bin 'Abd Manāf bin Zuhrah, and 'Amr bin al-'Ās bin Wā'il bin Hishām.

Ibn Hishām: 'Amr bin al-'Ās bin Wā'il bin Hāshim.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad bin Muslim the Zuhrite and 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah, and 'Abdallāh bin Abū Bekr, and Yazīd bin Rūmān related to me on the authority of 'Urwah bin az-Zubair and other scholars of ours from Ibn 'Abbās. Each of them related a part of the account to me and their accounts are collected in the narrative I have given of Badr. They said: "When the Messenger of Allah heard that Abū Sufyān was coming from Syria he urged the Muslims to (attack) them,

and said: "Here is a caravan belonging to Quraish in which are their goods; go out then against it; perhaps Allah will grant it to you as spoil". The people responded to his summons, and some of them travelled light but some weighted themselves down with baggage because they did not suppose that the Messenger of Allah would encounter opposition.

When Abū Sufyān drew near the Hijāz he was on the alert for news and made enquiries of the riders whom he met since he was afraid of the affair of the people, and he got word from one rider that Muhammad had called his friends together against him and his caravan. Thereupon he took certain precautions and engaged Damdam the Ghifārīte, sent him to Mecca, and commanded him to go to Quraish, gather them together to defend their property and to tell them that Muhammad and his friends lay across their route; so Damdam bin 'Amr set out with all speed for Mecca.

The vision of 'Ātikah bint 'Abd al-Muttalib⁸²

Ibn Ishāq: One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of 'Ikrimah from Ibn 'Abbās and Yazīd bin Rūmān from 'Urwah bin az-Zubair.

They (two) said: 'Ātikah bint 'Abd al-Muttalib saw a vision three nights previous to the arrival of Damdam in Mecca which frightened her. She sent for her brother al-'Abbās bin 'Abd al-Muttalib and said to him: "O my brother, I saw a vision last night which distresses me for I fear that from it there will come upon your people evil and calamity: keep secret then what I tell you". He said to her: "What did you see?" She said: "I saw a rider approaching on his camel and he stopped in the river-bed and called out at the top of his voice: 'Hasten ye! traitors to your death-struggle on the third day'. I saw the people gathered around him and then he went into the place of worship with the people following him. While they were around his camel stood still with him at the back of the Ka'bah and he called out the same thing: 'O people of Ghudar, verily they are gathered to fight you on the third day'. Then his camel stopped with him on the summit of Abū Qubais where he called out the same thing. Then he took a stone and sent it rolling down and when it came to the foot of the hill it scattered in all directions and there was not a single house or dwelling in Mecca that a fragment of it did not enter". Al-'Abbās said; "This is indeed a (true) vision but you must keep it a secret and mention it to no one.

Then al-'Abbās went out and met al-Walīd ibn 'Utbah ibn Rabi'ah who was a friend of his and he mentioned it to him and asked him to keep it a secret. Then al-Walīd mentioned it to his father 'Utbah and in this way the story got around till Quraish were discussing it (in their place of assembly).

Al-'Abbās said: "I went out in the morning to circumambulate the House while Abū Jahl ibn Hishām and a group of Quraish were sitting discussing the vision of 'Ātikah. When Abū Jahl saw me he said: 'O Abū 'l-Fadl, come to us when you have finished your circumambulations'. When I had finished I came up and sat down amongst them and Abū Jahl said to me: 'O Beni 'Abd al-Muttalib, when did this prophetess come amongst you?'. I said: 'What is that?'. He said: 'That vision which 'Ātikah saw'. I said: 'What did she see?'. He said: 'O beni 'Abd al-Muttalib, are you not satisfied with the prophesyings of your men that your women prophesy as well? 'Ātikah claims that in her vision he said: +Hasten (to the struggle) in three (days). We will await the third day and if what she says is true, it will happen. But if the third day passes and nothing happens we will write an unfavourable report of you to the effect that you are bigger liars than any other family amongst the Arabs'. Al-'Abbās said: "Indeed nothing of much consequence took place between him and me, but I disavowed and denied that she had seen anything". He said: "Then we parted but when I came in the evening there was not a woman of the Beni 'Abd al-Muttalib who did not come to me and say: 'You allowed this impious man to slander your men, then he took up (the subject of) your women in your hearing and you were not moved with indignation (or jealousy) by what you heard!'. I said: 'Indeed I have done (that), I had nothing important for him but I swear by Allah that I shall thwart his designs and if he comes back I shall indeed get satisfaction for you from him'.

So I went out early the third day after the vision of 'Ātikah alert and angry, realising that an affair I wished to obtain from him had slipped me. I entered the place of worship and saw him and I was walking towards him to circumvent him, so that he might return to some of the things he had said so that I could fall upon him. He was a slight man, sharp-faced, sharp-tongued, and sharp-eyed. But he went away in the direction of the door of the place of worship at a run and I said: 'What is the matter with him, is this in order to get away from me lest I revile him? He had heard what I had not heard the voice

of Damdam the Ghifārite crying aloud in the bottom of the valley as he stood on his camel. He had mutilated his camel, reversed his saddle, rent his tunic, and said: "O people of Quraish, the perfumes, the perfumes! Muhammad and his friends have waylaid your goods which are in charge of Abū Sufyān, and I do not think you will get through to them. Help! Help!". When this affair turned up it distracted me from him and him from me and the people made hurried preparations and said: "Do Muhammad and his friends imagine that it will be like the caravan of al-Hadramī? Never! He shall learn otherwise". They were (limited to a choice) between two alternatives, either that a man should go himself, or send another in his place. Quraish mustered all their men and not one of the nobility remained behind except Abū Lahab bin 'Abd al-Muttalib, who remained behind and sent in his place al-'Ās bin Hisham bin al-Mughīrah. He was pressing him for payment of a debt of four thousand dirhems which he owed him but as he was penniless he engaged him for this sum on condition that his going should be counted as payment of it. So he went instead of him and Abū Lahab remained behind.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Najīh related to me that Umaiyyah bin Khalaf had resolved to stay put. He was a venerable old man of giant frame and heavily built. 'Uqbah bin Abū Mu'ait came up to him as he was sitting in the place of worship amongst his people with a censer in which he carried fire and aloes-wood, placed it before him and said: "O Abū 'Ali, perfume yourself, for you belong to the women". He said: "May Allah make you foul and make foul what you have brought! Then he made ready and set out with the people.

Ibn Ishāq: When they had completed their preparations and were ready to march they remembered the war which was between them and the Beni Bekr bin 'Abd Manāt bin Kinānah and said: "We are afraid they will fall upon our rear".

The affair of the war between Kinānah and Quraish and their restraint when Badr took place.

According to what one of the Beni 'Āmir bin Lu'āi related to me on the authority of Muhammad bin Sa'īd bin al-Musayyib, the war which took place between the Beni Bekr and Quraish was about a son of Hafs bin al-Akhyaf one of the Beni Ma'īs bin 'Āmir bin Lu'āi who set out in (who set out) in search of a lost beast of his in Dajnan. He was a

young man with a hanging lock of hair on his head and was wearing his outfit of clothes - a youth clean and pure. He passed by 'Āmir ibn Yazīd ibn 'Āmir ibn al-Mulawwah one of the Beni Ya'mar ibn 'Auf ibn Ka'b ibn 'Āmir ibn Laith ibn Bakr ibn 'Abd Manāt ibn Kinānah, who was the chief of the Beni Bakr at that time and was in Dajnān, and he saw him and he pleased him. He said: "Who art thou, O youth?". He said: "I am a son of Hafs ibn al-Akhyaf of Quraish". When the youth had gone away 'Āmir ibn Yazīd said: "O Beni Bakr, have you no (unavenged) blood where Quraish is concerned?". They said: "Certainly we have". He said: "Any man who slew this youth for his man would exact his blood-revenge in full". So a man of the Beni Bakr followed him and slew him for blood which he had against Quraish. Then Quraish discussed it and 'Āmir ibn Yazīd said: "O people of Quraish, we had (unavenged) blood amongst you, so what do you desire? If you so wish, repay to us what is due to us on your part, and we will repay to you what is due to you from us. But if you so desire, let it be a matter of mere blood retaliation, man for man, whereby you forego what you had against us and we forego what we had against you". Thus that youth was an easy way out for the tribe of Quraish and they said: "He has spoken truly; (let it be) man for man". So they waived their claim and made no demands for him.

While his brother Mikraz ibn Hafs ibn al-Akhyaf was going through Marr ath-Thahrān he saw 'Āmir ibn Yazīd ibn 'Āmir ibn al-Mulawwah on a camel of his. When he saw him he came up and dismounted beside him. 'Āmir was girded with his sword and Mikraz assailed him with his sword and slew him. Then he plunged his sword into his belly, brought it to Mecca and hung it up by night on the curtains of the Ka'bah. When morning came, Quraish saw the sword of 'Āmir ibn Yazīd ibn 'Āmir hanging on the curtains of the Ka'bah, recognised it and said: "Verily this is the sword of 'Āmir ibn Yazīd whom Mikraz ibn Hafs has attacked and slain". That was their affair. While they were engaged in that feud of theirs Islam interposed between the people and they were occupied with it till Quraish resolved to march to Badr. Then they remembered what was between them and the Beni 'Āmir and they feared them.

Poetry omitted.

Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd ibn Rūmān related to me on the authority of 'Urwah ibn az-Zubair. He said: "When Quraish were assembled for the march to Badr they remembered what was between them and the Beni Bakr and that almost deterred them but Iblīs appeared to them in the form of Surāqah ibn Mālik ibn Ju'sham the Mudlijite who was one of the noble men of the Beni Kinānah and said: 'I will be your protector so that Kinānah will not follow on your rear with anything you dislike'; so they set out in haste.

Departure of the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah set out with his friends when some nights of the month of Ramadān had passed.

Ibn Hishām: He set out after eight days of the month of Ramadān had passed. He appointed 'Amr ibn Umm Maktūm whose name is given as 'Abdallah ibn Umm Maktūm, brother of the Beni 'Āmir ibn Lu'ai in charge of the Prayer for the people and he sent Abū Lubābah back from ar-Rauhā' and appointed him governor of Medina.

Ibn Ishāq: He handed over the standard to Mus'ab ibn 'Umair ibn Hāshim ibn 'Abd Manāf ibn 'Abd ad-Dār.

Ibn Hishām: It was white.

Ibn Ishāq: There were two black banners in front of the Messenger of Allah, one of them with 'Ali ibn Abū Tālib was called 'The Eagle', and the other was with one of the Helpers. The camels belonging to the Messenger of Allah were at that time seventy in number, so they rode them by turns. The Messenger of Allah, 'Ali ibn Abū Tālib, and Marthad ibn Abū Marthad the Ghifārite rode a camel in turn. Hamzah ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib, Zaid ibn Hārithah, Abū Kabshah and Anasah, two clients of the Messenger of Allah, rode a camel in turn. Abū Bakr, Umar, and 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Auf rode a camel in turn.

Ibn Ishāq: He put Qais ibn Abū Sa'sa'ah brother of the Beni Māzin ibn an-Najjār in charge of the rear-guard. The banner of the Helpers was with Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh, according to what Ibn Hishām says.

List of place-names omitted.

When he was in 'Irq az-Zabyah (Ibn Hishām: Az-Zabyah is on the authority of another than Ibn Ishāq) they met one of the Beduin and asked him about the people, but found he had no news. The people said to him: "Greet the Messenger of Allah". He said: "Is the Messenger of Allah amongst you?". They said: "Yes", and he greeted him. Then he said: "If you are the Messenger of Allah, tell me about what is in the womb of this she-camel of mine". Salamah ibn Salāmah ibn Waqash said to him: "Do not ask the Messenger of Allah, come to me and I will tell you about that. You leapt on her so there is a kid by you in her womb" The Messenger of Allah said: "You have used obscene language to the

man", and he turned away from Salamah.

Further place-names omitted.

When he was near to as-Safrā' he sent Basbas ibn 'Amr the Juhanite, ally of the Beni Sā'idah, and 'Adi ibn Abū 'z-Zagbah the Juhanite, ally of the Beni an-Najjār to Badr to find out for him the news about Abū Sufyān ibn Harb and others. Then the Messenger of Allah went on his way after he had sent the two of them in advance, and when he came to as-Safrā' which was a village between two mountains he enquired about their names. They said: "This one here is called Muslih", and they said of the other: "That one is Mukhrī". He enquired about their people and he was told: "The Beni an-Nār and the Beni Hurāq, two sub-tribes of the Beni Ghifār. So the Messenger of Allah disliked them both and disliked passing between them for he regarded their names and the names of their people as omens. The Messenger of Allah left them and as-Safrā on the left and passed to the right to a valley called Dhafirān which he crossed. Then he halted and the news of the advance of Quraish to defend their caravan came to him so he sought the opinion of the people and told them about Quraish. Then Abū Bakr the Faithful got up and spoke and did well, and 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb got up and spoke and did well. The Miqdad ibn 'Amr got up and said: "O Messenger of Allah, go forward to what Allah hath shown you and we are with you. We do not say to you as the Children of Israel said to Moses:-

Go thou and thy Lord and fight; here do we sit still.
(Sūrah 5: 24)

But: "Go thou and thy Lord and fight; we will be fighters with you". By Him who has sent you with the truth though you should march us even to Barq al-Ghumād we would fight with you so that you might reach it". The Messenger of Allah said to him: "It is well", and blessed him for it. Then the Messenger of Allah said: "Give me your advice O people". He meant merely the Helpers because they were of the number of the people, and because they said when they made the Pledge of al-'Aqabah: "O Messenger of Allah, we are clear of (the responsibility of) protecting you till you arrive at our abodes and when you come to us you are under our protection and we will protect you from all that from which we protect our sons and wives". The Messenger of Allah was afraid lest the Helpers should not consider themselves bound to help him except against those enemies who might fall upon him unexpectedly in Medina, and that there was no obligation on them that he should take them outside their territory against any enemy. When the Messenger of Allah said that Sa'd ibn Mu'adh said to him: "It does indeed look as if you wished to have us, O Messenger of Allah". He said: "That is so". He said: "We have believed in you, accepted you as genuine, borne witness that what you have brought is the truth and on that understanding have

given you our oath and covenant to hear and obey. Go forward then, O Messenger of Allah to whatever you will, we shall be with you. By Him who sent you with the truth, if you indicated to us this sea and waded into it, we would wade in with you; not a single man of us would remain behind. We do not dislike that you should throw us against the enemy to-morrow; verily we will be firm in battle, faithful in the encounter and perhaps Allah will show you from us that which will refresh your eye, so go with us with the blessing of Allah". The Messenger of Allah was pleased with the words of Sa'd and it encouraged him and he said: "Go forward and rejoice for Allah has promised me one of the two parties, and indeed, it is as if I am now looking at the struggle of the people".

Then the Messenger of Allah set out from Dhafirān and went along certain mountain paths called Asāfir; then he descended from thence to a town called ad-Dabbah, leaving al-Hannān, which is a great heap of sand like a mountain, to the right. Then he halted near Badr but he and one of his friends rode on.

Ibn Hishām: The man was Abū Bekr the Faithful.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what Muḥammad bin Yahya bin Ḥabbān related to me; and he stopped at the place of an Arab Shaikh and asked him about Quraish and about Muḥammad and his friends, and what he had heard about them. The Shaikh said: "I will tell you nothing till you inform me to which of them you two belong". The Messenger of Allah said to him: "If you tell us (what we want to know) we will tell you (what you want to know)". He said: "Shall the one thing be in exchange for the other?"

He said: "Yes". The Shaikh said: "Verily I heard that Muḥammad and his friends set out on such and such a day and if my informant spoke the truth, he is to-day in such and such a place" (referring to the place in which the Messenger of Allah was). I heard that Quraish set out on such and such a day, and if my informant told me the truth they are to-day in such and such a place", (referring) to the place where Quraish were. When he had given his information he said: "To which of them do you two belong?". The Messenger of Allah said: "We are from Mā'", and left him. The Shaikh said: "Not from Mā'. From Mā'? Is he from Mā' in Iraq?"

Ibn Hishām: The Shaikh was Sufyān the Damrite.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah returned to his friends.

When evening came he sent 'Alī bin Abū Tālib, az-Zubair bin al-'Awwām, and Sa'd bin Abū Waqqās with a group of his friends to the water of Badr in search of news for him, according to what Yazīd bin ar-Rūmāh related to me on the authority of 'Urwah bin az-Zubair and they took (prisoner) some water-camels belonging to Quraish in charge of which ^{was} Aslam a boy of the Beni al-Hajjāj and 'Arīd Abū Yasār a boy of the Beni 'l-'Ās bin Sa'īd, and brought them along and questioned them while the Messenger of Allah was performing the Prayer. They said: "We are water-carriers belonging to Quraish whom they have sent to fetch water for them". The people disliked this news hoping that they belonged to Abū Sufyān, so they beat them. When they had beaten them to excess they said: "We belong to Abū Sufyan", and they let them alone. The Messenger of Allah performed his prayer cycle made his two prostrations, gave the salutation and said: "When they told you the truth you beat them, and when they told you a lie you let them alone. They spoke the truth when they said they belonged to Quraish. Tell me about Quraish". They said: "They are behind this sand-dune which you see in al-'Udwat al-Quswa, and the sand dune was al-'Aqnaqal. The Messenger of Allah said to them: "How many are the people?" They said: "Many". He said: "What is their number?". They said: "We do not know". He said: "How many camels do they slaughter each day?" They said: "Nine one day and ten the next". The Messenger of Allah said: "The people are between nine hundred and a thousand in number". Then he said to them: "Which of the chieftains of Quraish are in command of them?". They said: "'Utbah bin Rabī'ah, Shaibah bin Rabī'ah, Abū 'l-Bakhtarāh bin Hishām, Hakīm bin Hizām, Naufal bin Khuwailid, al-Hārith bin 'Āmir, bin Naufal, Tu'aimah bin 'Adī bin Naufal, an-Nadr bin al-Hārith, Zama'ah bin al-Aswad, Abū Jahl bin Hishām, Umaiyah bin Khalaf, Nubaih and Munabbih the two sons of al-Hajjāj, Suhail bin 'Amr and 'Amr bin 'Abd Wudd. So the Messenger of Allah came forward to the people and said: "This Mecca has cast forth to you the pieces of her liver".

Ibn Ishāq: Basbas bin 'Amr and 'Adī bin Abū 'z-Zaghbā' had gone on till they reached Badr and halted at a hill near the water. Then they took an old skin of theirs to fill it with water while Majdī bin 'Amr the Juhanite was there. 'Adī and Basbas heard two of the slave-girls of the encampment who were linked arm in arm at the water saying one to the other: "The caravan will only come to-morrow or the day after, and I will work for them and give you what is yours. Majdī said:

"You speak truly" and made a settlement between them, while 'Adī and Basbas heard that so they mounted their camels and went away, came to the Messenger of Allah and informed him of what they had heard.

So Abū Sufyān came on and his caravan made a cautious approach till it reached the water. He said to Majdī: "Have you sensed anyone?" He said: "I saw no one with whom I am unacquainted except that I observed two riders who halted on this hill, took up water in an old skin of theirs and went away". So Abū Sufyān went to the place where they had halted, took up some of their camels' dung, crumbled it between his fingers, and lo, in it were date stones. He said: "This is surely the fodder of Yathrib". So he went back to his friends in haste, changed the direction of his caravan from the route and kept close by the shore, leaving Badr on the left, and hurried away.

The vision of Juhaim bin as-Salt about the men of Quraish who fell.

He said: Quraish came on and when they halted at al-Juhfah, Juhaim bin as-Salt bin Makhramah bin al-Muttalib bin 'Abd Manaf saw a vision and said: "Verily I saw as a man sees in his sleep when I was half asleep and half awake. I saw a man who approached on a horse and with him was a camel of his, and he said: "'Utbah bin Rabi'ah, Shaibah bin Rabi'ah, Abū 'l-Hakm bin Hishām bin Umaiyah bin Khalaf and So-and-so, and So-and-so have been slain!" and he went on to recount the chieftains of Quraish who were killed on the day of Badr. Then he smote his camel on the breast and sent it through the camp and there was not a tent in the camp that did not get smeared with its blood. Abū Jahl heard it and said: "Here is another prophet from the Beni 'Abd al Muttalib! If we fight to-morrow he shall know who are the slain".

The Message from Abū Sufyān to Quraish.

Ibn Ishāq: When Abū Sufyān saw that he had brought his caravan out of danger he sent word to Quraish: "Verily you set out merely to defend your caravan, your men and your goods; Allah has delivered them so go back". Abū Jahl bin Hishām said: "We will not go back till we reach Badr". (Badr was the centre of one of the Arabian festivals where a Fair was held each year), "and remain there three days, slaughter camels, distribute food, drink wine, and the songstresses will make music for us. The Arabs will thus hear of us, and our march and our gathering together and they will continue in awe of us for ever afterwards, so go".

Al-Akhnas takes back the Beni Zuhrah.

Al-Akhnas ibn Shariq ibn 'Amr ibn Wahb the Thaqafite said while they were in Juhfah - he was an ally of the Beni Zuhrah: "O Beni Zuhrah Allah has delivered your goods, and saved for you your friend Makhramah ibn Naufal, and you came out merely to protect him and his property, put the (charge of) faintheartedness on me and return. There is no need for you to go to another village, nor yet for what this man says", meaning Abū Jahl. They went back so that not a single Zuhrite witnessed it (Badr); they obeyed him for he was obeyed amongst them. There was not a single sub-tribe of Quraish from which some men did not set out except the Beni 'Adi ibn Ka'b of whom not a single man went out.

Thus the Beni Zuhrah went back with al-Akhnas ibn Shariq and not one of those two tribes saw Badr, but the people went on.

There was a conference between Tālib ibn Abū Tālib who was with the people and some of Quraish, and they said: "We know, O Beni Hāshim, that even if you did go out with us, your inclinations are with Muhammad". So Tālib went back to Mecca along with those who were withdrawing. Tālib ibn Abū Tālib said:-

O Allah, if Tālib set out on an expedition
With a band of men - disagreeing whilst fighting
With one of these troops of horse
Let him be the one who is taken not the one who takes
Let him be the one who is overcome not the one who
overcomes.

Ibn Hishām: His words: "Let him be the one who is taken" and "Let him be the one who is overcome" are on the authority of more than one reciter of poetry.

Their arrival at the eminence.

Ibn Ishāq: Quraish came on till they reached the farther eminence in the valley on the lower side of the sand-hill and the bottom of the valley, which was Yalyal between Badr and the sand-hill behind which lay Quraish. The wells in Badr were in the lower eminence in the bottom of Yalyal towards Medina. And Allah sent rain and the valley was soft so the Messenger of Allah and his friends got as much as made the earth firm for them and did not prevent them from advancing but Quraish had got so much of it that they were not able to move. So the Messenger of Allah set out and got to the water before them and when they reached the nearest water of Badr they encamped by it.

Ibn Ishāq: It was related to me on the authority of some men of the Beni Salimah that they mentioned that al-Hubāb ibn al-Mundhir ibn al-Jumūh said: "O Messenger of Allah, do you see this camping-place? Is it a camping-place which Allah hath revealed to you, in which case it is not ours to go beyond it or to stop short of it, or is it theory, war, and strategy?". He said: "Nay, this is theory, war, and strategy". He said: "O Messenger of Allah, then this is no position; get the people on the move that we may go to the water nearest the people and encamp there. Then we can destroy all the wells behind it, build a cistern on it and fill it with water, so we will fight the people and have water to drink while they have none". The Messenger of Allah said: "You have given good counsel", and the Messenger of Allah and the people who were with him got on the move till he came to the water nearest the people and encamped there. Then he commanded the wells to be destroyed and he built a cistern over the well at which he was encamped which was filled with water in which they dipped their vessels.

The building of the harbour for the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah ibn Abū Bakr related to me that it was related to him that Sa'd ibn Mū'adh said: "O Prophet of Allah, we will build an harbour where you will stay and we will make ready your camels close at hand. Then we will meet our enemy, and if Allah strengthens us and gives us victory over our enemy that will be what we desire. But should it be otherwise, you will mount your camels and join our people who are behind us. There are people behind you O Messenger of Allah who love you no less than we do, and if they imagined you would be involved in the battle they would not remain behind you. Allah will defend you by means of them; they will give you good counsel and they will fight by your side". So the Messenger of Allah praised him and invoked a blessing on him, and an harbour was built for the Messenger of Allah in which he stayed.

The advance of Quraish.

Ibn Ishāq: When morning came Quraish advanced and drew near. When the Messenger of Allah saw them he descended from the sand-hill by which they came into the valley and said: "O Allah, here is Quraish approaching in their pride and boastfulness asserting that Thou art their enemy and Thy messenger a liar. O Allah, grant the help which

thou didst promise me. O Allah destroy them in the morning. The Messenger of Allah said when he saw 'Utbah bin Rabi'ah amongst the people on a roan camel of his: "If there is good in any of the people it is with the owner of the roan camel, if they obey him they will be guided aright".

And Khufāf bin Aīmā' or his father Aīmā' bin Rahadah the Ghifārite sent a son of his to Quraish when they passed by him with beasts for slaughter which he gave them as a present and said: "If you would like us to help you with arms and men we will do it". They sent word to him by his son: "Your kindred have come to you and you have fulfilled your duty. By my life, if we are only fighting men we are not inferior to them, but if we are fighting Allah, as Muhammad asserts, no one has power against Allah".

When the people came down, a group of Quraish came down till they reached the cistern of the Messenger of Allah amongst whom was Hakīm bin Hizām. The Messenger of Allah said: "Let them (come)"; and not a man drank from it that day without being killed except what happened in the case of Hakīm bin Hizām. He was not killed and after that he islamized and became a good Muslim. genuine. When he fought at his right hand he said: "No by him who delivered me from the day of Badr".

The consultation of Quraish about retiring from the battle.

Ibn Ishāq: My father Ishāq bin Yasār and other scholars of the elders of the Helpers related to me. They said: When the people had settled in, they sent 'Umair bin Wahb the Jumahite and said: "Make an estimate for us of the friends of the Messenger of Allah". So he ambled around the camp on his horse, came back to them and said: "Three hundred men more or less, but give me time to see to see whether the people have anything concealed or any reserves". So he went along the valley going far afield but saw nothing, returned to them and said: "I have seen nothing: but O people of Quraish I have seen beasts which carry fate, the camels of Yathrib which carry certain death, a people who have no protection and no refuge save their swords. I do not think that one of them will be slain till he kills one of you, and when there shall have been slaughtered amongst you a number equal to them of what avail will life be to us after that? So make up your minds".

When Hakīm bin Hizām heard that, he walked through the ranks of the people and came to 'Utbah bin Rabi'ah and said: "O Abū 'l-Walīd,

verily you are the senior man of Quraish, their chieftain and one who is obeyed amongst them, does it concern you that you should be well remembered amongst them till the end of time?". He said: "What is it, O Hakīm?". He said: "You should take the people back and bear the affair of your ally 'Amr ibn al-Hadramī". He said: "I will do so, you can depend on me for that. He is merely my ally and his blood-money is my responsibility and give whatever of his property is obtained to ibn al-Hanzaliyyah, for I fear that no other but he will dispute the affair of the people", meaning Abū Jahl ibn Hishām. Then 'Utbah got up to give an oration and said: "O people of Quraish, verily you should do nothing about meeting Muhammad and his friends for even if you did smite them, a man who had slain his cousin on his father's side, or his cousin on his mother's side, or one of his kindred would not cease to see the face of a man he hates to see. Go back then, and leave Muhammad to the rest of the Arabs; if they smite him that is what you want, and should it be otherwise he will find you and you will not get from him what you desire". Hakīm said: "I went away and came to Abū Jahl and found he had taken out his suit of armour from its leather case and was preparing it.

Ibn Hishām: He was making it ready.

And I said to him: "O Abū 'l-Hakam, verily 'Utbah has sent me to you with such and such a thing" (referring to) what he had said. He said: "His lungs got filled with air when he saw Muhammad and his friends. No indeed! We shall not go back till Allah decide between Muhammad and us. It was not (fitting) for 'Utbah (to say) what he said, but he saw that Muhammad and his friends are eaters of slaughtered camels, and his son is amongst them, and he has made you afraid on his account" Then he sent to 'Āmir ibn al-Hadrami and said: "This ally of yours wishes to return with the people when you already saw your revenge with your eyes. Arise then, call to remembrance your covenant and the murder of your brother". Then 'Āmir ibn al-Hadrami arose, took off his clothes and cried: "Alas for 'Amr! Alas for 'Amr!". Thus the fever of war grew hot, the affair of the people grew serious, and the people rallied together for the evil on which they were bent, and the counsel which 'Utbah called upon them to follow was misrepresented for the people. When 'Utbah heard what Abū Jahl had said: "His lungs got filled with air", he said: "The effeminate* man shall know who has his lungs filled with air, he or I"

*Lit. The one who perfumes his buttocks. The perfumewas saffron colour.

Ibn Hishām: as-Sahr means the lung and what is around it of what pertains to the gullet above the navel, and what is below the navel is the intestine and from it comes his saying: "I saw 'Amr bin Luhai dragging his gut in the Fire.

Ibn Hishām: Abu Ubaidah related that to me.

Then 'Utbah sought for an iron helmet to put on his head but he could not find in the army a helmet which would contain his head because of the size of his crown and when he saw that he bound on his head some striped material he had.

The killing of al-Aswad the Makhzūmite.

Ibn Ishāq: Al-Aswad bin 'Abd al-Asad the Makhzūmite who was an ill-natured man of evil disposition went out and said: "I swear to Allah that I will either drink from their cistern, pull it down, or perish beside it". When he came forth, Hamzah bin 'Abd al-Muttalib went out to meet him and when they met Hamzah smote him and cut off his leg in the middle of the shank when he was near the cistern, and he fell on his back in the direction of his friends with the blood pouring from his leg. Then he moved toward the cistern and went blindly into it in his desire to assert that he had made good his oath, and Hamzah followed him, smote him, and slew him in the cistern.

'Utbah's call for duels.⁸⁸

He said: Then after him 'Utbah bin Rabi'ah came out between his brother Shaibah bin Rabi'ah and his son al-Walid bin 'Utbah and when he was clear of the lines he called for a duel. Three young men of the Helpers went out to him and they were 'Auf, Mu'awwidh, two sons of al-Harith, and their mother was 'Afra', and another man who, it is said, was 'Abdallah bin Rawahah. They said: "Who are you?". They said: "A party from the Helpers". They said: "We have no need of you". Then their herald called out: "O Muhammad, send out to us those of our people who are our equals for us", and the Messenger of Allah said: "Rise O 'Ubaidah bin al-Harith, rise O Hamzah, and rise O 'Ali". When they arose and drew near to them they said: "Who are you?" 'Utbah said: "'Utbah", Hamzah said "Hamzah", and 'Ali said "'Ali". They said: "Honourable equals". So 'Ubaidah who was the senior of the group fought with 'Utbah bin Rabi'ah, Hamzah fought with Shaibah bin Rabi'ah and 'Ali fought with al-Walid bin 'Utbah. As for Hamzah, he granted no respite to Shaibah but slew him, nor did 'Ali grant any respite

to al-Walīd but slew him. But 'Ubaidah and 'Utbah exchanged a couple of blows each of them wounding his opponent, when Hamzah and 'Ali rushed on 'Utbah with their swords and despatched him, carried off their comrade and brought him back to join his people.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah related to me that 'Utbah bin Rabi'ah said to young men of the Helpers when they announced their lineage: "Honourable equals!" "We want only our own people".

The meeting of the two parties.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the people approached each ^{other} and drew near to each other. The Messenger of Allah had order^{ed} his friends not to charge till he gave the word, and said: "If the people press upon you repel them with arrows". The Messenger of Allah was in the harbour and Abū Bakr the Faithful was with him.

The battle of Badr was on a Friday on the morning of the seventeenth (day) of the month of Ramadān .

Ibn Ishāq: According to what Abū Ja'far Muhammad bin 'Ali bin al-Husain related to me.

Ibn Ishāq: Habbān bin Wasi' related to me on the authority of some Shaikhs of his tribe that the Messenger of Allah drew up the ranks of his friends on the day of Badr, and in his hand was an arrow with which he lined up the people. So he passed by Sawād bin 'Aziyyah an ally of the Beni 'Adi bin an-Najjār, (Ibn Hishām: He is also given as Sawwād bin Ghaziyyah) just as he was dashing out of line, (Ibn Hishām: It is also given as when he was out of line), so he pierced his abdomen with the arrow and said: "Keep in line O Sawād". He said: "O Messenger of Allah you have caused me pain and Allah hath sent you with truth and justice, grant me satisfaction from yourself." The Messenger of Allah uncovered his abdomen and said: "Take thy revenge", and he embraced him and kissed his abdomen. He said: "What induced you to do this O Sawād"? He said: "O Messenger of Allah there has come what you see and I desired that the last of the time (should be spent) by you, that my skin should touch yours". So the Messenger of Allah wished him well and said it to him.

The supplication of the Messenger of Allah to his Lord for help.

Then the Messenger of Allah drew up the ranks,, returned to the harbour and went in to it accompanied by Abū Bakr and no one else. The Messenger of Allah besought his Lord for the help He had promised him

and said, according to what he says: "O Allah, if this company should perish to-day thou wilt not be worshipped". Abū Bakr said: "O Prophet of Allah, part of thy supplication to thy Lord (has been answered), for Allah is fulfilling to thee what He promised thee". The Messenger of Allah fell asleep for a short time while he was in the arbour then he woke up and said: "Rejoice O Abū Bakr, the help of Allah has come to you! Here is Gabriel holding the reins of a steed which the dust is guiding along the mountain-paths".

Ibn Ishāq: Mihja', a client of 'Umar bin al-Khattāb was struck by an arrow and killed; he was the first of the Muslims to be killed. Then Hārithah bin Surāqah one of the Beni 'Adi bin an-Najjār was struck while he was drinking from the cistern by an arrow which got him in his neck and killed him.

He urges them on to the battle.

He said: Then the Messenger of Allah went out to the people, urged them on and said: "By Him in whose hand is the life of Muhammad, no man shall fight them to-day, standing firm, in faith, facing forward without turning the back, and be killed, but Allah will bring him into Paradise". 'Umair bin al-Humām, brother of the Beni Salimah said, and he had dates in his hand which he was eating: "Excellent! Excellent! What then stands between me and entrance to Paradise but that these should slay me?" Then he threw away the dates, seized his sword, engaged the people in combat, and was killed.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah related to me that 'Auf bin al-Hārith who was Ibn 'Afrā' said: "O Messenger of Allah, what would cause the Lord to laugh at his servant?". He said: "His dyeing his hand in (the blood of) the enemy without armour". So he took off a coat of mail he was wearing and cast it aside. Then he seized his sword, engaged the people, and was slain.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad bin Muslim bin Shihāb the Zuhrite related to me on the authority of 'Abdallah bin Tha'labah bin Su'air the 'Udhrite, ally of the Beni Zuhrah, that he related to him that when the people met and drew near to each other, Abū Jahl said: "O Allah, he has made us sever our kinship, he has brought us that which is not recognised, destroy him in the morning". It was he who pronounced his own doom.

The Messenger of Allah casts gravel at the polytheists and they are routed.⁸⁴

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah took a handful of gravel, went forward with it towards Quraish and said: "May the faces be disfigured". Then he threw it at them, commanded his friends and said: "Press them hard", and the rout took place. Allah slew those leaders of Quraish whom He slew, and made captive those of their noble men whom He made captive. When the people put down their hands they made (them) prisoners. The Messenger of Allah was in the harbour and Sa'd bin Mu'ādh was standing at the door of the harbour in which was the Messenger of Allah with girded sword with a number of the Helpers who were guarding the Messenger of Allah for they were afraid the enemy would make a rush for him. According to what was told me, the Messenger of Allah saw an expression of disgust at what the people were doing in the face of Sa'd bin Mu'ādh and he said to him: "Indeed, O Sa'd it seems that you dislike what the people are doing". He said: "Yes, O Messenger of Allah. It was the first engagement Allah has brought on the polytheists and excess in slaughter would have been dearer to me than preserving the men alive."

The prohibition of the Messenger of Allah from killing certain men of the polytheists.

Ibn Ishāq: Al-'Abbās bin 'Abdallah bin Ma'bad related to me on the authority of one of his people from 'Abdallah bin 'Abbās that the Prophet said to his friends that day: "I verily know that some men of the Beni Hāshim and others, for whom there was no need to fight us, have been brought out against their will; so whoever of you finds any-one of the Beni Hāshim let him not kill him; and whoever finds Abu 'l-Bahtarāh bin Hishām bin al-Nārith bin Asad let him not kill him; and whoever finds al-'Abbās bin 'Abd al-Muttalib, the uncle of the Messenger of Allah, let him not kill him, for he was merely brought out against his will". So Abū Hudhaifah said: "Shall we slay our fathers, our sons, our brothers, and our kindred, and let al-'Abbās live. If I find him I shall surely slay him with the sword".

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as 'I will check(or bridle) him with the sword.

The Messenger of Allah heard it and he said to 'Umar: "O Abu Hafs..... 'Umar said: That was the first day on which the Messenger of Allah

gave me the surname of Abu Hafs. Shall the face of the Uncle of the Messenger of Allah be smitten with the sword?" Umar said: "Give me leave, O Messenger of Allah, and I will behead him with the sword, for I swear he has turned hypocrite". Abū Hudaiifah said: "I am not safe because of that words which I spake that day, and I am still in fear because of it unless martyrdom will procure me forgiveness for it". So he was slain a martyr on the day of al-Yamamah.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah prohibited the killing of Abu 'l-Bahtarah merely because he held back the people from the Messenger of Allah while he was in Mecca; he did him no harm and nothing he disliked came to him from him. He was one of those who took part in destroying the document which Quraish had written against the Beni Hāshim and the Beni al-Muttalib. Then al-Mujadhdhar bin Dhiyād the Balawite, ally of the Helpers and from the sub-division of the Beni Sālim bin 'Auf met him. Al-Mujadhdhar said to Abū 'l-Bahtarah: "The Messenger of Allah has indeed forbidden us to slay you". Abu 'l-Bahtarah was accompanied by a comrade of his who had gone out with him from Mecca and he was Junādah bin Mulaiyah bint Zuhair bin al-Hārith bin Asad. Junādah was one of the Beni Laith, and the name of Abū 'l-Bahtarah was al-'Ās. He said: "And my comrade?". Al-Mujadhdhar said to him: "No, we will not spare your comrade; the Messenger of Allah has not given us instructions about any save you alone". He said: "Then I shall indeed die, he and I together. The women of Mecca shall not relate about me that I abandoned my comrade through love of life". Abu 'l-Bahtarah said, when al-Mujadhdhar took the field against him and he refused except to die, in rhyming verse:-

A free man never gives up his comrade
Till he dies or else sees his way (to escape)

So they fought, and al-Mujadhdhar bin Dhiyād killed him, and he is given as al-Mujadhdhar bin Dhi'āb. Al-Mujadhdhar said about his killing of Abū 'l-Bahtarah:-

Either you are ignorant or have forgotten my pedigree
So I will confirm the pedigree; I am of Bali
They who pierce with the Yazanite spears
Who strike the chieftain till he bows down
Tell al-Bahtarah of his orphanhood because of his father
Or else give the same news about me to my sons
I am he whose origin is said to be from Bali
I pierce with the spear till it bends
I kill my enemies in war with a sword of Mashraf

I foam for death like the foaming of the she-camel
You will not find Mujadhdhar forging falsehoods.

Ibn Hishām: Al-mara is on the authority of another than Ibn Ishāq.
Al-mara is the she-camel whose milk is brought down with difficulty.

Ibn Ishāq: Then al-Mujadhdhar came to the Messenger of Allah and said:
"By Him who sent you with the truth, I did my utmost to make him
surrender as a prisoner so that I could bring him to you, but he
refused everything except to fight me, and I fought him and killed him.

Ibn Hishām : Abu 'l-Bahtarāh was al'Ās bin Hishām bin al-Hārith bin
Asad.

The killing of Umaiyyah bin Khalaf.

Ibn Ishāq: Yahya bin 'Abbād bin 'Abdallah bin az-Zubair related to me
on the authority of his father.

Ibn Ishāq: And 'Abdallah bin Abu Bakr and others related it to me on
the authority of 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin 'Auf. He said: Umaiyyah bin
Khalaf was a friend of mine in Mecca. My name was 'Abd 'Amr but when
I islamized, I was called 'Abd ar-Rahmān when we were in Mecca. He
used to meet me when we were in Mecca and say: "O 'Abd 'Amr have you
discarded a name which your father gave you?". I would say: "Yes".
He would say: "Verily I do not recognise ar-Rahmān⁸⁵, so let there be
something between you and me by which I can call you. As far as you
are concerned do not answer me to your first name and as far as I am
concerned I will not call you by that which I do not recognise. So when
he called 'O 'Abd 'Amr', I did not answer him. I said to him: "O Abū
'Ali, make it what you will". He said: "Then you will be 'Abd al-Ilāh".
I said: "Yes". So whenever I met him, he said: "O 'Abd al-Ilāh" and I
answered him, and talked with him. When the day of Bedr came, I
passed by him as he stood with his son 'Ali bin Umaiyyah holding him
by the hand. I had some coats of mail which I had captured and I was
carrying them. When he saw me, he said: "O 'Abd 'Amr", and I did not
answer him. Then he said: "O 'Abd al-Ilāh". I said: "Yes". He said:
"Have you any thought for me for I am better for you than these coats
of mail which you have with you". I said: "Yes, indeed you are". So
I threw away the coats of mail, and took his hand and the hand of his
son, as he was saying: "I have never seen anything like this day, have
you no need of milk?". Then I set out and marched them away.

Ibn Hishām: He means by milk, that 'I will be ransomed from whoever has made me captive with camels that give much milk'.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abd al-Wāhid bin Abū 'Aun related to me on the authority of Sa'īd bin Ibrāhīm from his father from 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin 'Auf. He said: Umaiyyah bin Khalaf said to me while I was between him and his son holding their hands: "O 'Abd al-Ilāh, which man of you is that who is marked with an ostrich feather on his chest?". I said: "That is Hamzah bin 'Abd al-Muttalib". He said: "He is the one who did the deeds to us". I was leading them on when Bilāl saw them with me. It was he who had tormented Bilāl in Mecca to make him abandon Islam by exposing him on the sands of Mecca when they were hot, made him lie on his back, ordered a great stone to be placed on his chest, and said to him: "You will either remain thus or else abandon the religion of Muhammad", but Bilāl said: ONE, ONE. When he saw him he said: "The head of unbelief is Umaiyyah bin Khalaf; may I not escape if he has escaped". I said: O Bilāl, are they not my two prisoners?". He said: "May I not escape if he escapes!". I said: "Do you hear son of the black woman?". He said: "May I not escape if he escapes". Then he called out at the top of his voice: "O Helpers of Allah, the head of unbelief is Umaiyyah bin Khalaf, may I not escape if he has escaped". So they surrounded us and put us in something like a ring while I warned them off from him. One of them drew his sword and smote his son on the leg and he fell, and Umaiyyah uttered a cry the like of which I have never heard. I said: "Save yourself, but there is no escape for you, for I swear I cannot help you at all". So they slashed them with their swords till they made an end of them. 'Abd ar-Rahmān used to say: "May Allah forgive Bilāl, my suits of mail were lost, and he afflicted me with the loss of my two prisoners".

The angelic witnesses of the battle of Badr.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr related to me that it was related to him on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās. He said: A man of the Beni Ghifār related to me. He said: I and a cousin of mine drew near and climbed a mountain which overlooked Badr. We were polytheists and we were watching the battle to see whose turn it would be when we would plunder with those who did the plundering. While we were on the mountain, a cloud drew near to us in which we heard the neighing of horses, and I heard someone saying: "Advance, Haizum". As far as my

cousin was concerned, the lining of his heart was laid bare and he died on the spot. For myself, I almost perished, but I took myself in hand.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr related to me on the authority of one of the Beni Sā'idah from Abū Usaīd, Mālik bin Rabī'ah, who witnessed Badr. He said after his sight failed: "If I were in Badr to-day and had my sight, I would show you the ravine from which the angels issued forth: I have no doubt about it whatever".

Ibn Ishāq: My father Ishāq bin Yasār related to me on the authority of some men of the Beni Māzin bin an-Najjār from Abū Dāūd the Māzinite, who witnessed Badr. He said: "I was following one of the polytheists on the day of Badr to smite him when his head fell before my sword could reach it and I realised that someone else had killed him".

Ibn Ishāq: One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of Miqsam a client of 'Abdallah bin al-Hārith from 'Abdallah bin 'Abbās. He said: "The insignia of the angels on the day of Badr was white turbans which they let loose over their backs, and on the day of Hunain (they had) red turbans".

Ibn Hishām: A scholar related to me that 'Alī bin Abū Tālib said: "The turbans were the crowns of the Arabs; and the insignia of the angels on the day of Badr was white turbans, which they left loose over their backs, with the exception of Gabriel who had a saffron turban.

Ibn Ishāq: One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of Miqsam from Ibn 'Abbās. He said: "The angels did not fight on any day except the day of Badr, but they were present on other days besides it with their numbers in reserve; they did not strike.

The killing of Abū Jahl bin Hishām.

Ibn Ishāq: Abū Jahl came forward reciting rhyming verses as he fought and saying:-

Repeated warfare will not punish me
A two-year-old cutting its first teeth (I am) young in years
For such a thing as this did my mother bear me.

Ibn Hishām: The slogan of the friends of the Messenger of Allah on the day of Badr was: ONE! ONE!

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah had finished with his enemy he gave orders that Abū Jahl bin Hishām be sought for amongst the slain. According to what Thaur bin Yazīd related to me on the authority of

'Ikrimah from Ibn 'Abbās, and 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr also related that to me, the first one to find Abū Jahl was Mu'adh bin 'Amr bin al-Jumūh brother of the Beni Salimah. He said: "I heard the people with Abū Jahl in a kind of thicket, (Ibn Hishām: Al-Harajah means trees which are entwined together, and in the Tradition about 'Umar bin al-Khattab (it is said) that he asked a Bedouin about al-Harajah, and he said: "It is a tree amongst other trees which cannot be reached). and they were saying: "Abū 'l-Hakm cannot be reached". When I heard it I made it my business and went off in his direction, and when it was possible for me to do so, I attacked him and smote him a blow which severed his leg in the middle, and when it fell off, I could only liken it to a date stone broken beneath the stone pestle when it is struck by it. Then 'Ikrimah his son smote me on the shoulder and cut away my arm so that it hung by my side from a piece of skin, and the battle kept me away from him. I fought the most of the day dragging it behind me but when it got in my way I put my foot on it and I pulled on it till I severed it.

Ibn Ishāq: After that he lived till the time of 'Uthmān. Then Mu'awwidh bin 'Afrā' passed by Abū Jahl as he lay wounded, smote him and completely disabled him, and left him while there was still breath in him. Mu'awwidh fought till he was slain. Then 'Abdallah bin Mas'ūd passed by Abū Jahl when the Messenger of Allah ordered that he should be sought among the slain. The Messenger of Allah had said: 'If he is unrecognizable to you among the dead, look for the mark of a wound on his knee, for he and I were crushed together one day at a banquet given by 'Abdallah bin Jud'ān, when we were boys. I was somewhat thinner than he, and I pushed him and he fell on his knees, and an abrasion was made on one of them, the trace of which remained with him'. 'Abdallah Bin Mas'ūd said: "I found him at the last gasp and put my foot on his neck. He had once seized me in Mecca, done me harm, and beat me on the chest with his fists. Then I said to him: 'Hath Allah confounded you, O enemy of Allah?'. He said: 'Why should He confound me? I he greater than any man you have killed? Tell me, whose turn is it to-day?'. I said: (It is the turn) 'of Allah and His Messenger.

Ibn Hishām: Dabath means to seize and hold on. Dābā' bin al-Harith, the Burjamite said:-

Because of the love which was between you and me
I became like one grasping water with the hand

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as: 'Is it a shame for a man whom you have slain? Tell me, whose defeat is it to-day?'

Ibn Ishāq: Some men of the Beni Makhzūm claimed that Ibn Mas'ūd said: "He said to me: 'O little shepherd you have ascended by a steep ascent'. Then I cut off his head, brought it to the Messenger of Allah, and said: 'O Messenger of Allah, this is the head of Abū Jahl the enemy of Allah'. The Messenger of Allah said: 'Yes, by Allah, besides whom there is no god'. This was the oath of the Messenger of Allah. I said: 'Yes, by Allah, besides whom there is no god', and threw down his head before the Messenger of Allah, and he gave praise to Allah".

Ibn Hishām: Abu 'Ubaidah and other scholars of the wars related to me that 'Umar bin al-Khattāb said to Sa'īd bin al-'Ās when he passed by him: "Verily you seem as if you had something on your mind; I think you imagine that I slew your father. Verily if I had killed him I would not apologise to you for killing him, but I killed my uncle al-'Ās bin Hishām bin al-Mughīrah. As for your father, I passed by him as he was scraping the ground as a bull does with his horn and I turned aside from him, and his nephew 'Ali went up to him and slew him".

The story of the sword of Ukkāshah.

Ibn Ishāq: Ukkāshah bin Mihsan bin Hurthān the Asadite, ally of the Beni 'Abd Shams bin 'Abd Manāf fought with his sword on the day of Bedr till it broke in his hand, and he came to the Messenger of Allah and he gave him a wooden stump and said: "Fight with this, O Ukkāshah". When he received it from the Messenger of Allah and it became in his hand a sword of great length, strong of blade, clear of edge, and he fought with it till Allah granted victory to the Muslims. The sword was called 'Help'. After that it remained in his possession and with it he witnessed all the places of battle in company with the Messenger of Allah until he was slain in the Apostasy when he was with him. Tulaiḥah bin Khuwailid the Asadite killed him, and Tulaiḥah said about that:-

What do think about the people when you kill them?
Are they not men even though they have not islamized?
Were they camels or women that were slain

They would never go to no purpose for the killing of Hibāl
For them I raised the chest of al-Himālah (i.e. I set out
on my mare).

Verily she is wont (to hear) the command of the brave:
"Come down"

One day you will see her protected with her saddle-cover
And another day you will see her without the cover
In the evening I left Ibn Aqram settled
And Ukkashah the Ghanamite on a field.

Ibn Hishām: Hibāl was the son of Talaiḥah bin Khuwailid and Ibn
Aqram was Thābit bin Aqram the Helper.

Ibn Ishāq: It was Ukkāshah bin Miḥsan who said to the Messenger of
Allah when the Messenger of Allah said: "Seventy thousand of my people
will enter Paradise on the night of the full moon.

"O Messenger of Allah, call on Allah to make me one of them".
He said: "He said: "Verily thou art one of them", or "O Allah, make
him one of them". Then one of the Helpers arose and said: "Call on
Allah to make me one of them". He said: "Ukkāshah has got it ahead
of you, and the prayer is confirmed". The Messenger of Allah said,
according to what I heard on the authority of his family: "The best
horseman amongst the Arabs is one of us". They said: "Who is he, O
Messenger of Allah?". He said: "Ukkāshah bin Miḥsan". Dirār bin
al-Azwar the Asadite said: "That is a man who belongs to us O
Messenger of Allah". He said: "He is not one of you, he is one of us"
(referring to the Treaty).

Ibn Hishām: Abū Bakr the Faithful called to his son who was with the
polytheists that day and said: "Where is my property O wicked one"?

'Abd ar-Rahmān said:-

Nothing remains but the arms, the blood-horse, and the
sharp sword whci slays the erring grey head

according to what was told me on the authority of 'Abd al-'Azīz bin
Muhammad the Darāwardite.

The polytheists are thrown into a pit.

Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd bin Rūmān related to me on the authority of 'Urwah
bin az-Zubair from 'Ā'ishah. He said: "When the Messenger of Allah
ordered the slain to be thrown into the pit, they were all thrown in
with the exception of Umaiyyah bin Khalaf. He had blown out in his
coat of mail till he filled it and they went to take him out but his
limbs came apart so they left him where he was and threw over him as

much earth and stones as covered him. When he had them cast into the pit, the Messenger of Allah stood over them and said: "O people of the pit, have you found true that which your Lord did promise you? Verily I have found that which my Lord promised me to be true". His friends said to him: "O Messenger of Allah, do you address dead men". He said to them: "They have known that what their Lord promised them is true". 'Ā'ishah said: The people say: "They have heard what I said to them", but the Messenger of Allah merely said: "They have known".

Ibn Ishāq: Humaid the tall related to me on the authority of Anas bin Mālik. He said: The friends of the Messenger of Allah heard him in the stillness of the night as he said: "O people of the pit, O 'Utbah bin Rabī'ah, O Shaibah bin Rabī'ah, O U_maiyyah bin Khalaf, O Abū Jahl bin Hishām!" and he recounted those who were in the pit, "Have you found true that which your Lord did promise you? Verily I have found true that which my Lord promised me". The Muslims said to him: "O Messenger of Allah, are you addressing putrid corpses?" He said: "You do not hear what I say any better than they do but they are unable to answer me".

Ibn Ishāq: One of the scholars related to me that the Messenger of Allah said on the day he uttered this saying: "O people of the pit, ~~bad kinsmen of the Prophet~~, have you been to your Prophet, ~~and you~~ you have called me a liar while the people believed me; you have cast me forth and the people gave me shelter; you have fought against me and the people have helped me". Then he said: "Have you found true that which your Lord did promise you?" (adding this) to what he said.

Poetry Omitted.

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah ordered them to be cast into the pit, 'Utbah bin Rabī'ah was taken and dragged to the pit, and according to what I heard, the Messenger of Allah looked into the face of Abū Hudhaifah bin 'Utbah, and lo, he was distressed and his colour had changed. He said: "O Abū Hudhaifah, perhaps something of the matter of your father has entered you", or words to that effect. He said: "No, O Messenger of Allah, I am not wavering in my opinion of my father or his fight, but I used to recognise in my father discernment, forbearance, and ability, and I was hoping that that would guide him to Islam". When I saw what had befallen him and the unbelief in

which he died, after what I had hoped for him, it grieved me". So the Messenger of Allah invoked a blessing on him and spake kindly to him.

Mention of the young men about whom there came down: Verily those whom the angels carry off (in death) while they are living in wrongdoing.

Ibn Ishāq: They were the young men who were slain at Badr. According to what we heard, part of the Qur'ān came down in connection with them.

Verily to those whom they carry off (in death) while they ^{are} acting harmfully to their own well-being, the angels will say: "In what state were you?" "We were the weak ones in the land", they say. "But was not the land of Allah wide?", will be the reply, "so that you might have migrated in it?". Of such the abode is Gehenna; a bad place to go to! (Surah 4: 97).

Names omitted.

That was because they had islamized while the Messenger of Allah was in Mecca. When the Messenger of Allah migrated to Medina, their fathers and kindred imprisoned them in Mecca and persecuted them and they were turned away (from the faith). Then they marched with their people to Badr and all of them perished there.

Mention of the spoils and the captives at Badr.

Then the Messenger of Allah gave an order about what the people had collected in the camp and it was gathered together. Then the Muslims differed about it; those who had collected it saying: "It belongs to us"; and those who had been fighting the enemy and seeking him out, saying: "Had it not been for us, you would not have got it, for we drew the attention of the people away from you till you got what you got". Those who had been guarding the Messenger of Allah for fear the enemy should come upon him in their absence, said: "You are no more entitled to it than we. We thought that we would slay the enemy when Allah granted us his shoulders (necks), and we thought that we would take the goods when there was no one with them to defend them, but we were afraid for the Messenger of Allah, in case the enemy should make a charge, so we stood by him. Thus, you are no more entitled to it than we".

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin al-Hārith and others have related to me on the authority of Suleimān bin Mūsā from Makhūl from Abū Uzāmah

the Bahilite (whose name is Suday bin 'Ajlān according to what Ibn Hishām says). He said: I asked 'Ubādah bin as-Sāmit about 'The Spoils', and he said: "It came down about us, the men of Badr when we disagreed about the spoils, and our behaviour in connection with them was bad. So Allah took them out of our hands and gave them to His Messenger, and the Messenger of Allah divided them equally among the Muslims, (he says: 'with equity').

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abu Bakr related to me. He said: One of the Beni Sā'idah related to me on the authority of Abū Usaid the Sā'idite Mālik bin Rabī'ah. He said: "I got the sword of the Beni 'A'idh the Makhzūmites (which was called) 'al-Marzubān' on the day of Badr. When the Messenger of Allah commanded the people to return the spoils they had taken, I came forward and cast it among the spoils. The Messenger of Allah did not refuse anything that was asked of him, so al-Arqam bin Abū 'l-Arqam recognised it, asked the Messenger of Allah for it, and he gave it to him".

The despatch of Ibn Rawāhah and Zaid as messengers.

Ibn Ishāq: Following on the victory the Messenger of Allah sent 'Abdallah bin Rawāhah as messenger to the people of the Highlands (to announce) the victory which Allah had granted him and the Muslims. He also sent Zaid bin Hārithah to the inhabitants of the Lowlands. Usāmah bin Zaid said: "The news came to us - just as we had levelled the earth over Ruqaiyyah, daughter of the Messenger of Allah who was the wife of 'Uthmān bin 'Affān. The Messenger of Allah had left me behind in charge of her along with 'Uthmān - that Zaid bin Hārithah had come. I went to him as he stood in the place of worship with the people crowding around him and he said: 'Utbah bin Rabī'ah, Shaibah bin Rabī'ah, Abū Jahl bin Hishām, Zam'ah bin al-Aswad, Abu 'l-Bahtarah al-'Ās bin Hishām, Umaiyyah bin Khalaf, and Nubaih and Munabbih the two sons of al-Hajjāj are all slain'. I said: 'O my father is this true?'. He said: 'Yea, verily, my son'.

The return of the Messenger of Allah from Badr.

Then the Messenger of Allah advanced on the return journey to Medina, and the prisoners of the polytheists among whom was 'Uqbah bin Abu Mu'ait and an-Nadr bin al-Hārith were with him. The Messenger of Allah also carried with him the spoils which had been taken from the

polytheists and he put 'Abdallah ibn Ka'b ibn 'Amr ibn 'Auf ibn Mabdhūl ibn 'Amr ibn Ghanam ibn Māzin ibn an-Najjār in charge of the spoils and a versifier of the Muslims said:-

Ibn Hishām: It is said that he was 'Adi ibn Abū 'z-Zughbah

O Basbas lift up their chests
There is no place to stop for the night in Dhū 't-Talh
Nor in the desert of Ghumair is there a prison
Verily the horses of the people would not be confined
To bear them on the way is shrewder
Allah gave help and al-Akhnas fled.

Then the Messenger of Allah advanced and when he emerged from the pass of as-Safrā he made camp on a sand dune between the pass and an-Nāziyah called Sayar, and came to a meadow where he divided to the Muslims the spoil which Allah had granted him from the polytheists in equal allotments.

Then the Messenger of Allah went on and when he was in ar-Rauhā' the Muslims met him congratulating him on the victory which Allah had given him and the Muslims who were with him. According to what 'Āsim ibn 'Umar ibn Qatādah and Yazīd ibn Rūmān related to me, Salamah ibn Salāmah said to them: "On what do you congratulate us? I swear we did not meet anything but bald old men like bound victims and we slew them". The Messenger of Allah smiled and said: "Those are the chieftains".

Ibn Hisham: Al-Malā' means the nobles, the leaders.

The slaying of an-Nadr and 'Uqbah.

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah was in as-Safrā an-Nadr ibn al-Hārith was slain. According to what a scholar of the inhabitants of Mecca told me, 'Ali ibn Abū Tālib slew him.

Ibn Ishāq: Then he set out and when he was in 'Irq az-Zabyah 'Uqbah ibn Abū Mu'ait was slain.

Ibn Hishām: 'Irq az-Zabyah is on the authority of another than Ibn Ishāq.

The one who made 'Uqbah prisoner was 'Abdallah ibn Salamah one of the Beni 'Ajlān.

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah ordered him to be killed, 'Uqbah said: "Who will care for the children O Muhammad?" He said: "The Fire". 'Āsim ibn Thābit ibn Abū 'l-Aqlah the Helper, brother of the Beni 'Amr ibn 'Auf slew him according to what Abū 'Uḡaidah ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ammār ibn Yāsir related to me.

Ibn Hishām: It is said that 'Alī bin Abū Tālib slew him, according to what Ibn Shihāb the Zuhrite and other scholars told me.

Ibn Ishāq: Abu Hind a client of Farwah bin 'Amr the Biyadite met the Messenger of Allah in that place with a skin filled with dates mixed with butter and curds.

Ibn Hishām: Al-Hamīt means a skin.

He had stayed behind from Badr then he witnessed all the places of martyrdom with the Messenger of Allah, and he was the cupper of the Messenger of Allah. The Messenger of Allah said: "Abu Hind is a man of the Helpers, marry with him and give in marriage to him", and they did so.

Then the Messenger of Allah went on and got to Medina a day before the prisoners.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Bekr related to me that Yahya bin 'Abdallah bin 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin As'ad bin Zurārah said: "The prisoners were brought when they were brought and Saudah bint Zam'ah the wife of the Prophet was with the family of 'Afrā' in their mourning for 'Auf and Mu'awwidh the two sons of 'Afrā', and that was before the veil was imposed on them. Saudah said: "I was with them when one came to us and said: "These are the captives; they have been brought. So I went back to my house, and the Messenger of Allah was there, and lo, Abū Yazīd Suhail bin 'Amr was in the vicinity of the ~~broom~~ with his hands bound to his neck by a rope. I could not contain myself when I saw Abū Yazīd in this state, and said: 'O Abū Yazīd, you have given yourselves up, why did you not die? honourable men?'. What should startle me but the voice of the Messenger of Allah from the house: 'O Saudah, are you inciting against Allah whose is the power and glory and against His Messenger?' I said: 'O Messenger of Allah, by Him who sent you with the truth, I could not contain myself when I saw Abū Yazīd with his hands bound behind his neck from saying what I said'.

Ibn Ishāq: Nubaih bin Wahb brother of the Beni 'Abd ad-Dār related to me that when the Messenger came with the prisoners, he divided them among his friends and said: "Receive the prisoners with kindness"

He said: Abū 'Azīz bin 'Umair bin Hāshim brother of Mus'ab bin 'Umair by his father and mother, was among the captives. Abū 'Azīz said: "My brother Mus'ab passed by me with a man of the Helpers to take me

prisoner and said: 'Make strong your hand where he is concerned, his mother is a person of means, perhaps she will ransom him from you'. He said: I was with a group of the Helpers when they brought me from Badr and when they brought them their breakfast and supper they assigned the bread exclusively to me and they ate dates, in accordance with the injunction which the Messenger of Allah gave them about us, and not a piece of bread came into the hand of any of them that they did not give to me. I would be ashamed and return it, but he would give it back to me without touching it.

Ibn Hishām: Abū 'Azīz was the standard-bearer of the polytheists at Badr after an-Nadr ibn al-Hārith. When his brother Mus'ab said to Abū 'l-Yāsir who took him prisoner, what he said, Abū 'Azīz said to him: "My brother, is this your injunction about me?". Mus'ab said to him: "Verily he is my brother, not you". His mother enquired about the highest ransom to be paid for a man of Quraish, and she was told: "Four thousand dirhems". So she sent four thousand dirhems with which she ransomed him.

News of the calamity of Quraish reaches Mecca.

Ibn Ishāq: The first man who came to Mecca with (news of) the calamity that had befallen Quraish was al-Haisumān ibn 'Abdallah the Khuẓā'ite they said: "What news do you bring?". He said: "'Utbah ibn Rabī'ah, Shaibah ibn Rabī'ah, Abū 'l-Hakam ibn Hishām, Umayyah ibn Khalaf, Zam'ah ibn al-Aswad, Nubaih and Munabbih the two sons of al-Hajjāj and Abū 'l-Bakhtirah ibn Hishām are slain". Then he began to count the noble men of Quraish and Safwān ibn Umayyah said as he sat in the sacred place: "If he understands this then ask him about me". They said: "What about Safwān ibn Umayyah?". He said: "There he is sitting in the sacred place and indeed I saw his father and brother when they were killed".

Ibn Ishāq: Husain ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Uḡaidallah ibn 'Abbās related to me on the authority of 'Ikrimah a client of Ibn 'Abbās. He said: Abū Rāfi' a client of the Messenger of Allah said: "I was a boy belonging to 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib when Islam came amongst us, the people of the House, and al-'Abbās islamized, Umm al-Fadl islamized and I islamized. Al-'Abbās was afraid of his people and disliked to cross them so he concealed his islamization. He was the possessor of much property which was dispersed among his people. Abū Lahab had stayed

away from Bedr and had sent al-'Ās bin Hishām bin al-Mughīrah in his place. That was what they did; not a man stayed away without sending another in his place. When news of the disaster to the men of Quraish at Bedr came to him, Allah humiliated him and put him to shame, and we found power and might in ourselves. I was a man of little consequence; I made arrows which I cut out in the enclosure of Zamzam. I was sitting there cutting out the arrows and Umm al-'Adl was sitting with me, and we were pleased with the news that had come to us, when Abū Lahab approached dragging his feet with malevolence, and sat on the edge of the enclosure with his back to mine. While he was sitting there, the people said: 'Here is Abū Sufyān bin al-Hārith bin 'Abd al-Muttalib (Ibn Hishām: The name of Abū Sufyān was al-Mughīrah) who has arrived'. Abū Lahab said: 'Come to me, for by my life you have the news'. So he sat down beside him with the people standing around him, and he said: 'My nephew, tell me how did the affair of the people go?' He said: 'There is nothing (to tell) except that we met the people and gave them our shoulders so that they could kill us as they willed and make us captives as they willed, but I swear that in spite of that I do not blame the people, for we met white men on piebald horses between heaven and earth, who left nothing, nor could anything stand before them'. Abū Rāfi' said: 'I lifted the edge (or rope) of the enclosure in my hand and said: 'That was indeed the angels'. He said: Then Abū Lahab lifted his hand and struck me a hard blow on the face. I stood up to him, so he lifted me and threw me to the ground and then knelt upon me beating me. I was a weak man but Umm al-'Adl went to one of the poles of the enclosure, took it and struck him a blow with it which laid open a terrible gash in his head and said: 'You found him weak when his master was away from him'. So he got up and went away humiliated and he lived only seven nights (after that) when Allah smote him with ulcers which killed him.

Ibn Ishāq: Yahya bin 'Abbād bin 'Abdallah bin az-Zubair related to me on the authority of his father 'Abbād. He said: Quraish made lamentation for their slain, then they said: 'Do not do it, for Muhammad and his friends will hear of it and exult over you, and do not send about your prisoners till you have delayed over them and Muhammad and his friends shall not get the better of you in the matter of the ransom'.

He said: Al-Aswad bin al-Muttalib had three of his children killed: Zam'ah bin al-Aswad, 'Aqīl bin al-Aswad, and al-Hārith bin Zam'ah, and he would have liked to weep for his sons. While he was in this state, he heard a wailing woman in the night and said to a boy of his, for his sight had gone: 'See if wailing is allowed. Are Quraish weeping for their slain that perhaps I may weep for Abū Hakīmah - meaning Zam'ah for my heart within me burns'. When the boy came back to him he said: 'It is only a woman weeping over a camel of hers that has strayed'. That was when al-Aswad said:-

Does she weep because a camel of hers has strayed
And wakefulness keeps her from sleeping
Do not weep over a young camel but instead
Weep over Badr (where) good fortune has failed
At Badr (were) the choice men of the Beni Husals
And Makhzūm and the followers of Abū 'l-Walīd
If you weep, weep for 'Aqīl
And weep for al-Hārith the lion of lions
Weep for them all and do not weary
And there is no peer for Abu Hakīmah
Verily some men become masters after they are gone
Who would not be masters but for the day of Badr.

Ibn Ishāq: Among the prisoners was Abū Wadā'ah bin Dubairah the Sahmite and the Messenger of Allah said: "He has in Mecca a shrewd merchant son, a man of substance, and it looks as if he will come to you seeking to ransom his father". When Quraish said: "Don't be in any hurry to ransom your prisoners and Muhammad and his friends will not get the better of you, al-Muttalib bin Abū Wadā'ah said, and it was he to whom the Messenger of Allah referred: "You are right! Do not hurry!" He stole away to Medina by night, got his father for four thousand dirhems and took him away.

The affair of Suhail bin 'Amr.

Then Quraish sent about the ransom of their prisoners, and Mikraz bin Hafs bin al-Akhyaf came about the ransom of Suhail bin 'Amr: It was Mālik bin ad-Dukhshum, brother of the Beni Sālim bin 'Auf who had taken him prisoner, and he said:-

I have captured Suhail so I do not desire
Instead of him a captive from any nation
And Khindif knows that the young man
Suhail is their young man if he is impeached for wrong-doing
I struck with the edge of the sword till it bent
And urged myself against the man with the split upper lip
Suhail was a man with a split lower lip.

Ibn Hishām: One of the scholars in poetry does not admit that this poetry is the work of Malik bin ad-Dukhshum.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad bin 'Amr bin 'Atā' brother of the Beni 'Āmir bin Lu'ai related to me that 'Umar bin al-Khattāb said to the Messenger of Allah: "O Messenger of Allah, let me remove Suhail's two front teeth and his tongue will loll out, and he will never become an orator against you on any battle-field". The Messenger of Allah said: "I will not mutilate him, for Allah would mutilate me, even though I am a prophet".

Ibn Ishāq: I heard that the Messenger of Allah said to 'Umar in the course of this conversation: "Verily he is about to fill a position where you will not blame him".

Ibn Hishām: I will give the account of that position in due course, if Allah wills.

Ibn Ishāq: When Mikraz conferred with them and came to a satisfactory arrangement with them, they said: "Bring what we should have". He said: "Put my leg in place of his leg and set him free that he may send his ransom to you". So they set Suhail free and kept Mikraz a captive with them. Mikraz said:-

I have ransomed a captive youth with eight she-camels
Whose payment will obtain (the release of) the man of
pure blood, not the clients
I have pledged my hand and money would be easier for me
than my hand
But I was afraid of shame
I said: 'Suhail is the best of us, so take him
To our sons that we may bring about what we desire.

Ibn Hishām: One of the scholars of poetry does not admit that this is the work of Mikraz.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr related to me. He said: 'Amr bin Abu Sufyān bin Harb, who was the son of the daughter of 'Uqbah bin Abū Mu'ait (Ibn Hishām: The mother of 'Amr bin Abū Sufyān was the daughter of Abū 'Amr the sister of Abū Mu'ait bin Abū 'Amr) was a prisoner in the hands of the Messenger of Allah - one of the prisoners of Badr.

Ibn Hishām: 'Ali bin Abū Tālib took him prisoner.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr related to me. He said: "Someone said to Abū Sufyān: 'Ransom your son 'Amr'. He said: 'Is a resolve to be made about my blood and property? They have slain Hanthalah and

shall I ransom 'Amr? Let him remain in their hands to hold as long as seems good to them'. While he was in these circumstances imprisoned in Medina with the Messenger of Allah, Sa'd ibn an-Nu'mān ibn Akkāl brother of the Beni 'Amr ibn 'Auf and from the sub-division of the Beni Mu'āwiyah set out on the Lesser Pilgrimage, and he had a small woman of his with him. He was an old man and a Muslim, and he had flocks of his in an-Naqī'. So he set out from there on the Lesser Pilgrimage not apprehensive that anything would happen to him nor imagining that he would be imprisoned in Mecca. He came merely on the Lesser Pilgrimage, and Quraish had made a covenant not to let or hinder any who came on the Greater or Lesser Pilgrimage and offer them nothing but good. But Abū Sufyān was hostile to him in Mecca and imprisoned him in retaliation for his son 'Amr. Then Abū Sufyān said:-

O kindred of Ibn Akkāl, answer his call
You made a vow not to hand over the elderly chieftain
Verily the Beni 'Amr are ignoble and contemptible
If they do not unloose the shackles from their captive

Hassān ibn Thābit answered him and said:-

Were Sa'd at liberty on the day of Mecca
He would have killed many of you before he would be
taken prisoner
With sharp sword or bows of yew
Whose bow-strings twang when stretched and cast out the
arrows.

The Beni 'Amr ibn 'Auf went to the Messenger of Allah, told him their story and asked him to let them have 'Amr ibn Abū Sufyān so that they could release their friend in exchange for him. The Messenger of Allah did so, and they sent him to Abū Sufyān and he released Sa'd.

The imprisonment of Abū 'l-'Ās ibn ar-Rabī'.

Ibn Ishāq: Amongst the prisoners was Abū 'l-'Ās ibn ar-Rabī' ibn al-'Uzza ibn 'Abd Shams, in-law of the Messenger of Allah who had married his daughter Zainab.

Ibn Hishām: Khirdash ibn as-Simmah, one of the Beni Harām took him prisoner.

Ibn Ishāq: Abū 'l-'Ās was one of the men of Mecca who were esteemed for their wealth, trustworthiness and trade. He was the son of Hālah bint Khuwailid, Khadījah being his aunt. She asked the Messenger of Allah to marry him (to her), and the Messenger of Allah did not say her nay, and that was before the revelation.

came down to him, which he did, and she regarded him as one of her children. When Allah honoured His Messenger with the prophetic office, Khadijah believed on him as did his daughters, accepted him as genuine, and testified that what he brought was the truth, and professed his religion; but Abū 'l-'Ās remained a polytheist. The Messenger of Allah had married either Rukaiyyah or Umm Kulthūm to 'Utbah bin Abū Lahab, so when he manifested openly the affair of Allah and enmity to Quraish they said: "Verily you have relieved Muhammad of his cares; send back his daughters to him and thereby give him something to occupy him". So they went to Abū 'l-'Ās and said to him: "Leave your wife and we will give you in marriage any woman of Quraish you desire". He said: "No indeed, I will not break off my relationship, and I do not desire to have any woman of Quraish instead of my wife". According to what I heard, the Messenger of Allah blessed his son-in-law. Then they went to 'Utbah bin Abū Lahab and said to him: "Divorce Muhammad's daughter and we will give you in marriage any woman of Quraish you desire". He said: "If you give me in marriage Bint Abān bin Sa'īd bin al-'Ās or Bint Sa'īd bin al-'Ās, I will leave her". So they gave him Bint Sa'īd bin al-'Ās, and he separated from her before he had brought her home. Thus Allah took her out of his hands as a mark of honour to her and disgrace to him, and 'Uthmān bin 'Affān married her after him. The Messenger of Allah did not make free or put under ban anyone in Mecca who had got the worst of it because of his affair. Islam had separated Zainab the daughter of the Messenger of Allah from Abū 'l-'Ās bin ar-Rabi' when she islamized although the Messenger of Allah was not able to put them apart, so she lived with him on the understanding that she observed Islam while he remained a polytheist till the Messenger of Allah migrated. When Quraish marched to Badr, Abū 'l-'Ās marched with them, and was captured among the prisoners on the day of Badr and was in Medina with the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: Yahya bin 'Abbād bin 'Abdallah bin az-Zubair related to me on the authority of his father 'Abbād from 'Ā'ishah. She said: "When the people of Mecca sent concerning the ransom of their prisoners, Zainab, daughter of the Messenger of Allah, sent some possessions for the ransom of Abū 'l-'Ās, amongst which was a necklace of hers with which Khadijah had brought her to Abū 'l-'Ās when he married her."

When the Messenger of Allah saw it he was touched with a strong compassion for her and said: "If you think you should release her prisoner for her and give back her belongings to her, do so". They said: "Yes, O Messenger of Allah", and returned her belongings to her.

The departure of Zainab for Medina.

The Messenger of Allah had either extracted from him an undertaking that he would leave Zainab free to come to him, or else he promised the Messenger of Allah (to do) that, or else it was on of the conditions on which he was released, but it did not appear either on his part or that of the Messenger of Allah that it could be known which it was. But when Abū 'l-'Ās set out for Mecca having been set free, the Messenger of Allah sent Zaid bin Hārithah and one of the Helpers to his place and said: "Stay with the sub-tribe of Ya'jij till Zainab comes to you and then accompany her till you bring her to me". So they set out for their (appointed) place, and that was almost a month after Badr. When Abū 'l-'Ās got to Mecca he commanded her to join her father and she went out to make preparations.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr related to me. He said: "It was related to me on the authority of Zainab that she said: 'While I was making preparations in Mecca to join my father, Hind bint 'Utbah met me and said: +O daughter of Muhammad have I not heard that you desire to join your father+. I said: +I did not desire it+. She said: +My cousin, do not do it. If you require any commodity which would be useful to you on your journey or if you require money with which to get to your father, I have all you require, so do not be embarrassed for what is between men does not come in between women+. And indeed I do not think she said that except (with the intention of) doing it but I was afraid of her and disclaimed that I wished any such thing and went ahead with my own preparations'.

When the daughter of the Messenger of Allah had completed her preparations, her brother-in-law Kinānah bin ar-Rabī' her husband's brother brought her a camel which she mounted. He took also his bow and quiver and went with her a day's journey to guide her and she was in a litter of hers. The men of Quraish talked about it and went out in search of her and overtook her in Dhu Tawa. The first one who came up to her was Habbar bin al-Aswad bin al-Muttalib bin Asad bin

'Abd al-'Uzza the Fihrite, and Habbār frightened her with his spear while she was in the litter, and according to what they say, the woman was pregnant, and when she was frightened she had a miscarriage. So her brother-in-law Kinānah knelt down, emptied his quiver, and said: 'No man shall come near me without me putting an arrow into him', and they turned back from him.

Then Abū Sufyān came to him with some chieftains from Quraish and said: 'O man, stop shooting your arrows at us till we talk to you'. So he stayed his hand, and Abū Sufyān came up, stood before him and said: 'Verily you are not in the right. You have taken this woman away openly when you were cognisant of our misfortune and calamity and all that has come to us through Muḥammad. Now people will imagine when you take away his daughter to him openly from our midst, that it is because of a certain lack of spirit which has come upon us because of the misfortune that has happened, and that it is weakness and inability on our part. By my life, we have no need to shut her away from her father, and we have no motive of revenge in this, but bring the woman back till tongues have ceased to wag and people say we have brought her back, then spirit her away and take her to her father'. He did so, and she remained several nights and when tongues were silent he took her out by night, handed her over to Zaid bin Hārithah and his friend who took her to the Messenger of Allah".

Poetry omitted.

Ibn Ishāq: A sworn client of Abū Sufyān by whom is meant 'Āmir bin al-Ḥadramī was amongst the prisoners. Al-Ḥadramī was confederate was with Harb ibn Umaiyyah.

Ibn Hishām: A sworn client of Abū Sufyān by whom he means 'Uqbah bin 'Abd al-Hārith bin al-Ḥadramī, for 'Āmir bin al-Ḥadramī was slain on the day of Bedr.

When those who had set out to Zainab had gone away Hind bint 'Utbah met them and said to them:-

In peace asses harsh and coarse
In war like menstruating women

Kinānah bin ar-Rabī' said about the affair of Zainab when he handed her over to the two men:-

I was astonished at Habbār and the hangers-on of his people
Wishing me to break my compact with the daughter of Muhammad
As long as I live I care not for their numbers
And what my hand has acquired which grasps the Indian blade.

Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd bin Abū Ḥabīb related to me on the authority of Bukair bin 'Abdallah bin al-Ashajj from Suleiman bin Yasār from Abū Ishāq the Dausite from Abū Hurairah. He said: The Messenger of Allah sent out a raiding party in which I was present and said to us: 'If you get Habbār bin al-Aswad or the other man who went forward along with him to Zainab into your power (Ibn Hishām: Ibn Ishāq has given the man's name in his account and says that he was Nāfi' bin 'Abd Qais); burn them with fire'. The next day he sent to us and said: 'I did verily command you to burn those two men if you caught them, then I saw that none but Allah should inflict punishment with fire; if you get them into your power, slay them.'

The islamization of Abū 'l-'Ās bin ar-Rabī'.

Ibn Ishāq: Abū 'l-'Ās remained in Mecca and Zainab remained with the Messenger of Allah in Medina after Islam separated them till a little while before the entry into Mecca when Abū 'l-'Ās went out on a trading expedition to Syria. He was a man who, besides his own goods, had entrusted to him the goods of certain men of Qurāish which they handed over to him. When he had finished his business and had set out on his return journey, a raiding party belonging to the Messenger of Allah met him and seized what he had, but he eluded them by flight. When the raiding party brought back the goods they had captured, Abū 'l-'Ās came under cover of night, went to Zainab, daughter of the Messenger of Allah, and sought her protection, which she granted. He had come in search of his goods. According to what Yazīd bin Rūmān related to me, when the Messenger of Allah went out to the morning prayer he uttered a Takbīr and the people did likewise. Then Zainab called out from the women's porch: 'O people, I have given protection to Abu 'l-'Ās bin ar-Rabī''. When the Messenger of Allah gave the salutation after the prayer, he came forward to the people and said: 'O people, did you hear what I heard?'. They said: 'Yes'. He said: 'By Him in Whose hand is the life of Muhammad, I knew nothing of this till I heard what you heard, but the pledge of the least of them is binding on Muslims'. Then the Messenger of Allah departed and went to his daughter and said: 'My daughter, treat him as an honoured guest

but let him not come to you, verily you are not allowable for him'.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah ibn Abū Bakr related to me that the Messenger of Allah sent word to the raiding party that had seized the goods of Abū 'l-'Ās and said: "This man occupies a position amongst us of which you are aware and you have seized goods belonging to him. If you treat him well and return to him what belongs to him, that would be pleasing to me, but if you refuse, it is the booty of Allah Who has given you the spoil and you are best entitled to it". They said: "Nay, O Messenger of Allah, we will return it to him". They returned it to him, and one man brought a bucket, another an old wine-skin or an abluting-vessel, and one of them even brought a sack-hook, till they had given back to him all his property, and none of it was missing. Then he took it to Mecca and paid back to the Quraishite owners what belonged to them and to all who had handed over goods to him. Then he said: "O people of Quraish, does there yet remain with me the property of any one of you who has not received it". They said: "No, may Allah reward you with good, we have found you generous in paying back". He said: "I testify that there is no god but Allah and that Muhammad is His servant and messenger. The only thing that kept me from islamizing when I was with him was the fear that you would imagine that all I wanted was to devour your goods, but when Allah gave it back to you and I was finished with it I islamized". Then he set out and went to the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: Dāūd ibn al-Husain related to me on the authority of 'Ikrimah from Ibn 'Abbās. He said: "The Messenger of Allah gave him back Zainab on the basis of the former marriage without introducing anything new".

Ibn Hishām: Abū 'Ubaidah related to me that when Abū 'l-'Ās ibn ar-Rabī' returned from Syria with the goods of the polytheists someone said to him: "Have you a mind to accept Islam and appropriate this property, because it is the property of polytheists?". Abū 'l-'Ās said: "What an unfortunate beginning for my acceptance of Islam it would be were I to betray my trust".

Ibn Hishām: 'Abd al-Wārith ibn Sa'īd the Tannūrite related to me on the authority of Dāūd ibn Abū Hind from 'Āmir the Sha'bīte much the same as the account of Abū 'Upaidah about Abū 'l-'Ās.

Ibn Hishām : The ransom for the polytheists at that time was from four thousand dirhems to a thousand dirhems per person except those who had nothing and to these the Messenger of Allah showed favour.

The islamization of 'Umais bin Wahb.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad bin Ja'far bin az-Zubair related to me on the authority of 'Urwah bin az-Zubair. He said: 'Umais bin Wahb the Jumahite was sitting with Safwān bin Umaiyah after disaster overtook Quraish at Badr, in the sanctuary at Yasir. 'Umais bin Wahb was one of the satans of Quraish, one of those who wrought harm to the Messenger of Allah and his friends who experienced hardships from him when he was in Mecca. His son Wahb bin 'Umais was amongst the prisoners of Badr.

Ibn Hishām: Rifā'ah bin Rāfi' one of the Beni Zuraiq took him prisoner.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad bin Ja'far bin az-Zubair^{related to me} on the authority of 'Urwah bin az-Zubair. He said: He mentioned the people of the pit and their disaster and Safwān said: "There is no good in living after them".

'Umais said: "You are right! Were it not that I have a debt I have no means of discharging, and a family which I fear would perish after me I would ride up to Muhammad and kill him. I have an excuse against them; my son is a prisoner in their hands". So Safwān took advantage of it and said: "Let your debts be my responsibility; I will settle them for you, and I will make your family sharers with my family for as long as they shall live, and I shall have nothing they lack".

'Umais said to him: "Keep this matter between you and me a secret". He said: "I will do so". Then 'Umais ordered his sword which was sharpened and poisoned for him and he departed and went to Medina. While 'Umar bin al-Khattāb and a few Muslims were discussing the day of Badr, mentioning that wherewith Allah had honoured them, and what He had shown them with regard to their enemies, 'Umar saw 'Umais bin Wahb when he made his camel kneel at the door of the mosque, and his sword was slung around his neck. He said: "This dog is the enemy of Allah, 'Umais bin Wahb and he has only come for some evil. It was he who set us against each other and made an estimate of our numbers for the people on the day of Badr". Then 'Umar went in to the Messenger of Allah and said: "O Messenger of Allah, here is the enemy of Allah 'Umais bin Wahb who has come with sword girt on". He said: "Admit him to me". So 'Umar went up to him

seized the sword-belt round his neck, gripped him by it and said to the Helpers who were with him: "Go in to the Messenger of Allah, sit by him, and guard him from this evil man for he is not to be trusted". Then he took him in to the Messenger of Allah, and when the Messenger of Allah saw him and (saw) 'Umar holding on to his sword-belt, he said "Release him O 'Umar, come near O 'Umar", and he drew near. Then he said: "May you have a happy morning". That was the salutation of the people of the Barbarism. The Messenger of Allah said: "Allah has honoured us with a better salutation than yours, O 'Umar, with peace, the salutation of the people of Paradise". He said: "I swear O Muhammad that if I were to use it, it would indeed be something new". He said: "What brought you, O 'Umar?". He said: "I came about this prisoner who is in your hands, so treat him well". He said: "Then what is the meaning of the sword around your neck?". He said: "May Allah make it the foulest of swords! Has it been of any use?". He said: "Tell me the truth, wherefore did you come?". He said: "I came for nothing but that". He said: "No doubt! Safwān bin Umaiyah and you sat in the enclosure and you mentioned the people of the pit belonging to Quraish, then you said: 'Were it not for a debt of mine and a family I have I would go out and kill Muhammad! So Safwān bin Umaiyah became responsible for your debt and your family on the understanding that you would kill me for him, but Allah is interposing between you and it". 'Umar said: "I testify that thou art the Messenger of Allah. We were in the habit of accusing you of lying about the heavenly tidings you brought us, and the revelation that came down to you. This is an affair at which none were present save Safwān and myself, and I verily know that none other than Allah brought it to you. Praise be to Allah who hath guided me to Islam and led me in this manner". Then he testified the testimony of the truth. The Messenger of Allah said: "Instruct your brother in the faith, recite the Qur'ān to him, and free his prisoner for him", and they did so. Then he said: "O Messenger of Allah, verily I was striving to extinguish the light of Allah, with grievous harm to those who followed the religion of Allah, to Whom belong power and glory, and I would be pleased if you would grant me permission to return to Mecca, to call them to Allah, to His Messenger, and to Islam; perhaps Allah will guide them. If that may not be, I shall have done them harm in their religion just as I used to do your friends harm in their religion".

So the Messenger of Allah gave him permission and he returned to Mecca. When 'Umair bin Wahb went away Safwān said: "Rejoice in an event which will happen to you in a few days now which will cause you to forget what happened at Badr". Safwān was asking the travellers about him and when a certain traveller came he told him of his islamization, and he swore he would neither speak to him nor do him a favour again.

Ibn Ishāq: When 'Umair returned to Mecca he remained there issuing the call to Islam and working grievous harm to those who opposed him and through him many people islamized.

Ibn Ishāq: Either 'Umair bin Wahb or al-Hārith bin Hishām one of whom was mentioned to me as having seen the devil when he turned back on his heels on the day of Badr and said: "Where, O Surāq", and the enemy of Allah lay down flat on the ground and got away. So Allah sent down about him:-

When Satan made their actions appear fine to them and said:
"There is no one among the people to prevail over you to-
day for I am your neighbour. (Sūrah 8: 48).

He mentioned the deception practised on them by the devil and his assumption for them of the form of Surāqah bin Mālīk bin Ju'sham when they mentioned what happened between them and the Beni Bakr bin 'Abd Manāt bin Kinānah in the war which took place between them: Allah says:-

but when the two parties faced each other
and the enemy of Allah saw the angels, the hosts of Allah, by means of which Allah helped His Messenger and the believers against their enemy

he turned back on his heels and said: "Verily I am quit of
you; I see what ye do not see;

The enemy of Allah spoke the truth; he saw what they did not see,
and he said:-

verily I fear Allah for Allah is severe in punishment.
(Sūrah 8: 48)

It was mentioned to me that they were seeing him in every camping-place in the form of Surāqah, they do not deny it, and when the day of Badr came and the two companies met, he turned back on his heels; he brought them there and then betrayed them.

Ibn Hishām: Nakas means 'he turned back'.

Mention of the descent of the Chapter of the Spoils.

Ibn Ishāq: When the affair of Badr was over, Allah sent down part of the Qur'ān, to wit, "The Spoils", in its entirety. Part of what He sent down about their disagreement over the spoil when they disagreed about it (is the following):-

They will ask thee about the spoils; say: "The spoils belong to Allah and the messenger; so act piously toward Allah and set right what is between you; obey Allah and His messenger if ye be believers.

According to what I heard, when 'Ubadah bin as-Sāmit was asked about "The Spoils" he said: "It came down about us, the people of Badr, when we disagreed about the spoils on the day of Badr, and Allah took it out of our hands, when our tempers grew hot over it, and gave them to His messenger who divided them equally amongst us. (He says: In fairness And therein was there piety towards Allah, obedience to Him and His messenger, and the restoration of concord.

Then he mentioned the people and their marching with the Messenger of Allah when they recognised that Quraish had marched out to meet them. They went out merely in search of the caravan in their desire for spoil. He said:-

As thy Lord caused thee to go forth from thy house by the truth although part of the believers were averse Disputing with thee as to the truth after it had become clear, as if they were being driven forth to death with their eyes open

That is: Aversion to meeting the enemy, and disapproval of the expedition against Quraish when they were mentioned to them

When Allah was promising you that one of the two parties should be yours, and ye were wishing that the one without armed protection might be yours;

That is: The spoils without the fight

but Allah was intending to verify the truth in His own words, and completely overthrow the unbelievers

That is: By the happening which befell the war-lords and leaders of Quraish on the day of Badr.

When ye were calling upon your Lord for help,

That is: (referring) to their prayer when they saw the multitude of their enemies and their own fewness in numbers

and He responded to you

To the prayer of the Messenger of Allah and to your prayer

"I am going to reinforce you with a thousand of the angels as auxiliaries

When He was causing languor to envelop you as a security from Himself

That is: I sent down to you security so that you slept without fear and sending down upon you water from the heaven

Referring to the rain which fell upon them that night which hampered the polytheists from getting to the water and left the way to it open for the Muslims

to purify you thereby, and take away from you the pollution of Satan, and that He might gird up your hearts and thereby set firm your feet

That is: That He might take away from you Satan's doubt, (referring to) his making them afraid of their enemies and the making firm for them the earth so that they got to their encampment ahead of their enemies.

Then He said:-

When thy Lord revealed to the angels: "Verily I am with you, so set firm those who have believed

That is: Strengthen those who have believed

I shall cast terror into the hearts of those who have disbelieved, so smite above the necks and smite of them every finger".

That is because they broke with Allah and His messenger; if one breaks with Allah and His messenger, verily Allah is severe in punishment.

Then he said:-

O ye who have believed, when ye meet those who have disbelieved moving into battle turn them not your backs Whoever turns his back to them then unless it be swerving to a fight or to make his way to a company shall incur wrath from Allah and his resort is Gehenna - a bad destination

That is: By way of incitement for them against their enemies lest they should shrink from them when they met them when Allah had promised them what He had promised them. Then He said about the Messenger of Allah throwing pebbles at them when he threw them:-

When thou didst throw it was not thou but Allah who threw

That is: That did not take place by your throwing had it not been for the help which Allah gave you in it and what He cast into the breasts of the enemy when Allah put them to flight

that He might cause the believers to experience some good from Himself

That is: That He might make the believers know that His favour was

was upon them in granting them victory over their foes in spite of the fewness of their numbers, that therein they might recognise His truth and render thanks for His favour. Then He said:-

If ye ask for an issue, the issue has come to you
That is: In reference to the saying of Abū Jahl: "O Allah, he has made us sever the relationship and brought us that which we do not recognise, humiliate him in the morning. Al-istiftāh means impartiality in prayer. He says:-

if you desist

That is: To Quraish

it will be better for you; if ye return, we shall return

That is: With the same kind of calamity as that wherewith we smote you at Badr

and your company will not avail you, even though it be numerous; verily Allah is with the believers

That is: The greatness of your numbers will avail you nothing, for Allah is with the believers; I will help them against those who oppose them. Then He said:-

O ye who have believed, obey Allah and His messenger and turn not away from him even while ye hear

That is: Do not disobey His command even while you hear His words and claim that you belong to Him

Be not like those who said: "We have heard", though they were not hearing

That is: Like the hypocrites who were manifesting obedience to him and concealing disobedience to him.

Verily the worst of beasts in Allah's eyes are the deaf and dumb who do not understand

That is: The hypocrites, whom I have forbidden you to be like, dumb to good, deaf to the truth, they do not understand: they do not realise the punishment and the penalty that will come on them on that account

If Allah had known any good in them, He would have made them hear

That is: He would have brought home to them what they said with their tongues but their hearts would have kept that back from them

but if He had made them hear they would have turned away averting themselves

Had they gone out with you they would not have fulfilled to you anything of what they set out to do.

O ye who have believed, respond to Allah and to the messenger when he calls you to what will give you life

That is: To the war in which Allah strengthened you after being of no account, and gave you power after weakness and defended you from your enemy after they had subdued you.

Remember when ye were few and downtrodden in the land, and feared that the people would forcibly carry you off, but He gave you refuge and supported you by His help, and provided you with good things; perhaps ye might be thankful
O ye who have believed, do not be unfaithful to Allah and the messenger and be not unfaithful to your trusts when ye know

That is: Do not display to him as much of the truth as would please him and then go over secretly to another in his absence; that would be to destroy your trusts and betray yourselves.

O ye who have believed, if ye show piety towards Allah, He will appoint for you a furqan²⁶, and will absolve you from your evil deeds and will forgive you; verily Allah is the possessor of great bounty.

That is: Dividing between truth and error, Allah manifests thereby your truth and extinguishes the error of those who oppose you. Then He reminds the Messenger of Allah of His favour towards him when the people were plotting against him to slay him, or bring him to a halt, or exile him:

They were plotting and Allah was plotting, but Allah is the best of the plotters

That is: I plotted against them with my strong stratagem till I had saved you from them. Then he mentioned the deceit of Quraish and their seeking for help against themselves:

When they said: "O Allah, if this be the truth from Thee, rain upon us stones from the heaven

as Thou didst rain them on the people of Lot

or come to us with a painful punishment

That is: Some of the things wherewith Thou didst punish the nations before us, and they were saying: "Verily Allah will not punish us while we are asking for pardon, and He will not punish a nation while its prophet is with it until he expel him from it. That was what they said when the Messenger of Allah was in their midst. So he said to His prophet, mentioning their ignorance, their deceit, and their seeking help against themselves, when he reproached them for the evil of their deeds:-

But Allah was not one to punish them whilst thou wert

amongst them, nor was Allah going to punish them while they were asking for pardon

That is: In reference to their words: "Verily we are asking for forgiveness while Muhammad is in our midst". Then He said:-

But what have they got that Allah should not punish them even if thou wert in their midst and even if they were asking for pardon as they say

when they are deharring (people) from the Sacred Mosque
That is: Those who believe in Allah and worship Him; that is, you, and those who have followed you

when they were not its protectors, for it is only the pious who are its protectors

Those who preserve its inviolability and perform the Prayer at it; that is, you, and those who have believed in you

but most of them do not know
And their prayer at the House

by which they claim that they are protected for them

was nothing but whistling and clapping of hands;

Ibn Hishām: Al-makā' is whistling, and at-Tasdiyah is clapping.

'Antarah bin 'Amr bin Shaddād the 'Absite said:-

Many an opponent have I left lying on the ground
His artery whistling like the split-lipped camel

He refers to the sound of the blood spurting forth from the wound as if it were whistling. This stanza is in a poem of his. At-Tarimmāh bin Hakīm the Tā'ite said:-

Whenever she is frightened she has a whistle and a silence
On the summit of the two mountains of Shamām which look out on each other.

This stanza is in a poem of his. He means the mountain-goat and says that when she is frightened she beats the rock with her fore-foot and then remains motionless listening. Her beating of the rock with her hoof is like clapping. Al-Musdān means the safe refuge and Abnā Shamām are two mountains.

Ibn Ishāq: That is something not pleasing to Allah, something He does not like; it is not what He has laid upon them, nor what He has commanded them to do:

Taste then the punishment for the unbelief ye have been showing

That is: In reference to the slaughter He brought upon them on the day of Badr.

Ibn Ishāq: Yahya bin 'Abbād bin 'Abdallah bin az-Zubair related to me on the authority of his father 'Abbād from 'Ā'ishah. She said:

"There was only a short time between the coming down of:-

O thou who art enwrapped in garments (Sūrah 73: 1)
and the saying of Allah in it:-

Leave Me with those who count it false, though they are
prosperous and give them respite a little
Lo, we have at hand chains and a Hot Place
And food that chokes and a punishment painful,
(Sūrah 73: 11- 13).

till Allah smote Quraish with the disaster of the day of Badr.

Ibn Hishām: Al-Ankāl means fetters : its singular is Nikl. Ru'bah bin al-'Ajāj said:-

Sufficient for thee is my chain (which holds) the
injustice of every chain.

This stanza is in a short-metre poem of his.

Ibn Ishāq: Then He said:-

Those who have disbelieved are contributing their wealth
to debar (people) from the way of Allah, and will go on
doing so, then it will be a grief to them and then they
will be overcome.
But those who have disbelieved will be gathered together
into Gehenna.

He refers to the group who went to Abū Sufyān and to the Quraishites
who had goods in that mercantile expedition and asked them to
strengthen them to fight the Messenger of Allah, which they did.
Then He said:-

Say to those who have disbelieved: "If they desist, what
is past will be forgiven them, but if they return
to fight you

the custom of the ancients is past

That is: Those of them who were slain on the day of Badr. Then He
said)-

Fight them till there is no dissension and the religion is
entirely Allah's

That is: Till no believer shall be seduced from his religion and the
recognition of the Unity of Allah is absolute without any partner, and
all the equals that exist apart from Him are repudiated.

if they desist, Allah is observant of what they do
But if they turn away

From thy affair to the unbelief which they follow

verily Allah is your patron

Who gave you power and helped you against them on the day of Badr
in spite of thier great numbers and your small numbers

What an excellent patron! what an excellent helper!

Then He told them how to divide the spoil and gave them regulations
about it when He made it allowable for them, and said:-

And know that if ye take anything as spoil - that to
Allah belongs a fifth of it, and to the messenger, and
to the relatives, the orphans, the poor, and the wayfarer,
if ye have believed in Allah, and in what We sent down
to our servant, on the day of the furqān, the day the
two parties met; Allah hath power over everything.

That is: The day on which I separated truth from error by My power;
the day on which the two parties met, one from you and the other from
them:

When ye were on the nearer eminence
of the valley

and they were on the farther one
toward Mecca

and the caravan below you

That is: The caravan of Abū Sufyān which you went out to capture and
they went out to defend without any intention of meeting either on
their part or yours.

if ye had made an appointment(to fight)ye would have failed
to keep it

That is: Had that been by appointment either on their part or yours,
and you had heard of their great numbers in comparison with your own
small numbers you would not have met them.

but (the fight took place) that Allah might carry out an
affair which was destined to come to pass

That is: That Allah might carry out the strengthening of Islam and
its people which He had willed by His power, and the humiliation of
unbelief and its people without any deliberation on your part; He
did what He willed in His kindness. Then He said:-

That those who perished might perish because of an
Evidence and that those who remained alive might remain
alive because of an Evidence; verily Allah is one who
hears and knows

That is: That those who disbelieved might disbelieve after the
argument notwithstanding the sign and example which they saw, and

that those who believed might believe for the same reason. Then He mentioned His kindness and His artifice toward him and said:-

When Allah caused thee to see them in thy dream as few in number; if He had caused thee to see them as numerous, ye would have been fainthearted and vied with each other in withdrawing from the affair, but Allah kept (you) sound, He knoweth what is in the breasts.

That which Allah showed him was one of His favours to them, by which He encouraged them against the enemy, and drove away from them that weakness of which they were afraid, because of His knowledge of what was among them.

When He caused you to see them when ye met as few in your eyes, and made you few in their eyes that Allah might carry out an affair which was destined to come to pass.

That is: That He might bring them together in battle, so that He might take vengeance on whomsoever He willed to take vengeance, and and bestow favour on those of the people near to Him on whom He willed to bestow favour. Then he exhorted them, explained to them, and taught them how they should behave in battle, and said:-

O ye who have believed, when ye meet a party
whom ye are fighting in (the way of) Allah
stand firm and call Allah to mind
to Whom you have devoted yourselves and (remember to) fulfil to Him
the pledge you have given Him

perhaps ye will succeed
Obey Allah and His messenger and vie not with each other
in withdrawing so that ye become fainthearted

That is: Do not differ and your affair be divided
and your success go

That is: And your courage go.
but endure patiently, verily Allah is with those who
patiently endure

That is: Verily I am with you if you do that.

And do not be like those who went out from their houses
in insolences and ostentation

That is: Be not like Abū Jahl and his friends who said: "We will not return till we go to Badr, make sacrifices there, drink wine, and the dancing-girls make music for us, and the Arabs hear of us". That is: Let not your affair be ostentatious or noised abroad, and let there be no seeking for what people have. Make sincere your intent toward Allah and be satisfied with helping your religion and aiding

your prophet. Work only for that and seek nothing else. Then He said:†

When Satan made their actions appear fine to them and said:
"There is no one among the people to prevail over you to-day.

Ibn Hishām: The interpretation of this verse has already been given

Ibn Ishāq: Then Allah mentioned the unbelievers and what they encounter at death; He gives a description of them and tells His prophet about them and then says:-

If thou comest upon them in war , then by their fate
scatter in fright those who are behind them, mayhap they
will take warning

That is: Inflict a punishment on them which will be an example to
those who are behind them, perhaps they will have sense.

Prepare for them whatsoever force and cavalry ye are able
to (muster) to overawe thereby the enemy of Allah and
your enemy

down to His saying:-

Whatever ye contribute in the cause of Allah will be paid
in full, and ye will not be wronged

That is: The reward of Allah will not be lost to you in the Hereafter
and it is hasting after him in this life. Then He says:-

If they are inclined to make peace, incline thou to it,

That is: If they call on you for peace on the basis of Islam make peace
with them on this basis

and set thy trust upon Allah

That Allah is sufficient for thee

verily He is the Hearer, the Knower.

Ibn Hishām: Janahū lissilm means 'to incline towards thee for peace'.

Al-Junūh means 'The inclination'. Labīd bin Rabī'ah said:-

The bending of the blacksmith over his hands
As he leans over to polish the rust from the blade

This stanza is in a poem of his. He means the polisher who is bending
down over his work. An-Nuqab is the rust on the sword-blade; yajtali
means 'he polishes the sword'. As-Salm also means 'peace'. In the
Book of Allah (it is said):-

So do not grow faint and call for peace seeing ye have the
upper hand. (Surah 47: 35).

It is also read as 'ila 's-Silm' with the same meaning. Zuhair bin
Abu Sulma said:-

You two have that if we attain a peace which is comprehensive
With wealth and kind words, we will be safe.

This stanza is in a poem of his.

Ibn Hishām: I heard on the authority of al-Hasan bin Abū 'l-Hasan of Bosrah that he said: And if they are inclined to make peace (refers) to Islam. In the Book of Allah (it is said):-

O ye who have believed, enter into the bond of peace altogether (Sūrah 2: 208).

It is also read as as-Salm which is Islam. Umaiyyah bin Abū 's-Salt said:

They did not return to the ways of peace when the messengers of Allah warned them nor did they give them their support

This stanza is in a poem of his. The Arabs call a bucket which is made elongated 'salm'. Tarafah bin al-'Abd one of the Beni Qais bin Tha'labah said in description of a camel of his:-

She has two ^{elbow} joints set far apart like as if you were to pass the two buckets of the water-carrier as he holds them away from himself.

It is also given as 'Dālij'. This stanza is in a poem of his

If they intend to outwit thee, then what thou hast to count upon is Allah,

He is behind that

Who hath aided thee with His help

after weakness

and with the believers and hath knit their hearts together on the basis of the guidance with which He sent you to them

if thou hadst expended all that is in the earth thou wouldst not have knit their hearts together, but Allah hath knit them

by His religion by means of which He gathered them together

verily He is mighty, wise.

Then He said:-

O prophet, what thou hast to count upon is Allah and the believers who follow thee

O prophet, stir up the believers to fight: "If there be twenty of you who endure, they will overcome two hundred, and if there be a hundred of you they will overcome a thousand of those who have disbelieved, because they are a people of no intelligence

That is: They do not fight with resolution or for right or with the knowledge of what is right and what wrong.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Najīh ^{related to me} on the authority of 'Atā' bin

Abū Ribāh from 'Abdallah bin 'Abbās. He said: When this verse came down it was hard for the Muslims and they thought it a big thing that twenty should fight two hundred and a hundred should fight a thousand, so Allah made it lighter for them and another verse abrogated it, and He said:-

Now Allah hath made it lighter for you and knoweth that there is weakness among you; so, "If there be a hundred of you who endure they shall overcome two hundred, and if there be a thousand of you, they shall overcome two thousand, by the permission of Allah;

If then, they were in the vicinity of the enemy there was no need for them to flee from them, and if they were nearer they were not obliged to fight them, it was permissible for them to wriggle away from them.

Ibn Ishāq: Then he rebuked him about the prisoners and the taking of spoils. None of the prophets before him had partaken of the spoils of his enemy.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad bin 'Alī bin al-Husain related to me. He said: The Messenger of Allah said: "I was rendered victorious by the terror; the earth was made for me into places of worship and holy places; I was given the collections of sayings; spoils which were not made allowable to any prophet before me were made allowable to me; I have been granted intercession; a fifth which no prophet before me got".

Ibn Ishāq: He said:-

It was not for a prophet

That is: Before thee

to have prisoners

from his enemy

so as to cause havoc in the land

That is: He treats his enemy with harshness and exiles him from the land

ye desire the chance gains of this world

That is: The goods and ransom from the capture of men

but Allah desires the Hereafter

That is: To slay them to manifest the religion He desires to manifest by which you attain to the Hereafter.

Had it not been for a book from Allah which preceded there would have come upon you in regard to what ye have taken

That is: Of captives and spoils

a terrible punishment.

That is: Had it not preceded from Me that I do not punish till after the prohibition, and he had not forbidden them, I would surely have (have) punished you for what you did. Then in mercy He made it allowable for him and for them as help from the Merciful the Compassionate.

He said:-

So eat of the spoil ye have taken as permissible and good and show piety towards Allah; Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

Then He said:

O prophet, say to the prisoners who are in your hands: "If Allah knoweth any good in your hearts, He will give you something better than what has been taken from you and will forgive you; Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

Then he stimulated the Muslims to form friendships with each other and he made the Emigres and the Helpers the next-of-kin in religion apart from all others and he made the unbelievers patrons of one another, then He said:-

Unless ye do this, there will be dissension in the land and great corruption

That is: Unless the believer protects the believer apart from the unbeliever even though he be near of kin to him, there will be dissension in the land; that is, doubt about truth and error, and (there will be) corruption in the land through the friendship of the believer and the unbeliever apart from the believer. Then he restored the inheritances to the relatives of those who islamized after the creation of the kinship between the Emigres and the Helpers apart from them - to the relatives who were amongst them and said:-

Those who have believed afterwards and have migrated and striven along with you belong to you; but those who are related in blood are nearer to each other in the Book of Allah

That is: In inheritance

verily Allah knoweth everything.

Lists of names and poetry connected with

Badr omitted .

The raid on the Beni Sulaim in al-Kudr.

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah returned to Medina he stayed in it but seven nights till he led in person a raid against the Beni Sulaim.

Ibn Hishām: He appointed either Sibā' bin 'Urfatah the Ghifarite

or Ibn Umm Naktūn as governor of Medina.

Ibn Ishāq: He reached one of their water-spots called al-Kudr and stayed there three nights after which he returned to Medina without meeting opposition. He stayed there for the remainder of Shawwāl and Dhū 'l-Qa'dah, and during that stay of his most of the prisoners of Quraish were ransomed.

The Raid of the Meal-Bags.

Abū Muhammad 'Abd al-Malik bin Nishām related to us. He said: Zeiād bin 'Abdallah the Bukkā'ite related to us on the authority of Muhammad bin Ishāq the Muttalabite. He said: Then Abū Sufyān bin Harb made the raid of the Meal-Bags in Dhū al-Rijjah. The polytheists were in control of the Pilgrimage that year. According to what Muhammad bin Ja'far bin az-Zubair, Yazīd bin Rūmān, and another who is above suspicion, related to me, on the authority of 'Abdallah bin Ka'b bin Mālik, who was one of the most scholarly of the Helpers, when Abū Sufyān returned to Mecca, and the routed Quraishites got back from Badr, he vowed that water would not cleanse his head from ceremonial impurity till he had made a raid on Muhammad. So he set out with two hundred mounted men from Quraish to fulfil his oath and went by way of an-Najd till he reached the mouth of a defile which led to a mountain called Thaib, twelve miles or so from Medina. Then he set out and came to the Beni an-Nadīr under cover of darkness. He went to Huyyay bin Akhtab and knocked at his door but he refused to open the door to him for he feared him. Then he went away from to Sallām bin Mishkam, who was the chieftain of the Beni an-Nadīr at that time and the custodian of the treasury, and asked his permission (to enter) which he granted him. Then he offered him food and drink and gave him inside information about the people. As soon as night was over he went out to his comrades, despatched some men of Quraish who went to a district of it (Medina) called al-'Uraid, and set fire to the palm-groves there. They found one of the Helpers and an ally of his in their corn-lands and killed the pair of them. Then they turned back and the people were on their guard against them.

So the Messenger of Allah went out in search of them and reached Qarqarat al-Kudr and then turned back when Abū Sufyān and his friends had eluded him. They saw some of the people's stores which they had thrown away in the corn-lands to lighten themselves in order to escape.

When the Messenger of Allah brought the Muslims back they said: "O Messenger of Allah, do you desire that there should be a raid on our part?". He said: "Yes". So he appointed Bashīr ibn 'Abd al-Mundhir who was Abū Lubābah governor of Medina, according to what Ibn Hishām says. According to what Abū 'Uḡaidah related to me, it was called 'The Raid of the Meal-Bags' merely because the bulk of the stores that the people threw away consisted of meal. Thus the Muslims secured a large quantity of meal and it was called 'The Raid of the Meal Bags'. Ibn Ishāq: Abū Sufyān ibn Harb on his departure said about what Sallām ibn Mishkam had done for him:-

Verily I chose one from Medina in a sworn compact
And I did not repent neither was I blamed
Sallām ibn Mishkam gave me to drink in my haste
And satisfied me with the red wine
When the army turned away I said - but I did not make him
glad
"Rejoice in a raid and in spoils".
Consider, for the people are pure in their pedigree
They are the choice ones of Lu'ai, there are no mixtures
of Jurhum
He was only a part of the night in the saddle
When he arrived hungry but not in destitution

The raid of Dhū Amarr.

When the Messenger of Allah returned from the Raid of the Meal-bags, he stayed in Medina for the remainder of Dhū 'l-Hijjah, or nearly so. Then he went out on a raid to Najd seeking Ghatafān and this was the raid of Dhū Amarr. He appointed 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān governor of Medina according to what Ibn Hishām says.

Ibn Ishāq: He remained almost the whole of Safar in Najd and then returned to Medina without encountering opposition and stayed there during the month of Rabi' al-Awwal, either the whole of it or almost the whole of it.

The raid of al-Furu' of Bahrān.

Then the Messenger of Allah made a raid in search of Quraish and appointed Ibn Umm Maktūm governor of Medina, according to what Ibn Hishām says.

Ibn Ishāq: He got to Bahrān, a mine in al-Hijāz in the vicinity of al-Furu' and stayed there for the month of Rabi' II and Jumādā I, after which he returned to Medina without meeting the enemy.

The siege of the Beni Qainuqā'.⁸⁷

The affair of the Beni Qainuqā' took place amongst these raid of the Messenger of Allah. The account of the Beni Qainuqā' was that the Messenger of Allah assembled them in their market-place and said: "O Jewish people, beware of a vengeance from Allah similiar to that which came down upon Quraish, and accept Islam, for you know that I am a prophet commissioned; you will find that in your Book and in the covenant of Allah with you". They said: "O Muhammad, you imagine we are your people; let it not deceive you that you met a people who had no knowledge of the ways of war, and you got your opportunity there, but if we go to war with you, you will learn that we are the people".

Ibn Ishāq: A client of the family of Zaid bin Thābit related to me on the authority of Sa'īd bin Jubair or 'Ikrimah from Ibn 'Abbās. He said: "Those verses came down merely in connection with them:-

Say to those who have disbelieved: "Ye will be overthrown and gathered together into Gehenna - a bad bed!"
Ye have already a sign in two parties which met

That is: The men of Badr, the friends of the Messenger of Allah and Quraish

one party fighting in the way of Allah, another unbelieving, who saw them with their eyes twice as many as they were; Allah supporteth with His help whom He willeth; surely in that is a lesson for those who have insight. (Sūrah 3: 12 & 13).

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah related to me that the Beni Qainuqā' were the first Jews to break the treaty that was between them and the Messenger of Allah and went to war in the interval between Badr and Uhud.

He said: Ibn Hishām related to us. He said: 'Abdallah bin Ja'far bin al-Miswar bin Makhramah said on the authority of Abū 'Aun: The affair of the Beni Qainuqā' was that an Arab woman brought an article of hers and sold it in their market-place. She was squatting at a jeweller's place when they began asking her to uncover her face, which she refused to do. Then the jeweller reached for the bottom of her cloak and fastened it to her back and when she stood up she was exposed and they laughed at her. She cried out and one of the Muslims fell on the jeweller and slew him. He was a Jew; so the Jews attacked and killed the Muslim. The family of the Muslim then called upon their fellow-Muslims for help against the Jews, and the Muslims

being enraged, evil (things) happened between them and the "Beni Qainuqā'".

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah related to me. He said: So the Messenger of Allah besieged them till they accepted his jurisdiction. Then when Allah had put them within his power, 'Abdallah bin Ubai bin Salūl went to him and said: "O Muhammad, treat my clients well". They were allies of the Khazraj. But the Messenger of Allah was long (in answering him), so he said: "O Muhammad, treat my clients well". Then he turned away from him but he put his hand in the collar of the Messenger of Allah's coat of mail.

Ibn Hishām: It was called 'Dhāt al-Fudūl'.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah said to him: "Let me alone!", and the Messenger of Allah grew angry till they saw shadows on his face and said: "Let me alone!". He said: "No, indeed I will not let you go till you treat my clients well; four hundred of them without armour and three hundred clad in mail who have defended me from red and black, and you would mow them down in one morning. I am a man who fears the turns of fortune". Then the Messenger of Allah said: "They are yours".

Ibn Hishām: The Messenger of Allah appointed Bashīr bin 'Abd al-Mundhir governor of Medina while he was besieging them, and the siege lasted fifteen days.

Ibn Ishāq: My father Ishāq bin Yasar related to me on the authority of 'Ubādah bin al-Walīd bin 'Ubādah bin as-Sāmit. He said: When the Beni Qainuqā' fought with the Messenger of Allah, 'Abdallah bin Ubai bin Salūl made common cause with them and took their part, but 'Ubādah bin as-Sāmit went to the Messenger of Allah. He was one of the "Beni 'Auf with whom they had a treaty similar to that which they had with 'Abdallah bin Ubai, and he repudiated them before the Messenger of Allah and cleared himself before Allah and His messenger of his treaty with them, and said: "O Messenger of Allah, I have made Allah, His Messenger, and the believers my friends and I clear myself of the treaty and friendship with these unbelievers". So there came down this passage from "The Table" about him and 'Abdallah bin Ubai :-

O ye who have believed, do not choose Jews and Christians as friends; they are friends to one another; whoever makes friends of them is one of them; verily Allah guideth not the people who do wrong.

You see those in whose hearts is disease
That is: 'Abdallah bin Ubai and his saying, 'I fear the turns of
fortune'

running amongst them, saying: "We fear a turn of fortune
may befall us; but perhaps Allah will bring the issue, or
some affair from Himself, and they will become repentant
on account of what they have concealed within themselves

Then (follows) the story down to His saying:-

Your friend is simply Allah and His messenger and those
who have believed, who observe the Prayer and pay the
Zakat and who bow (in worship)

That was in reference to the friendship of 'Ubadah bin as-Samit
towards Allah and His messenger and those who believed, and his
clearing himself of the Beni Qainuqa' and their treaty and friendship

Whosoever makes friends of Allah and His messenger and
those who have believed - the party of Allah are the
conquerors. (Sūrah 5: 51 - 56).

The raiding party of Zaid bin Harithah (which went to) al-Qaradah.

Ibn Ishāq: Also the raiding party of Zaid bin Harithah of which the
Messenger of Allah put him in charge when he seized a caravan
belonging to Quraish in which was Abū Sufyān at al-Qaradah, one of the
water-spots of Najd. The account of it is that Quraish were afraid
of the route by which they were travelling to Syria after what had
happened at Badr, so they went by the route to Iraq. Some of their
merchants, amongst whom was Abū Sufyān bin Harb, who had a great
quantity of silver with him, set out. It was the main part
of their trade and they hired a man of Bakr bin Wā'il called
Furāt bin Hayyān to guide them on that route.

Ibn Hishām: Furāt bin Hayyān was from the Beni 'Ijl, ally of the Beni
Sahm.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah sent Zaid bin Harithah and he met
them at that water-spot and seized the caravan with all that was in it,
but he was unable to capture the men, and he brought it to the
Messenger of Allah. Hassān bin Thābit said after Uhud about the raid
of the second Badr in reproof of Quraish for having taken that route:-

Leave the streams of Syria - fighting has intervened
Like the mouth of pregnant camels which pasture on
the Arak tree

In the hands of men who have migrated to their Lord
And His Helpers in truth, and the hands of the angels
If they traverse the depression by way of the sandy beds
Say to them: "The route lies not there".

Ibn Hishām: These stanzas occur in some stanzas belonging to Hassān which Abū Sufyān ibn al-Hārith ibn al-Muttalib refuted, and we shall mention them and their refutation in due course, if Allah wills.

The killing of Ka'b ibn al-Ashraf.

Ibn Ishāq: The story of Ka'b ibn al-Ashraf was that when the men of Badr were smitten and Zaid ibn Hārithah came to the people of the lower town and 'Abdallh ibn Rawāhah came to the people of the upper town - as the bearers of the good news whom the Messenger of Allah had sent to announce to the Muslims in Medina the good news of the victory which Allah had granted him, and the slaughter of those polytheists who were slain - according to what 'Abdallah ibn al-Mughīth ibn Abū Burdah the Zafrite and 'Abdallah ibn Abū Bakr ibn Muhammad ibn Hazm ibn Abu Bakr and 'Āsim ibn 'Umar ibn Qatādah and Sālih ibn Abū Umāmah ibn Sahl related to me. Each of them related to me part of his story. They said: Ka'b who was a man of Tayy' and one of the sub-tribe of the Beni Nabhān and his mother was from the Beni an-Nadīr said when he heard the news: "Is this the truth? Do you think Muhammad has slain those whose names these two men have mentioned? - meaning Zaid and 'Abdallah ibn Rawāhah - for these are the nobility of the Arabs and kings among men, and if Muhammad has indeed smitten these men, it were better to be inside the earth than on its face". When the enemy of Allah confirmed the news he set out, came to Mecca, and stayed with al-Muttalib ibn Abū Wadā'ah ibn Dubairah the Sahmite who had 'Ātikah bint Abū 'l-'Is ibn Umayyah ibn 'Abd Shams ibn 'Abd Manāf. She treated him as an honoured guest and he began to incite people against the Messenger of Allah and recite poetry and weep for the men of the Pit belonging to Quraish who had been killed at Badr.

Poetry omitted.

Then Ka'b ibn al-Ashraf returned to Medina and he composed amatory sonnets on Muslim women so that he did them harm. Then the Messenger of Allah said, according to what 'Abdallah ibn al-Mughīth ibn al-Burdah related to me: "Who will be my helper against Ibn al-Ashraf?". So Muhammad ibn Maslamah, brother of the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal said to him: "I will be your helper O Messenger of Allah, I will slay him".

He said: "Do so if you are able". Then Muhammad ibn Maslamah went back and spent three days without eating or drinking anything but what kept him alive. The Messenger of Allah was told of this, and he called him and said to him: "Why have you left off eating and drinking? He said: "O Messenger of Allah, I have given you my word and I do not know whether I can fulfil it or not". He said: "All you have to do is to make the effort". He said: "O Messenger of Allah, verily we must needs speak". He said: "Say what seems good to you, for you are allowed to do that". Then Muhammad ibn Maslamah, Silkān ibn Salāmah, ibn Waqsh, who was Abū Nā'ilah, one of the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal, and a foster-brother of Ka'b ibn al-Ashraf, 'Abbād ibn Bishr ibn Waqsh, one of the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal, al-Hārith ibn Aus ibn Mu'ādh, one of the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal, and Abū 'Abs ibn Jabr, one of the Beni Hārithah agreed to kill him. Then they sent Silkān ibn Salāmah Abū Nā'ilah ahead of them to the enemy of Allah Ibn al-Ashraf before they came to him. He came and conversed with him for an hour, and they recited poetry, and Abū Nā'ilah was a poet, then he said: "Out upon you O Ibn al-Ashraf! I have come about something which I want to mention to you, but keep it a secret for me". He said: "I will". He said: "This man's arrival amongst us was a great calamity; through him the Arabs have become our enemies and have shot us with a single bow; the roads are closed to us so that families are in straits; people are in difficulties; we have fallen into distress and so have our families". Ka'b said: "I am Ibn al-Ashraf, but I have told you O Ibn Salāmah that the affair will grow to what I have predicted". Silkān said to him: "Verily I wished that you would sell us food and we will give you our pledge and bind ourselves to you and you will do well in it". He said: "Will you pledge me your sons?". He said: "You want to put us to shame. I have friends of mine who are of my opinion and I want to bring them to you, so that you may sell to them and do well out of it and you will pledge you the payment there is in arms". Silkān wished that he should accept the arms when they brought them. He said: "In arms there is guarantee". Then Silkān went back to his confederates gave them his news, and commanded them to take their arms and go and gather together to him. So they gathered at the house of the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Hishām: It is said that he said: "Will you pledge me your wives?".

He said: "How shall we pledge you our wives when you are the most amorous and best-perfumed of the inhabitants of Yathrib?" He said: "Will you pledge me your sons?"

Ibn Ishāq: Thaur bin Yazīd related to me on the authority of 'Ikrimah from Ibn 'Abbās. He said: The Messenger of Allah went with them to Baqī' al-Gharqad, put them on their way and said: "Go in the name of Allah! O Allah, help them!". Then the Messenger of Allah went back to his house. It was a moonlight night and they went on till they came to his fortress. Abū Nā'ilah called out to him - he was but newly married - and he leapt up in his bed sheet and his wife seized the edge of it and said: "You are a warrior, and men of war do not arrive at this hour". He said: "Verily it is Abū Nā'ilah; if he had found me sleeping he would not have wakened me". She said: "Verily I recognise evil in his voice". Ka'b said to her: "If the youth is called to a spear-thrust he would respond". So he went down and conversed with them for an hour and they with him. Then they said: "O Ibn al-Ashraf, have you a mind to walk to the ravine of the old woman and talk there for the rest of the night". He said: "If you so desire", so they set out walking together. When they had walked for an hour, Abū Nā'ilah buried his hand in the locks of his head, smelt his hand and said: "I have never seen as I have to-night sweeter perfume". Then he walked for an hour and repeated the action and he was at his ease. Then he walked for an hour and repeated the action, and then seized the locks of his head and said: "Smite the enemy of Allah". So they smote him, but their swords got in each other's way and were of no use. Muhammad bin Maslamah said: "Then I remembered a knife on my sword when I realised our swords were no use and I took it". The enemy of Allah uttered such a cry that there was not a single stronghold round us that did not show a light. Then I plunged it in his lower abdomen and pressed upon it till I reached his pelvis and the enemy of Allah fell. Al-Hārith bin Aus bin Mu'adh was wounded either in the head or foot; one of our swords had struck him. Then we set out and passed by the Beni Umaliyyah bin Zaid and the Beni Qurathah, then by Bu'ath, and ascended the stony tract of al-'Uraid. Our friend al-Hārith bin Aus delayed us; he was weakened with loss of blood, and we waited an hour for him till he came up with us following in our tracks. Then we carried him and brought him to the Messenger

of Allah in the latter part of the night, as he was standing praying. We greeted him and he came out to us and we told him of the killing of the enemy of Allah, and he spat^{ed} on the wound of our comrade and we returned to our families. When morning came the Jews were afraid because we had fallen on the enemy of Allah; there was not a Jew there who was not afraid for himself.

Poetry omitted.

The affair of Muhayyisah and Huwayyisah.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah had said: "Kill whomever of the Jews you get within your power". So Muhaisah bin Mas'ūd (Ibn Hishām: Mahīṣah, also given as Muhayyisah bin Mas'ūd bin Ka'b bin 'Amr bin 'Adi bin Majda'ah bin Hārithah bin al-Hārith bin al-Khazraj bin 'Amr bin Mālik bin al-Aus) attacked Ibn Sunainah (Ibn Hishām: He is also given as Ibn Subainah) a Jewish merchant who had close connections with them and was in treaty with them, and killed him. When that took place Huwayyisah bin Mas'ūd had not accepted Islam, and he was older than Muhayyisah. When he slew him, Huwayyisah began to beat him and say: "O enemy of Allah, have you slain him? Surely the fruit juice in your stomach comes from his property". Muhayyisah said: "You have spoken (truly), but a certain one commanded me to kill him, and if he had commanded me to kill you, I would have struck off your head". That was the beginning of the islamization of Huwayyisah. He said: "Is it indeed so that if Muhammad had ordered you to kill me you would have done it?". He said: "Yes, if he had ordered me to strike off your head I would have done it". He said: "Verily a religion which has brought you to this is most extraordinary", and Huwayyisah islamized.

Ibn Ishāq: A client of the Beni Hārithah related this story to me on the authority of the daughter of Muhayyisah from her father Muhayyisah. Muhayyisah said about that:-

My brother would find fault, were I commanded to slay him
I would sever his ear-bone with a sharp sword
A cutting blade like the colour of salt whose polish
is genuine
Whenever I direct it it does not err
It would not have pleased me to slay thee in obedience
Even though we had all between Bosrah and Ma'rib.

Ibn Hishām: Abū 'Upaidah related to me on the authority of Abū 'Amr

of Medina. He said: When the Messenger of Allah conquered the Beni Quraithah he took (prisoner) about four hundred men of the Jews who were allies of the Aus against the Khazraj. The Messenger of Allah ordered that they should be beheaded and the Khazraj began to behead them, and that gave them pleasure. The Messenger of Allah looked at the Khazraj (and saw) their faces full of joy. He then looked at the Aus and saw no joy there and he supposed that was because of the treaty that was in existence between the Aus and the Beni Quraithah; so when there only twelve men of the Beni Quraithah left he handed them over to the Aus, to each two men of the Aus he handed over one man of the Beni Quraithah and said: "Let So-and-so smite him, and let So-and-so finish him off. Amongst those whom he handed over to them was Ka'b bin Yahūdḥā who was a great man among the Beni Quraithah. He handed him over to Muḥayyisāh bin Mas'ūd and Abū Burdah bin Niyār. It was Abū Burdah to whom the Messenger of Allah gave license to sacrifice a lamb of the flock at ^{the feast of} al-Adḥā. He said: "Let Muḥayyisāh strike him and let Abū Burdah finish him off". So Muḥayyisāh struck him a blow which did not inflict a wound and Abū Burdah finished him off by giving him the last stroke. Muḥayyisāh who was an unbeliever said to his brother Muḥayyisāh: "Did you slay Ka'b bin Yahūdḥā?" He said: "Yes". Muḥayyisāh said: "How much fat has grown in your belly because of his wealth! verily you are base, O Muḥayyisāh". Muḥayyisāh said to him: "One commanded me to kill him, and if he had commanded me to kill you I would have done it! He was amazed at his words and went away from him astounded. They say that he began to lie awake at night wondering at the words of his brother Muḥayyisāh till morning came. Then he said: "This is indeed a religion", and he went to the prophet and islamized, and Muḥayyisāh recited in that connection the stanzas we have recorded.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah stayed (in Medina) after his return from Bahrān Jumādā II Rajab, Sha'bān, and the month of Ramadān, and Quraish made the expedition of Uhud against him in Shawwāl of year three.

The story of the Affair of Uhud.

The affair of Uhud (was as follows) according to what Muḥammad bin Muslim the Zuhrite, Muḥammad bin Yahya bin Ḥabbān, 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah, al-Ḥusain bin 'Abd ar-Raḥmān bin 'Amr bin Sa'd bin

Mu'adh and other scholars related to me. Each of them gave me a part of the story of the day of Uhud, and all their accounts are collated in this account of the day of Uhud which I am giving. They said, or whoever of them said it:

When the unbelievers of Quraish the people of the pit had been smitten on the day of Badr, and their routed army had returned to Mecca, and Abū Sufyān bin Harb had brought back his caravan, 'Abdallah bin Abu Rabī'ah, 'Ikrimah bin Abū Jahl and Safwān bin Umaiyah went with some people of Quraish whose fathers and sons had been slain on the day of Badr and spoke to Abū Sufyān bin Harb and those who had merchandise in that caravan. They said: "O people of Quraish, verily Muhammad ^{has} done you wrong (or has incurred the price of blood) and has slain your choice men, so help us with these goods to make war on him; perhaps we will get revenge on him for those of us who have been slain", and they did so.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what one of the scholars told me, Allah sent down about them:-

Those who have disbelieved are contributing their wealth to debar(people) from the way of Allah, and will go on doing so, but then it will be a grief to them and then they will be overcome

But those who have disbelieved will be gathered together to Gehenna. (Surah 8:36).

When Abū Sufyān and the owners of the caravan did that, Quraish resolved to fight the Messenger of Allah with contingents from various tribes and the tribes of Kinānah and the inhabitants of Tihāmah who acknowledged their suzerainty. The Messenger of Allah had conferred a favour on Abū 'Azzah 'Amr bin 'Abdallah the Jumahite on the day of Badr. He was a poor man, the father of a family, and in need, and was among the prisoners, so he said: "O Messenger of Allah, I am poor, the father of a family and in need, as you know, so grant me a favour, may Allah bless you", and the Messenger of Allah granted him the favour. Safwān bin Umaiyah said to him: "O Abū 'Azzah verily you are a poet, help us with your tongue and come out with us". He said: "Muhammad did me a favour and I do not wish to back anyone against him". He said: "By all means, help us then with your presence, and Allah (is witness) for you against me that if you return I shall enrich you and if you are slain I will place your daughters along with

mine and whatever hardship or comfort is the lot of mine that shall be the lot of yours also. So Abu 'Azzah set out and passed through Tihāmah calling on the Beni Kinānah and saying:-

O ye Beni 'Abd Manāt the steadfast ones
Ye are protectors and so was your father
Do not promise me your help after this year
Do not betray me, betrayal is not permitted.

And Musāfi' bin 'Abd Manāf bin Wahb bin Hudhāfah bin Jumah set out to the Beni Mālik bin Kinānah to incite them and call them to fight the Messenger of Allah. He said:-

O Mālik, Mālik of the foremost dignity
I call on those who are relatives or have covenants
of protection
Both those who are related and those who are not
The treaty in the midst of the sacred town
At the wall of the Ka'bah which is venerated

Jubair bin Mut'am called an Ethiopian slave of his named Wahshi, who threw his spear after the manner of the Ethiopians and seldom missed, and said to him: "Go out with the people and if you slay Hamzah the uncle of Muhammad (in revenge) for my uncle Tu'aimah bin 'Adi, you will be a free man".

The departure of Quraish.

So Quraish set out in their prowess and strength and eagerness with the contingents from the different tribes and those of the Beni Kinānah and the inhabitants of Tihāmah who followed them. They also took out with them women in litters, to stir them up to fury in their defence that they might not flee. Abū Sufyān bin Harb who was the leader of the people, took Hind bint 'Utbah.....

List of names omitted.

Whenever Hind bint 'Utbah passed by Wahshi or he passed by her she said "Go on Abū Dushman! Take vengeance and seek it. Wahshī was surnamed Abū Dushman.

Thus they advanced and encamped by two springs on a mountain in the middle of some marshy ground by a gorge on the side of the valley opposite Medina.

The vision of the Messenger of Allah.

When the Messenger of Allah and the Muslims heard that they encamped where they encamped, the Messenger of Allah said to the Muslims:

"Verily I have seen something good; I have seen a cow; I have seen

*The term 'Abu Dushman' means 'Ethiopian'.

a notch on the edge of my sword; and I have seen myself putting my arm into a strong coat of mail which I interpret as Medina.

Ibn Hishām: A scholar related to me that the Messenger of Allah said: "I saw some cows of mine being slaughtered, which means that some of my friends will be slain. The notch which was on the edge of my sword means that one of the people of my house will be slain".

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah said: "If you consider you should stay in Medina and leave them where they are encamped; if they remain there they are in the worst position possible; if they come in to us we will fight them inside". The opinion of 'Abdallah ibn Ubai ibn Salūl was in agreement with that of the Messenger of Allah; he thought as he thought in the matter that they should not go out to meet them. The Messenger of Allah hated to go out, but some of the Muslims whom Allah honoured with martyrdom on the day of Uhud and on other days who had escaped at Badr, said: "O Messenger of Allah, lead us out against our enemies; let them not think that we are afraid of them or that we are weak". 'Abdallah ibn Ubai said: "O Messenger of Allah, stay in Medina, do not go out to meet them for we have never gone out of it to meet an enemy of ours without some of us being killed, nor have they come in to us without our taking toll of them. Leave them alone then O Messenger of Allah; if they remain they remain in the worst kind of prison; if they enter our men will fight them face to face, and our women and boys will hurl stones upon them from the walls; if they return they will return disappointed as they came". Thus the people whose affair was a desire to meet the people did not desist from the Messenger of Allah till he entered his house and donned his breastplate, and that was on Friday when he had finished the Prayer. There died that day one of the Helpers called Mālik ibn 'Amr, one of the Beni an-Najjār, and the Messenger of Allah prayed over him and then went out to them. Then the people repented and said: "We have expressed disapproval of the Messenger of Allah and we should not have done that". When the Messenger of Allah came out to them they said: "O Messenger of Allah, we have expressed disapproval of you and we should not have done that, so if you desire, remain, and may Allah bless you". The Messenger of Allah said: "A prophet, when once he has put on his breastplate may not put it off till after he has fought". So

the Messenger of Allah set out at the head of a thousand of his friends.

Ibn Hishām: He appointed Ibn Umm Maktūm in charge of the public prayers.

The defection of the hypocrites.

Ibn Ishāq: When they were on the journey between Medina and Uhud, 'Abdallah bin Ubai withdrew from him with a third of the people. He said: "He heeded them and disregarded me, we know of no reason why we should kill ourselves here, O people". So he took back those of his people who followed him and they were the men of hypocrisy and doubt.

'Abdallah bin 'Amr bin Harām, brother of the Beni Salimah followed them, saying: "O people, I remind you of Allah, lest you should desert your people and your prophet when they have come face to face with the enemy". They said: "If we knew you would fight we would not give you up, but we do not think there will be a fight". So when they paid no heed to him and refused to do anything except withdraw from them, he said: May Aālah curse you, enemies of Allah! Allah will be sufficient for His prophet instead of you".

Ibn Hishām: Another than Ziyād said on the authority of Muhammad bin Ishāq from az-Zuhri that the Helpers on the day of Uhud said to the Messenger of Allah: "O Messenger of Allah, shall we not ask the help of our Jewish allies?", and he said: "We have no need of them".

Ziyād said: Muhammad bin Ishāq related to me. He said: The Messenger of Allah went on and passed through the stony tract of the Beni Hārithah, and a horse switched its tail, struck the ring of a sword and drew it out.

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as 'kilāb as-Saif'.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah who liked a good omen but did not make auguries, said to the owner of the sword: "Sheath your sword, for I think that swords will be drawn to-day. Then the Messenger of Allah said to his friends: "Which one of you will bring us out to the people by a route which while near does not take us right into them?", and Abu Haithamah, brother of the Beni Hārithah bin al-Harith said: "I will, O Messenger of Allah". So he brought him through the stony tract of the Beni Hārithah and through their properties and when he passed through some property belonging to Mirba' bin Qaithi

who was a hypocrite and had lost his sight. He had heard the noise of the Messenger of Allah and those Muslims who were with him, and he went to throw dust in their faces and said: "Even if you are the Messenger of Allah, I will not permit you to enter my garden". I have been told that he took up a handful of dust and said: "If I had known I would not hit others besides you with it, O Muhammad, I would surely have thrown it in your face". The people rushed up to kill him but the Messenger of Allah said: "Do not kill him, for this blind man is blind in heart and blind in sight". Sa'd bin Zaid, brother of the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal rushed up to him before the Messenger of Allah had forbidden him and struck him on the head with his bow causing a gash.

The Messenger of Allah's encampment in the ravine and his dispositions for the battle.

He said: The Messenger of Allah went on and made camp in the ravine of Uhud on the eminence of the valley toward the mountain. He placed his rearguard and camp toward Uhud and said: "Let none of you fight till we give orders to do so". Quraish had pastured their camels and horses on the crops which were in Samaghah by a conduit belonging to the Muslims. One of the Helpers said when the Messenger of Allah forbade them to fight: "Is the pasturage of the Beni Qailah to be eaten up without us striking a blow". Then the Messenger of Allah drew up his ranks for battle; he had seven hundred men. He put 'Abdallah bin Jubair, brother of the Beni 'Amr bin 'Auf, who was marked out that day by white clothes, in command of the archers, who were fifty men, and said: "Keep the cavalry away from us with your arrows so that they do not approach from our rear. Whether it goes for us or against us keep your station that we may not be attacked from your direction". Then the Messenger of Allah put on two coats of mail and gave the banner to Mus'ab bin 'Umair, brother of the Beni 'Abd ad-Dār.

Ibn Hishām: The Messenger of Allah allowed Samurah bin Jundub the Fazārite and Rāfi' bin Khadīj, brother of the Beni Hārithah who were fifteen years of age (to fight). He had turned them away and someone said to him: "O Messenger of Allah, verily Rāfi' is an archer", so he allowed him to come, and when he gave

Rāfi' permission someone said to him: "O Messenger of Allah, Samurah can throw Rāfi' on the ground", and he gave him permission. The Messenger of Allah turned back Usamah bin Zaid, 'Abdallah bin 'Umar bin al-Khattāb, Zaid bin Thābit, one of the Beni Mālik bin an-Najjār, al-Barā' bin Azib one of the Beni Hārithah, 'Amr bin Hazm one of the Beni Mālik bin an-Najjār, and Usaid bin Thuhair one of the Beni Hārithah. Later he gave them permission (to fight) on the day of al-Khandaq, and they were fifteen years of age.

Ibn Ishāq: Quraish drew up their lines of battle. They were three thousand strong and they had two hundred horsemen which they placed on the flanks. They put Khālīd bin al-Walīd in command of the right wing of horse, and 'Ikrimah bin Abū Jahl in command of the left wing.

The affair of Abū Dujānah.

The Messenger of Allah said: "Who will take this sword and give it ^{due?"} its Some men went up to him but he withheld it from them and then Abū Dujānah, Simāk bin Kharashah, brother of the Beni Sā'idah went up to him and said: "What is its ^{due?} due, O Messenger of Allah?". He said: "That you should smite the enemy with ^{it} till it bends". He said: "I will take it, O Messenger of Allah, at the price", and he gave it to him. He was a brave man with a streak of vanity in time of war, and when he assumed the insignia of his red turban which he bound on the people knew he was going to fight. When he received the sword from the hand of the Messenger of Allah he took out his turban, wound it round his head and then began to strut between the lines.

Ibn Ishāq: Ja'far bin 'Abdallah bin Aslam, client of 'Umar bin al-Khattāb related to me on the authority of one of the Helpers of the Beni Salimah. He said: The Messenger of Allah said when he saw Abū Dujānah strutting around: "It is the kind of gait Allah hates except on a battle-field like this.

The affair of Abū 'Āmir the Corrupter.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah related to me that Abū 'Āmir bin 'Amr bin Saifī bin Mālik bin an-Nu'mān one of the Beni Dubai'ah ^{of the Aus} had gone away to Mecca, accompanied by fifty slaves, and held aloof from the Messenger of Allah. Some people said they were fifteen in number. He had promised Quraish that if he met his people

no two of them would break away from him. When the people met the first to confront them among the contingents were Abū 'Āmir and two slaves of the people of Mecca. He cried out: "O people of Aus, I am Abū 'Āmir". They said: "May Allah not grant you sight you impious man!". In the Age of Barbarism Abū 'Āmir was called "The Monk" but the Messenger of Allah called him "The Impious". When he heard their answer to him he said: "Evil has indeed befallen my people after me", and then he fought them grimly and stoned them with stones.

Ibn Ishāq: Abū Sufyān said to the standard-bearers of the Beni 'Abd ad-Dār thereby inciting them to battle: "O Beni 'Abd ad-Dār, verily you were entrusted with our standard on the day of Badr and there befell us what you saw. The people are attacked from the direction of their banner; if the banners are overcome they are overcome; so either be worthy of our banner or else leave it to us and we will be sufficient for it instead of you". So they thought it over, made a mutual compact and said: "We will hand our standard over to you and to-morrow if we meet you will know how we do". That was what Abū Sufyān wanted. When the people approached other and met, Hind bint 'Utbah took charge of the women who were with her and they took their tambourines on which they played behind the men, urging them on. Amongst other things Hind said:-

Forward ye Beni 'Abd ad-Dār!
Onward the protectors of what is in the rear!
Smite with every sharp sword
If you go forward we will embrace you and spread out the cushions
If you turn your backs we will part from you - a parting not in love.

The slogan of the friends of the Messenger of Allah on the day of Uhud was: "Slay! Slay! according to what Ibn Hishām says.

The completion of the story of Abū Dujānah.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the people joined battle and it was soon at its height and Abū Dujānah drove deep in the ranks of the people.

Ibn Hishām: More than one scholar has related to me that az-Zubair ibn al-'Awwām said: "I was annoyed when I asked the Messenger of Allah for the sword and he refused it and gave it to Abū Dujānah, and said: "I am the son of his aunt Safiyyah and from Quraish and I went

to him and asked him for it before he did, but he gave it to him and passed me over; but I swear I will surely see what he does and I followed him. Then he took out his red turban and wound it round his head and the Helpers said: 'Abu Dujānah has taken out the turban of death'. That was what they said about him when he bound it on and went out with these words on his lips:-

I am the one with whom my friend made a compact
When we were on the hill-side by the palm trees
I will not remain for ever in the rearguard
I will smite with the sword of Allah and the Messenger

Ibn Hishām: It is also related as 'fil kubūl'.

He started off by not meeting anyone he did not kill. Amongst the polytheists was a man who did not leave us a single wounded man whom he did not finish off and these two started to approach each other. I besought Allah that He would bring them together, so they met and exchanged a couple of blows. The polytheist struck Abu Dujānah and he parried it with his leather shield. The sword stuck in the shield so Abu Dujānah smote and slew him. Then I saw him raise his sword to strike Hind bint 'Utbah on the crown of the head and then lower it. Az-Zubair said: "I said: 'Allah and His Messenger know best'".

Ibn Ishāq: Abū Dujānah said: "I saw a man exciting the people to fury and made for him; but when I charged him, he shrieked and lo it was a woman, and I showed more regard for the sword of the Messenger of Allah than to slay a woman with it".

The killing of Hamzah, the chief of the martyrs.

Hamzah bin 'Abd al-Muttalib fought and slew Artāt bin 'Abd Shurahbīl bin Hāshim bin 'Abd Manāf bin 'Abd ad-Dār who was one of those who bore the standard. Then Sibā' bin 'Abd al-'Uzza the Ghubshānite, who was surnamed Abū Niyār passed by him, and Hamzah said to him: "Come to me O son of the circumciser of women, circumcised (His mother was Umm Innār, a clientess of Sharīq bin 'Amr bin Wahb the Thaqāfite and she was a circumciser in Mecca), and when they met, Hamzah smote and slew him.

Wahshi a slave of Jubair bin Mut'am said: "I was looking at Hamzah cutting down the people with his sword not sparing any, like a dun camel when Sibā' got to him in front of me and Hamzah said to him: "Come to me O son of the circumciser of the uncircumcised, and

struck him a blow which seemed to miss his head. Then I brandished my spear and when I was satisfied with it I threw it at him. It penetrated his lower abdomen and emerged between his legs. He came in my direction but was overcome and fell and I left him there until he died, when I came and took my spear and made my way to the camp. There was no need for me to kill anyone but him".

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin al-Faḍl bin 'Ayyāsh bin Rabī'ah bin al-Hārith related to me on the authority of Suleimān bin Yasār from Ja'far bin 'Amr bin Umaiyah the Damrite. He said: 'Ubaid Allah bin 'Adi bin al-Khiyār brother of the Beni Naufal bin 'Abd Manāf and I set out in the time of Mu'āwiyah bin Abū Sufyān and made an incursion into Byzantine territory with the people. When we were on the return journey we passed by Hums, where Wahshi the client of Mu'tam bin Jubair lived. When we reached it 'Ubaid Allah bin 'Adi said to me: "Do you wish us to go to Wahshi and ask him about the killing of Hamzah and how he killed him?". I said: "If you like". So we set out to make enquiries for him in Hums, and a man said to us when we asked about him: "You will find him in the courtyard of his house; but he is a man who has succumbed to drink: if you find him sober you will find an Arab, and you will find with him some of what you want, and get with him the story about which you desire to ask him. If you find him with some of what he is wont to have, go away and leave him". So we set out on foot and went to him and he was in the courtyard of his house on a carpet and he was an old man like a raven.

Ibn Hishām: Like 'al-Bughāthah', which is a species of bird.

He was clear-headed; there was nothing the matter with him. When we reached him we greeted him, and he lifted his head in the direction of 'Abdallah bin 'Adi and said: 'You are a son of 'Adi bin al-Khiyār'. He said: 'Yes'. He said: 'I have not seen you since we handed you to your Sa'dite foster-mother who nursed you in Dhū Tawa. I handed you to her as she was on her camel, and she took hold of you by the skin (garment), and your feet appeared to me as she lifted you up to her, so now that you stand before me I recognise them both. Then we sat down by him and said: 'We have come to you that you may tell us about your killing of Hamzah and how you killed him'. He said: 'I will relate it to you as I related it to the Messenger of Allah when he asked me

about it. I was a slave belonging to Jubair ibn Mut'am whose uncle Tu'aimah ibn 'Adi had been killed on the day of Badr. When Quraish marched to Uhud Jubair said to me: +If you kill Hamzah the uncle of Muhammad (in revenge) for my uncle, you will be a free man+. So I set out with the people. I was an Ethiopian who threw the spear after the manner of the Ethiopians and very rarely missed anything with it. When the people met, I went out to observe Hamzah and spotted him on the flank of the people mowing the people down with his sword like a dun camel, and nothing could stand up to him. Then I made ready for him and made in his direction, hiding behind trees and stones till he should get near me, when Sibā' ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza got to him before me. When Hamzah saw him he said: to him: +Come to me O son of the circumciser of women, and struck him a blow as if he had missed his head. I brandished my spear and when I was satisfied with it I threw it at him and it struck his lower abdomen and emerged between his legs. Then he tried to rise to follow me but he was overcome and I left him and it till he expired, and I came to him and took away my spear, returned to the camp and sat down there. There was no need for me to kill anyone but him. I killed him merely to get my freedom. When I got back to Mecca I was freed, and I remained there till the Messenger of Allah entered Mecca when I fled to at-Tā'if where I stayed. When the delegation of at-Tā'if went out to the Messenger of Allah to accept Islam, all the ways were closed against me. I said: +I will go to Syria or the Yemen or some other country+ and I was thinking along these lines when a man said to me +Out upon you! He does not out to death any of the people who enters his religion and testifies his testimony+. When he told me that I set out and went to the Messenger of Allah at Medina and nothing took him by surprise but myself standing beside him uttering the testimony of the truth. When he saw me he said: +Is it Wahshi?+ I said: +Yes, O Messenger of Allah+. He said: +Sit down and relate to me how you killed Hamzah+, and I related it to him just as I have related it to you. When I had told my tale he said: +Wretch! Hide your face away from me so that I may not see you+. So I avoided the Messenger of Allah wherever he might be lest he should see me till Allah took him. When the Muslims went out against the liar Musailamah, the man of al-Yamamah, I went with them taking with me the spear with which I had

killed Hamzah. When the people met I saw Musailamah the liar standing with sword in hand without recognising him. I made ready (to attack him) and one of the Helpers did the same from another direction, and both of us made for him. I brandished my spear and when I was satisfied with it I threw it at him and it struck him. Then the Helper attacked and smote him with the sword, and your Lord knows best which one of us killed him. If I killed him I have killed both the best of men after the Messenger of Allah, and the worst of men!

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin al-Fadl related to me on the authority of Suleimān bin Yasār from 'Abdallah bin 'Umar bin al-Khattāb who witnessed al-Yamamah. He said: I heard a crier say that day: "The black slave has killed him".

Ibn Hishām: I heard that Wahshi went on indulging in drink till he was struck off the register. 'Umar bin al-Khattāb said: "I verily knew that Allah the Exalted would not spare the killer of Hamzah".

The killing of Mus'ab bin 'Umair.

Ibn Ishāq: Mus'ab bin 'Umair fought beside the Messenger of Allah till he was slain, and the one who slew him was Ibn Qami'ah the Laithite, who imagined that he was the Messenger of Allah, and returned to Quraish and said: "I have slain Muhammad". When Mus'ab was killed, the Messenger of Allah gave the standard to 'Ali bin Abū Tālib, and 'Ali and some of the Muslims carried on the fight.

Ibn Hishām: Maslamah bin 'Alqamah the Māzinite said: When the battle grew fierce on the day of Uhud the Messenger of Allah sat down beneath the banner of the Helpers and sent word to 'Ali bin Abū Tālib that he should bring forward the banner. So 'Ali came forward and said: "I am Abu 'l-Qasim (It is given as Abū 'l-Qusam according to what Ibn Hishām says), and Abū Sa'd bin Abū Talhah who was the standard-bearer of the polytheists called him (and said): "O Abū 'l-Qusam, do you want a duel?". He said: "Yes", and the duel took place between the lines. They exchanged a couple of blows and then 'Ali smote him and brought him to the ground and left him without finishing him off. His friends said to him: "Why did you not make an end of him?" He said: "He confronted me with his private parts and my relationship made me turn away from him, and I recognised that Allah had slain him". It is also said that Abū Sa'd bin Abū Talhah came out between the lines and

called: "I am Qāsīm, who will fight a duel with me?", but no one went out to meet him. Then he said: "O friends of Muhammad, you claim that your dead are in Paradise and our dead are in the Fire. You lie! By al-Lāt if you knew that to be true one of you would have come out to meet me". So 'Alī bin Abū Tālib went out to meet him and they exchanged a couple of blows after which 'Alī smote and slew him.

Ibn Ishāq: Sa'd bin Abū Waqqās killed Abū Sa'd bin Abū Talhah.

The affair of 'Āsim bin Thābit.

'Āsim bin Thābit bin Abū 'l-Aqlah fought and killed Musāfi' bin Talhah and his brother al-Julās bin Talhah both of whom he shot with arrows. He went to his mother Sulāfah, laid his head in her lap, and she said: "O my son, who has smitten you?". He said: "I heard a man when he shot me say, 'Take this, I am Abū 'l-Aqlah". Then she vowed that if Allah enabled her to get the head of 'Āsim she would drink wine out of his skull. 'Āsim had made a covenant with Allah that he would never touch a polytheist nor would a polytheist touch him. 'Uthmān bin Abū Talhah said that day as he carried the banner of the polytheists:-

The bearers of the banners are under obligation to stain the lance shaft, or it will be shivered.

Hamzah bin 'Abd al-Muttalib killed him.

The affair of Hanthalah the Washed of the Angels.

Hanthalah bin Abū 'Āmir, the one who was washed and Abū Sufyān met each other. When Hanthalah overcame him, Shaddād bin al-Aswad, who was Ibn Shu'ūb, saw him when he was overpowering Abū Sufyān, and Shaddād smote and killed him. The Messenger of Allah said: "Verily the angels will wash your friend", meaning Hanthalah. So they asked his family what his affair was, and when his wife was asked about him, she said: "He set out in a state of ceremonial impurity when he heard the cry 'U'".

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as Sha'ah (cry). In the Tradition it is said: "The best of men is the man who is holding his horse's rein and when he hears a cry flies towards it". At-Tirimmah bin Hakīm the Tā'ite said: (At-Tirimmah means 'the tall').

I am a son of the family of Mālik who uphold their glory
When the cowardly ones of men begin to cry out.

Ibn Ishāq: That was why the Messenger of Allah said: "The angels

washed him". Shaddād bin al-Aswad said about his killing of Hanthalah:-

I shall indeed protect my friend and myself
With a thrust like the rays of the sun.

Poetry omitted.

Ibn Ishāq: Then Allah sent down His help to the Muslims and fulfilled His promise to them so that they slew them with the sword till the camp was exposed and there seemed little doubt that the rout had taken place.

The misfortune (which took place) after the help.

Ibn Ishāq: Yahya bin 'Abbād bin 'Abdallah bin az-Zubair related to me on the authority of his father 'Abbād from 'Abdallah bin az-Zubair from az-Zubair, that he said: I found myself looking at the ankles of Hind bint 'Utbah and her companions who had tucked up their clothes and were in flight without taking anything either big or little, when the archers turned towards the camp after the people had left it exposed. They left our rear open to the cavalry who fell upon us from behind. Then someone cried out: "Verily Muhammad is slain", so we retreated and the people turned back on us after we had slain their standard-bearers so that no one could get near him.

Ibn Hishām: The crier was the demon of al-'Aqabah, that is to say, Satan.

Ibn Ishāq: One of the scholars related to me that the standard remained lying on the ground till 'Amrah bint 'Alqamah, a woman of Hārith, took it up and raised it aloft as a rallying point for Quraish. The standard had been in the care of Su'āb an Ethiopian slave belonging to the Beni Abū Talhah. He was the last one to receive it from them, and he fought with it till his hands were cut off. Then he held ^{his chest and neck} the banner with ~~his chest and neck~~ and was killed with it as he said: "O Allah, have I been remiss". Hassan bin Thābit said about that:-

You have boasted of the standard and it is evil boasting
When the banner was given to Su'āb
You placed your pride in it in the hands of a slave
And the most contemptible - he who treads the brown earth
You imagined - and the stupid man has imaginations
And that is not a matter that is right
That your firmness on the day we met
(Was shown) in your selling your knapsacks

He was pleased that his hands were bound together
And that they were not bound to be dyed.

Ibn Hishām: The last stanza of it is attributed to Abū Khirāsh the Hudhalite. Khalaf al-Ahmar recited it to me as his work:-

He was pleased that her hands were bound together
And that they were not bound to be dyed

He refers to his wife in another story than that of the day of Uhud. The stanzas are also attributed to Ma'qil bin Khuwailid the Hudhalite. Hassan bin Thabit said about 'Amrah bint 'Alqamah when she raised the standard:-

When 'Adal were led to us with their eyebrows marked as if
they were the young gazelles of Shirk
We prepared for them destructive and subduing thrusts
And we urged them on with blows on every side
Had it not been for the banner of the Harithites
they would have been sold in the markets like chattels.

What the Messenger of Allah experienced on the day of Uhud.

Ibn Ishāq: So the Muslims were exposed and the enemy took heavy toll of them. It was a day of misfortune and trial in which Allah honoured with martyrdom those Muslims whom He so honoured. At length the enemy came up to the Messenger of Allah, and he was pelted with stones till he fell on his side, his frontteeth were broken, a gash was made in his face, and his lip was wounded. It was 'Utbah bin Abū Waqqās who wounded him.

Ibn Ishāq: Humaid the Tall related to me on the authority of Anas bin Mālik. He said: The ^{teeth} fronttooth of the Prophet were broken on the day of Uhud, a gash was made in his face so that the blood ran down over it, and he began to wipe away the blood, saying as he did so: "How shall a people prosper who dye the face of their prophet who calls them to their Lord. So Allah to Whom belong power and glory sent down about that:-

Thou hast nothing to do with the affair; or (He) might
relent towards them or punish them; for they are wrong-
doers. (Sūrah 3: 128).

Ibn Hishām: Rubaiḥ bin 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin Abū Sa'īd the Khudrite said on the authority of Abū Sa'īd the Khudrite that 'Utbah bin Abū Waqqās threw a missile at the Messenger of Allah that day and broke his right lower tooth, and cut his lower lip; that 'Abdallah bin Shihāb the Zuhrite made a gash in his forehead; and that Ibn Qam'ah wounded him on the cheek-bone so that two rings of his helmet were embedded in his

cheek, and the Messenger of Allah fell into one of the trenches that Abū 'Āmir had made for the Muslims to fall into unawares. So 'Alī bin Abū Tālib took the Messenger of Allah by the hand, Talhah bin 'Ubaid-Allah lifted him and set him upright, and Mālīk bin Sinān father of Abū Sa'īd the Khudrite sucked the blood from the face of the Messenger of Allah and swallowed it. Then the Messenger of Allah said: "The Fire shall not touch him whose blood has touched mine".

'Abd al-'Azīz bin Muḥammad the Dirāwardite mentioned that the prophet said: "Whoever wishes to see a martyr walking the earth let him look at Talhah bin 'Ubaidallah

'Abd al-'Azīz bin Muḥammad mentioned on the authority of Ishāq bin Yahya bin Talhah from 'Isa bin Talhah from 'Ā'ishah from Abū Bakr the Faithful that 'Ubaidah bin al-Jarrāh extracted one of the rings from the face of the Messenger of Allah and one of his front teeth came out. Then he extracted the other and the other front tooth came out; so he lost the two front teeth.

Ibn Ishāq: Ḥassān bin Thābit said to 'Utbah bin Abū Waqqās.

If Allah recompenses a people according to their works
And their harm to the Merciful, the Lord of the East
May my Lord put you to shame, O 'Utaib bin Mālīk
And may He confront you with a thunderbolt before death
You have stretched out your right hand purposely against
the prophet
And have bled his mouth which was cut with glittering
swords

Why did you not remember Allah and the abode to which you are
going

When one of the calamities (overtakes you).

Ibn Hishām: We omitted two stanzas in which he uses unseemly language.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah said when the people crowded in upon him: "Who will devote himself to us?" according to what al-Ḥusain bin 'Abd ar-Raḥmān bin 'Amr bin Sa'd bin Mu'ādh related to me on the authority of Maḥmūd bin 'Amr. So Ziyād bin as-Sakan came up with a group of five men of the Helpers - some people say it was 'Umārah bin Yazīd bin as-Sakan - and they fought beside the Messenger of Allah one man after another being killed beside him till the last one left was Ziyād or 'Umārah, and he fought till his wounds disabled him. Then a party of Muslims came back and kept them away from him. The Messenger of Allah said: "Bring him close to me", they brought him

close to him, and he gave him leg for a pillow and he died with his cheek on the Messenger of Allah's leg.

The story of Umm 'Umārah.

Ibn Hishām: Umm 'Umārah, Nusaibah bint Ka'b the Māziniteess fought on the day of Uhud. Sa'īd bin Abū Zaid the Helper mentioned that Umm Sa'd bint Sa'd bin ar-Rabī' said: "I went in to Umm 'Umārah and said to her: 'O Aunt, give me your news'. She said: 'I went out at the beginning of the day to see what the people were doing, and I had a water-skin with water in it, and I came to the Messenger of Allah who was with his comrades at the time the victory and the help were with the Muslims. When the Muslims were routed I fled to the Messenger of Allah and began to fight and drive them away from him with the sword till I received some wounds'. I saw a wound on her shoulder which had gone deep and said: 'Who gave you this?'. She said: 'Ibn Qamī'ah, may Allah debase him. When the people turned away from the Messenger of Allah he came up and said: +Guide me to Muhammad, I will not escape if he escapes+. I put myself in his way, I and Mus'ab bin 'Umair and some other people who had remained with the Messenger of Allah, so he struck me this blow. Thereupon I struck him several blows but the enemy of Allah was wearing two coats of mail.

The group who made a stand with the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: Abū Dujānah made himself a shield for the Messenger of Allah and the arrows fell upon his back as he bent down over him till many arrows were lodged in him, and Sa'd bin Abū Waqqās was shooting beside the Messenger of Allah. Sa'd said: "I saw him handing me the arrows while he said: 'Shoot, may my father and mother be your ransom', He even handed me an arrow which had no head and said: 'Fire it'.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah related to me that the Messenger of Allah shot arrows from his bow till the bow-string was finished and Qatādah bin an-Nu'mān took it and it remained with him. Qatādah's eye was injured that day so that it fell out on his cheek.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah related to me that the Messenger of Allah put it back in place with his hand and it was the better and keener of the two.

The affair of Anas bin an-Nadr.

Ibn Ishāq: Al-Qāsim bin 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin Rāfi' brother of the Beni 'Adi bin an-Najjār related to me. He said: Anas bin an-Nadr uncle of Anas bin Mālik came to 'Umar bin al-Khattāb and Talhah bin 'Ubaidallah with some men of the Emigres and Helpers who had laid down their arms. He said: "What has made you desist?". They said: "The Messenger of Allah is slain". He said: "What then do you want with life after him? die in the way in which he died". Then he encountered the people and fought till he was killed; and Anas bin Mālik was named after him.

Humaid the Tall related to me on the authority of Anas bin Mālik. He said: We found seventy wounds on Anas bin an-Nadr that day, and no one but his sister recognised him, and she recognised him by his finger-tips.

Ibn Hishām: One of the scholars related to me that 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin 'Auf was struck on the mouth that day and had his front teeth broken. He also received twenty wounds or more, some of which got him in the leg so that he went lame.

The first one who recognised the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: The first one who recognised the Messenger of Allah after the rout when people said he was killed, according to what Ibn Shihāb the Zuhrite mentioned to me, was Ka'b bin Mālik. He said: "I recognised his eyes glowing beneath the helmet and called out at the top of my voice: 'O Muslim people! Rejoice! Here is the Messenger of Allah'.; but the Messenger of Allah signalled to me to be silent.

Ibn Ishāq: When the Muslims recognised the Messenger of Allah they took him up and there went up with them towards the ravine Abu Bekr, 'Umar bin al-Khattāb, 'Ali bin Abū Tālib, Talhah bin 'Ubaidallah, az-Zubair bin al-'Awwām (may the favour of Allah be on them), al-Hārith, and a group of Muslims.

The killing of Ubai bin Khalaf and his affair.

When the Messenger of Allah reclined in the ravine Ubai bin Khalaf came up to him, saying: "here is Muhammad? May you not escape if you do not escape". The people said: "O Messenger of Allah, shall one of us go out to him?", but the Messenger of Allah said: "Let him be". When he came near, the Messenger of Allah took a spear from al-Hārith bin as-Simmah. According to what was told me, one of the people said: "When

the Messenger of Allah took it from him, he brandished it in a way that made us flee from him just as camel flies fly from the camel's back when they are shaken off.

Ibn Hishām: Ash-Sha'rā' are flies which have a sting.

Then he met him and gave him a thrust in his neck which caused him to rock several times on his horse.

Ibn Hishām: Tada'da' means he rolled off his horse and began to roll.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what Sālih bin Ibrāhīm bin 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin 'Auf related to me, Ubai bin Khalaf met the Messenger of Allah in Mecca and said: "O Muhammad, I am having recourse to a horse, to which I give as fodder every day a measure of corn; on him I will kill you". The Messenger of Allah said: "Nay, I will kill you, if Allah wills". When he returned to Quraish - he had only scratched him very slightly on the neck and blood collected - he said: "Muhammad has killed me". They said to him: "You have lost heart, you are quite safe, have you?". He said: "Verily he said to me in Mecca: 'I will kill you', and if he had but spat on me he would have killed me. The enemy of Allah died in Sarif while they were bringing him back to Mecca.

Poetry omitted.

The Messenger of Allah reaches the ravine.

When the Messenger of Allah reached the entrance of the ravine, 'Ali bin Abū Tālib went out and filled his shield with water from al-Mihrās and brought it to the Messenger of Allah that he might drink some of it. He found a smell in it however, which nauseated him, so he did not drink any of it but washed the blood from his face and poured it over his head, saying: "The wrath of Allah will be grievous against those who have made bloody the face of His Prophet".

Salih bin Kaisān related to me on the authority of whoever related it to him, from Sa'd bin Abū Waqqās that he said: "I never coveted the killing of a man so much as I coveted the killing of 'Utbah bin Abū Waqqās, and if I had not known, a hated practice would have run its course amongst his people, but the saying of the Messenger of Allah satisfied me in regard to him: 'The wrath of Allah will be grievous against those who have made bloody the face of His messenger.

Ibn Ishāq: While the Messenger of Allah was in the ravine with those

few friends of his a detachment of Quraish came up the hill.

Ibn Hishām: Khālīd bin al-Walīd was in command of those horsemen.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah said: "O Allah they must not come up to us", so 'Umar bin al-Khattāb and a group of the Emigres fought them back and drove them down the hill. The Messenger of Allah rose to climb up on a rock, but he was in armour having put on two coats of mail, and when he tried to get up he was not able to do so. So Talhah bin 'Ubaidallah sat down beneath him and raised him up and he seated himself firmly on it. According to what Yahya bin 'Abbād bin 'Abdallah bin az-Zubair related to me on the authority of his father, from 'Abdallah bin az-Zubair, from az-Zubair, the Messenger of Allah said: He said: "I heard the Messenger of Allah say that day: 'Talhah did something deserving of reward', when he did what he did for the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Hishām: I heard on the authority of 'Ikrimah from Ibn 'Abbās that the Messenger of Allah did not reach the steps that had been constructed in the ravine.

Ibn Hishām: 'Umar, a client of Ghufrah, mentioned that the Prophet on the day of Uhud performed the noon prayer seated because of the wounds he had received, and the Muslims behind him also prayed seated.

Ibn Ishāq: Some of the people who were put to flight got as far as al-Munaqqa near al-A'was.

The killing of al-Yamān Abū Hudaifah and Thābit bin Waqash.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah related to me on the authority of Mahmūd bin Labīd. He said: When the Messenger of Allah went out to Uhud, Husail bin Jābir (who was al-Yamān, Abū Hudaifah bin al-Yamān) and Thābit bin Waqash were put in the strongholds with the women and boys. They were very old men, and one of them said to the other: "May you have no father! What do you expect? We have no more of life left to us than there is between an ass's two drinking times; to-day or to-morrow we will be corpses anyway, so why not take our swords and join the Messenger of Allah; perhaps Allah will grant us martyrdom with the Messenger of Allah. So they took their swords, went out and got amongst the people without anyone being aware of it. As for

Thābit bin Waqash, the polytheists slew him; as for Husail bin Jābir the swords of the Muslims were turned against him, and they slew him without recognising him. Hudhaifah said: "My father" They said: "We did not recognise him", and they spoke the truth. Hudhaifah said: "May Allah forgive you; He is the most merciful of those who are merciful". The Messenger of Allah wished to pay his blood-wit, but Hudhaifah gave his blood-wit as alms to the Muslims, and that enhanced his virtue in the eyes of the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah related to me that one of them who was called Hātib bin Umaiyah bin Rāfi had a son called Yazīd bin Hātib who got wounded on the day of Uhud. He brought him to the house of his people as he was dying. The people of the house gathered together round him, and the Muslims, both men and women, began to say: "Rejoice O Ibn Hātib about Paradise". Hātib was an old man who had become hardened in Paganism and his hypocrisy showed itself that day. He said: "In what would you have him rejoice? In a garden of herbs! You have indeed deceived the youth out of his senses".

The killing of Quzmān.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah related to me: There was a strange man amongst us, no one knew from whence he came, called Quzmān. The Messenger of Allah said when he was mentioned to him, that he was one of the people of the Fire. When the day of Uhud came, he fought a fierce fight and by himself killed seven or eight polytheists. He was a man of courage but a wound disabled him and he was carried to the house of the Beni Thafr and some of the Muslims began to say to him: "You have been gallant to-day O Quzmān, so rejoice". He said: "In what am I to rejoice? If I fought it was only on behalf of my people; had it not been for that I would not have fought". When his wound got worse he took an arrow from his quiver and with it killed himself.

The killing of Muhairiq.

Ibn Ishāq: Amongst those who were killed on the day of Uhud was Mukhairiq who was one of the Beni Tha'labah bin al-Fityaun. When the day of Uhud came, he said: "O Jewish people, it is your duty to aid Muhammad". They said: "To-day is the Sabbath". He said: "It is no Sabbath (for you)". So he took his sword and accoutrements and said:

"If I am killed to-day my property goes to Muhammad to do with as he pleases? Then he went to the Messenger of Allah and fought with him till he was killed. According to what we heard, the Messenger of Allah said: "Mukhairiq was the best of the Jews".

The affair of al-Harith bin Suwaid bin Samit.

Ibn Ishāq: Al-Harith bin Suwaid bin as-Samit was a hypocrite who went out with the Muslims on the day of Uhud. When the people met, he attacked al-Mujadhdhar bin Dhiyār the Balawite and Qais bin Zaid one of the Beni Dubai'ah and killed them both, and then joined Quraish in Mecca. According to what they say, the Messenger of Allah had ordered 'Umar bin al-Khattāb to kill him if he got him with his power but he eluded him and got to Mecca. Then he sent to his brother al-Julās bin Suwaid seeking forgiveness that he might return to his people, and according to what I heard on the authority of Ibn 'Abbas, Allah sent down about him:-

How will Allah guide a people who have disbelieved after having believed, and (after) they have testified that the Messenger is true and the Evidences have come to them? Allah doth not guide aright the people who do wrong. (Surah 3: 86).

to the end of the story.

Ibn Hishām: A scholar in whom I have confidence related to me that al-Harith bin Suwaid killed al-Mujadhdhar bin Dhiyār but did not kill Qais bin Zaid, and the proof of that is that Ibn Ishāq does not mention him amongst the slain of Uhud; and he killed al-Mujadhdhar merely because al-Mujadhdhar had killed his father Suwaid in one of the wars that took place between the Aus and the Khazraj. We have mentioned this in the preceding part of this book. While the Messenger of Allah was with some of his friends, al-Harith bin Suwaid emerged from one of the gardens of Medina wearing two cloaks dyed red. The Messenger of Allah commanded 'Uthmān bin 'Affān and he struck off his head. It is said he was one of the Helpers.

Ibn Ishāq: Mu'ādh bin 'Afrā' killed Suwaid bin Samit by treachery in another war before the day of Bu'āth when he shot him with an arrow and killed him.

The affair of Usairim.

Ibn Ishāq: Al-Husain bin 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin 'Amr bin Sa'd bin Mu'ādh

related to me on the authority of Abū Sufyān a client of Ibn Abū Ahmad from Abū Hurairah. He said: He used to say: They related to me about a man who entered Paradise without ever having prayed. Since the people did not recognise him, they asked him who he was and he said: "Usairim of the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal, 'Amr bin Thābit bin Waqash". Al-Husain said: I said to Muḥmūd bin Labīd: "What was the affair of al-Usairim?". He said: "He was refusing Islam to his people, but when the day came on which the Messenger of Allah went out to Uhud, Islam seemed to him a good thing and he islamized. Then he took his sword, ran out, got in amongst the main body of the people, and fought till his wounds disabled him. While some men of the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal were seeking their slain in the engagement, they came upon him and said: "Here is al-Usairim! What brought him? When we left him he was denying this novelty". They said: What brought you, O 'Amr, was it pity for your people or desire for Islam?". He said: "Nay, desire for Islam. I believed in Allah and in His Messenger and islamized. Then I took my sword, went out with the Messenger of Allah and fought, till there came upon me what came upon me! It was not long after that till he died in their hands. They mentioned him to the Messenger of Allah and he said: "Verily he one of the people of Paradise".

The killing of 'Amr bin al-Jumūh.

Ibn Ishāq: My father Ishāq bin Yasār related to me on the authority of some old men of the Beni Salimah that 'Amr bin al-Jumūh was a lame man, very lame. He had four sons like lions who witnessed all the places of martyrdom with the Messenger of Allah. When the day of Uhud came, they wanted to shut him up, and said to him: "Verily Allah has excused you". So he came to the Messenger of Allah and said: "My sons want to shut me away from this event and from going out with you to it for I verily hope that I shall overcome this lameness of mine in Paradise". The Messenger of Allah said: "As far as you are concerned, Allah has excused you; there is no necessity for you to fight". He said to his sons: "You do not need to protect him, perhaps Allah will grant him martyrdom". So he went out with him and was killed on that day of Uhud.

The affair of Hind and the mutilation of Hamzah.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what Sālih bin Kaisān related to me, Hind

bint 'Utbah and the women who were with her fell to mutilating the friends of the Messenger of Allah who had been slain, cutting off ears and noses. Hind even chose some of the ears and noses of the men as anklets and necklaces, and gave her anklets, necklaces, and earrings to Wahshi, slave of Jubair bin Mut'am. She also cut open Hamza's liver and chewed it but was not able to swallow it and threw it away. Then she mounted a high rock, cried out at the top of her voice and said:-

Poetry omitted.

Ibn Ishāq: Sālih bin Kaisān related to me that it was related to him that 'Umar bin al-Khattāb said to Hassān: "O Ibn al-Furai'ah if you only heard what Hind says and saw her insolence, standing on a rock lampooning us in verse and telling what she did to Hamzah! Hassān said to him: "I saw the spear falling while I was on the summit of a height - he means his stronghold - and I said: 'This is a weapon which does not belong to the Arabs', and it seemed that it was darting towards Hamzah, but I do not know. However, let me hear some of what she said and I will give you what will requite her" So 'Umar recited to him part of what she said and Hassān bin Thābit said:-

A vile woman vaunted with contempt and her custom was
To be ignoble when she vaunted with unbelievers

Ibn Hishām: This stanza occurs in some stanzas of his which we have omitted; also stanzas of his rhyming in Dāl and others rhyming in Dhāl because in them he uses unseemly language.

What was done by Abū Sufyān.

Ibn Ishāq: Al-Hulais bin Zabbān brother of the Beni 'l-Hārith bin 'Abd Manāt, who was at that time chieftain of the contingents, passed by Abū Sufyān as he was jabbing Hamzah bin 'Abd al-Muttalib on the jaw with the point of his spear and saying: "Taste O disobedient one!". Hulais said: "O Beni Kinānah, here is a chieftain of Quraish doing what you see to his cousin who is dead". He said: "Out upon you! Keep quiet about me; it was a slip".

Then when Abū Sufyān wished to take his departure ^{he} looked down the mountain and cried out at the top of his voice:-

Thou hast bestowed favour, O LOfty One
Verily war has its recompenses
This day is a return for Badr
May Hubal be exalted.

That is: Show your religion. The Messenger of Allah said: "O 'Umar, rise and answer him and say: 'Allah is more exalted and more glorious; there is none but He; our slain are in Paradise and your slain are in the Fire'. When 'Umar replied to Abū Sufyān, he said to him: "Come to me, O 'Umar". The Messenger of Allah said to 'Umar: "Go to him and see what his business is". So 'Umar went to him and Abū Sufyān said to him: "I adjure you by Allah, O 'Umar, have we slain Muhammad?". 'Umar said: "Indeed no, and verily he now hears what you say". He said: "You are more truthful in my opinion than Ibn Qami'ah and more trustworthy". (This was in reference) to the saying of Ibn Qami'ah: "I have slain Muhammad".

Ibn Hishām: The name of Ibn Qami'ah was 'Abdallah.

Ibn Ishāq: Then Abū Sufyān called out: "There has been mutilation of your slain, and indeed I am neither pleased nor displeased thereby; I did not forbid it neither did I command it! When Abū Sufyān and those who were with him went away he called out: "Your appointed place for next year is Badr". The Messenger of Allah said to one of his friends: "Say, 'Yes, it is the trysting place between you and us'".

The departure of 'Ali after them.

Then the Messenger of Allah sent 'Ali bin Abū Tālib and said: "Go out after the people and see what they do and where they are going. If they leave the horses and are riding the camels they are going to Mecca; but if they are riding the horses and leading the camels, they are going to Medina, and by Him in whose hand is my life, if they are going to Medina I will march against them there and offer them opposition". 'Ali said: "So I set out after them to see what they were doing and they had left the horses, taken to the camels, and were going toward Mecca.

The affair of the slain on the day of Uhud.

The people gave themselves up entirely to their slain and the Messenger of Allah said, according to what Muhammad bin 'Abdallah bin 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin Abū Sa'sa'ah the Māzinite, brother of the Beni an-Najjār related to me: "What man will find out for me, what has become of Sa'd ibn ar-Rabi', is he among the living or the dead"? One of the Helpers said: "I will find out for you, O Messenger of Allah what has become of Sa'd". So he looked and found him wounded among the slain, but there

but there was breath in him. He said: "I said to him: 'The Messenger of Allah commanded me to see whether you were among the living or the dead'. He said: 'I am among the dead, so give my greetings to the Messenger of Allah and say to him: Sa'd bin ar-Rabi' says to you, May Allah reward you with all the good fromus He has ever rewarded any prophet from his nation. Take also from me greetings to your people. Say to them: Sa'd bin ar-Rabi' says to you: You will be without excuse in the sight of Allah if anything happens to your prophet while there is an eye amongst you that winks'". Then it was not long till he died and I came to the Messenger of Allah and told him about him.

Ibn Hishām: Abū Bakr the Zubairite related to me that a man went in to Abū Bakr the Faithful and a daughter belonging to Sa'd bin ar-Rabi', lay on his bosom and he was sucking her ^{saliva} and kissing her, and the man said to him: "Who is this"? He said: "This is the daughter of a man who was better than I am, Sa'd bin ar-Rabi' , who was one of the chieftains on the day of al-'Aqabah, witnessed Badr and was martyred the day of Uhud.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what I heard, the Messenger of Allah went out in search of Hamzah bin 'Abd al-Muttalib, and he found him in the bottom of the valley with his abdomen cut away from his liver, and mutilated, his nose and ears cut off. Muhammad bin Ja'far bin az-Zubair related to me that the Messenger of Allah said when he saw what he saw: "Were it not that Safiyyah would grieve and it would become a rule after me, I would leave him till he was in the stomachs of wild beasts and the crops of birds. If Allah gives me victory over Quraish on one of the battlefields I will mutilate thirty men of them". When the Muslims saw the grief and rage of the Messenger of Allah against those who had done what they did to his uncle they said: "If Allah gives us victory over them on any day to come, we shall verily mutilate them in a way none of the Arabs has ever done".

Ibn Hishām: When the Messenger of Allah stood over Hamzah he said: "I shall never get the like of you again; I have never been in a situation which enraged me more than this". Then he said: "Gabriel came to me and told me that Hamzah was enrolled among the people of the seven heavens, Hamzah bin 'Abd al-Muttalib the Lion of Allah and His messenger. The Messenger of Allah, Hamzah, and Abū Salimah bin

'Abd al-Asad were foster-brothers whom a clientess of Abū Lahab nursed.

Ibn Ishāq: Buraidah ibn Sufyān ibn Farwah of Aslam related to me on the authority of Muhammad ibn Ka'b al-Qurazī, and one who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, that Allah to Whom belong power and glory sent down about that saying of the Messenger of Allah and the saying of his friends:-

If ye take vengeance take it only in the measure that vengeance is taken from you; but verily if ye endure patiently, it is better for those who endure patiently. And endure patiently, but thy patient endurance is only in Allah; grieve not over them and do not be in distress because of the plots they lay. (Sūrah 16: 126)

So the Messenger of Allah desisted, endured patiently, and forbade mutilation.

Ibn Ishāq: Humaid the Tall related to me on the authority of al-Hasan from Samurah ibn Jundub. He said: The Messenger of Allah never stood in any place and quitted it without commanding us about alms and forbidding us to mutilate.

Ibn Ishāq: One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of Miqdam, client of 'Abdallah ibn al-Hārith from Ibn 'Abbās. He said: The Messenger of Allah gave orders for Hamzah to be shrouded in his cloak, then he prayed over him and uttered seven Takbīrs, then he brought the slain and they were placed beside Hamzah, and he prayed over them and him together till he had prayed seventy two prayers over him.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what I heard, Safiyyah bint 'Abd al-Muttalib came up to see him - he was her full brother. The Messenger of Allah said to her son az-Zubair ibn al-'Awwām: "Meet her and take her back so that she may not see what has happened to her brother". He said to her: "O my mother, the Messenger of Allah commands you to go back". She said: "Wherefore, when I have heard that my brother has been mutilated, and that in (the way of) Allah. How pleased we are with what has come from that! but I must be content and endure patiently if Allah wills". When az-Zubair came to the Messenger of Allah and told him that he said: "Let her come", and she came to him, prayed over him, looked at him, said: "Verily we belong to Allah and verily to Him do we return", and sought forgiveness for him. Then the Messenger of Allah gave the order and he was buried.

The burial of the martyrs.

The family of 'Abdallah ibn Jahsh who was the son of Umaimah bint 'Abd al-Muttalib, Hamzah being his uncle - and he was mutilated like Hamzah except that his liver was not cut out - said to me that the Messenger of Allah buried him along with Hamzah in the same grave, but I have not heard that from any other (source) except his family.

Ibn Ishāq: Some of the Muslims carried their slain to Medina and buried them there but the Messenger of Allah forbade that and said: "Bury them where they fell".

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad ibn Muslim az-Zuhri related to me on the authority of 'Abdallah ibn Tha'labah ibn Su'air the 'Udhrite, ally of the Beni Zuhrah, that when the Messenger of Allah looked on the slain on the day of Uhud he said: "I am witness that Allah will raise up on the day of Resurrection all those who have received wounds in the way of Allah; their wounds will bleed; the colour will be that of blood, and the odour will be that of musk. Find out the one of them who best knows the Qur'ān and place him in front of his friends in the grave". They buried them in graves by twos and threes.

Ibn Ishāq: My uncle Mūsā ibn Yasār related to me that he heard Abū Hurairah say: Abū 'l-Qāsim said: "All who have been wounded in the way of Allah, Allah will raise up on the day of Resurrection; their wounds will bleed; the colour will be that of blood and the odour will be that of musk".

Ibn Ishāq: My father Ishāq ibn Yasār related to me on the authority of some shaikhs of the Beni Salimah that the Messenger of Allah said that day when he ordered the burial of the slain: "Look for 'Amr ibn al-Jumūh and 'Abdallah ibn 'Amr ibn Harām, for they were true friends in this life, and put them in one grave".

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah set out on his return journey to Medina, and, according to what I heard, Hammah bint Jahsh met him. When she met the people she was told of the death of her brother, 'Abdallah ibn Jahsh and she said: "Verily we belong to Allah and verily to Him do we return", and sought forgiveness for him". Then the death of her uncle Hamzah ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib was announced to her and she said: "Verily we belong to Allah and verily to Him do we return", and sought forgiveness for him. Then the death of her husband, Mus'ab

bin 'Umair was announced to her and she cried aloud and wailed. The Messenger of Allah said: "Verily a woman's husband occupies a special place in her affections", because of what he saw of her composure in the case of her brother and uncle and her outcry about her husband.

The weeping of the wives of the Helpers for Hamzah.

The Messenger of Allah passed by one of the houses of the Helpers of the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal and Thafir and heard them weeping and wailing over their dead. The Messenger of Allah's eyes filled with tears and he wept. Then he said: "But Hamzah has no one to weep for him". When Sa'd bin Mu'adh and Usaid bin Hudair returned to the tribe of the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal they commanded their wives to gird themselves and go and weep for the uncle of the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: Hakīm bin Hakīm bin 'Abbād bin Hunaif related to me on the authority of one of the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal. He said: When the Messenger of Allah heard them weeping for Hamzah he went out to them - they were at the door of the mosque weeping for him - and said: "Return, may Allah have mercy on you, you have been a consolation to yourselves".

Ibn Hishām: He forbade mourning that day.

Ibn Hishām: Abū 'Ubaidah related to me that when the Messenger of Allah heard them weeping he said: "May Allah have mercy on the Helpers, for magnanimity belongs to them and what I have known (of it) is of old. Order them to go away!"

The affair of the woman of ad-Dīnār.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abd al-Wahīd bin Abū 'Aun related to me on the authority of Isma'īl bin Muhammad bin Sa'd bin Abū Waqqās. He said: The Messenger of Allah passed by a woman of the Beni Dīnār whose husband, brother and father had been killed while at Uhud with the Messenger of Allah. When their deaths were announced to her she said: "How did the Messenger of Allah fare?". They said: "He is well, O Umm So-and-so, Praise be to Allah, he is as you would like him to be". She said: "Show me him that I may see him". He was pointed out to her and when she saw him she said: "After you every calamity is but a light thing," meaning a small thing.

Ibn Hishām: Al-Jalal is used of much or little and here it refers to little. Imru 'l-Qais said using the word in this sense:-

The killing by the Beni Asad of their chieftain
Is not everything else a small thing?

Ibn Hishām: The words of the poet al-Hārith bin Wa'lah use it in the sense of 'big'.

If I forgive, I forgive much
If I make an attack I weaken myself.

The washing of the swords.

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah returned to his family he handed his sword to his daughter Fātimah and said: "Wash the blood off it my daughter, for it has indeed been true to me to-day". 'Ali bin Abū Tālib also handed her his sword and said: "Wash the blood from this also for it has been true to me to-day". The Messenger of Allah said: "If you have fought bravely, Sahl bin Hunaif and Abū Dujānah have also fought bravely".

Ibn Hishām: The Messenger of Allah's sword was called "Dhū 'l-Faqar".

Ibn Hishām: One of the scholars related to me that the Messenger of Allah said to 'Ali bin Abū Tālib: "The polytheists will not inflict the like of it on us till Allah grants us victory".

Ibn Hishām: One of the scholars related to me that Ibn Abū Najīh said: "A crier called out on the day of Uhud: 'There is no sword but Dhū 'l-Faqar and no young man but 'Ali'".

Ibn Hishām: The day of Uhud was Saturday the fifteenth of Shawwāl.

Departure of the Messenger of Allah in pursuit of the enemy.

When the morning of the Sunday came, the sixteenth night of Shawwāl having passed, the Mu'adhdhin of the Messenger of Allah called the people to seek the enemy. His Mu'adhdhin announced that no one was to go out with us except those who had been present with us yesterday. Then Jabir bin 'Abdallah bin 'Amr bin Harām spoke to him and said: " O Messenger of Allah, my father left me

behind in charge of seven sisters of mine and said: 'We must not both leave these women without a man, and I am not the one to yield precedence to you in fighting along with the Messenger of Allah, so stay behind in charge of your sisters', and I remained behind in charge of them". So the Messenger of Allah granted him leave and he went out with him. The Messenger of Allah set out merely to frighten the enemy; that they might hear he had gone out in search of them, so that they would imagine he had a force at his disposal, and that they had not been so weakened by what had befallen them that they could not follow up the enemy.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Khārijah bin Zaid bin Thābit related to me on the authority of Abū 's-Sā'ib client of 'Ā'ishah bint 'Uthmān that one of the friends of the Messenger of Allah of the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal who witnessed Uhud with the Messenger of Allah said: "I witnessed Uhud with the Messenger of Allah, I and a brother of mine, and we came back wounded. When the Mu'adhdhin of the Messenger of Allah announced the departure in search of the enemy, I said to my brother and he said to me: 'Shall we let a raid with the Messenger of Allah escape us although we have no beast on which to ride and we are both badly wounded?'. and we set out with the Messenger of Allah. I was not so badly wounded as he was and when he was tired out I carried him by turns and he marched in turns till we got as far as the Muslims had gone.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah advanced till he reached Hamrā' al-Asad which is eight miles from Medina. He appointed Ibn Umm Maktūm governor of Medina, according to what Ibn Hishām says.

Ibn Ishāq: He remained there Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, after which he returned to Medina.

The affair of Ma'bad the Khuẓā'ite.

According to what 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr related to me, Ma'bad bin Abū Ma'bad the Khuẓā'ite passed by him. Khuẓā'ah, both Muslim and polytheist, was a secret source of intelligence for the Messenger of Allah in Tihāmah. They had an understanding with him that they would conceal from him nothing that took place there. Ma'bad

was at that time a polytheist and he said: "O Muhammad, that which has befallen you where your comrades are concerned is hard on us and we would like Allah to preserve you for their sake". While the Messenger of Allah was in Hamrā' al-Asad, he went out and met Abū Sufyān bin Harb and those who were with him in ar-Rauhā'. They had agreed to turn back on the Messenger of Allah and his friends, and said: "We have smitten the best of his friends, their leaders and their noblemen, and are well to go back before we exterminate them; we shall do the same to their remnants and make an end of them". When Abū Sufyān saw Ma'bad, he said: "What is your news, O Ma'bad?" He said: "Muhammad has gone out with his friends in search of you, accompanied by a gathering the like of which I have never seen, and they are burning in wrath against you. Those who remained behind him that day have joined forces with him, repentant at what they have done, filled with a rancour against you the like of which I have never seen". He said: "Out upon you! What are you saying?". He said: "I do not think you will set forward till you see the manes of the horses". He said: "We had resolved to do the same thing to them again and exterminate what was left of them". He said: "I forbid you to do that, and indeed what I saw moved me to recite some stanzas of poetry about them". He said: "What did you recite?". He said: "I said:-

My mount almost dropped with fright at the noise
 When the country swarmed with troops of horse
 Racing like noble lions which will not be found wanting
 When the encounter takes place, and not devoid of arms
 I kept on running, thinking the earth was tilting
 When they uttered the name of a chief not deserted
 And I said: 'Woe to Ibn Harb when you encounter him
 When the torrent dashes against a nation'.
 Verily I am a prophet to the people of the sacred place
 exposed to the sun
 To every one of them who possesses intelligence and sense
 The cavalry detachments of the army of Ahmad are not
 contemptible
 And that about which I have given warning may not be
 described as idle talk."

That turned back Abū Sufyān and those who were with him. A party of horsemen from 'Abd al-Qais passed by him and he said: "Where are you going?". They said: "We are going to Medina". He said: "Wherefore?" They said: "We need provisions". He said: "Will you take a message to Muhammad for me which I want to send to him, and if you do this I will lade these (beasts) with raisins for you in 'Ukāth to-morrow?"

They said: "Yes". He said: "When you get there tell him we have resolved to go against him and his friends to exterminate what is left of them". So the party passed by the Messenger of Allah while he was in Hamrā' al-Asad, and informed him of what Abū Sufyān and his friends had said. He said: "Our sufficiency is Allah! What an excellent Patron!".

Ibn Hishām: Abū 'Ubaidah related to us that when Abū Sufyān bin Harb went away on the day of Uhud he wished to return to Medina to exterminate the remnants of the friends of the Messenger of Allah, and Safwān bin Umaiyyah bin Khalaf said to them: "Do not do it, for the people are in angry mood and we dread that they will have a different kind of battle from what they had, so go back", and they went back. The Prophet said while he was in Hamrā' al-Asad when word came to him that they were contemplating returning: "By Him in whose hand is my life, stones have been marked for them, were they greeted with them in the morning they would be as yesterday which is past".

The killing of Abu 'Azzah and Mu'āwiyah bin al-Mughīrah.

The Messenger of Allah on that journey of his before he returned to Medina took Mu'āwiyah bin al-Mughīrah bin Abu 'l-'Ās bin Umaiyyah bin 'Abd Shams who was the grandfather of 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwān, the father of whose mother 'A'ishah bint Mu'awiyah he was, and Abū 'Azzah the Jumahite. The Messenger of Allah had taken him prisoner at Badr and then released him, so he said: "O Messenger of Allah, pardon me". But the Messenger of Allah said: "No indeed, you shall not anoint your cheeks in Mecca and say: 'I deceived Muhammad twice'; smite off his head, O Zubair"; and he struck off his head.

Ibn Hishām: I heard on the authority of Sa'īd bin al-Musayyib that he said: "The believer is not bitten twice from the same hole; behead him O'Āsim bin Thābit"; and he beheaded him. It is said that Zaid bin Hārithah and 'Ammār bin Yāsir killed Mu'āwiyah bin al-Mughīrah after Hamrā' al-Asad. He had taken refuge with 'Uthmān bin 'Affān who sought protection for him from the Messenger of Allah, and he granted it to him on condition that if he were found after three days he would be killed. He stayed over the three days and hid himself and the Prophet sent the pair of them and said: "You will find him in such-and-such a place, and they found him and slew him.

The affair of 'Abdallah bin Ubai after that.

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah came to Medina, 'Abdallah bin Ubai bin Salūl, according to what Ibn Shihāb the Zuhrite related to me, had a place in which he stood every Friday, which was acknowledged (to be his) out of respect for him in himself and for his people; he was held in esteem among them. When the Messenger sat on Friday as he was preaching to the people he got up and said: "O people, this is the Messenger of Allah who is in your midst; Allah has honoured you with him, and in him has made you great; so help him; strengthen him, hearken to him and obey him", and then he sat down. After he did what he did on the day of Uhud and the people went back, he arose and did that just the same as he had been doing (before), but the Muslims beside him seized his garments and said: "Sit down enemy of Allah, you are not worthy to do that since you did what you did". So he went out, stepping over the necks of the people, and saying: "It is as if I had said something wicked; I got up to give him support". One of the Helpers met him at the door of the mosque and said: "Out upon you! What is the matter with you?" He said: "I got up to support his affair and some of his friends jumped on me, pulled me about and treated me roughly. It was as if I had said something wicked when I got up to support him". He said: "Out upon you! Go back; the Messenger of Allah will ask forgiveness for you". He said: "Indeed I desire not that he should ask forgiveness for me".

Ibn Ishāq: The day of Uhud was a day of calamity, misfortune, and trial in which Allah tested the believers and tried the hypocrites who manifested belief with their tongues but were hiding unbelief in their hearts: a day in which Allah honoured with martyrdom those people under His patronage whom He willed to honour.

Mention of the part of the Qur'ān that came down about the day of Uhud.

Abū Muhammad 'Abd al-Malik bin Hishām related to us. He said: Ziyād bin 'Abdallah the Bakka'ite related to us on the authority on the authority of Muhammad bin Ishāq the Muttalibite. He said: The part of the Qur'ān which Allah the Blessed, the Exalted, sent down about the day of Uhud was sixty verses of 'The Family of 'Imrān' in which is a description of what happened on that day, and His reproof to those whom He reproved. Allah says to His prophet:-

When thou didst go forth early from thy household to settle the believers in position for the battle; Allah hears and knows.

Ibn Hishām: Tabawwi' al-mu'minīn means to choose positions or encampments for them. Al-Kumait bin Zaid said:-

O that I had been before him I would have chosen the couch
This stanza occurs in some stanzas of his.

That is: He hears what you say; He knows what you conceal.

When two sections of you had thought of giving up
That is: Of deserting; and the two sections were the Beni Salimah bin Jusham bin al-Khazraj, and the Beni Hārithah bin an-Nabīṭ of the Aus. They were the two wings. Allah, the Blessed the Exalted says:-

And Allah was their patron
That is: The One who warded off from them cowardice which they had contemplated, and that showed itself in them merely from a certain weakness and feebleness which came upon them; it was not due to any doubt about their religion. So He took upon Himself to ward that off from them in His mercy and help till they were secure from their feebleness and weakness, and joined up with their prophet.

Ibn Hishām: One of the scholars of al-Asad related to me. He said: We prefer that we should have considered doing what we considered doing since Allah took care of us in it.

Ibn Ishāq: Allah, the Blessed, the Exalted says:-

let the believers put their trust in Allah
That is: Any one of the believers in whom is weakness let him put his trust in Me; let him ask Me for help and I will help him in his affair, avert (evil) from him, that I may give him satisfaction in it, protect him, and fortify him in his intention.

Allah hath already helped you at Badr, when ye were insignificant; act piously toward Allah then, perhaps you will be thankful.

That is: Act piously towards me, for it would be but gratitude for My favour. Allah helped you at Badr when you were fewer in number and weaker in strength.

When thou wert saying to the believers: "Will it not be enough for you that your Lord reinforces you with three thousand of the angels sent down
Yes, if ye endure and act piously, and they come upon you in this very rush of theirs, your Lord will reinforce you with five thousand of the angels designated.

That is: If you endure against my enemy, obey my commandment, and they come upon you in this headlong way of theirs, I will reinforce you with five thousand of the angels designated.

Ibn Hishām: Masawwamīn means 'marked'. We heard on the authority of al-Hasan bin Abu 'l-Hasan that he said: "They marked their horses' tails and manes with white wool, but Ibn Ishāq says their markings on the day of Badr were white turbans. I have mentioned that in the narrative of the day of Badr. As-sīmā means 'the mark', and in the Book of Allah, (it is said);-

They bear their mark on their faces from the effect of prostration. (Surah 48: 29).

That is: Their mark

....Stones of baked clay, piled up, marked....
(Surah 11: 82).

He means: Marked. We heard on the authority of al-Hasan bin Abū 'l-Hasan that he said: On them is a mark to signify that they are not the stones of this world, but the stones of punishment. Ru'bah bin al-'Ajjāj said:-

Now the glowering coursers are on trial before me
They will not compete with me if they have not been marked
They have fixed their eyes and rushed along

Ajdhamū with Dhāl means 'they hastened' and ajdamū with Dāl means 'they cut'. These stanzas are in a poem of his in the Rājaz metre. Masawwamah also means 'pastured', and in the Book of Allah (it is said):-

Marked (special) horses (Surah 3: 14)

Bushes on which ye pasture (herds) (Sūrah 16: 10).

The Arabs say: "He pastured his horses or his camels (Sawwam khailahu wa iblahu wa asāmahā). Al-Kumait bin Zaid said:-

We have lost a shepherd who was good (to his flock)
And the loss of the herd means the destruction of the flock.

Ibn Hishām: Musjihan means 'of easy temperament, being good to the sheep'. This stanza is in a poem of his.

Allah only set that forth as good news for you that your hearts thereby might be at peace: help cometh only from Allah the Mighty the Wise

That is: I have designated for you the angelic hosts whom I did designate merely as good tidings for you, and thereby to reassure your hearts, because of your weakness which is known to me, and there

is no help except from Me , because of My authority and power, and that because might and wisdom belong to Me, and not to any of my creatures. Then He said:-

that He might cut off a flank of those who have disbelieved, or might cast them down so that they would retire disappointed

That is: That he might cut off a flank of the polytheists by a slaughter whereby He might be avenged of them or turn them back disappointed. That is: Those of them who were left would turn back in rout, disappointed, without having obtained any of the things for which they had hoped.

Ibn Hishām: Yakbatuhum means 'He afflicts them with the greatest grief and denies them what they desired'. Dhū ar-Rummah said:-

Whatever grief I forget I will not forget our situation

In perplexity between joy and grief.

Yakbatuhum also means 'he threw them down on their faces'.

Ibn Ishāq: Then He said to Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah:-

Thou hast nothing to do with this affair whether He relents towards them or punished; for they are wrong-doers

That is: You have nothing to do with the sentence on my servants except in so far as I have given you commandment about them. Either I will relent towards them in my mercy, and if I will, I will do so; or I will punish them for their offences, which is within my right, for they are wrong-doers. That is: they have deserved that by disobeying me.

Allah is forgiving, compassionate

That is: He pardons offences and has mercy on mankind according to what is in them. Then he said:-

O ye who have believed, live not on usury doubled twice over

That is: Do not live on what you were living on when you were following another religion since Allah has guided you to Islam, for it is not permitted to you in your religion

but act piously toward Allah perhaps you will prosper

That is: Obey Allah; perhaps you will escape the punishment of which Allah has warned you and attains to the rewards which He desires you should have.

And fear the Fire which has been prepared for the unbelievers

That is: Which has been appointed as an abode for those who disbelieve in Me. Then He says:-

And obey Allah and the messenger, perhaps ye will find mercy

in reproof of those who disobeyed His messenger when he commanded them what he commanded them on that day and on other days. Then He said:-

And hasten towards forgiveness from your Lord and Paradise wide as the heavens and the earth prepared for those who act piously

That is: An abode for those who obey Me and obey my messenger

Who contribute in prosperity and in adversity, who restrain their anger and deal leniently with the people; Allah loveth those who do well

That is: That is what well-doing is, and I love those who do it

Who, when they commit an indecency or a wrong against themselves, remember Allah and ask forgiveness for their sins - and who forgiveth sins but Allah? - and do not persist in what they have done, when they know

That is: If they have done an indecent thing or wronged themselves by disobedience, they remembered Allah's prohibition of it and what He had forbidden them, asked His forgiveness for it, recognising that none but He forgives sins and did not persist in what they had wittingly done amiss. That is: They did not continue in disobedience to Me after the manner of those who give Me associates, and who go to excess in disbelief of Me when they know that I have forbidden them to worship another

The recompence of such is forgiveness from their Lord and Gardens beneath which rivers flow, in which to abide; good is the reward of those who labour

That is: The reward of those who obey.

Then he goes on to mention the calamity which came down on them, the calamity which smote them, the trial of what was in them, and His taking some of them as martyrs; and said by way of comfort to them, and to inform them of what they did and what He did to them:-

Precedents have happened before your day; go about in the land and see what was the end of those who treated (prophets) as liars

That is: Visitations of vengeance have come from Me on the people who accused my messengers of lying and who gave Me associates, (such as) 'Ad and Thamud and the people of Lot and the men of Midian who saw examples of what came from Me upon them and upon those who were

following what they followed, for I was forbearing with them. That is: Lest they should imagine that My vengeance was withheld from your enemy and mine for the nation which I caused to prevail over you, that He might test you thereby and tell you what you had. Then He said:-

This is an explanation for the people, a guidance and an admonition for those who act piously

That is: This is an explanation for the people if they will accept the guidance, and guidance and admonition. That is: Light and learning for those who act piously: that is: for those who have obeyed me and recognised My affair

Do not grow faint and grieve

That is: Do not weaken and do not despair because of what has come upon you when ye have the best of it

That is: The victory will be yours at the end if ye are believers

That is: If you have accepted as genuine My prophet and what he brought you from Me.

If a hurt affect you

That is: A wound

a similar hurt has already affected the people

That is: A wound like it

These days we cause to alternate among the people

That is: We change misfortune and testing about among the people

that Allah may know those who have believed and may choose martyrs from amongst you; Allah loveth not the wrong-doers

That is: That He might distinguish between the believers and the hypocrites, and to honour with martyrdom such of the people as He will so honour. Allah does not love the wrong-doers; that is: the hypocrites who with their tongues manifest obedience while with their hearts they persist in disobedience

And that Allah may test those who have believed

That is: That He may prove those who have believed to save them by means of the trial that has befallen them, with regard to their endurance and certainty

and annihilate the unbelievers

That is: That He might render null and void the utterance by the hypocrites of that which was not in their hearts, that He might make manifest the unbelief which they conceal. Then the Exalted said:-

Or did ye think that ye would enter Paradise without Allah

knowing those of you who strove and knowing those of you who endure

That is: Did you think that you would enter Paradise and receive My rewards of honour and I would never prove you with hard things or afflict you with that which you dislike, so that I might know whether that faith of yours in Me was genuine, and the endurance of what befell you in My (way).

Ye have been desiring martyrdom for the truth which you follow

before ye met your enemy

He means those who roused up the Messenger of Allah to take them out against the enemy, because they had missed being present on the day which was before it at Bedr, and in desire for the martyrdom which had escaped them there. He says:-

So now ye see it and are beholding it

That is: Death by swords in the hands of men who intervened between them and you while you were beholding them and He averted them from you.

Muhammad is only a messenger; before him other messengers have passed away. If then he dies or is killed, will ye turn back upon your heels. If anyone turns back on his heels he will not injure Allah at all; Allah will reward those who are grateful

That is: In reference to the saying of the people: 'Muhammad is slain' and their consequent rout and breaking away from the enemy. If he die then or be slain, will you go back from your religion to be unbelievers as you were (before) and abandon the struggle against your enemy, the Book of Allah, and His religion which His prophet left with you; and he has made it plain to you in what he brought you from me, that he is mortal and will leave you.

If anyone turns back upon his heels

That is: Goes back from his religion

he will not injure Allah at all

That is: Such a thing will not diminish the power, sovereignty, authority, and might of Allah

Allah will reward those who are grateful

That is: Those who obey Him and do ~~as~~ according to His commandment.

It is not given to anyone to die unless by permission of Allah written and dated

That is: Muhammad has a fixed term which he will reach and that will

be whenever Allah wills

Whoever desires the reward of this world, We will give him thereof, and whoever desires the reward of the next world we will give him thereof; We shall recompence those who are grateful.

That is: Whoever of you desires the world and has no desire for the Hereafter, We will give him the provision that is allotted to him and they will not interfere with him (in his enjoyment) of it; but he will have no part in the Hereafter. And whoever desires the reward of the Hereafter, We will give it to him, all that he has been promised, together with the provision with which he will be recompensed in this world; and that is the reward of those who are grateful; that is: those who show piety. Then He said:-

How many a prophet (has there been) along with whom many thousands fought and did not grow faint because of what befell them in the way of Allah, nor did they weaken or humble themselves! Allah loveth those who endure.

That is: How many a prophet has been killed when he had many thousands: that is: a great host, and they did not grow faint because of the loss of their prophet, nor did they weaken in their efforts against the enemy, nor did they humble themselves because of what had befallen them in the fight for Allah and their religion; that was endurance; and Allah loves those who endure.

All that they had to say was: "O our Lord, forgive us our sins and our extravagance in our affair, set firm our feet, and help us against the unbelieving people".

Ibn Hishām: the singular of ar-Ribīyyīn is Ribbī and their saying ar-Ribāb refers to the descendants of 'Abd Manāt bin Udd bin Tābighah bin Ilyās and Dabbah, because they gathered together and formed a confederation. They mean (by the word), groups; and the singular of ar-Ribāb is Ribbah and Ribābah, which means a collection of arrows or sticks or something of that sort, and they likened them to them.

Umaiyyah bin Abū 's-Salt said:-

Around their satans are myriads - thousands who have buckled on the nailed armour.

This stanza is in a poem of his. Ar-Ribābah also means the covering in which the divining arrows are wrapped.

Ibn Hishām: As-Sinawwar means coats of mail, and ad-dusur means the nails in the rings. Allah to Whom belong power and glory says:-

But we carried him upon a thing of planks and nails.
(Sūrah 54: 13)

The poet, who was Abū 'l-Akhraz of Tamīm said;

With nails in the end of the erected palm stem.

Ibn Ishāq: That is; Say what they said, and know that it is only for sins on your part, and ask his forgiveness as they did, and go on in your religion as they did, and do not turn back on your heels and ask, as they asked, that He would make firm your feet, and seek help from Him as they sought help from Him against the unbelieving. This saying of theirs was uttered when their prophet was actually killed; they did not do as you did.

So Allah gave them the reward of this world
in victory over their enemy

and the good reward of the Hereafter
which Allah had promised.

Allah loveth those who do well.

O ye who have believed, if ye obey those who have disbelieved they will send you back upon your heels and ye will return losers.

That is: From your enemy, and both this world and the Hereafter will go.

Nay, Allah is your patron, and He is the best of helpers. For if what you say with your tongues be the truth from your hearts place your confidence in Him, seek not help from any other source, and turn not back on your heels apostatizing from His religion.

We shall cast terror into the hearts of those who have disbelieved

by means of which I helped you against them because they associated with Me something for which I gave them no authority. That is: Do not suppose that their end will be victory or that they will gain the mastery over you, so long as you put your confidence in Me, and follow My affair in reference to the mishap which befell you from them on account of sins you brought forward for yourselves wherein you disobeyed My commandments and in so doing were disobedient to My prophet.

Allah made good His promise to you when ye were sweeping them away by His permission, until when ye flinched, and vied in withdrawing from the affair and disobeyed after He had shown you what ye love.

Some of you wish this world and some of you wish the Hereafter

Then He turned you from them, that He might try you, but now He hath pardoned you; Allah is bounteous to the believers.

That is: I have fulfilled for you the help against your enemies which I promised you when you wiped them out with the sword; that is, killing, by my permission and my strengthening of your hands against them and my withholding of their hands from you.

Ibn Hishām: Al-Hass means extermination. You say: 'Hassastu 's-Shay' if you have exterminated it with the sword or in some other way.

Jarīr said:-

The swords will sweep them away like as an outbreak of fire ascends through the gathered brushwood

This stanza is in a poem of his. Ru'bah bin al-'Ajjāj said:-

When we complained of a blasting year
Which ate up the withered after the green

These two stanzas are in a short-metre poem of his.

Ibn Ishāq: Until when ye flinched

That is: You fell back

and vied in withdrawing from the affair

That is: You disagreed about my affair: That is: You abandoned the affair of your prophet and the covenant he had made with you, meaning the archers.

after He had shown you what ye love

That is: Victory about which there could be no doubt and the rout of the people from their women and property

Some of you wish this world

That is: Those who desired booty in this world and abandoned the obedience which they were commanded to perform for which there is the reward of the Hereafter

and some of you wish the Hereafter

That is: Those who have striven in (the way of) Allah and did not disobey in respect of what was forbidden them for the sake of any chance gain of this world of which they were desirous, but hoping for the best of rewards which is with Allah in the Hereafter. That is: Those who have striven in (the way of) religion and did not disobey in respect of what was forbidden them for the sake of any chance gain of this world, that He might test you and that in some of your sins. Allah forgave you the serious part of it that He might not destroy

you because of the disobedience you have shown to your prophet; but I returned to you with my favour, and thus Allah was gracious to the Believers. If He inflicted punishment for some of their sins in this transient world, by way of discipline and admonition. He did not destroy in them all the rights they owed Him, because of an act of disobedience which overtook them, in mercy and help to them on account of the faith that was in them.

Then he cautioned them about fleeing from their prophet in that when they were called they did not respond favourably at his call. He said:

When ye were making the ascent without turning aside for anyone though the messenger was calling to you from behind you; so He recompensed you with distress upon distress that ye might not grieve for what ye have missed or for what has befallen you

That is: Grief upon grief because of the slaughter of your brethren who were slain, the superiority of your enemy over you, and what happened to you through the words of him who said: "Your prophet is slain". These were some of the things that followed each other in succession, distress on distress, that you might not grieve for the victory over your enemy that escaped you after you had seen them with your eyes; or for the slaughter of your brethren which befell you, till I dispelled that grief from you.

Allah is aware of what ye do.

That by means of which Allah dispelled from them the grief and distress which had befallen them was (the fact) that Allah turned back from them the lie of Satan about the killing of their prophet. When they saw the Messenger of Allah alive in their midst, they thought little of the enemy who had escaped them after the victory over them and the misfortune which had befallen them in regard to their brethren when Allah turned away death from their prophet.

Then after the distress He sent down upon you security a slumber which came over part of you, but a part of you were concerned about themselves, imagining about Allah what is not true - the thoughts of Paganism, saying: "Have we any say in the affair at all?". Say: "The affair belongs to Allah entirely.

They conceal within themselves what they do not reveal to thee, saying: "If we had had any say in the affair, we should not have been killed here". Say: "If ye had been in your houses, those who were decreed to be slain would have gone forth to the places where they lie", in order that Allah might try what was in your breasts and prove what

was in your hearts; Allah knoweth your inmost thoughts. So Allah sent down slumber from Himself as a security to the people who were convinced about Him, and they slept without fear. But the people of hypocrisy were concerned about themselves and in dread of being slain because they did not hope for an issue, so Allah mentioned their sorrow and regret at what befell them. Then Allah, praise be to Him, said to His prophet:-

If ye had been in your houses and had not come to this battlefield where Allah revealed those secrets of yours which He revealed, He would have brought forth those who were destined to be slain to another field of battle, there to fall, that thereby He might try what was in their breasts and prove what was in their hearts:

Allah knoweth your inmost thoughts.

That is: That which is in their breasts which they have sought to conceal from you is not concealed from Him. Then He said:-

O ye who have believed, do not be like those who have disbelieved, and who say with regard to their brethren who travel about in the land or are on raids: "If they had been with us they would not have died or been slain", so that Allah might lay that as a sorrow on their hearts. It is Allah who gives life and causes to die, and Allah is observant of what ye do.

That is: Do not be as the hypocrites who prohibit their brethren from fighting in the way of Allah and (from) going about in the land in obedience to Allah and His Messenger, and saying; when they die or are killed: "Had they obeyed us they would not have died or been slain", so that Allah might lay that as a sorrow on their hearts. That is: Because of their little faith. It is Allah who giveth life and causeth to die. That is: He brings forward what He wills and puts back what He wills where their death is concerned by His power. Then He said:

Surely if ye are killed in the way of Allah or die, forgiveness and mercy from Allah are better than what ye amass.

That is: Death is a fact from which there is no escape, and death in the way of Allah, or being killed is better, if they only knew and were persuaded, than what they amass from the world, for the sake of which they hold back from the struggle for fear of death and being killed, for the sake of the blooms of the world they have gathered, in their indifference to the Hereafter.

Surely if ye die or are killed
Whichever it is

to Allah will ye be gathered
That is: To Allah is the return. Let not the world then deceive you
and be not deceived by it, and let the struggle and what Allah has
desired for you weigh more with you than it does. Then the Blessed,
the Exalted, said:-

As by the mercy OF Allah thou hast been lenient to them
and if thou hadst been rough and hard of heart they would
have disbanded from about thee

That is: They would indeed have abandoned thee
overlook their offence

That is: Pass it over

and ask pardon for them and consult them in the affair, and
when thou art resolved place thy trust upon Allah; Allah
loveth those who place their trust (upon Him)

He mentions to His prophet his leniency towards them and patience with
them in their weakness and lack of endurance in face of the roughness.
If it had come upon them from him in connection with their departure
from the obedience to their prophet which He imposed on them.....
Then He said:

Overlook their offence

That is: Pass it over

and ask pardon for them

The sins of those people of the faith who have become polluted
and consult them in the affair

That is: That you may show them that you hearken to them and seek
their aid even if you could do without them out of friendship for them
on the ground of their religion

and when thou art resolved

That is: About an affair which has come to you from Me, and an affair
of your religion concerning fighting your enemies, and nothing else
suits either you or them, do according to what you have been commanded
in opposition to those who oppose you and in agreement with those who
agree with you

and place thy trust upon Allah

That is: Be content with Him rather than with men

Allah loveth those who place their trust (upon Him).
If Allah help you, no one can overcome you, but if He
abandon you, who will help you after Him?

That is: Lest you should leave My affair to the people and I abandon the people to My affair

Upon Allah

not upon the people

let the believers put their trust

Then He said:-

It was not the part of a prophet to defraud; he who defrauds will bring what he has defrauded on the day of resurrection; then each one will be paid in full what he has earned and they will not be wronged.

That is: It was not the part of a prophet to hide from the people that with which Allah had sent him to them, either through fear of the people or from desire; and whoever does that will bring it to the day of resurrection and he will be recompensed for what he has earned, without being wronged and without anyone encroaching on his rights.

Is he then who follows after the approval of Allah regardless of whether people are pleased or displeased

like him who settled under anger from Allah to please the people or displease them. Is he then who is on the way of obedience to Me and whose reward is Paradise and the approval of Allah like him who has settled under anger from Allah and deserved His displeasure

and whose resort is Gehenna - a bad place to go to?

Are the two allegories the same? Recognise ye.

They are (set in) degrees with Allah; and Allah is observant of what they do.

To each one there are degrees in Paradise and the Fire for what they have done. That is: Allah is not ignorant of those who obey Him and of those who disobey Him. Then He said:-

Surely Allah bestowed a favour on the believers when He raised up among them a messenger, one of themselves to recite His signs to them, to purify them, and to teach them the Book and the Wisdom, although they had formerly been in manifest error.

That is: Surely Allah bestowed a favour on you O people of the Faith when He raised up amongst you a messenger, one of yourselves, to recite to you His signs about what you have done amiss and about what you have done (aright), and to teach you good and evil, that you may recognise the good and do it, and the evil and avoid it, and to tell you of His approval of you when you are obedient to

Him so that you may abound in obedience to Him, and avoid the disobedience for which He is displeased with you, that thereby you may save yourselves from His vengeance and obtain His reward in Paradise.

Even though you had formerly been in manifest error That is: In the blindness of the Barbarism. That is: You did not recognise the good, nor did you ask forgiveness for evil, deaf to good, dumb to the truth, blind to the guidance. Then He mentioned the disaster that had befallen them and said:-

When then a misfortune befell you and you had already inflicted twice as much you say: "Whence is this?" Say: "It is from yourselves; Allah hath power over all things.

That is: If a misfortune has befallen you with regard to your brethren for your sins, you have already inflicted twice that on your enemy, on the day that came before at Bedr, in slain and prisoners; and you have forgotten your disobedience and departure from what your prophet commanded you; you brought that on yourselves.

Allah hath power over all things

That is: Allah has power over the vengeance and the pardon which He wills for His servants.

What befell you on the day when the two hosts met was by the permission of Allah, and in order that He might know the believers

That is: What befell you when you and your enemy met was by my permission when you did what you did after my help came to you and you found my promise to distinguish between the believers and the hypocrites true.

and in order that He might know those of you who played the hypocrite;

That is: That He might make manifest what was in them

and word was passed to them: "Come, fight in the way of Allah or defend"

He means 'Abdallah bin Ubai and his friends who turned away from the Messenger of Allah when he marched against his enemy, the polytheists, at Uhud, and their saying: "Had we known you were going to fight we would have marched with you and defended you, but we did not imagine there would be a battle". So Allah made manifest that which they were concealing within themselves. Allah says:-

They were that day nearer to unbelief than to belief, saying with their mouths what was not in their hearts

That is: They were showing you belief when it was not in their hearts.

but Allah knoweth what they conceal

That is: What they hide.

Those who say regarding their brethren
of their kindred and tribe who were smitten with them

"If they had obeyed us they would not have been killed!"
Say: "Repel death from yourselves then, if ye speak the
truth"

That is: There is no escape from death, and if you are able to ward
it off from yourselves, do so. That was merely because they played
the hypocrite and abandoned the struggle in the way of Allah in their
hankering to remain in this world and as a means of escape from death.
Then He said to His prophet, to inspire the believers to fight and
make death easy for them:-

Count not those who have been killed in the way of Allah
as dead, nay, alive are they with their Lord, provided for
Delighting in what Allah hath given them of His bounty,
and rejoicing in those who, left behind, have not yet
joined them, that fear rests not upon them, nor do they
grieve.

That is: Do not imagine that those who have been slain in the way of
Allah are dead. That is: I have brought them to life and they are
with me, provided for in the rest and bounty of Paradise, rejoicing in
the reward which Allah has given them for their struggle on His behalf,
and glad about those who, left behind, have not joined them. That is:
They are glad in the coming of their brethren who have joined them in
the way of the struggle by which they went, that they might share
with them the reward which Allah has given them; Allah has put away
from them fear and sorrow. Allah says:-

Rejoicing in the favour and bounty of Allah and that Allah
doth not allow the reward of the believers to perish

Because of the fulfilment of the promise which they beheld with their
eyes, and great is the reward.

Ibn Ishāq: Isma'īl bin Umaiyah related to me on the authority of Abu
'z-Zubair from Ibn 'Abbās. He said: The Messenger of Allah said:
"When your brethren were killed at Uhud, Allah put their spirits in
the insides of green birds which go down to drink at the rivers of
Paradise, and eat of its fruit, and perch on the golden candlestick
in the shadow of the throne. When they found out how excellent was
their food and drink and how good their resting-place, they said:

"Would that our brethren knew what Allah has done for us, that they may not grow weary of the struggle or shrink from war". Allah said: "We shall indeed inform them about you", and He sent down these verses to His messenger: "Count not....."

Ibn Ishāq: Al-Hārith bin al-Fudail related to me on the authority of Mahmūd bin Labīd the Helper from Ibn 'Abbās that he said: The Messenger of Allah said: "The martyrs are at Bāriq, a river at the gate of Paradise, in a green pavilion; their sustenance comes forth to them from Paradise morning and evening."

Ibn Ishāq: One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of 'Abdallah bin Mas'ūd that he was asked about these verses:

Count not those who have been killed in the way of Allah as dead, nay, alive with their Lord, provided for.

he said: "We have indeed enquired about them and we have been told that when your Muslim brethren were killed at Uhud, Allah put their spirits in the insides of green birds, which go down to drink at the rivers of Paradise, and eat of its fruit, and perch on the golden candlesticks in the shadow of the throne, and Allah looks down upon them and says: 'O my servants, what do you desire? I will give you more'; and they say: 'Our Lord, there is nothing in addition to what you have given us Paradise in which we eat wheresoever we will'. Then He looks down upon them and says: 'O my servants, what do you desire? I will give you more'; and they say: 'Our Lord there is nothing in addition to what you have given us - Paradise in which we eat wheresoever we will, except that we would like our spirits to be returned to our bodies, and that we should be returned to earth and fight for you and be killed a second time'".

Ibn Ishāq: One of our friends related to me on the authority of 'Abdallah bin Muhammad bin 'Aqīl. He said: I heard Jābir bin 'Abdallah say: "The Messenger of Allah said to me: 'O Jābir, shall I not give you good news?' I said: 'By all means, O prophet of Allah'. He said: 'When your father was killed at Uhud, Allah brought him to life and said to him: +What do you desire, O 'Abdallah bin 'Amr that I should do for you?+ He said: +O Lord, I would like you to send me back to earth and I would fight for you and be killed for you a second time'".

Ibn Ishāq: 'Amr bin 'Abīd related to me on the authority of al-Hasan.

He said: The Messenger of Allah said: "By Him in whose hand is my life, there is not a believer who leaves this world and would like to return to it for an hour of the day, even if he got the world and all in it, except the martyr, who would like to be returned to the world and fight for Allah and be killed a second time.

Ibn Ishāq: Then Allah the Exalted says:-

Those who responded to Allah and the messenger after the hurt had fallen upon them

That is: The wounds; and they are the believers who marched with the Messenger of Allah on the day after Uhud to Hamrā' al-Asad in spite of the pain they suffered from their wounds

for those of them who did well and acted piously is a great reward

To whom the people said: "The enemy have collected (forces) against you; therefore fear them!" But it increased their faith and they said: "It is on Allah that we count, and good the trustee"

The people who said to them what they said were a few individuals from 'Abd Qais to whom Abu Sufyan said what he said. They said: "Abū Sufyān and those who are with him are coming back to you". Allah says:

So they returned with goodness and bounty from Allah without evil having touched them. They followed after the approval of Allah, and Allah is the possessor of great bounty.

In reference to the meeting with the enemy which Allah had turned away from them.

That was only Satan

That is: That company, and what Satan put into their mouths frightening his clients

That is: Scaring you with his clients

so do not fear them, but fear Me if ye be believers
Let not those who vie in haste after unbelief grieve thee;

That is: The hypocrites

they will not injure Allah at all, Allah does not intend to grant them a share in the Hereafter, and for them is a great punishment

Verily those who have bought unbelief at the expense of belief will not injure Allah at all, and for them is a painful punishment.

Let not those who have disbelieved think that We forbear with them for their own good; We forbear with them simply that they may increase in guilt, and for them is a humiliating punishment.

Allah is not one to leave the believers in the situation in which ye are till He distinguishes the bad from the good.

That is: The hypocrites.

Nor is Allah one to lay open to you the unseen

That is: Concerning that wherewith He wills to try you that you may be on your guard against what comes to you

but Allah chooseth of His messengers whom He willeth

That is: He informs him of it

so believe in Allah and His messengers, if ye believe and act piously

That is: If you return and repent

there is for you a great reward.

List of names and poetry omitted.

The story of the day of ar-Rajī' in year three.

Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Malik bin Hishām related to us. He said: Ziyād bin 'Abdallah the Bakka'ite related to us on the authority of Muhammad bin Ishāq the Muttalibite. He said: 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah related to us. He said: A deputation of 'Adal and al-Qara came to the Messenger of Allah after Uhud.

Ibn Hishām: 'Adal and al-Qara belong to al-Haun bin Khuzaimah bin Mudrikah, and they are also given as al-Hūn.

They said to him: "O Messenger of Allah, Islam has come amongst us, send with us then a few of your friends who shall instruct us in the religion, show us how to recite the Qur'ān, and teach us the institutions of Islam!" So the Messenger of Allah sent a group of six of his friends. They were Marthad bin Abū Marthad, the Ghanawite, ally of Hmazah bin 'Abd al-Muttalib, Khālīd bin al-Bukair the Laithite, ally of the Beni 'Adi bin Ka'b, 'Āsim bin Thābit bin Abu 'l-Aqlah brother of the Beni 'Amr bin 'Auf, Khubaib bin 'Adi brother of the Beni Jahjabā bin Kulfaḥ bin 'Amr bin 'Auf, Zaid bin ad-Dathinnah brother of the Beni Biyāḍah bin 'Amr bin Zuraiq, and 'Abdallah bin Tāriq, ally of the Beni Thafar. The Messenger of Allah placed Marthad bin Abū Marthad, the Ghanawite in charge of the group. They set out with the people and when they were at ar-Rajī' a water-spot of Hudhail in the vicinity of the Hijāz at the approach to al-Had'ah, they broke faith with them and called on Hudhail to help them against them.

The first thing that alarmed the party was when men with drawn swords

descended upon them. They drew their swords to fight them, but they said to them: "We have no desire to kill you, but we want to smite one of the people of Mecca who are amongst you, and you have the covenant and compact of Allah that we will not kill you". But Marthad bin Abū Marthad, Khālīd bin al-Bukair, and 'Āsim bin Thābit said:

"We shall never accept covenant or engagement from a polytheist".

'Āsim bin Thābit said:-

What excuse have I when I am active and possess arrows
And my bow has a string stout and strong
The broad arrow-heads slip off its sides
Death is a reality and life is vanity
And all that Allah has decreed comes down
To man, and to Him man returns
If I do not fight you my mother will be deprived of a son.

'Āsim also said:

Abū Suleimān and the feathers of him who feathers the
arrows
And a tree like a blazing hell
When districts grew prosperous and well-inhabited I was
not afraid
And shields of ox-hide made smooth
And a believer in what came down to Muhammad.

'Āsim also said:-

Abū Suleimān and another like me shot our bolts
And my people were men of honour.

'Āsim was given the surname of Abū Suleimān. Then 'Āsim fought the party till he and his two friends were slain. When 'Āsim was slain Hudhail wanted to take his head to sell it to Sulāfah bint Sa'd bin Shuhaid. She had vowed when her two sons were slain on the day of Uhud that if she got the head of 'Āsim she would drink wine out of his skull. But a swarm of bees protected ^{him} and when the swarm interposed between them and him, they said: "Leave him till evening when it will go away from him and then we will get him". Then Allah sent a flood which bore up 'Āsim and carried him away. 'Āsim had made a covenant with Allah that no polytheist would ever touch him nor would he touch a polytheist, for fear of defilement. 'Umar bin al-Khattāb said when he heard that a swarm of bees had protected him "Allah keeps the believing servant. 'Āsim had vowed that no polytheist should ever touch him and that he would never touch a polytheist all his life, and Allah protected him after death since he kept himself pure in life.

As for Zaid bin ad-Dathannah, Khubaib bin 'Adi, and 'Abdallah bin Tāriq, they were weak and yielding and desired life, so they gave up their arms and were taken prisoner. Then they took them off to Mecca to dispose of them there and when they were in ath-Thahrān 'Abdallah bin Tāriq freed his hand from the bonds. Then he drew his sword and the party kept at a distance from him till they killed him, and they buried him in ath-Thahnan. As for Khubaib bin 'Adi and Zaid bin ad-Dathannah, they brought them to Mecca.

Ibn Hishām: They sold them to Quraish in exchange for two prisoners of Hudhail who were in Mecca.

Ibn Ishāq: Hujair bin Abū Ihāb the Tamīmite, ally of the Beni Naufal, a son of 'Utbah bin al-Hārith bin 'Āmir bin Naufal by his mother, purchased Khubaib to slay him for his father.

Ibn Ishāq: As for Zaid bin ad-Dathannah, Safwān bin Umaiyah purchased him to slay him for his father Umaiyah bin Khalaf. As far as Zaid was concerned, Safwān bin Umaiyah sent him with a client of his called Nastās to at-Tan'im; they put him out of the sacred territory in order to slay him. A company of Quraish, amongst whom was Abu Sufyān bin Harb collected, and Abū Sufyān said to him; when he was brought forward to be killed: "O Zaid, I adjure you by Allah, would you wish that Muhammad were now with us in your place, that we might strike off his head, and that you were amongst your people?". He said: "I would not that a thorn should injure Muhammad in the place where he now is even if I could be among my people". Abu Sufyān said: "I have never seen anyone amongst men love one another with the love which Muhammad's friends have for him". Then Nastās slew him, may Allah have mercy on him.

As for Khubaib bin 'Adi, 'Abdallah bin Abū Najīh related to me that it was related to him on the authority of Māwiyyah a clientess of Hujair bin Abū Ihāb, who had islamized. She said: Khubaib was imprisoned in my house, and I looked at him one day, and verily, in his hand was a bunch of grapes like a man's head from which he was eating, when I knew of no grapes to eat anywhere in the land.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah and 'Abdallah bin Abū Najīh both related to me that he said: "He said to me when his execution was near: 'Send me a tool that I may purify myself with it for death'.

She said: So I gave a razor to a boy of the tribe and said to him: 'Take it to this man in the house'. The lad had barely gone away to him with it when I said: 'What have I done? The man will exact his revenge; he will kill this boy and it will be man for man'. When he handed him the tool he took it from his hand said: 'By your life, your mother did not fear treachery on my part when she sent you to me with this tool', and let him go.

Ibn Hishām: It is said that the boy was her son.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim said: Then they set out with Khubaib and brought him to at-Tan'im to crucify him. He said to them: 'If you think it good to allow me to perform two (prayer) cycles, do so'. They said: 'You may do so, make your prostrations'. So he performed two cycles, and completed them and did them thoroughly'. Then he came forward to the people and said: 'Were it not that you would imagine that I delayed through fear of being slain, I would have prayed much more'. Khubaib bin 'Adi was the first to establish those two cycles as a precedent for the Muslims when they were being slain. Then they lifted him up on a piece of wood and when they had bound him he said: 'O Allah we have received the message of Thy messenger; tell him to-morrow what is being done to us'. Then he said: 'O Allah number them each one and slay them one by one. Let not one escape!'. Then they killed him, may Allah have mercy upon him. Mu'āwiyah bin Abū Sufyān said: 'I was there that day amongst those who were present along with Abū Sufyān, and I saw him throwing me on the ground to escape from the imprecation of Khubaib'. They said: 'If a man were cursed and he lay down on his side, it passed away from him'.

Ibn Ishāq: Yahya bin 'Abbad bin 'Abdallah bin az-Zubair related to me on the authority of his father 'Abbād bin al-Hārith. He said: "I heard him say: 'I did not kill Khubaib, I was too young for that, but Abu Maisarah, brother of the Beni 'Abd ad-Dār took a spear and placed it in my hands. Then he took hold of my hand and the spear and pierced him with it and killed him'".

Ibn Ishāq: One of our friends related to me: he said: 'Umar bin al-Khattāb appointed Sa'īd bin 'Āmir bin Nidhaim the Jumahite to the command of part of Syria. A fainting fit came over him while he was amongst the people and that was mentioned to 'Umar bin al-Khattāb

and it was said: 'The man is smitten'. So 'Umar made enquiries of him on one occasion when he came to him and said: 'O Sa'id, what is this that comes over you? He said: 'O Commander of the Faithful, there is nothing the matter with me, but I was amongst those who were present when Khubaib bin 'Adi was put to death, and heard his imprecation. Now it never occurs to my mind when I am in an assembly but I faint'. That increased him in the estimation of 'Umar.

Ibn Hishām: Khubaib remained in their hands till the Sacred Months were over and then they killed him.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what a client of the family of Zaid bin Thābit related to me on the authority of 'Ikrimah a client of Ibn 'Abbās or on the authority of Sa'id bin Jubair from Ibn 'Abbās, part of the Qur'ān came down about that raiding party. Ibn 'Abbās said: When the raiding party in which were Marthad and 'Āsīa was smitten at ar-Rajī', some of the hypocrites said: 'Alas for these deluded ones who have perished thus; they did not stay with their families nor did they transmit the message of their friend'. So Allah sent down about that saying of the hypocrites; and the good which came to that of company through what happened to them. He said:-

Among the people are some whose words about the nearer
life please thee

that is: In reference to the part of Islam which he manifests with
his tongue

and call Allah to witness as to what is in their hearts
while they are in opposition to what they say with their lips

though they are the most persistent wranglers

That is: When he talks to you and goes back on you.

Ibn Hishām: Al-aladd is the one who makes trouble and whose quarrelsomeness has grown to an intense degree. Its plural is 'ludd'. Al-Muhalhil bin Rabi'ah the Taghlibite, whose name is Imru' 'l-Qais also given as 'Adi said:-

Underneath the stones there is both cruelty and tenderness
And a contentious person full of strife, a litigator

It is also given as 'mighlāq' according to what Ibn Hishām says.

This stanza is in a poem of his. At-Tirmidh bin Hakim the Tay'ite said in description of the chameleon:-

He looks down upon the upright trunk
as if he were an antagonist who had overcome his
contentious adversaries

This stanza is in a poem of his.

Ibn Ishāq: The Exalted said:-

And when they turn away

That is: (When) they went away from you

they run about in the land to cause corruption therein,
and to destroy the tillage and the stock; Allah loveth
not corruption

That is: He loves not that it should be wrought and it pleases Him
not.

When one says to them: "Show piety towards Allah", pride
in guilt seizes them. Gehenna is what they have to
reckon on, a bad bed indeed!
But among the people are some who sell themselves out of
the desire to please Allah, and Allah is kindly to His
servants.

That is: They have sold themselves to Allah by striving in His way
and by the performance of what is due to Him, and thus they perished.
He refers to that raiding party.

Poetry omitted.

The affair of Bi'r Ma'ūnah in Safar of year four.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah stayed (in Medina) for the
remainder of Shawwāl, Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, Dhu 'l-Hijjah - the polytheists
being in charge of that pilgrimage - and al-Muharram.

Then the Messenger of Allah sent out the men of Bi'r Ma'ūnah in
Safar at the beginning of the fourth month after Uhud.

According to what my father Ishāq bin Yasār related to me on the
authority of al-Mughīrah bin 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin al-Hārith bin Hishām
and 'Abdallah bin Bekr bin Muhammad bin 'Amr bin Hazm, and other
scholars, whose account is (as follows). They said: Abū Barā',
'Āmir bin Mālik bin Ja'far, the brandisher of spears, came to the
Messenger of Allah at Medina, and the Messenger of Allah put Islam
before him for his consideration, and invited him to accept it, but
he did not islamize although he was not far from it. He said: "O
Muhammad, if you sent some of your friends to the people of Najd
and they invited them to accept your affair, I have hopes that they
would respond to you". The Messenger of Allah said: "I am afraid of

what the people of Najd might do to them". Abū Barā' said: "I will be their protector, send them then, and let them invite the people to your affair". So the Messenger of Allah sent al-Mundhir bin 'Amr brother of the Beni Sā'idah, the one who hurried to his death, in charge of forty of his friends of the best of the Muslims amongst whom was al-Hārith bin as-Simmah bin Milhān, brother of the Beni 'Adi bin an-Najjār, 'Urwah bin Asmā' bin as-Salt the Sulamite, Nāfi' bin Budail bin Warqā the Khuza'ite, and 'Āmir bin Fuhairah a client of Abū Bekr the Faithful, and they were in charge of some of the best of the Muslims whose names are given. They marched till they reached Bi'r Ma'ūnah which is between the country of the Beni 'Āmir and the stony tract of the Beni Sulaim; both places are near it, but it is nearer the stony tract of the Beni Sulaim. When they made camp there, they sent Harām bin Milhān with the letter of the Messenger of Allah to the enemy of Allah 'Āmir bin at-Tufail. When he came to him, he did not even look at his letter but rushed upon the man and killed him. Then he called the Beni 'Āmir to his aid against them but they refused to respond to that to which he called them and said: "We will not betray Abū Barā' when he made a compact with them and granted them a safe-conduct". So he called to his aid some tribes from the Beni Sulaim, 'Usaiyyah, Ri'al and Dhakwān, and they responded to his call to do that and they set out, surprised the party and surrounded them in their camping place. When they saw them they drew their swords and fought them till they were slain to the last man, may Allah have mercy on them, except Ka'b bin Zaid, brother of the Beni Dīnār bin an-Najjār. They left him while there was still life in him and he extricated himself from amongst the slain and he lived till he was killed on the day of al-Khandaq, a martyr. 'Amr bin Umaiyah the Damrite was in charge of the camels of the party along with one of the Helpers a man of the Beni 'Amr bin 'Auf.

Ibn Hishām: He was al-Mundhir bin Muhammad bin 'Uqbah bin Uhaihah bin al-Julāh.

Ibn Ishāq: The first intimation they got of the disaster that had befallen their friends was from the birds hovering over the camp. They said: "These birds have some business", and they came up to see and lo, the party (lay) in their blood, and the horsemen who had smitten them standing by. The Helper said to 'Amr bin Umaiyah:

"What do you think?" He said: "I think we should go the Messenger of Allah and give him the news". The Helper said: "I certainly do not prefer myself to the battlefield on which al-Mundhir bin 'Amr was slain nor do I prefer that men should tell me about him". Then he fought the party till he was slain, and they took 'Amr bin Umaiyah prisoner. When he told them that he was from Mudar, 'Amir bin at-Tufail released him; he shore his forelock and set him free from slavery in which he was because of his mother. Then 'Amr bin Umaiyah set out and when he was in al-Qarqarah at the beginning of a canal two men of the Beni 'Amr drew near.

Ibn Hisham: They were from the Beni Kilab and Abu 'Amr of Medina said they were from the Beni Sulaim.

Ibn Ishaq: They alighted with him in the shade where he was and these two men of 'Amr had a treaty with the Messenger of Allah and a safe conduct of which 'Amr bin Umaiyah did not know. He questioned them when they alighted: "Where do you come from?" They said: "From the Beni 'Amir". He left them alone till they fell asleep and then attacked and slew them and it seemed that he had exacted revenge from the Beni 'Amir by means of them for the friends of the Messenger of Allah whom they had killed. When 'Amr bin Umaiyah came to the Messenger of Allah and gave him the news the Messenger of Allah said: "You have killed two men whose blood-wit I will pay". Then the Messenger of Allah said: "This is the work of Abū Barā' this is what I disliked and feared". So Abū Barā' heard that and 'Amir's betrayal of him weighed heavily with him and what had befallen the friends of the Messenger of Allah who were under his safe conduct because of him. Amongst those who were slain was 'Amir bin Fuhairah. Hisham bin 'Urwah related to me on the authority of his father that 'Amir bin at-Tufail said: "Which one of them was it whom I saw lifted between heaven and earth after he was slain until I saw heaven without seeing him?" They said: "He was 'Amir bin Fuhairah. One of the Beni Jabbar bin Salma bin Malik bin Ja'far related to me. He said Jabbar was amongst those who were present there that day with 'Amir. Then he islamized. He said: "One of the things which called me to Islam was on that day I pierced one of them with a spear between the shoulder blades and I saw that point of the spear when it came

out of his chest and I heard him say: ' I am victorious". So I said to myself: ' He is not victorious! have I not killed the man?' When I asked later about his saying they told me he referred to martyrdom and I said: ' He has gained the victory in the name of Allah.

Poetry Omitted.

The affair of the expulsion of the Beni an-Nadīr in year four.⁸⁹

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah set out to the Beni an-Nadīr seeking their help in the matter of the blood-wit of those two slain men of the Beni 'Āmir whom 'Amr bin Umaiyah the Damrite had slain because of the treaty of protection which the Messenger of Allah had made with them, according to what Yazīd bin Rūmān related to me. There was a compact and a treaty between the Beni an-Nadīr and the Beni 'Āmir. When the Messenger of Allah came to them to ask their help in the matter of the blood-wit of those two slain men they said: " Yes, O Abū'l-Kāsim we will help you in any way you like with regard to that about which you have sought our aid. Then they went aside by themselves and said: " You will never get the man in the position in which he now is " the Messenger of Allah was sitting against a wall of one of their houses - " so which of you will go up on this house and hurl a rock down upon him and let us be quit of him". 'Amr bin Jihāsh bin Ka'b , one of them, gave his assent to that and said: " I will do that! So he went up to cast a rock on him as he said; while the Messenger of Allah was with a few of his friends amongst whom were Abū Bekr and 'Umar and 'Ali. So word came to the Messenger of Allah from heaven about what the people intended to do and he arose, took his departure and returned to Medina. When his friends found the prophet long in coming they went in search of him, and they found a man coming from Medina whom they asked about him and he said: " I saw him entering Medina". So the friends of the Messenger of Allah went on till they reached him and he gave them the news of the treachery which the Jews had planned for him . The Messenger of Allah gave orders that preparations be made to march against them and fight them and he placed Ibn Umm Maktūm in charge of Medina according to what Ibn Hishām says. Then

he marched and encamped against them.

Ibn Hishām: That was in the month of Rabi' I. He besieged them for six nights and the prohibition of wine came down.

Ibn Ishāq: They fortified themselves against him in strongholds so the Messenger of Allah ordered the palm-trees to be cut down and burned. Then they cried out: "O Muhammad, you used to forbid wickedness in the land and rebuke him who did it; what do ^{you} mean, then, by cutting down the palm trees and burning them?". There was a group of the Beni 'Auf bin al-Khazraj amongst whom was 'Abdallah bin Ubai bin Salūl, Wadi'ah, Mālik bin Abū Qauqal, Suwaid and Dā'is who sent (word) to the Beni an-Nadīr: "If you stand fast and put up a good defence we will not let you down; if they fight against you, we will fight with you, and if you are expelled we will go out with you". So they awaited that help of theirs but it never came, and Allah cast terror into their hearts, and they asked the Messenger of Allah to expel them and desist from shedding their blood on condition that they should take as much of their property as the camels could carry away, with the exception of armour. He did that, and they took away as much of their property as the camels could carry even to the extent of removing their houses from their door-steps and putting them on the camels to take away with them. They went to Khaibar but there were some of them who went to Syria. The noble men of those who went to Khaibar were Sallām bin Abū 'l-Huqaiq, Kinānah bin ar-Rabi' bin Abū 'l-Huqaiq and Huyyay bin Akhtab. When they settled there the people were obedient to them.

'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr related to me that it was related to him that they took their wives, sons, and properties with them, together with tambourines, musical pipes and the singing-girls who played them behind them - and amongst them was Umm 'Amr wife of 'Urwah ibn al-Ward the 'Absite whom they sold to him, and she was one of the women of the Beni Ghifār - with a pride and boastfulness the like of which was never seen in any tribe of people in their time. They left their property to the Messenger of Allah, and it was his own to do with as he liked. So the Messenger of Allah divided it amongst the original Emigrés apart from the Helpers,

except that Sahl bin Hunayf and Abu Dujānah Simak bin Kharashah made mention of poverty and the Messenger of Allah made them grants. None of the Beni an-Nadīr accepted Islam with the exception of two men Yāmīn bin 'Umair bin Ka'b, cousin of 'Amr bin Jihāsh and Abū Sa'd bin Wahb who islamized for the sake of their property and kept it.

Ibn Ishāq: One of the family of Yāmīn related to me that the Messenger of Allah said to Yāmīn : "Did you not see what I encountered from your cousin, and what he purposed with regard to my affair". So Yāmīn made a bargain with a man to kill 'Amr bin Jihāsh, and he killed him according to what they say. The whole of the Chapter of the Rounding UP came down about the Beni an-Nadīr, in which he mentions the vengeance with which Allah smote them and how He gave His messenger mastery over them, and what He did to them through him. He said:-

He it is who hath expelled those of the People of the Book who have disbelieved from their dwellings at the beginning of the round-up

Ye did not think that they would go forth and they thought that their strongholds would be their defence from Allah; but Allah came upon them from whence they did not reckon on, and cast terror into their hearts so that they demolished their houses with their own hands and the hands of the believers.

That refers to their demolition of their houses lintels and all when they carried them away

Consider this ye that have eyes

Were it not that Allah had prescribed expulsion for them

It was vengeance upon them from Allah

He would surely have punished them in this world

That is: By the sword

and for them in the Hereafter is the punishment of the Fire.

Along with that

The fine palms which ye cut down or left standing on their roots

Al-Līnah means those date-palms which are other than the best

was by the permission of Allah

That is: They were cut down by the command of Allah; it was not wickedness but it was vengeance from Allah that He might confound the reprobate.

Ibn Hishām: Abū 'Ubaidah said: Al-Līnah is from al-alwān and they are those dates which are neither of good quality nor stuffed.

date. Dhu ar-Rumamah said:-

As if on top of my saddle-frame were a bird's nest
On a palm tree stout of stem whose sides quiver.

This stanza is in a poem of his.

What Allah hath allotted to His messenger from them

Ibn Ishāq: He means from the Beni an-Nadīr

ye rushed neither horse nor camel upon it but Allah giveth
authority to His messengers over whomsoever He willeth;
Allah hath power over everything

That is: The spoils belong to him specially

Ibn Hishām: Aujaftum means you stirred (them) up and made them
weary on the march. Tamīm bin Ubai bin Muqbil one of the Beni
'Amir bin Sa'sa'ah said:-

Men who defend their sacred things with swords newly
polished
From a party of horsemen at times when the band rushed
their horses forward.

This stanza is in a poem of his. It is the run or the march. Abu
Zaid the Tai'ite whose name is Harmalah bin al-Mundhir said:-

She-camels bound with girths as if they were Indians of
swords dates
For a long journey through barren country in search of
pasture.

This stanza is in a poem of his. Al-Wajīf also means the palpitation
of the heart and liver, which is their beating. Qais bin al-Khatīm
the Thafrite said:-

Even though they brought forth her whom they knew,
Our livers would palpitate behind them.

This stanza is in a poem of his.

What Allah hath allotted to His messenger from the people
of the towns is for Allah and the messenger

Ibn Ishāq: That which the Muslims rush upon with horses and camels
and that which they capture by force in war belongs to Allah and to
the messenger

and the kinsman. the orphans, the indigent and the follower
of the way that it may not be passed from hand to hand
among those of you that are rich; what the messenger gives
you take, and what he forbids you refrain from

He says: This is another (way of) dividing with regard to what was
captured in war among the Muslims in addition to what Allah had given
him. Then He said:-

Hast thou not seen those who have played the hypocrite

meaning 'Abdallah bin Ubai and his friends and those who were followers of their affair

saying to their brethren the People of the Book who have disbelieved

meaning the Beni an-Nadīr; (and so on) down to his saying:-

Like those a little before them who experienced the evil result of their affair and for them is a punishment painful.

meaning the Beni Qainuqā'. Then (follows) the story down to his saying:-

Like Satan when he said to man: "Disbelieve", and then when he had disbelieved said: "I have nothing to do with thee, I fear Allah, Lord of the worlds
So the latter end of both of them is that they are in the Fire, to abide therein; that is the recompence of the wrong-doers.

Poetry omitted.

Ibn Hishām: Abū 'Amr of Medina related to me that after the Beni an-Nadīr the Messenger of Allah made a raid against the Beni al-Mustaliq and I will mention their story, if Allah wills, in the place in which Ibn Ishāq mentions it.

The raid of Dhāt ar-Riqā' in year four.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah remained in Medina, after the raid against the Beni an-Nadīr was over, for the month of Rabī' II, and part of Jumāda. Then he made a raid to Najd in search of the Beni Muhārib and the Beni Tha'labah of Ghatafān. The Messenger of Allah appointed Abu Dharr the Ghifārite governor of Medina; but, according to what Ibn Hishām says, it was 'Uthmān bin 'Affān.

Ibn Ishāq: He made camp in Nakhlah, and this is the raid of Dhāt ar-Riqā'.

Ibn Hishām: It was called the raid of Dhāt ar-Riqā' merely because they mended their banners there. It is also said that Dhāt ar-Riqā was a tree in that place which was called by that name.

Ibn Ishāq: He found there a great gathering of Ghatafān, and the people approached each other but there was no fighting between them. The people were so frightened of each other that the Messenger of Allah led the people in the prayer of fear. Then he took the people away.

Ibn Hishām: 'Abd al-Wārith bin Sa'īd the Tannūrite related to us.

He said: Yūnus bin 'Ubaid related to us on the authority of al-Ḥasan bin Abū 'l-Ḥasan from Jābir bin 'Abdallāh in connection with the prayer of fear. He said: "The Messenger of Allāh performed two cycles with a section and gave the salutation, whilst a section were facing the enemy, the enemy. Then they came and he performed two further cycles with them and gave the salutation.

'Abd al-Wārith related to us, he said: Ayyūb related to us on the authority of Abū 'z-Zubair from Jābir. He said: The Messenger of Allāh drew us up in two lines and made us all kneel together. Then the Messenger of Allāh prostrated himself and the first line did likewise, and when they had finished those who followed them performed their prostrations by themselves. Then the first line withdrew and the second came forward and took their places. Then the prophet made them all kneel down together; then the prophet prostrated himself and those who were following him did likewise along with him. When they lifted their heads the others made their prostrations by themselves. So the prophet made them all kneel together and each of the two lines performed two prostrations by themselves.

'Abd al-Wārith bin Sa'īd related to us. He said: Ayyūb related to us on the authority of Nāfi' from Ibn 'Umar. He said: "The Imām would arise and a section would arise with him, while a section kept close to the enemy, and the Imām would make them kneel and perform their prostrations. Then they would withdraw, and they would be the ones who were close to the enemy; the others would come forward and the Imām would make them kneel and perform their prostrations. Then each section performed a cycle of prayer by themselves. So they had a cycle with the Imām, each of them, and each of them a cycle by themselves.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Amr bin 'Ubaid related to me on the authority of al-Ḥasan from Jābir bin 'Abdallāh that one of the Beni Muhārib called Ghanrath said to his people of Ghatafān and Muhārib: "Shall I not slay Muhammad for you?" They said: "Certainly, and how will you slay him?" He said: "I will take him by surprise". So he approached the Messenger of Allāh while he was sitting with his sword in his lap and said: "O Muhammad, look at this sword of yours". He said: "Yes". It was mounted with silver according to what Ibn Hishām says. Then he took it and drew it and began to brandish it in a disquieting

manner, but Allah restrained him. Then he said: "O Muhammad, do you not fear me?" He said: "No, I do not fear you". He said: "Do you not fear me when the sword is in my hand?". He said: "No, Allah will protect me from you". Then he reached for the sword of the Messenger of Allah and gave it back to him. So Allah sent down:-

O ye who have believed remember the goodness of Allah toward you when a people meditated stretching forth their hands against you and He restrained their hands from you; show piety towards Allah, and on Allah let the believers put their trust. (Surah 5: 11).

Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd bin Rūmān related to me that it was sent down merely in connection with 'Amr bin Jihāsh, brother of the Beni an-Nadīr, and what he purposed doing; but Allah knows best whether that was so.

Ibn Ishāq: Wahb bin Kaisān related to me on the authority of Jābir bin 'Abdallah. He said: I set out with the Messenger of Allah on the raid of Dhāt ar-Riqā' to Nakhl on an emaciated camel of mine. When the Messenger of Allah set out on the return journey and the company got moving, I began to slacken pace till the Messenger of Allah overtook me and said: "What is the matter with you, O Jābir?" I said: "O Messenger of Allah, this camel of mine is delaying me". He said: "Make him kneel down". I did so, and the Messenger of Allah made him kneel down; then he said: "Give me this stick from your hand or cut me a stick from a bush". I did so, and the Messenger of Allah took it and goaded him with it several times. Then he said: "Mount". So I mounted and he started off, and by Him who sent him with the truth, he kept pace with his she-camel in a race. I had a conversation with the Messenger of Allah and he said: "O Jābir will you sell me this camel of yours?" I said: "O Messenger of Allah, nay, I will give you a present of him". He said: "No, sell him to me". I said: "State me his price". He said: "I will take him for a dirhem". I said: "Nay, you would defraud me, O Messenger of Allah". He said: "For two dirhems". I said: "No". So the Messenger of Allah went on raising his price for me till he reached the ounce. I said: "Are you satisfied?". He said: "Yes". I said: "Then he is yours". He said: "I will take him". Then he said: "O Jābir, have you married yet?". I said: "Yes, O Messenger of Allah". He said: "Is it one who has been married before or a maiden?". I said: "No, one who has been married before". He said: "And why not a maiden who would have sported with you and you with her?". I said:

"O Messenger of Allah, my father was slain on the day of Uhud, and left seven daughters so I married a woman of experience who could guide and care for them". He said: "You have done well, if Allah wills, and verily, should we come to Sirār, we will order a camel to be slaughtered and we will remain there that day, and she shall hear of us and spread out her cushions". I said: "O Messenger of Allah, we have no cushions". He said: "Verily there will be", and when you return do a shrewd piece of business". When we came to Sirār the Messenger of Allah ordered a camel to be sacrificed and we stayed there that day. When evening came, the Messenger of Allah came in and so did we, and I related my talw to the woman and what the Messenger of Allah had said to me. She said: "May they be your ransom, hearing and obeying!". When morning came, I took my camel by the head and brought him along and made him kneel at the door of the mosque of the Messenger of Allah and I sat down in the mosque near him. The Messenger of Allah went out, saw the camel and said: "What is this?" They said: "O Messenger of Allah, this is a camel which Jābir has brought". He said: "Where is Jābir?". So I was called to him, and he said: "My nephew, take your camel by the head for he is yours". And he called Bilāl and said to him: "Take Jābir and give him an ounce". I went with him and he gave me an ounce and a little in excess. It went on increasing with me, and its being in our house would be seen till it was carried off along with our things which were carried off yesterday - meaning the day of al-Harrah.

Ibn Ishāq: My uncle Sadaqah bin Yasār related to me on the authority of 'Aqīl bin Jābir from Jābir bin 'Abdallah the Helper. He said: We set out with the Messenger of Allah in the raid of Dhāt ar-Riqā' to Nakhlah. A man raped the wife of one of the unbelievers. When the Messenger of Allah left on his return journey, the husband who had been absent came back, and when he heard the news he swore he would not stop till he had spilled blood among the friends of the Messenger of Allah, and he set out to follow the Messenger of Allah. The Messenger of Allah made camp and said: "What man will guard us to-night and one of the Emigres and one of the Helpers answered the summons and said: "We will, O Messenger of Allah". He said: "Station yourselves at the entrance to the ravine". The Messenger of Allah and his friends had encamped in a ravine of the valley. The two men

were 'Ammār bin Yāsir and 'Abbād bin Bishr according to what Ibn Hishām says.

Ibn Ishāq: When the two men went out to the entrance to the ravine the Helper said to the Emigré: "Which part of the night do you wish me to be on guard, the first part or the latter part?". He said: "The first part". So the Emigré lay down and slept and the Helper started to pray. Then the man came up and when he saw the figure of the man he recognised he was doing sentry for the party, and he shot an arrow which found its mark, but he pulled it, threw it down, and remained standing still. Then he shot a second arrow at him which found its mark, but he pulled it out, threw it down and remained standing still. He did the same thing to him a third time and it found its mark, but he pulled it out and threw it down. Then he knelt and performed a prostration. After that he roused his companion and said: "Sit up, I have been disabled". He jumped up and when the man saw the two of them he recognised that they were aware of his presence and he fled. When the Emigré saw the blood there was on the Helper, he said: "May, Allah be praised! Why did you not rouse me the first time he shot you?" He said: "I was engaged on a Sūrah which I was reciting and I did not want to break off till I had completed it, but when he kept on shooting I knelt down and gave you the call, and I swear that had it not been that I would have lost a pass which the Messenger of Allah ordered me to guard, he would have killed me before I would have broken it off or finished it.

Ibn Hishām: It is also give as 'unfidhaha'.

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah returned to Medina from the raid of Dhāt ar-Riqā', he remained there for the rest of Jumāda I., Jumāda II, and Rajab.

The last raid to Bedr in Sha'bān of year four.

Ibn Ishāq: Then he set out in Sha'bān to Bedr for the appointment with Abū Sufyān and made camp there.

Ibn Hishām: He appointed 'Abdallah bin 'Abdallah bin Ubai bin Salūl governor of Mediaa.

Ibn Ishāq: He remained there eight days awaiting Abū Sufyān, and Abū Sufyān set out with the people of Mecca and encamped in Majannah in

the vicinity of ath-Thahrān, but some people say he got as far as 'Usfān. Then he thought it best to return and said: "O people of Quraish, nothing suits you but a fruitful year, when you tend the trees and drink milk, but this year is a barren year, and I am going back, so do you likewise". So the people returned, and the inhabitants of Mecca nicknamed them 'the army of the meal-bags', saying: "You set out with only gruel to drink". The Messenger of Allah remained in Bedr awaiting Abū Sufyān to keep his appointment, when Makhshī bin 'Amr the Damrite, he who had made peace between him and the Beni Damrah in the raid of Waddān, came to him and said: "O Muḥammad, have you come to meet Quraish at this water-spot?". He said: "Yes, O brother of the Beni Damrah, and if you so desire, we will return to you, along with that, what is between you and us, and fight you with the sword till Allah decide between you and us". He said: "No, O Mōhammad, we do not want that from you". So the Messenger of Allah remained there awaiting Abū Sufyān

Poetry omitted.

The raid of Dūmat al-Jandal in the month Rabī' I of year five.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah went away to Medina and remained there till Dhū al-Hijjah had passed. The polytheists were in control of that pilgrimage, which was year four after the arrival of the Messenger of Allah in Medina. Then the Messenger of Allah made a raid to Dūmat al-Jandal.

Ibn Hishām: In the month of Rabī' I, and he appointed Sibā' bin 'Urfutah the Ghifārite governor of Medina.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah returned before he reached it without meeting opposition, and he stayed in Medina for the remainder of the year.

The raid of 'The Trench' in Shawwāl of year five.

Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Malik bin Hishām related to us. He said: Ziyād bin 'Abdallah the Bakkā'ite related to us on the authority of Muḥammad bin Ishāq the Muṭṭalabite. He said: Then the raid of 'The Trench' took place in Shawwāl of year five. Yazīd bin Rūmān a client of the family of az-Zubair related to me on the authority of 'Urwah bin az-Zubair and one who is above suspicion, from 'Abdallah bin Ka'b bin Mālīk and Muḥammad bin Ka'b the Qurathite, az-Zuhri, 'Asim bin

'Umar bin Qatādah, 'Abdallah bin Abū Bekr, and other scholars of ours. The account of each of them is contained in the account of 'The Trench' and some of ^{them} relate some things that other do not relate. They said: The story of 'The Trench' was that a group of Jews amongst whom was Sallām bin Abū 'l-Huqaiq, the Nadrite, Huyyay bin Akhtab the Nadrite, Kinānah bin Abū 'l-Huqaiq the Nadrite, Hūdḥah bin Qais the Wā'ilite, and Abū 'Ammār the Wā'ilite, with a group of the Beni an-Nadīr and a group of the Beni Wā'il - and they were the ones who mustered the confederacies against the Messenger of Allah - set out and came to Quraish in Mecca, called on them to fight the Messenger of Allah, and said: "We will be with you in opposition to him till we exterminate him". Quraish said to them: "O Jewish people, verily you are the People of the First Book, and you have knowledge about that upon which we have come to differ, Muhammad and we. Is our religion or his the better?". They said: "May, your religion is better than his, and you are fitter for the truth than he. These are they concerning whom Allah sent down:↓

Hast thou not seen those to whom a part of the Book has been given believing in Jibt and Tāghūt and saying to those who have disbelieved: "These are better guided as to the way than those who have believed"?

These are they whom Allah hath cursed, and for him whom Allah hath cursed you will not find a helper

down to His saying:-

Or are they jealous of the people on account of the bounty which Allah hath bestowed upon them. We gave the family of Abraham the Book and the Wisdom, and We gave them great power

Some of them have believed in it, and some of them have turned (others) away from it - Gehenna is a sufficient blaze. (Sūrah 4: 51 - 55).

When they said that to Quraish it pleased them, and they were quick (to do) what they called on them to do - make war on the Messenger of Allah, and on that they agreed and gave him their promise. Then that group of Jews set out and went to Ghatafān of Qais 'Ailān, called them to fight the Messenger of Allah, told them that they would be with them, and that Quraish were following their lead in that thing, so they cast in their lot with them in it. So Quraish set out and their leader was Abū Sufyān bin Harb, and Ghatafān set out and their leader was 'Uyainah bin Hisn bin Hudhaifah bin Bedr in command of the Beni Fazārah and al-Hārith bin 'Auf bin Abū Hārithah the Muḡrite in command

of the Beni Murrah, and Mis'ar bin Rukhailah bin Nuwairah bin Tarif bin Suhmah bin 'Abdallah bin Hilāl bin Hulāwah bin Ashja' bin Raith bin Ghatafān in command of those of his people of Ashja' who followed him.

The digging of the Trench.

When the Messenger of Allah heard of them and the affair on which they had agreed he made the trench round Medina. The Messenger of Allah worked on it to inspire the Muslims with a desire for the recompense and the Muslims worked with him; he set to it with a will and so did they. But certain of the hypocrites held back from the Messenger of Allah and the Muslims in their work, they began to dissemble by doing the light work and to steal away to their families without the knowledge or permission of the Messenger of Allah. When a necessity overtook any of the Muslims which had to be attended to, he would mention that to the Messenger of Allah, ask his permission to do what needed to be done, and he would grant it. When the man had finished his business he would return to the work on which he had been engaged because he desired what was good and anticipated a reward. So Allah to Whom belong power and glory sent down about those believers:-

The believers are those who have believed in Allah and His messenger, and who when they are with him on some common affair, do not go away until they ask his permission; Those who ask thy permission are those who believe in Allah and His messenger, so if they ask leave of thee for some business of their own, grant it to whomsoever thou wilt, and ask pardon for them from Allah; verily Allah is forgiving, compassionate. (Surah 24: 62).

This verse came down about those Muslims who were anticipating a reward and desiring it and also obedience to Allah and His messenger. Then He, to Whom belong power and glory said, in reference to the hypocrites who were stealing away from the work and departing without permission from the prophet:-

Do not make the call of the prophet to you the same among you as your call to each other; Allah knoweth those of you who slip away secretly, so let those who oppose (by absenting themselves) from His affair beware lest a trial befall them or a painful punishment come upon them. (Surah 24: 63)

Ibn Hishām: Al-Liwādh means concealment of a thing at the time of flight. Hassān bin Thābit said:-

Quraish is fleeing from us secretly
That they may not stay--their senses have left them

This stanza is in a poem of his and I have mentioned it in the poetry

of the day of Uhud.

Is it not true that to Allah belongs what is in the heavens and the earth? He knoweth what ye are about

Ibn Ishāq: Whether of truth or falsehood

and on the day when they are made to return to Him He will announce to them what they have done; Allah is knowing about everything. (Surah 24: 64).

Ibn Ishāq: The Muslims worked on it till they made it strong and recited verses during the work about one of the Muslims called Ju'ail whom the Messenger of Allah named 'Amr. They said:-

After Ju'ail he called him 'Amr
One day he was a help to the poor (man)

In the book of Ibn Ishāq it is 'purity'. When they came to (the word) 'Amr the Messenger of Allah said: "'Amr"; and when they came to (the word) Thahr the Messenger of Allah said "Thahr".

The miracles which appeared to the Messenger of Allah during the digging of the trench, one of which was the great rock.

Ibn Ishāq: During the digging of the trench there were happenings about which I heard which were a warning from Allah concerning the genuineness of His messenger and a confirmation of his prophetic office, and the Muslims saw them with their eyes. Some of the things I heard was that Jābir bin 'Abdallah related that in a certain part of the trench a great rock gave them trouble and they complained about it to the Messenger of Allah. He called for a vessel of water, spat in it, and prayed for what Allah willed he should pray for. After that he sprinkled the water over the rock, and those who were present said: "By Him who sent him with the truth, it crumbled down and turned back into a heap of sand which did not impede either axe, mattock, or shovel.

Ibn Ishāq: Sa'īd bin Mīnā related to me that it was related to him that a daughter of Bashīr bin Sa'd sister of an-Nu'mān bin Bashīr said: "My mother called me and gave me a handful of dates in my cloak and said: 'Go my little daughter to your father and your uncle 'Abdallah bin Rawāhah with their dinner! So I took it and went away with it and I passed the Messenger of Allah while I was searching for my father and uncle and he said: 'Come my little daughter, what is this you have got?'. I said: 'O Messenger of Allah, these are dates with which my mother sent me to my father Bashīr bin Sa'd and my

uncle 'Abdallah bin Rawāḥah for their dinner'. He said: 'Bring them here', and I poured them into the hands of the Messenger of Allah and they did not fill them. Then he ordered a cloak to be spread out, and he spaced out the dates upon it so that they were scattered all over the cloak. Then he said to a man who was with him: 'Call the people of the trench to come to dinner', and the people of the trench collected round him and began to eat of them, and they began to multiply till the people of the trench rose up by which time they were falling off the edges of the cloak".

Ibn Ishāq: Sa'īd bin Mīnā related to me on the authority of Jābir bin 'Abdallah. He said: We worked with the Messenger of Allah in the trench and I had a little lamb which was not fattened: I said: "If only we might prepare it for the Messenger of Allah!" So I gave the order to my wife and she ground a little barley for ourselves and made bread for us out of it, while I killed that lamb and roasted it for the Messenger of Allah. When evening came and the Messenger of Allah wanted to leave the trench - we did our day's work in it and when evening came we returned to our families - I said: "I have prepared for you a small lamb which we had, and along with it we made some barley-bread and I would like you to come with me to my abode". I merely wanted the Messenger of Allah to come with me by himself. When I said that to him he said: "Yes". Then he gave orders to a crier and he cried out: "Go with the Messenger of Allah to the house of Jābir bin 'Abdallah". I said: "We belong to Allah and verily to him we return". So the Messenger of Allah came and the people came with him; he sat down and we brought it out to him, and he asked a blessing and named the name of Allah. Then he ate, and the people kept coming to it in succession. When a party had finished they got up and others came, till the people of the trench took their departure.

He said: It was related to me on the authority of Salmān the Persian that he said: "I was wielding my pick-axe in a certain part of the trench and a stone was too hard for me and the Messenger of Allah was nearby. When he saw me strike and saw the difficulty of the spot for me he came down, took the pick-axe from my hand, struck a blow and lightning shone out underneath it. Then he struck a second time and lightning shone forth again below it. Then he struck with it a third

time and lightning shone forth below it again. I said: 'May my father and mother be your ransom, O Messenger of Allah, what is this that I have seen gleaming below the pick-axe as you struck?' He said: 'Did you really see that, O Salmān?'. I said: 'Yes'. He said: 'As for the first, Allah will give me victory thereby over the Yemen; as for the second, Allah will give me victory thereby over Syria and the west; and as for the third, Allah will give me victory thereby over the east'. One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of Abū Hurairah that he said when these countries were conquered in the time of 'Umar and 'Uthmān and afterwards: 'Conquer what seems good to you.

By Him in whose hand is the life of Abū Hurairah, you have not conquered any city and you will not conquer a city till the day of Resurrection except Allah give its keys to Muhammad before that'.

The Quraishite unbelievers encamp against Medina.

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah had completed the trench, Quraish advanced and encamped at the junction of the water-courses in Rūmah (or Dūmah) between al-Jurf and Zughābah with ten thousand men from their contingents and those of the Beni Kinānah and the people of Tihāmah who followed them. Ghatafān also advanced with the people of Najd who followed them and encamped in Dhanab Naqma beside Uhud. The Messenger of Allah and the Muslims went out till they had put Sal' in their rear accompanied by three thousand Muslims and set up his camp there with the trench between him and the people.

Ibn Hishām: He appointed Ibn Umm Maktūm governor of Medina.

Ibn Ishāq: He gave orders for the women and children to be put in the strongholds.

The departure of Huyyay to Quraithah.

He said: The enemy of Allah, Huyyay bin Akhtab of Nadīr set out and went to Ka'b bin Asad of Quraithah, the man who entered into the compact and covenant of the Beni Quraithah. He had made peace between the Messenger of Allah and his people and made a compact with him on that basis. When Ka'b heard Huyyay bin Akhtab he locked the gate of his stronghold against him. He asked for permission (to enter) but he refused to open to him, so Huyyay called out to him: "Out upon you! O Ka'b open to me". He said: "Out upon you, O Huyyay! You are an inauspicious man. I have made a covenant with Muhammad and I

am not going to break what is between him and me and I have experienced nothing but fidelity and veracity from him". He said: "Out upon you! Open to me and I will talk to you". He said: "I will not do it". He said: "You have only locked me out from your boiled wheat lest I should eat some of it with you". ~~So he made the man angry~~ and he opened the door to him. He said: "Out upon you, O Ka'b! I have brought you the might of the age, and an overflowing sea; I have brought you Quraish with their leaders and chieftains and have put them in camp at the junction of the water-courses at Rūmah; also Ghatafān with their leaders and chieftains and I have put them in camp at Dhanab Naqma beside Uhud. They have made a covenant and compact with me not to go away till we extirpate Muhammad and those who are with him". Ka'b said to him: "You have brought me the weakness of the age and a waterless cloud whose moisture has been poured out, which thunders and gives out lightning but there is nothing in it. Out upon you O Huyyai, leave me to what I have for I have not experienced from Muhammad anything but veracity and fidelity" But Huyyai did not desist from Ka'b wheedling and coaxing him and gave him a covenant and a bond from Allah that if Quraish and Ghatafān returned without slaying Muhammad, "I will go into your stronghold with you till there befalls me what befalls you". Thus Ka'b bin Asad broke his covenant and rid himself of what was between him and the Messenger of Allah.

Despatch by the Messenger of Allah of the two Sa'ds to ascertain the news for him.

He said: When the news reached the Messenger of Allah and the Muslims he sent Sa'd bin Mu'ādh bin an-Nu'mān who was at that time chieftain of the Aus, and Sa'd bin 'Ubādah bin Dulaim, one of the Beni Sā'idah bin Ka'b bin al-Khazraj, who was at that time chief of the Khazraj, accompanied by 'Abdallah bin Rawāḥah brother of the Beni Khazraj and Khawwāt bin Jubair brother of the Beni 'Amr bin 'Auf and said: "Go and see if what we have heard about these people is true or not. If it is true, convey it to me by a mode of speech I recognise and do not weaken the people; but if they are fulfilling what is between them and us, publish it to the people. So they set out and went to them and they found them as wicked as they had heard they were in regard to what they inflicted on the Messenger of Allah. They said: "Who is

the Messenger of Allah; there is neither covenant nor bond between Muhammad and us". Sa'd bin Mu'adh abused them and they abused him, he was an impulsive man. Sa'd bin 'Ubādah said to him: "Cease to revile them for that which is between them and us is more serious than reviling". Then Sa'd and Sa'd and those who were with them came to the Messenger of Allah, greeted him and said: "'Adal and al-Qārah"; that is: (It is) like the treachery of 'Adal and al-Qārah towards the men of ar-Rāji' Khubaib and his friends. The Messenger of Allah said: "Allah is great! Rejoice O Muslim people!

The fear and the earthquake on the day of the Trench.

He said: Thereupon their troubles increased and fear became more intense and the enemy came upon them from above and below, so that the believers imagined all sorts of things and hypocrisy made its appearance in some of the hypocrites, and Mu'attib bin Qushair brother of the Beni 'Amr bin 'Auf said: "Muhammad used to promise us that we should devour the treasures of Kosroes and Caesar, and to-day not one of us considers himself safe to go to the privy".

Ibn Hishām: A scholar in whom I have confidence related to me that Mu'attib bin Qushair was not one of the hypocrites and argued that he was one of the men of Bedr.

Ibn Ishāq: And Aus bin Qaithi one of the Beni Hārithah bin al-Hārith said: "Our houses are a weak spot for the enemy"- that is on the authority of a group of men of his people -"so give us permission to set out and return to our dwellings for they are outside Medina". So the Messenger of Allah and the polytheists remained twenty nights and more, almost a month, without any fighting taking place between them except the shooting of arrows and the siege.

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as ar-ramyā.

The affair of the peace and the breaking of it.

According to what 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah and one who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of Muhammad bin Muslim bin 'Ubaid Allah bin Shihāb the Zuhrite, when the trial waxed severe on the people, the Messenger of Allah sent to 'Uyainah bin Hish bin Hudhaifah bin Bedr, and to al-Hārith bin 'Auf bin Abū Hārithah the Murrite, the two leaders of Ghatafān, and offered them a third of the produce of Medina on condition that they retired with those who were

with them and left him and his friends alone. Thus peace was made between him and them, and they even wrote out the document, but apart from the negotiations about it, no attestation or resolution or peace took place. When the Messenger of Allah wished to carry out this purpose he sent for Sa'd bin Mu'adh and Sa'd bin 'Ubadah, mentioned it to them and asked their advice about it. They said to him: "O Messenger of Allah, if it is something you want we will do it. Or is it something about which Allah has given you commandment which we must do, or something you would do for us?". He said: "Nay, it is something I would do for you, and indeed I would not have done it had I not seen the Arabs shooting you down with one bow and distressing you on every side, and I wanted, by some means or other, to remove from you the brunt of their attack". Sa'd bin Mu'adh said to him: "O Messenger of Allah, we and this people were giving associates to Allah and worshipping idols; we neither worshipped Allah nor recognised Him, and they do not desire that they should eat a date from it except as a guest or by purchase. So then, when Allah has honoured us with Islam, guided us to it, and made us strong by means of you and it, shall we now give them our property? There is no need for us to do this, and indeed we will give them nothing but the sword till Allah decide between them and us". The Messenger of Allah said: "That is your affair", and Sa'd bin Mu'adh took the document, erased the writing that was on it and said: "Let them fight us".

The crossing of the trench by a group of the polytheists.

He said: So the Messenger of Allah and the Muslims remained with their enemies besieging them but no battle took place between them except that some horsemen of Quraish put on their armour for the fight and set out on their horses, went as far as the encampments of the Beni Kinānah and said: "Prepare to fight, and you shall learn who are the horsemen to-day". Then they advanced with their horses at the gallop till they stood before the trench, and when they saw it, they said: "This is a trick which the Arabs did not use to practise".

Ibn Hishām: It is said that Salmān advised the Messenger of Allah to do this and one of the scholars related to me that the Emigres said on the day of the Trench: "Salmān is one of us"; and the Helpers also said: "Salmān is one of us", and the Messenger of Allah said: "Salmān is one of us, the people of the House."

Ibn Ishāq: Then they made for a narrow place in the trench, set spurs to their horses and they dashed madly through it and took them across the marshy ground between the trench and Sal'. Then 'Ali ibn Abū Tālib went out with a band of Muslims and held against them the gap through which they had impelled their horses, while the horsemen came towards them at a gallop. 'Amr ibn 'Abd Wudd had fought on the day of Badr till his wound disabled him so he did not see the day of Uhud. When the day of the Trench came he went out with a distinguishing mark displayed that it might be known where he was. When he and his horse came to a halt he said: "Who will take the field?", and 'Ali ibn Abū Tālib took the field against him and said to him: "O 'Amr, you made a covenant with Allah that no man of Quraish should invite you to (drink) one of two wines without your accepting it from him". He said: "Yes". 'Ali said to him: "Then I call you to Allah, to His messenger and to Islam". He said: "I have no desire for that". He said: "Then I call upon you to fight". He said: "Wherefore my nephew? I would not like to kill you". 'Ali said to him: "But I would like to kill you". 'Amr was enraged thereat and leapt madly off his horse, maimed it, struck it on the face and advanced to meet 'Ali. They fought circling round each other and 'Ali killed him. Then their horsemen retreated in flight and dashed across the trench.

Poetry omitted.

The slogan of the friends of the Messenger of Allah on the day of the Trench and the Beni Quraizah was: "Hā' Mīm! They shall not be helped. The affair of Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh.

Ibn Ishāq: Abū Lailah 'Abdallah ibn Sahl ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān the Helper brother of the Beni Hārithah related to me that 'Ā'ishah, mother of the believers was in a stronghold of the Beni Hārithah on the day of the Trench. It was one of the best fortified strongholds in Medina, and Umm Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh was with her in the stronghold. 'Ā'ishah said: "That was before the veil was imposed on us. Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh came past wearing a short coat of mail from which his whole arm protruded, and in his hand was a spear with which he strutted quickly along and said:-

Wait a little, Hamal shall witness the battle
There is nothing in death to fear when its time has come

His mother said to him: "Overtake them my son, you have fallen behind". 'Ā'ishah said: I said: "O Umm Sa'd, I would have liked Sa'd's coat of mail to be more ample than it is". I was afraid on his account

lest an arrow should smite him. So Sa'd bin Mu'adh was shot with an arrow which cut the vein in his arm. According to what 'Āsim related to me, Hibbān bin Qais bin al-'Ariqah one of the Beni 'Āmir bin Lu'ai shot him. When he hit him he said: "Take that from me, I am the son of al-'Ariqah". Sa'd said to him: "May Allah cause your face to sweat in the Fire. O Allah, if Thou has reserved any war for Quraish, preserve me alive for it, for there is no people I would like better to fight against than a people who have harmed Thy messenger, accused him of lying and expelled him; O Allah, if Thou hast ordained war between them and us, make it a means of martyrdom for me, and do not cause me to die till my eye be consoled with the Beni Quraithah".

Ibn Ishāq: One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of 'Abdallah bin Ka'b bin Mālik that he said: "No one other than Abū Usāmah the Jushamite, ally of the Beni Makhzūm, killed Sa'd, but Allah knows best whether that was so.

Ibn Hishām: It is said that it was Khafājah bin 'Āsim bin Hibbān who shot Sa'd.

The affair of Safiyyah.

Ibn Ishāq: Yahya bin 'Abbād bin 'Abdallah bin az-Zubair related to me on the authority of his father 'Abbād. He said: Safiyyah bint 'Abd al-Muttalib was in Fāri' a stronghold of Hassān bin Thābit. She said: "Hassān bin Thābit was in it with the women and boys. One of the Jews came up and began to walk around the stronghold. The Beni Quraithah were at war after having severed (the bond) that was between them and the Messenger of Allah, and there was no one between them and us to defend us. The Messenger of Allah and the Muslims were at the throats of their enemy, and were unable to come away from them to us, if anyone came to us. I said: 'O Hassān, this Jew, as you see, is walking round the stronghold, and I cannot be assured that he will not point out the breach (in our defences) to the Jews who are behind us, while the Messenger of Allah and his friends are occupied elsewhere; go down then and slay him'. He said: 'May Allah forgive you, O bint 'Abd al-Muttalib! Surely you recognise that I am not the man to do that!'. When he said that to me, and I saw no help from him, I girded myself, took a club, went down to him from the stronghold and beat him with the club till I had killed him. When I had finished him, I returned to the stronghold and said: 'O Hassan, go down to him and take his spoils

for the only thing that kept me from doing it was the fact that he was a man'. He said: 'I have no desire to take his spoil, O bint 'Abd al-Muttalib!'

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah and his friends remained in the state of fear and distress that Allah had described because of the demonstration which the enemy made against them and their advance upon them from above and below.

The affair of Nu'aim when he incited the polytheists to withdraw from the prophet.

He said: Then Nu'Aim bin Mas'ūd bin 'Āmir bin Unaif bin Tha'labah bin Qunfud bin Hilāl bin Khalāwah bin Ashja' bin Raith bin Ghatafān came to the Messenger of Allah and said: "O Messenger of Allah, I have accepted Islam and my people do not know of my islamization, so give me whatever orders you will". The Messenger of Allah said: "You are only one man amongst us, so induce them to withdraw from me for war is treachery". So Nu'aim bin Mas'ūd set out and went to the Beni Quraithah - he had been a drinking companion of theirs in the Age of Barbarism - and said: "O Beni Quraithah, you know my love for you, and the peculiar nature of (the relationship) that is between you and me". They said: "You have spoken truly; you are under no suspicion with us". He said to them: "Quraish and Ghatafān are not in the same position as you. This country is yours, here is your property, your wives, and your children and you are not able to transfer from here to another place. Quraish and Ghatafān have come to make war on Muhammad and his friends and you have given them backing against him, while their country, property, wives, and children are elsewhere. They are not in the position in which you are. If they get an opportunity they will seize it, but should it be otherwise they will betake themselves to their own country, and leave you with this man to fight it out in your country, and you will not be able for him if he is left with you. So do not fight with the people till you get from them some of their noblemen as hostages who will remain in your hands as a security for you, on condition that you fight Muhammad till you make an end of him". They said: "You have given good advice".

Then he set out and went to Quraish and said to Abū Sufyān bin Harb and the men of Quraish who were with him: "You know of my love for you and my separation from Muhammad. I have got wind of an affair

about which I consider it my duty to inform you, by way of advice to you, but keep it secret". They said: "We will do so". He said: "Know then that the Jewish people have repented of what they did in connection with what is between Muhammad and you, and have sent word to him (to this effect): 'We have repented of what we have done. Would it satisfy you if we got for you from the two tribes of Quraish and Ghatafān some of their noblemen and handed them over to you, and you could cut off their heads. Then we would be with you against those of them who remained till we had exterminated them'. He has sent word to them signifying his agreement. So if the Jews send word to you asking some of your men as hostages, do not hand over to them a single man of yours".

Then he set out and went to Ghatafān and said: "O People of Ghatafān you are (the people of) my origin, my kindred, and the dearest of men to me; and I do not think you suspect me." They said: "You are right, you are not under suspicion with us". He said: "Keep a secret for me". They said: "We will do it" Then he told them the same thing as he had told Quraish, and gave them the warning he gave them.

When the night of the Sabbath in Shawwāl of year five came - and it was one of the doings of Allah for His messenger - Abū Sufyān bin Harb and the chiefs of Ghatafān, sent 'Ikrimah bin Abū Jahl with a group of Quraish and Ghatafān to the Beni Quraithah, and said to them: "We are not in a permanent abode, the camels and horses are dying, go out to battle in the morning then that we may make an end of Muhammad and finish what is between him and us". They sent word to them: "To-day is the Sabbath, and it is a day in which we do nothing. Some of us have done wrong in it, and there befell them that which is not hidden from you. But with all that, we are not the ones who will fight with you against Muhammad till you give us as hostages some of your men who will remain in our hands, as a security for us till we put an end to Muhammad, for we fear that if the war took a heavy toll of you and the fighting was sore on you, you would speedily betake yourselves to your own country, and leave us with the man in our country, and we would be helpless against him".

When the messengers brought back to them what the Beni Quraithah had said, Quraish and Ghatafān said: "What Nu'aim bin Mas'ud related to you was indeed the truth". So they sent word to the Beni Quraithah:

We shall certainly not hand over to you a single one of our men. If you wish to give battle come out and fight". When the messengers brought them this word, the Beni Quraizah said: "That which Nu'aim ibn Mas'ūd told you was indeed the truth. The people want only to fight; if they see an opportunity they will seize it, but should it be otherwise, they will beat a hasty retreat to their own country and leave you with this man in your country". So they sent word to Quraish and Ghatafān: "We will not fight along with you till you give us hostages", but they refused them. Thus Allah induced them to withdraw from each other, and Allah sent a wintry wind of intense cold upon them which began to overturn their utensils and throw down their tents.

The affair of Hudhaifah in that raid.

He said: When news of their disagreement about their affair reached the Messenger of Allah, and how Allah had made a cleavage in their confederation, he called Hudhaifah ibn al-Yamān and sent him to them to see what the people would do by night.

Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd ibn Ziyād related to me on the authority of Muhammad ibn Ka'b of Quraizah. He said: "One of the people of al-Kūfah said to Hudhaifah ibn al-Yamān: 'O Abū 'Abdallah, did you see the Messenger of Allah and were you his friend?'. He said: "Yes, my nephew". He said: "What did you do?". He said: "We were making strenuous exertions" He said: "Had we been contemporary with him we would not have left him to walk on the ground, we would have carried him on our necks".

Hudhaifah said: "I saw us with the Messenger of Allah in the Trench and the Messenger of Allah prayed for part of the night. Then he turned to us and said: 'What one of you will go and ascertain for us what the people have done and come back?'. The Messenger of Allah made the return a condition. "And I will ask Allah that he be my companion in Paradise". Not one of the people arose because of the intensity of their fear, hunger and cold. When no one arose the Messenger of Allah called me, and I could do nothing else but get up when he called me. He said: 'O Hudhaifah, go and get among the people and see what they are doing and do not relate anything till you return to us'. So I went and got amongst the people while the wind and the armies of Allah did to them what they did; they did not leave standing a vessel, fire, or tent. Then Abū Sufyān arose and said: 'O people of Quraish let each man look who is sitting beside him'. So I took the hand of the man by my side and said: 'Who are

you?". He said: "So-and-so son of So-and-so". Then Abū Sufyān said: "O People of Quraish, you have not come to a permanent abode, the horses and camels are dead, the Beni Quraithah have gone back on us and we have heard in regard to them that which we dislike. Besides all this we have encountered what you see from the force of the wind, no vessel of ours will stand at rest, no fire of ours will stay alight, and no tent of ours will hold together. On your way then for that is what I am going to do!" Then he went to his camel which was hobbled, seated himself on it, struck it, and it jumped up with him on three legs and its fetters were not loosed till it stood up. Had it not been for the covenant of the Messenger of Allah with me: 'Do nothing till you come to me', and I wished it to be so, I would have slain him with an arrow.

Hudhaifah said: I returned to the Messenger of Allah and he stood praying in a figured gown belonging to one of his wives.

Ibn Hishām: Al-Marājil is a species of Yemenite brocade adorned with figures.

When he saw me he drew me to his side and cast the edge of the gown over me. Then he knelt and prostrated himself and I was there the while, and when he gave the salutation I told him the news.

Ghatafan heard what Quraish had done and they withdrew and retired to their own country.

Ibn Ishāq: When the morning came the Messenger of Allah and the Muslims left the trench, returned to Medina, and laid aside their arms.

The raid on the Beni Quraithah in year five.⁹⁰

When noon came, Gabriel came to the Messenger of Allah, according to what az-Zuhri related to me, wearing a turban of silk embroidered with gold, riding a mule on which was a saddle covered with a piece of velvet brocade, and said: "Have you indeed laid aside your arms, O Messenger of Allah?". He said: "Yes". Gabriel said: "The angels have not yet laid aside their arms, and you have come back merely at the request of the people. Verily Allah commands you O Muhammad to march against the Beni Quraithah, and I am now on my way to them to terrify them". So the Messenger of Allah gave orders to a mu'adhdhin and he announced to the people: "Whoever will hear and obey let him not pray

the afternoon prayer except among the Beni Quraithah". According to what Ibn Hishām says, he appointed Ibn Umm Maktūm governor of Medina.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah sent 'Alī bin Abū Tālib ahead with his standard to the Beni Quraithah and the people tried to get ahead of it. 'Alī bin Abū Tālib advanced till he was near the strongholds when he heard a foul epithet in reference to the Messenger of Allah, so he went back, met the Messenger of Allah on the way and said: "O Messenger of Allah, there is no necessity for you to come near these vile creatures". He said: "Why? I suppose you have heard from them something harmful to me". He said: "Yes, O Messenger of Allah". He said: "If they had seen me they would not have said anything like that". When the Messenger of Allah drew near to their strongholds he said: "O brethren of the apes, hath Allah humbled you and sent down His vengeance upon you?". They said: "O Abū 'l-Qāsim, you have not been in ignorance". The Messenger of Allah passed by a group of his friends on as-Saurain before he reached the Beni Quraithah and said: "Did anyone pass by you?". They said: "O Messenger of Allah, Dihyah bin Khalīfah the Kalbite passed by us on a white mule on which was a saddle covered with a piece of velvet brocade". The Messenger of Allah said: "That was Gabriel who has been sent to the Beni Quraithah to shake down their strongholds and cast terror into their hearts". When the Messenger of Allah came to the Beni Quraithah he encamped at one of their wells in the vicinity of their cattle called Bi'r Annā.

Ibn Hishām: Bi'r Annī.

Ibn Ishāq: And the people arrived one after the other. Some of them came after the last night prayer without having prayed the afternoon prayer in accordance with the saying of the Messenger of Allah: "Let none pray the afternoon prayer except among the Beni Quraithah". Something which was unavoidable in connection with the fight had occupied them and they had refused to pray till he came to the Beni Quraithah in accordance with the saying of the Messenger of Allah. So they prayed the afternoon prayer there after the last night prayer, and Allah did not stigmatise them for that in His Book, nor did the Messenger of Allah upbraid them. My father Ishāq bin Yasār related this story to me on the authority of Ma'bad bin Ka'b bin Mālik the Helper.

The affair of their siege and what Ka'b bin Asad said to them.

He said: The Messenger of Allah besieged them for twenty-five nights till the siege became a sore trial to them, and Allah cast terror into their hearts. Huyyay bin Akhtab had gone in with the Beni Quraythah into their stronghold - when Quraysh and Ghatafan went back and left them - in fulfilment of the covenant he had made with Ka'b bin Asad. When they realised that the Messenger of Allah would not depart from them till he had fought with them, Ka'b bin Asad said to them: "O Jewish people, there has come down upon you the affair which you see: I am now putting before you three attitudes, take whichever you wish!" They said: "What are they?". He said: "We may follow this man and accept him as genuine; indeed it has been made plain to you that he is a prophet commissioned, and that he is indeed the one whom you will find in your Book; thus you will save your lives your properties and your children". They said: "We will never abandon the command of the Torah nor will we exchange it for another". He said: "If you refuse me this, come then, let us slay our wives and children and go out to Muhammad and his friends as men with naked swords; we will have left behind us no responsibility, and Allah will decide between Muhammad and us. If we perish we perish, and we shall not have left behind us any posterity for whom we shall be afraid. If we are victorious, by my life we shall take to ourselves the women and children". They said: "We slay these poor people and what is the good of living after them". He said: "If you refuse me this, to-night is the night of the Sabbath and it may be that Muhammad and his friends have felt secure from us during it, perhaps we will find some negligence on the part of Muhammad and his friends!" They said: "Shall we corrupt our Sabbath and commit therein a misdeed which none before us ever committed except those of whom you have knowledge and there came upon them the Metamorphosis, which thing is not hidden from you". He said: "Not one of you since the time his mother gave him birth has spent a single night of his life girded"(for battle).

The affair of Abū Lubābah and his repentance.

Then they sent word to the Messenger of Allah: "Send us Abū Lubābah bin 'Abd al-Mundhir brother of the Beni 'Amr bin 'Auf" (they were allies of the Aus) "that we may ask his advice about our affair", and the Messenger of Allah sent him to them. When they saw him the men

stood up in his honour and the women and children began to weep before him so that he pitied them. They said to him: "O Abū Lubābah, do you consider we should accept the jurisdiction of Muhammad?" He said: "Yes", and made a sign with his hand across his throat that it would mean their slaughter". Abū Lubābah said: "My feet had not started from their place till I recognised that I had been a traitor to Allah and His messenger". Then he went on his way and did not come to the Messenger of Allah but bound himself to one of the pillars in the mosque and said: "I will not leave this place till Allah forgive me for what I have done". He also made a covenant with Allah: "I will never go to the Beni Quraithah nor will I ever be seen in a town where I have been a traitor to Allah and His messenger".

Ibn Hishām: According to what Sufyān bin 'Uyainah said on the authority of Isma'īl bin Abū Khālid from 'Abdallah bin Abu Qatadah, Allah sent down in connection with Abū Lubābah:-

O ye who have believed, do not deal treacherously with Allah and the messenger and do not wittingly betray your trusts. (Sūrah 8: 27).

Ibn Ishāq: When news of him came to the Messenger of Allah - he thought he had delayed long - he said: "If he had only come to me I would have asked forgiveness for him, but since he did what he did I will not be the one to set him free from his place till Allah forgives him".

Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd bin 'Abdallah bin Qusait related to me that forgiveness for Abū Lubābah came down to the Messenger of Allah while he was in the house of Umm Salimah. Umm Salimah said: "I heard the Messenger of Allah at dawn as he laughed and I said: 'What are you laughing at? May Allah give you a hearty laugh!'. He said: "Abu Lubābah has been forgiven". I said: "And shall I not give him the good news?". He said: "By all means, if you so desire". So she stood at the door of her room - that was before the veil was imposed on them - and said: "O Abū Lubābah, rejoice, Allah hath forgiven you". The people then rushed to him to set him free but Abū Lubābah said: "Nay, the Messenger of Allah must be the one to set me free with his own hand". When he passed by him on his way to the morning prayer he freed him.

Ibn Hishām: Abu Lubabah remained bound to the post six nights. His wife came at every time of prayer and loosed him for the prayer and

then he would go back and be bound to the post, according to what one of the scholars related to me. The verse which came down about his repentance (was) the saying of Allah:-

Others have acknowledged their sins, they have mingled upright conduct with other (conduct) that is evil; possibly Allah will relent towards them; verily Allah is forgiving compassionate. (Sūrah 9: 102).

Ibn Ishāq: Then Tha'labah bin Sa'aiyah, Usaid bin Sa'aiyah and Asad bin 'Ubaid; a group of Hadal who were neither from the Beni Quraithah nor the Beni an-Nadīr their pedigree was higher than that, they were cousins of the people; islamized on the night on which the Beni Quraithah came down at the command of the Messenger of Allah.

The affair of 'Amr bin Su'dā.

'Amr bin Su'dā of Quraithah went out that night and passed by the body-guard of the Messenger of Allah of which Muhammad bin Maslamah was in charge. When he saw him he said: "Who is this?" He said: "I am 'Amr bin Su'dā". 'Amr had refused to go in with the Beni Quraithah in their treachery against the Messenger of Allah. He said: "I will never deal treacherously with Muhammad". Muhammad bin Maslamah said when he recognised him: "O Allah do not make it unlawful for me (to forgive) the errors of noble men", and he let him go his way. So he went on and spent that night in the mosque of the Messenger of Allah in Medina and then took his departure and it is not known till this day towards which part of the land he set his face. His affair was mentioned to the Messenger of Allah and he said: "That was a man whom Allah delivered because he kept his promise". Some people claim that he was bound with a rotten rope amongst those of the Beni Quraithah who were bound when they came down at the command of the Messenger of Allah, and the rope was cast off and where he went is not known. The Messenger of Allah uttered that saying about him but Allah knows best whether that was so.

Their descent at the command of the Messenger of Allah and his appointment of Sa'd as their judge.

He said: When morning came they came down at the command of the Messenger of Allah and the Aus came forward and said: "O Messenger of Allah, they are our clients in contradistinction to the Khazraj, and you did what you did with the clients of our brethren lately". Before the Beni Quraithah, the Messenger of Allah had besieged the Beni

Qainuqā', who were allies of the Khazraj, and they came down at his command and 'Abdallah bin Ubai bin Salūl asked him for them and he granted them to him. When the Aus spoke to him, the Messenger of Allah said: "Would you not be satisfied O people of Aus that one of yourselves should pronounce sentence on them?". They said: "Certainly". He said: "That belongs to Sa'd bin Mu'ādh". The Messenger of Allah had put Sa'd bin Mu'ādh in the tent of a woman of Aslam called Rufaidah in his place of worship, who was treating the wounded men and

anticipated a reward for herself by serving those of the Muslims who were in need. The messenger of Allah had said to his people when the arrow wounded him in the trench: "Put him in the tent of Rufaidah and I will return to him shortly". When the Messenger of Allah appointed him arbiter of the fate of the Beni Quraithah, his people came to him, mounted him on an ass which they had made comfortable for him with a cushion of hide, for he was a bulky, comely man, and brought him to the Messenger of Allah, saying as they did so: "O Abū 'Amr, do well by your clients, for the Messenger of Allah has entrusted you with this merely in order that you may treat them well". When they had repeated this many times to him he said: "The time has come for Sa'd that the blame of no blamer should attach itself to him" in the way of Allah". Then some of his people who were with him went back to the quarter of the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal, and some of the Beni Quraithah announced the mournful tidings to them of the word they had heard him speak, before Sa'd came to them. When Sa'd came to the Messenger of Allah and the Muslims, the Messenger of Allah said: "Stand up in honour of your chief". The Emigres of Quraish said he meant only the Helpers, but the Helpers say he meant by it the Muslims in general. So they stood up in honour of him and said: "O Abū 'Amr the Messenger of Allah has turned the affair of your clients over to you that you may pronounce sentence on them". Sa'd said: "Then the covenant and compact of Allah is binding on you that the sentence shall be as I pronounce it?" They said: "Yes". He said: "And upon all who are here on this side where the Messenger of Allah is?", and he was turned away from the Messenger of Allah out of deference to him. The Messenger of Allah said: "Yes". Sa'd said: "Then I pronounce sentence on them that the men be slain, the property divided, and the women and children sold into slavery".

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah related to me on the authority of 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin 'Amr bin Sa'd bin Mu'ādh from 'Alqamah bin Waqqās the Laithite. He said: The Messenger of Allah said to Sa'd: "You have indeed pronounced upon them the sentence of Allah from beyond the seventh heaven".

Ibn Hishām: One of the scholars in whom I have confidence related to me that 'Ali bin Abū Tālib cried out while they were besieging the Beni Quraithah: "O Battalion of the Faith"; and he and az-Zubair advanced and said: "I will indeed taste of that of which Hamzah tasted or I shall overcome their stronghold". They said: "O Muhammad we will come down at the command of Sa'd".

The slaughter of the Beni Quraithah.

Ibn Ishāq: Then they were brought down and the Messenger of Allah imprisoned them in Medina in the house of bint al-Hārith, a woman of the Beni an-Najjār. Then the Messenger of Allah went out to the market-place of Medina which is its market-place to-day and dug trenches in it. Then he sent for them and struck off their heads at these trenches as they were brought out in batches. Amongst them was the enemy of Allah, Huyyay bin Akhtab and Ka'b bin Asad, the chief of the people who were six or seven hundred in number. Those who give a larger estimate say there were between eight and nine hundred of them. They said to Ka'b bin Asad as they were being taken away in batches to the Messenger of Allah: "O Ka'b, what do you think will be done to us?" He said: "Will you never understand? Do you not see that the caller does not withdraw and that whoever of you is taken away does not return? This is indeed death". The Messenger of Allah did not desist from that work till he had made an end of them. Huyyay bin Akhtab the enemy of Allah was brought out and he was wearing a flowered cloak of his,

Ibn Hishām: Fuqahiyyah means a kind of figured work on cloth.

and he had torn it in all directions as far as he could reach with his fingers, lest anyone should get it, as his hands were tied behind his neck with a rope. When he saw the Messenger of Allah he said: "I have not blamed myself for my enmity to you, but he who forsakes Allah is forsaken". Then he approached the people and said: "O people,

verily there is no objection to the affair of Allah - a writing, fate and slaughter which were decreed for the Children of Israel. Then he squatted down and his head was struck off. Jabal ibn Jawwāl said:-

By thy life, Ibn Akhtab did not blame himself
But he who forsakes Allah is forsaken
He strove till his life had its vindication
And made a great effort in quest of glory

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad ibn Ja'far ibn az-Zubair related to me on the authority of 'Urwah ibn az-Zubair from 'A'ishah, mother of the believers, that she said: "None of their women were slain but one. She was with me talking and laughing outwardly and inwardly while the Messenger of Allah was putting her men to death in the market-place, when the crier called out her name: 'Where is So-and-so?'. She said: 'I am she'. I said to her: 'Alas for you! What is the matter?'. She said: 'I shall be slain'. I said: 'Wherefore?'. She said: 'Because of a deed I did'. So he took her away and she was beheaded". 'Ā'ishah said: "I do not forget in admiration of her, her happiness and excessive laughter when she realised she was to be slain".

Ibn Hishām: It was she who cast down the millstone on Khallād ibn Suwaid and killed him.

The affair of az-Zubair ibn Bātā.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what Ibn Shihāb az-Zuhri said, Thābit ibn Qais ibn ash-Shammās went to az-Zubair ibn Bātā of Quraizah, who was named ^{Abū} 'Abd ar-Rahmān. Az-Zubair had conferred a favour on Thābit ibn Qais ibn ash-Shammās in the Age of Barbarism. One of the descendants of az-Zubair told me that he had conferred a favour on him on the day of Bu'āth, when he took him, cut his forelock, and set him free. Thābit, who was a very old man, came to him and said: "O Abū 'Abd ar-Rahmān do you recognise me?". He said: "Shall the like of me not know the like of you?". He said: "Verily I desired to reward you for your helping hand to me". He said: "Verily the generous one rewards the generous". Then Thābit ibn Qais came to the Messenger of Allah and said: "O Messenger of Allah, I am under obligation to az-Zubair for a favour, and I would like to recompense him for it; grant me his life". The Messenger of Allah said: "He is

yours". So he came to him and said: "The Messenger of Allah has granted me your life, so you may live". He said: "What should an old man who has no family and no children do with life?". Thābit went to the Messenger of Allah and said: "O Messenger of Allah, may my father and mother be your ransom, (grant me) his wife and children". He said: "They are yours". So he came to him and said: "The Messenger of Allah has granted me your family and children, so you may have them". He said: "The people of a family in the Hijāz, with no property; what use would it be to them to live in these circumstances?". Thābit came to the Messenger of Allah and said: "O Messenger of Allah, (grant me) his property". He said: "It is yours". Then he came to him and said: "The Messenger of Allah has granted me your property so you may have it". He said: "O Thābit, what happened to him whose face was like a Chinese mirror in which the virgins of the tribe appeared? Ka'b ibn Asad?". He said: "He is slain". He said: "What happened to the chieftain of town and country, Huyyāi ibn Akhtab?". He said: "He is slain". He said: "What happened to him who was our vanguard when we advanced and our defender when we retreated, 'Azzāl ibn Samwāl?". He said: "He is slain". He said: "What happened to the two companies, meaning the Beni Ka'b ibn Quraizah and the Beni 'Amr ibn Quraizah?". He said: "They have gone to their death". He said: "Then I ask you, O Thābit by the helping hand which I gave you that you will join me to my people, for there is no good in being alive after these men, and I will not wait the length of a bucket rope till I meet my beloved". Then Thābit brought him forward and beheaded him". When Abū Bakr the Faithful heard what he said 'Till I meet my beloved', he said: "INdeed he shall meet them in the Fire of Gehenna therein to abide for ever".

Ibn Hishām: Qablah dalu nādih (Receiving the bucket) Zuhair ibn Abū Sulmah said about it:-

The one who receives the bucket sings whenever his hands grasps the pole and stands pouring it out.

Ibn Hishām: Here is the explanation of the stanza of Zuhair. Qābil means the one who takes the bucket when it comes up out of the well; an-nādih is the camel which draws the water wherewith to water the palm-trees. This stanza is in a poem of his.

The affair of 'Atiyyah and Rifā'ah

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah ordered all of them who had reached maturity to be killed.

Ibn Ishāq: Shu'bah bin Hajjāj related to me on the authority of 'Abd al-Malik bin 'Umair from 'Atiyyah of Quraithah. He said: The Messenger of Allah had given orders that all of the Beni Quraithah who had reached maturity should be killed, and I was a youth and they found me but I had not reached maturity so they set me free.

Ibn Ishāq: Ayyūb bin 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin 'Abdallah bin Abū Sa'sa'ah brother of the Beni 'Adi bin an-Najjār related to me that Salmah daughter of Qais, mother of al-Mundhir, sister of Salīt bin Qais, who was one of the aunts of the Messenger of Allah, had prayed along with him towards both Qiblas, and had given him the Pledge of the Women, asked him for Rifā'ah bin Samwāl of Quraithah. He was a grown man who had taken refuge with her and he had known them before that. She said: "O prophet of Allah, may my father and mother be your ransom, grant me Rifā'ah, for he claims that he will pray and eat camel's flesh. So he granted him to her and (thus) she kept him alive.

The division of the spoil of the Beni Quraithah.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah divided out the property of the Beni Quraithah, their wives and their children to the Muslims, and designated that day the lots both of horses and men, after setting a fifth of it. A horseman got three lots; two lots for the horse and one for the rider. A man who had no horse got a lot. There were thirty six horses on the day of the Beni Quraithah. It was the first spail to go by lot after the fifth was taken away. Thereafter divisions (of spoil) took place according to this precedent and those that had previously been established by the Messenger of Allah, and this precedent was followed in the wars.

Then the Messenger of Allah sent Sa'd bin Zaid the Helper, brother of the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal with some of the captives of the Beni Quraithah to Najd and with them they purchased for themselves horses and weapons.

The affair of Raihanah

He said: The Messenger of Allah had chosen for himself Raihanah, one of their women, the daughter of 'Amr bin Junafah, one of the women

of the Beni 'Amr bin Quraithah, and she was with the Messenger of Allah as a chattel of his till his death. The Messenger of Allah had proposed to marry her and put the veil on her, but she said: "O Messenger of Allah, let me remain your chattel, for this will be easier both for you and me", and he left her as she was. When he made her captive she was pressed to accept Islam, but refused everything but Judaism, so the Messenger of Allah kept her apart, and on that account grieved in himself because of her affair. Whilst he was with his friends he heard a footfall behind him and said: "Verily this will be Tha'labah bin Sa'yah to give me the good news of the islamization of Raihanah". He came to him and said: "O Messenger of Allah, Raihanah has islamized", and that affair of hers pleased him. And Allah sent down about the affair of the Trench and the affair of the Beni Quraithah the story in The Chapter of the Sects in the Qur'ān, in which He mentions the trial and the favour which had come down to them and His sufficiency for them when He removed that from them, after the saying of those people of hypocrisy who said (what they said):

O ye who have believed, remember the favour of Allah towards you, when hosts came upon you, and We sent against them a wind, and hosts which ye saw not; Allah is observant of what ye do.

The hosts were Quraish, Ghatafān, and the Beni Quraithah, and the hosts which Allah sent upon them with the wind were the angels. Allah says:-

When they came upon you from above you, and from below you; when (your) eyes turned away and (your) hearts were in (your) mouths and you imagined things about Allah

Those who came upon them from above were the Beni Quraithah, and those who came upon them from below were Quraish and Ghatafān. Allah, the Blessed the Exalted says:-

There were the believers tried and violently agitated. The hypocrites and those in whose hearts is disease were saying: "Allah and His messenger have promised us nothing but illusion".

In reference to the saying of Mu'attib bin Qushair when he said what he said.

When a party of them said: "O people of Yathrib, there is no abiding place for you" and a part of them were asking leave of the prophet saying: "Our houses are left defenceless"; they were not left defenceless, they were only wishing to flee.

In reference to the saying of Aus bin Maithi and those of his people who were like-minded.

If an entrance had been made upon them from its flanks
That is: Medina.

Ibn Hishām: Al-Aqtār means 'the sides' and its singular is 'qatr'; also given as al-Aqtār whose singular is 'qutr'. Al-Farazdaq said:-

How much wealth Allah opened up for them by it
And the horses were lying on their sides

It is also related as al-aqtār, and this stanza is in a poem of his.

and they had been asked to (join in) sedition

That is: To return to polytheism

they would have joined in it and they would have remained
in it only for a little while
Yet they had covenanted with Allah previously that they
would not turn their backs; the covenant with Allah (is a
thing whose fulfilment) is required.

They were the Beni Harithah, the ones who intended to show cowardice on the day of Uhud with the Beni Salimah, when they intended to show cowardice on the day of Uhud. Then they made a covenant with Allah that they would not return to such a thing and Allah mentions to them that which they had given of themselves. Then He said:-

Flight will not benefit you, if ye flee from death or
from being killed; in that case ye will not enjoy life
except for a little
Say: "Who is there that will defend you from Allah, if He
intends evil against you, or intends mercy towards you?".
They will not find for themselves apart from Allah either
patron or helper.
Allah knoweth those of you who hinder

That is: The people of hypocrisy

and who say to their brethren: "Come hither to us", and who
come but seldom to the attack

That is: Except to ward off (something) or provide an excuse.

Being niggardly towards you

That is: In reference to the rancour which was among themselves

When fear comes you may see them looking towards you, their
eyes rolling about like one who faints at the point of
death

That is: Out of reverence for him and in fear of him. him

but when fear passes away they will flay you with their sharp
tongues

That is: In saying what you dislike because they do not hope for the
Hereafter and no hope of reward sustains them and they dread death

with the dread of those who do not hope for what is after it.

Ibn Hishām: Salāqūkm means 'they use exaggerated terms regarding you'; they blast you (with their tongues) and do you harm. The Arabs say: 'Khatīb Sallāq' and 'Khatīb Mislāq'. (An eloquent orator, or an orator with a burning tongue. A'sha of the Beni Qais bin Tha'labah said:-

Amongst them is glory, forbearance, valour; from them
(comes) the eloquent orator.

This stanza is in a poem of his.

They think that the Confederates have not gone away
Quraish and Ghatafān.

if the Confederates come they will wish that they were
living in the desert among the Bedouin, enquiring for news
of you, and if they should be amongst you, they would not
fight except a little.

Then He comes to the believers and says:-

You have had a good example in the Messenger of Allah, for
those who hope for Allah and the Last Day

That is: Lest they should prefer themselves to him and to the place
in which he was. Then He mentioned the believers, their sincerity,
and their faith in the distress with which He tried them which He had
promised them, and said:-

They said: "This is what Allah and His messenger promised
us; Allah and His messenger have spoken truth", and it
only increased them in belief and submission

That is: In endurance of the distress and in submission to the decree,
and in belief of the truth of what Allah and His messenger had
promised them. Then He said:-

Amongst the believers were men who were sincere in the
covenant they made with Allah; some of them have fulfilled
their course

That is: They have finished their work and returned to their Lord,
referring to those who were martyred on the days of Bedr and Uhud.

Ibn Hishām: Qada nahbahu means 'he died'. An-Nahb means 'the life'
according to what Abu 'Ubaidah told me. Its plural is 'nuhūb'.

Dhu ar-Rummaḥ said:-

The Hārithites fled away at even after Haubar met his
met his death where the horses met

This stanza is in a poem of his. Haubar was from the Beni 'l-Hārith
bin Ka'b; he means Yazīd bin Haubar. An-Nahb also means 'the vow'

Jarīr said:-

In Takhfah we fought with kings, and on the evening of
Bistām our horses raced for a wager.

He says: In accordance with a vow. She had vowed to kill him and she
did so. This stanza is in a poem of his. Bistām was Bistām bin Qais
bin Mas'ūd of Shaibān; he was Ibn Dhu al-Jaddain. Abu 'Ubaidah
related to me that he was a horseman of Rabī'ah bin Nizār. Takhfah
is a place. An-Nahb also means a stake, a bet, which is the wager.

Al-Farazdaq said:-

When Ka'b laid a wager for the people as to which of us
was best he gave (the reward) in accordance with the
wager, to the liberal man.

An-Nahb also means 'weeping'; their saying 'yantahib' is from it.

An-Nahb also means 'the need', 'the concern'. They say: 'I have no
concern with them'. Malik bin Nuwairah the Yarbū'ite said:-

I have no need of them except that I seek the red-eyed
camels of Shudun which you desire.

Nahār bin Tausi'ah one of the Beni Taim al-Lāt bin Tha'labah bin
'Ukābah bin Sa'b bin 'Ali bin Bekr bin Wā'il said: -

Ibn Hishām: They were clients of the Beni Manīfah.

A non-stop flight saved Joseph the Thaqafite after the
standard had fallen

Had I overtaken him I would have satisfied his need and
there is protection for every one who is wronged.

An-nahb also means a journey which passes quickly.

others still look forward

to what Allah has promised in the way of help and martyrdom in the
same way by which his friends went. Allah to whom belong power and
glory says:-

they have not changed in the least

That is: They have not doubted or hesitated in their religion nor did
they seek to exchange it for another.

That Allah may recompense the truthful for their truth-
fulness, and may punish the Hypocrites if He so willeth,
or relent towards them, verily Allah is forgiving,
compassionate.

Allah sent those who have disbelieved back home in their
rage

That is: Quraish and Ghatafan

without having obtained any advantage; Allah relieved the
believers of fighting; Allah was strong, mighty.

And He brought down those of the People of the Book who backed them

That is: The Beni Quraithah.

from their strongholds

As-Sayāsī means the fortresses and towers in which they were.

Ibn Hishām: Suhaim, a slave of the Beni 'l-Hashās said: The Beni 'l-Hashās belong to the Beni Asad bin Khuzaimah.

The bulls were prostrated and the women of Tamīm were running to the strongholds

This stanza is in a poem of his. As-Sayāsī also means 'the horns'.

An-Nābighah the Ja'dite said:-

And the nobles of my people (were dead) so that I was left like one with a broken horn

This stanza is in a poem of his. Abū Dāūd al-Iyādī said:-

We terrified the black horns (the mountain gazelles) on whose forelegs are marks of pitch and tar.

As-Sayāsī also means the needle which belongs to the weavers, according to what Abū 'Ubaidah told me and he recited to me (a stanza) belonging to Duraid bin as-Simmah the Jushamite; Jusham bin Mu'āwiyah bin Bakr bin Hawāzin:-

I looked at him while the wind took hold of him (or the spears stuck in him)
Like the descent of the weaver's needle on the outstretched web.

This stanza is in a poem of his. As-Sayāsī also means that which is on the feet of the cock, swellings like miniature horns. As-Sayāsī also means 'the origins'. Abū 'Ubaidah told me that the Arabs say: " May Allah cut him off by the roots".

Ibn Ishāq:

And He cast terror into their hearts; part ye killed and ye took prisoner a part.

That is: The men were killed and the women and children were made prisoner.

And He caused you to inherit their land their dwellings and their properties and land which ye had never trodden;

meaning Khaibar

Allah had power over everything. (Sūrah 33: 9 - 27).

The death of Sa'd bin Mu'adh.

Ibn Ishāq: When the business of the Beni Quraithah was finished, the

wound of Sa'd bin Mu'adh burst open and he died of it a martyr.

Mu'adh bin Rifā'ah the Zurqite related to me. He said: Whoever of my people I wished would have related to me that Gabriel came to the Messenger of Allah when Sa'd bin Mu'adh was taken in the middle of the night, wearing a silken turban and said: "O Muhammad, who is this dead man for whom the gates of heaven have been opened and for whom the throne has trembled?". So the Messenger of Allah drew his cloak around him and went in haste to Sa'd and found he had died.

'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr related to me on the authority of 'Amrah bint 'Abd ar-Rahmān. She said: 'Ā'ishah drew near on her return journey from Mecca accompanied by 'Usaid bin Hudair, when he learned of the death of a wife of his, and he was grieved for her after a fashion. 'Ā'ishah said to him: "May Allah forgive you, O Abū Yahya, do you grieve for a woman when you have been deprived of your cousin for whom the throne has trembled?".

One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of al-Hasan of Bosrah. He said: Sa'd was a stout man but when the people carried him they found him light, and some of the Hypocrites said: "Surely, he was stout and we have never carried a lighter bier". The Messenger of Allah heard that and he said: "Verily he has carriers besides you, and by Him in Whose hand is my life, the angels have rejoiced at the spirit of Sa'd and the throne trembled for him.

Ibn Ishāq: Mu'adh bin Rifā'ah related to me on the authority of Mahmūd bin 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin 'Amr bin al-Jamūh from Jābir bin 'Abdallah. He said: "When Sa'd was buried and we were with the Messenger of Allah, he gave praise, and the people gave praise with him. Then he uttered a Takbīr and the people uttered a Takbīr along with him. Then they said: "O Messenger of Allah, wherefore did you give praise?". He said: "The grave became narrow for this good servant till Allah granted him relief from it".

Ibn Hishām: The summing up of the story is the saying of 'Ā'ishah; "The grave had a straitness, if any one could have escaped from it, it had been Sa'd".

Ibn Ishāq: One of the Helpers said of Sa'd:-

The throne of Allah did not tremble at the death of any who have died of whom we heard except for Sa'd bin Abū 'Amr.

Umm Sa'd said lamenting him as his bier was borne away -

Ibn Hishām: She was Kubaishah bint Rāfi' bin Mu'āwiyah bin 'Ubaid bin Tha'labah bin 'Abd bin al-Anjar who was Judrah bin 'Auf bin al-Hārith bin al-Khazraj:-

Woe to the mother of Sa'd on account of Sa'd
For valour and resolution
Nobility and glory
A knight prepared
By whom a place was filled.

He said: The Messenger of Allah says: "Every mourner lies except her who mourns for Sa'd bin Mu'adh".

List of names and poetry omitted.

The killing of Sallām bin Abū 'l-Huqaiq

When the business of the Trench and the affair of the Beni Quraithah had been disposed of, Sallām bin Abū 'l-Huqaiq who was Abū Rāfi' was amongst those who formed parties against the Messenger of Allah. Prior to Uhud the Aus had slain Ka'b bin al-Ashraf on account of his enmity to the Messenger of Allah and his incitement (of people) against him, and the Khazraj asked the permission of the Messenger of Allah to kill Sallām bin Abū 'l-Huqaiq who was in Khaibar, and he granted it.

Muhammad bin Muslim bin Shihāb the Zuhrite related to me on the authority of 'Abdallah bin Ka'b bin Mālik. He said: One of the things which Allah did for His messenger was that these two tribes of Helpers the Aus and the Khazraj were trying to outdo each other in defence of the Messenger of Allah, like the rivalry of two stallions; the Aus did nothing of benefit to the Messenger of Allah without the Khazraj saying: "You shall not indeed do anything in excess of what we have done" for the Messenger of Allah and Islam", and they would not desist till they had done something similar to it; if the Khazraj did anything the Aus said the same thing. When the Aus killed Ka'b bin al-Ashraf on account of his hostility to the Messenger of Allah, the Khazraj said: "You shall not do anything in excess of what we have done", and they consulted together as to which man harboured an enmity to the Messenger of Allah like Ka'b bin al-Ashraf. They mentioned Ibn Abū 'l-Huqaiq who was in Khaibar and asked permission of the Messenger of Allah to slay him which he granted them. Five

men of the Beni Salimah of al-Khazraj went out against him; 'Abdallah bin 'Atik, Mas'ud bin Sinan, 'Abdallah bin Unais, Abū Qatadah al-Harith bin Rib'iyy, and Khuzaim bin Aswad, an ally of theirs from Aslam. The Messenger of Allah put 'Abdallah bin 'Atik in command of them and they set out, and he forbade them to kill either woman or child. They went on their way and when they reached Khaibar they went to the abode of Ibn Abū 'l-Huqaiq by night and they did not leave an apartment in the abode that they did not bolt on its inmates. He was in an upper room of his which had a ladder up to it by which they ascended and stood before his door. They sought permission to enter and his wife came out to them and said: "Who are you?" They said: "People of the Arabs; we are looking for stores". She said: "There is your man; go in to him". He said: When we entered we locked the room on her and ourselves fearing that a struggle might take place between him and us. His wife called out and apprised him of our arrival and we hurried up to him with our daggers as he lay on his bed. There was nothing to guide us in the darkness of the house except his white cloak, like fine Egyptian linen, which was thrown (over him). When his wife called out, about our arrival, one of our number raised his dagger against her, then he remembered the prohibition of the Messenger of Allah and withheld his hand. Had it not been for that we would have made an end of her that night. When we stabbed him with our daggers, 'Abdallah bin Unais pressed heavily upon him with his dagger in his abdomen and finished him off while he said: "Qatnī Qatnī", that is, Enough for me! Enough for me! Then we went out and 'Abdallah bin 'Atik was a man of weak sight and he fell from the ladder and seriously dislocated his hand. It is said it was his foot according to what Ibn Hishām says. We carried him so that we should get him to the aqueduct from their springs and get inside it. He said: So they lit torches and ran about looking for us and when they despaired (of finding us) they went back to their friend and stood around him whilst he died amongst them. We said: "How shall we know that the enemy of Allah has died?" One of us said: "I will go and find out for you", and he went away and mingled with the people. He said: "I found his wife with a lamp in her hand, looking into his face while the Jews stood round about him, and she was relating the story to them and saying: 'I heard the voice of Ibn 'Atik'. Then I made myself a liar and said: "Where is Ibn 'Atik

in this country?". Then she approached him, looking into his face and said: "By the God of the Jews, he has died". I never heard a word that was sweeter to my soul than that". Then he came to us and gave us the news. So we carried away our friend, returned to the Messenger of Allah, and told him of the killing of the enemy of Allah. But we disagreed in his presence about his killing; each of us claimed him. The Messenger of Allah said: "Show me your daggers". We brought them to him, he looked at them and said: "This dagger of 'Abdallah bin Unais killed him, for I see on it traces of food". Hassān bin Thābit said when he mentioned the killing of Ka'b bin al-Ashraf and the killing of Sallām bin Abū 'l-Huqaiq:-

What a band you found O Ibn al-Huqaiq and you O Ibn al-Ashraf

They come to you by night with their daggers full of energy like lions in a tangled thicket

When they came to you in your country, they made you taste death with their fast-killing swords

Seeking to promote the victory of their prophet's religion and making light of everything which deprives of life and wealth.

Ibn Hishām: His saying 'dhuffaf' is on the authority of another than Ibn Ishāq.

The islamization of 'Amr bin al-'Ās.

Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd bin Abū Ḥabīb on the authority of Rāshid a client of Ḥabīb bin Abū Aus the Thaqafite from Ḥabīb bin Abū Aus. He said: 'Amr bin al-'Ās related to me with his own lips. He said: When we dispersed with the Confederates from the Trench, I got together some men of Quraish who were like-minded with me and listened to me, and said to them: "Know that I think the affair of Muhammad

predominates affairs in a vicious manner and I have decided on something, so what do you think about it?". They said: "What do you think". He said: "I think we should go to the Negus and stay with him; if Muhammad gains the victory over our people we would be with the Negus, and it is more pleasing to us that we should be under his control than that we should be under the control of Muhammad. If the people should be victorious, we are men whom they have known and we shall experience nothing but good from them". They said: "This is indeed a (good) idea". I said: "Collect then what we shall give him as a gift; the most pleasing gift that can be given him from our country is skins". So we gathered many skins for him

and set out and went to him. We were with him when 'Amr bin Umaiyah the Damrite came to him. The Messenger of Allah had sent him to him in connection with the business of Ja'far and his friends, and he went in to him and came out from him. I said to my friends: "This is 'Amr bin Umaiyah; if I had gone in to the Negus and asked him for him he would have given me him and I would have cut off his head. If I did that Quraish would see that I had given them satisfaction when I had killed the messenger of Muhammad". He said: So I went in to him and prostrated myself as I was in the habit of doing, and he said: "Welcome to my friend! Do you bring me a gift from your country?". I said: "Yes, O king, I have brought you a gift of many skins". Then I took it forward to him and it pleased him so he desired to have it. Then I said to him: "O king, I saw a man come out from your presence who is the messenger of a man who is an enemy to us, give him to me that I may kill him for he has smitten some of our noblest and choicest men". He said: He grew angry and stretched out his hand and struck his nose with it in such a way that I imagined he had broken it, and if the earth had opened for me I would have gone into it to get away from him. Then I said to him: "O king, had I thought you would dislike this I would not have asked you for it". He said: "Do you ask that I should give you the messenger of a man to whom comes the angel Gabriel who used to come to Moses, that you may kill him?" I said: "O king, is that what he is?". He said: "Out upon you, 'Amr, obey me and follow him for he has the truth, and he will be victorious over those who oppose him even as Moses was victorious over Pharaoh and his hosts". I said: "Will you pledge me to him in accordance with Islam?". He said: "Yes", stretched out his hand and I gave him the pledge in accordance with Islam. Then I went out to my friends with my ideas changed from what they had been but I concealed my islamization from them.

So I set out to go to the Messenger of Allah to accept Islam when I met Khālid bin al-Walīd as he was coming from Mecca, - that was a little while before the taking of Mecca - and I said to him: "Whither away, O Abū Suleimān?". He said: "The way has become plain; the man is a prophet and I go to islamize. How long, then?". I said: "Indeed I am coming only to islamize". So we came to the Messenger

of Allah in Medina and Khālīd bin al-Walīd went forward, islamized, and took the pledge. Then I drew near and said: "O Messenger of Allah, I make a covenant with you on condition that my former sins shall be forgiven and that I will not mention what comes later". The Messenger of Allah said: "O 'Amr, take the oath, for Islam cuts off what was before it, and the Migration cuts off what was before it". So I took the oath and went away.

Ibn Hishām: It is also said: Islam causes to fall what was before it, and the Migration causes to fall what was before it.

Ibn Ishāq: One who is above suspicion related to me that 'Uthmān bin Talhah bin Abū Talhah was with them, and islamized when they islamized.

Ibn Ishāq: Ibn az-Zib'arī the Sahrīte said:-

I adjure 'Uthmān bin Talhah by our treaty
and the rendezvous of the people at the place of kissing
And the alliance which the fathers contracted
And Khālīd is not released from the like of them
Do you wish a key other than the key of your house?
And what glory of an ancient house do you desire?
Do not trust Khālīd after this
And 'Uthmān brought misfortune from which it is hard to
escape.

The conquest of the Beni Quraythah was in Dhu 'l-Qa'dah and the beginning of Dhu 'l-Hijjah. The polytheists were in charge of that pilgrimage.

The raid of the Beni Lihyān.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah resided in Medina Dhu 'l-Hijjah Muharram, Safar, and the two months of Rabī' and in Jumāda I at the beginning of the sixth month after the conquest of the Beni Quraythah he set out against the Beni Lihyān seeking the enemies of ar-Rajī'. Khubaib bin 'Adi and his friends. He made it appear that he was going to Syria, that he might throw the people off their guard. So he set out from Medina, and, according to what Ibn Hishām says, he appointed Ibn Umm Maktūm governor of Medina.

Ibn Ishāq: He went by way of Ghurāb, a mountain in the vicinity of Medina on the route to Syria, then by Makhīd and Petra. Then he turned left and went by way of Yān, then by Sukhairāt al-Yamām, where the road took him straight to al-Mahajjah on the road to Mecca. So he forced the pace of march and encamped in Ghurān, where were the

settlements of the Beni Lihyān - Ghurān is a valley between Amaj and 'Usfān - beside a town called Sayah, only to find they had taken precautions and were out of reach on the mountains. When the Messenger of Allah made camp there, having failed to take them by surprise as he had wished, he said: "If we go down to 'Usfān the people of Mecca will think we are coming against it"; so he set out with two hundred horsemen of his friends and encamped in 'Usfān. Then he sent two horsemen of his friends who got as far as Kurā' al-Ghamīm and returned. The Messenger of Allah then set out on his return journey. Jābir bin 'Abdallah said: "I heard the Messenger of Allah say when he turned to go back: 'Returning and repentant, if Allah wills, praising our Lord: I take refuge in Allah from the hardships of the journey, the vexations of the return, and the evil eye on family and wealth'". The story of the raid of the Beni Lihyān is on the authority of 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah and 'Abdallah bin Abū Bekr on the authority of 'Abdallah bin Ka'b bin Mālik. Ka'b bin Mālik said about the raid of the Beni Lihyān:-

Had the Beni Lihyān waited on each other
They would have met bands in their dwellings who were
brave warriors
They would have found the vanguard whose fear fills the
beasts
In front of myriads like the hosts of the Milky Way
But they were like weasels following the defiles of the
Hijāz which have no exit.

The raid of Dhū Qarad:

Then the Messenger of Allah returned to Medina, but he was not in it more than a few nights till 'Uyainah bin Hisn bin Hudhaifah bin Badr the Fazārite swooped down at the head of some horsemen from Ghatafān on the milch-camels of the Messenger of Allah in Ghābah. A man of the Beni Ghifār and his wife were in charge of the camels, and they killed the man and carried off the woman with the milch-camels.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah, 'Abdallah bin Abū Bekr, and one who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of 'Abdallah bin Ka'b bin Mālik - each of them related a part of the story of the raid of Dhū Qarad - that the first one who knew of their presence was Salamah bin 'Amr bin al-Akwa' the Aslamite, who had gone out in the morning in the direction of al-Ghābah accoutred with his bow and arrows and accompanied by a boy belonging to Talhah bin 'Uбайд Allah, and he had with him a horse of his which he was leading. When he ascended

the mountain pass of al-Wadā' he espied some of their horses so he went up in the vicinity of Sal' and cried out: "O for his two mornings". Then he set out at a run after the party - he was like a lion - and he overtook the party and began to drive them back with arrows, saying as he shot (at them):-

Take this! I am Ibn al-Akwā'

To-day is the day of the baser sort

When the horses turned in his direction he fled away and evaded them and when he was able to shoot he did so and said:-

Take this! I am Ibn al-Akwa'

To-day is the day of the baser sort

One of them said: "Our little Akwa' which means 'the beginning of the day'.

He said: The call of Ibn Akwa' reached the Messenger of Allah and he cried out in Medina "Help! Help!". So the horsemen gathered for the Messenger of Allah and the first of the horsemen to reach him was al-Miqdād bin 'Amr; it was he who was called al-Miqdād bin al-Aswad an ally of the Beni Zuhrah. The first horseman of the Helpers to take his stand by the Messenger of Allah after al-Miqdād was 'Abbād bin Bishr bin Waqash bin Rughbah bin Za'ūrā, one of the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal, and Sa'd bin Zaid one of the Beni Ka'b bin 'Abd al-Ashhal and Usaid bin Thuhair brother of the Beni Hārithah bin al-Hārith about whom there is doubt, and 'Ukkāshah bin Mihsan brother of the Beni Asad bin Khuzaimah, and Muhriz bin Nadlah brother of the Beni Asad bin Khuzaimah, and Abū Qatadah, al-Hārith Rib'ayy brother of the Beni Salamah, and Abū Ayyāsh who was 'Ubaid bin Zaid bin as-Sāmit brother of the Beni Zuraiq.

When they came together to the Messenger of Allah he appointed Sa'd bin Zaid in command of them, then he said: "Go out in search of the party and I will overtake you with the people". According to what I heard the Messenger of Allah said to Abū Ayyāsh: "O Abū Ayyāsh, had you given this horse one who is a better horseman than yourself he would have overtaken the party". Abū Ayyāsh said: "I said: 'O Messenger of Allah, I am indeed the best horseman of the people'. So I struck my horse and he did not take me fifty yards till he threw me off and I was amazed that the Messenger of Allah should say: 'Had you given him a better rider than yourself', while I said: 'I am the best horseman of the people. Some men of the Beni Zuraiq claim that the

Messenger of Allah gave Mu'adh bin Mā'is the horse of Abū Ayyāsh, or else it was 'Ā'idh bin Mā'is bin Qais bin Khaladah. He was the eighth, but some people reckon Salamah bin 'Amr bin al-Akwa'one of the eight and exclude Usaid bin Thuhair brother of the Beni Hārithah; but Allah knows best whether that was so. Salamah was not on horseback that day; he was the first to overtake the party on foot. The horsemen went out in search of the party and came up with them.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah related to me that the first horseman to overtake the party was Muhriz bin Nadlah brother of the Beni Asad bin Khuzaimah. Muhriz was called 'al-Akhzam' and also 'Qumair'. The scare took place when a horse belonging to Mahmūd bin Maslamah ambled round the garden when he heard the neighing of the horses - he was a trained horse full of energy - and some women of the Beni 'Abd al-Ash hal said when they saw the horse ambling around the garden with the stump of a palm tree to which he was tied: "O Qumair, are you minded to ride this horse in the state in which you see him and join the Messenger of Allah and the Muslims?". He said: "Yes"; and they gave it to him, and he set out on it, and with his energy it was not long till he got ahead of the (other) horses, and overtook the party. He stood in front of them and said: "Stand still, O people of the Beni al-Lakī'ah till the reserves of the Emigres and Helpers who are behind you come up with you". He said: One of them attacked and killed him and the horse ambled round no one being able to get hold of him and stopped at ^{its} halter of the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal. None of the Muslims was slain but he.

Ibn Hishām: Waqqās bin Mujazziz was slain along with Muhriz that day according to what more than one scholar says.

Ibn Ishāq: The name of Mahmūd's horse was Dhū al-Limmah.

Ibn Ishāq: One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of 'Abdallah bin Ka'b bin Mālik that Muhriz was only on a horse belonging to 'Ukkāshah bin Mihsan called al-Janāh, and Muhriz was slain and al-Janāh was captured. When the horses came up to each other, Abū Qatādah, al-Hārith bin Ribb'ayy brother of the Beni Salamah killed Habīb bin 'Uyainah bin Hishn and covered him with his cloak. Then he joined the people and the Messenger of Allah came up at the head of the Muslims.

Ibn Hishām: He appointed Ibn Umm Maktūm governor of Medina.

Ibn Ishāq: When Ḥabīb lay shrouded in the cloak of Abū Qatādah the people said: "Verily we belong to Allah and verily to Him do we return", and said: "Abū Qatādah is slain". The Messenger of Allah said: "He is not Abū Qatādah but one who has been slain by him on whom he has thrown his cloak so that you may know he is his man".

'Ukkāshah ibn Mihsan overtook Aubār and his son 'Amraibn Aubār who were riding on the same camel, pierced them both through with a spear and killed them. They rescued some of the milch camels and the Messenger of Allah marched off and encamped in the mountain beside Dhū Qarad, and the people joined him. The Messenger of Allah made camp and remained there for a day and a night. Salamah ibn al-Akwa' said to him: "O Messenger of Allah, had you sent me out with a hundred men I would have rescued the rest of the herd and seized the necks of the party". According to what I heard, the Messenger of Allah said to him: "They are even now milking (them) in Ghatafān". Then the Messenger of Allah apportioned to every hundred of his friends a camel for slaughter and they stayed there. Afterwards the Messenger of Allah returned and came to Medina.

The Ghifārite woman makes her escape from them.

The wife of al-Ghifārī came up on one of the she-camels belonging to the Messenger of Allah, went to him and told him her story. When she had finished she said: "O Messenger of Allah, verily I vowed to Allah that I would sacrifice her if Allah granted me deliverance by her". He said: The Messenger of Allah smiled and said: "Bad is the reward you would give her, since Allah mounted you on her and by her gave you deliverance and now you would sacrifice her! A vow is not a vow when made in disobedience to Allah or with regard to something you do not possess. This is one of my camels; return to your family with the blessing of Allah". The story about the wife of al-Ghifārī, what she said and what the Messenger of Allah said to her is on the authority of Abū 'z-Zubair of Mecca from al-Hasan ibn Abū 'l-Hasan of Basrah.

Poetry omitted

The raid on the Beni 'l-Mustaliq in Muraishi' in Sha'bān of year six.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah resided in Medina for part of Jumādā II and Rajab. Then he launched an attack on the Beni 'l-Mustaliq in Sha'bān of year six.

Ibn Hishām: He appointed Abū Dharr the Ghifārīte governor of Medina: but it is said it was Numayllah bin 'Abdallah the Laithite.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah, 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr, and Muhammad bin Yahya bin Habbān related to me - each of them related to me part of the account of the Beni 'l-Mustaliq. They said: The Messenger of Allah heard that the Beni 'l-Mustaliq were assembling (their forces) against him, and (that) their leader was al-Hārith bin Abū Dirār Abū Juwairiyah bint al-Hārith wife of the prophet. When the Messenger of Allah heard about them he went out against them and met them at one of their water-spots called al-Muraisī' in the vicinity of Qudaid towards the sea-coast. So the people drew near and fought and Allah routed the Beni 'l-Mustaliq and slew those of them whom He slew, and gave as spoil to the Messenger of Allah their sons, wives and properties, and granted them to him as booty. One of the Muslims from the Beni Kalb bin 'Auf bin 'Āmir bin Laith bin Bakr called Hishām was killed. One of the Helpers from the kinsmen of 'Ubadah bin as-Sāmit killed him in error thinking he was one of the enemy. While the Messenger of Allah was at that water-spot a party of the people went down to it for water. 'Umar bin al-Khattāb had with him a hired servant of his from the Beni Ghifār called Jahjāh bin Mas'ūd who was leading his horse. Jahjāh and Sinān bin Wabar the Juhanite, ally of the Beni 'Auf bin al-Khazraj, pressed against each other at the water and they fought. Then the Juhanite called out: "O people of the Helpers!", and Jahjāh cried out: "O people of the Emigres!". 'Abdallah bin Ubai bin Salūl, who had a company of his tribe with him, in command of which was Zaid bin Arqam, a young man, was enraged and said: "Have they now done it? They have vied with us for nobility and they have outnumbered us in our own country. I do not reckon ourselves in the same category as the women's gowns of Quraish, except as the first said: "Fatten your dog and he will eat you". If we return to Medina the stronger will expel from it the weaker. Then he went up to those of his people who were with him and said: "This is what you have brought upon yourselves, you have allowed them the freedom of your country, you have shared your property with them, and if you withhold from them what you now possess they will turn aside to other abodes than yours". Zaid bin Arqam heard that and carried it to the Messenger of Allah - that was when the Messenger of Allah had

finished with his enemies - and gave him the news. 'Umar bin al-Khattāb was with him and he said: "Command 'Abbād bin Bishr to slay him". The Messenger of Allah said to him: "How will it be, O 'Umar, if the people relate that Muhammad slays his friends? Nay, but give the proclamation to march". That was at an hour when the Messenger of Allah did not usually march, but the people set out. When 'Abdallah bin Ubai bin Salūl heard that Zaid bin Arqam had told the Messenger of Allah what he had heard him say, he went to the Messenger of Allah and swore by Allah: "I did not say" what he said, and "I did not utter it". He was noble and great in his tribe, and those of his friends from the Helpers who were with the Messenger of Allah said: "O Messenger of Allah, perhaps the young man made a slip in his story and did not remember what the man said", out of kindness to Ibn Ubai and in defence of him.

When the Messenger of Allah got started on his way Usaid bin Hudair met him and greeted him with the prophetic greeting. Then he said: "O prophet of Allah, you have gone away at an unusual hour, one in which you were not wont to set out". The Messenger of Allah said to him: "Did you not hear what your friend said?" He said: "Which friend, O Messenger of Allah?" He said: "'Abdallah bin Ubai". He said: "And what did he say?". He said: "He asserted that if he returned to Medina the strong in it would expel the weak". Then indeed, O Messenger of Allah, you will surely expel him if you wish, he is the weak and you are the strong". Then he said: "O Messenger of Allah, deal gently with him. Allah brought you when his people were preparing for him the chaplet wherewith to crown him, and he sees that you have baulked him of the kingdom"

The Messenger of Allah marched with the people all that day till evening came and all that night till morning came, and the fore part of that day till the sun was doing them harm. Then he made camp with the people and it was not long till they lay down on the ground and fell asleep. He did that merely to distract the people from the event that had taken place the day before in connection with 'Abdallah bin Ubai.

Then the Messenger of Allah went away with the people, crossed the Hijāz and made camp at a well in the Hijāz a little way above an-Naqī' called Baq'ā'. When the Messenger of Allah set out a strong wind blew

upon the people, which did them harm, and they feared it. The Messenger of Allah said: "Do not fear it, for it blows merely on account of the death of one of the great ones of the unbelievers". When they returned to Medina they found that Rifā'ah bin Zaid bin at-Tābūt, one of the Beni Qainuqā', one of the great men of the Jews and a resort for the Hypocrites, had died that day. The chapter about Ibn Ubai and those who were in a similar position in which Allah mentions the Hypocrites, came down. When it came down the Messenger of Allah took Zaid bin Arqam by the ear and said: "This is he who rendered his due to Allah with his ear". 'Abdallah bin 'Abdallah bin Ubai heard of the affair of his father.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim related to me that 'Abdallah went to the Messenger of Allah and said: "I have heard that you wish the death of 'Abdallah bin Ubai on account of what you have heard about him. If you (intend) doing it, command me and I will bring his head to you. Khazraj know that they have not a man who has greater filial piety towards his father than I have, and I fear that you should give the order about him to another and he should kill him, for then my soul would not suffer me to regard the slayer of 'Abdallah bin Ubai going about amongst the people and I would slay him and thereby slay a believer for an unbeliever, and I would go into the Fire". The Messenger of Allah said: "Nay, we will deal gently with him and cultivate his friendship as long as he remains with us". In after days when he did any wrong it was his own people who took him, censured him, and treated him rudely, so the Messenger of Allah said to 'Umar bin al-Khattāb: When he heard that affair of theirs: "What do you think, O 'Umar? Had I slain him the day you said to me: 'Kill him', noses would have quivered for him; if I commanded them to kill him to-day they would do so". 'Umar said: "I know that the command of the Messenger of Allah is greater in blessing than my command".

Miqyas bin Sabābah came from Mecca a Muslim according to appearances and said: "O Messenger of Allah, I have come to you a Muslim and I have come seeking the blood-wit for my brother who was slain in error". So the Messenger of Allah commanded that the blood-wit of his brother Hishām bin Sabābah be given him. He remained with the Messenger of Allah for a little while and attacked and slew his brother's killer. Then he went back to Mecca an apostate. He said in verses he spoke:-

It eased the soul that he died reclining in the hollow place
The blood from the veins of his neck smearing his clothes
The cares of the soul before his murder
Visited (me) and kept me from having a smooth couch
By him I achieved vengeance and obtained revenge
And I was the first to return to idols
By him I avenged Fih'r and placed responsibility for his
blood-wit
On the nobles of the Beni an-Najjār the masters of Fārid'.

Miqyas bin Sabābah also said:-

I dealt him a blow which got me my revenge and which
drew forth drops (of blood) which spurted out and stopped
I said while death was covering his wrinkles
"You are not safe from the Beni Bakr when they are wronged"

Ibn Hishām: The slogan of the Muslims on the day of the Beni 'l-
Mustaliq was: "O victorious one, slay, slay!"

Ibn Ishāq: Some men of the Beni 'l-Mustaliq were slain that day and
'Ali bin Abū Tālib killed two of them, Mālik and his son.

The affair of Juwairiyah bint al-Hārith mother of the believers.

He said: The Messenger of Allah took many of them captive; his portion
was distributed amongst the Muslims. Amongst the captives who were
taken that day was Juwairiyah bint al-Hārith bin Abū Dirār, wife of
the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: Muḥammad bin Ja'far bin az-Zubair related to me on the
authority of 'Urwah from 'Ā'ishah. She said: "When the Messenger of
Allah apportioned the captives of the Beni 'l-Mustaliq, Juwairiyah
bint al-Hārith went by lot to Thābit bin Qais bin ash-Shammās or to a
cousin of his and she entered into a bond with him for herself. She
was pleasing and of great beauty and no one could see her without
being captivated. So she came to the Messenger of Allah seeking his
help about her bond. 'Ā'ishah said: Suddenly I saw her at the door
of my room and I loathed her for I knew he would see in her what I
saw. She went in to him and said: "O Messenger of Allah, I am
Juwairiyah bint al-Hārith bin Abū Dirār the chief of his people, and
a misfortune which is not hidden from you has come upon me. I fell
by lot either to Thābit bin Qais or to a cousin of his, and I entered
into a bond with him for myself, and I have come to you to seek your
help with my bond" He said: "Is there nothing better for you than
that". She said: "And what might that be, O Messenger of Allah?".

He said: "I will fulfil your bond and marry you". She said: "Yes,

O messenger of Allah". He said: "I will do it". So the news went out to the people that the Messenger of Allah had married Juwairiyah bint al-Hārith bin Abū Dirār, and the people said: "Kinsmen of the Messenger of Allah and they relinquished what they had got. Thus by his marriage to her one hundred people of the Beni 'l-Mustaliq were set free, and I know not a woman who was the means of greater blessing to her people than she.

Ibn Hishām: It is said that when the Messenger of Allah retired from the raid of the Beni 'l-Mustaliq accompanied by Juwairiyah bint al-Hārith, and was in Dhāt al-Jaish, he gave Juwairiyah into the charge of one of the Helpers, Waddī'ah, and ordered him to keep her safely. When the Messenger of Allah returned to Medina her father al-Hārith bin Abū Dirār brought the ransom for his daughter. When he was in al-'Aqīq he looked over the camels he had brought for her ransom and coveted two of them and concealed them in one of the clefts of al-'Aqīq. Then he came to the Messenger of Allah and said: "O Muhammad you have captured my daughter and here is her ransom". The Messenger of Allah said: "Where are the two camels you concealed in al-'Aqīq in such and such a cleft?" Al-Hārith said: "I testify that there is no god but Allah, and that you, Muhammad are the Messenger of Allah, for no one but Allah disclosed that!" So al-Hārith islamized along with two sons of his and some people from his tribe, and he sent for the two camels, brought them, and gave them to the Messenger of Allah, and his daughter Juwairiyah was handed over to him and she islamized and became a good Muslim. So the Messenger of Allah asked her father for her and he gave her in marriage to him and gave her a dowry of four hundred dirhems.

The affair of al-Walīd bin 'Uqbah.

Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd bin Rūmān related to me that the Messenger of Allah sent al-Walīd bin 'Uqbah bin Abu Mu'ait to them after their acceptance of Islam. When they heard of him they rode out to meet him. When he heard of them he was afraid of them, returned to the Messenger of Allah and told him that the people meant to kill him and had withheld from him the alms they had. The Muslims talked much about a raid on them and the Messenger of Allah decided to make a raid on them. While he was thus occupied a deputation came from them to him and said: "O Messenger of Allah, we heard of your messenger when you sent

him to us, and we went out to meet him to do him honour and to give him the alms we had, but he turned back in great haste. We have heard that he said to the Messenger of Allah that we went out to kill him, but we certainly did not go out for that". So Allah sent down about him and them:-

O ye who have believed, if a reprobate come to you with a report be clear (about it) lest ye commit a stupidity against a people, and find yourselves regretting what ye have done.

Know that the Messenger of Allah is amongst you; if he were to obey you in much of the affair, ye would be in distress. (Surah 49: 5 - 7).

According to what one who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of az-Zuhri from 'Urwah from 'A'ishah, the Messenger of Allah returned from that march of his, 'A'ishah being with him, on his march, and when he was near to Medina the liars said about her what they said.

The account of the falsehood in the raid of the Beni 'l-Mustaliq in year six.

Ibn Ishāq: Az-Zuhri related to me on the authority of 'Alqamah bin Waqqās, Sa'id bin Jubair, 'Urwah bin az-Zubair, and 'Upaid Allah bin 'Abdallah bin 'Utbah. Each of them related to me a part of this account, and some of the people knew it better than others, and I have collected for you what the party related to me.

Muhammad bin Ishāq: Yahya bin 'Abbād bin 'Abdallah bin az-Zubair related to me on the authority of his father from 'A'ishah, and 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr on the authority of 'Amrah bint 'Abd ar-Rahmān from 'A'ishah on her own authority when the liars said about her what they said. Each of them had a part in relating it on the authority of all these, some of them relating what his friend did not relate; each of them treated her as authoritative and each of them related about her what he heard. She said: When the Messenger of Allah wanted to set out on an expedition he cast lots among his wives, and took with him her whose arrow came out. When the raid of the Beni 'l-Mustaliq took place he cast lots among his wives as he was in the habit of doing and my arrow came out on top with him, so the Messenger of Allah took me with him. She said: At that time as usual they ate only sustaining food which did not cause them to put on flesh and grow heavy. When my camel was saddled for me I took my

seat in my litter, then the party who saddled him for me came and carried me by taking hold of the bottom of the litter, which they lifted up and placed on the camel's back, after which they secured it with the rope, took the camel by the head and led him away. She said: When the Messenger of Allah had finished that expedition he turned back and when he was near to Medina he made camp at a certain camping-place and spent part of the night there. Then he made proclamation among the people that the march would be resumed and they moved on. I had gone out on some business of mine, wearing round my neck a necklace of mine in which were gems of Thafār, and when I had finished it slipped from my neck without me being aware of it. When I returned to the tent I sought it on my neck but did not find it. The people had begun to move, so I went back to the place where I had been and searched for it till I found it. The party who saddled my camel for me came in my absence, and when they finished saddling him they took up the litter, supposing that I was inside, as I was wont to be, mounted it and fastened it on to the camel, never doubting that I was in it, and then took the camel by the head and led him away. Then I returned to the camp and found therein neither any that called nor answered; the people had departed. She said: So I wrapped myself up in my outer garment and lay down where I was realising that if I had been missed they would have returned for me. I was lying thus when Saḥwān bin al-Mu'attal the Sulamite passed by me. He had remained the army for some business of his and did not spend the night with the people. He saw my figure in the distance and came up and stopped by me, and he had seen me before the veil was imposed on us. When he saw me he said: "Verily we belong to Allah and verily to Him we return; a litter-woman belonging to the Messenger of Allah". I was wrapped up in my clothes. He said: "What kept you behind, may Allah have mercy on you?" She said: I did not speak to him. Then he brought his camel near and said: "Mount", and withdrew from me. So I mounted, and he took the camel by the head and went away in haste searching for the people. But we did not overtake the people and I was not missed till I arrived. The people had made camp and when they were settled in the man appeared leading my camel, so the liars said what they said, and the camp was thrown into a ferment but I know nothing about that.

So we came to Medina and it was not long till I fell seriously ill but I heard nothing about that. The story reached the Messenger of Allah and my parents, but they mentioned neither little nor much of it to me, but I did not experience certain kindnesses from the Messenger of Allah. When I had been sick before he was compassionate towards me and treated me kindly but he did not do that in that illness; I did not like that (treatment) from him. When he came in to me and my mother was with me nursing me (Ibn Hishām: She was Umm Rūmān and her name was Zainab bint 'Abd Duhmān one of the Beni Firās bin Ghanam bin Mālik bin Kinānah) he said: "How is that (girl) of yours?", and beyond that he did not go. When I was grieved in myself I said: "O Messenger of Allah"- when I saw what I saw of his unkindness to me - "if you give me leave I will move to my mother and she will nurse me". He said: "There is nothing to prevent you doing that". So I moved to my mother and I had no knowledge of what had happened till I had recovered from my illness after more than twenty days. We were an Arab tribe and we did not put lavatories in our houses as foreigners do, a custom which we loathe and detest; we merely went to the open spaces of Medina, and the women only went out each night for this business of theirs. I went out one night on my business accompanied by Umm Mistah bint Abū Ruḥm bin al-Muttalib bin 'Abd Manāf. Her mother was bint Sakhr bin 'Āmir bin Ka'b bin Sa'd bin Taim aunt of Abū Bakr the Faithful. She was walking along with me when she tripped on her garment and said: "Unhappy Mistah!" (Mistah was a nickname; his name was 'Auf). I said: "By the life of Allah, bad is what you have said about one of the Emigres who has witnessed Badr". She said: "Have you not heard the news O bint Abū Bakr?" I said: "What is the news?". So she told me what the liars were saying. I said: "Is this what has taken place?". She said: "Yes, indeed it has". I was not able to do my business and went back, and I went on weeping till I imagined it would split my liver. I said to my mother: "May Allah forgive you! The people were relating what they were relating and you mentioned nothing of it to me". She said: "O my daughter, make this affair easier for yourself. It is seldom that a beautiful woman is married to a man who loves her and has fellow-wives but these multiply scandal against her and the people do likewise". She said: The Messenger of Allah stood up amongst the people and preached to them but I have no knowledge of that. He

praised and blessed Allah and said: "O people, what do certain men mean who work me ill where my family is concerned, and speak against them that which is not true. Indeed I know nothing but good about them! They say that too about a man of whom I have known nothing but good, and who does not enter one of my houses except he is accompanied by me! The main part of that (scandal) originated with 'Abdallah bin Ubai bin Salūl and certain men of the Khazraj along with what Mistah and Hammah bint Jahsh said. That was because her sister Zainab bint Jahsh was a wife of the Messenger of Allah, and none of his wives but she disputed my position in his affections. As for Zainab Allah preserved her in her religion; but as for Hammah she broadcast what she broadcast, comparing me unfavourably with her sister, so that I was miserable thereby.

When the Messenger of Allah made that statement, Usaid bin Hudair said: "O Messenger of Allah, if they are from the Aus we will give you satisfaction for them, and if they are from our brethren the Khazraj-give us your orders, for they deserve to have their heads cut off". She said: Sa'd bin 'Ubādah, who before that had been considered a good man, rose and said: "You lie! They shall not be beheaded, and indeed you made this statement only because you knew they were from the Khazraj. Had they been from your people you would not have made it". Usaid said: "You lie, but you are a hypocrite who argues on behalf of the Hypocrites". So the people were roused up and (something) evil almost took place between those two tribes of the Aus and the Khazraj. Then the Messenger of Allah came down, came in to me, and called Ali bin Abū Tālib, and Usāmah bin Zaid and asked their advice. As for Usāmah he gave me a good name and said: "O Messenger of Allah, you know nothing but good of your family, and we know nothing of them but good; this is a lie and a baseless calumination! As for 'Ali, he said: "O Messenger of Allah, the women are many, and you can replāce (her). Ask the servant girl for she will speak the truth". So the Messenger of Allah called Burairah to ask her, and 'Ali bin Abū Tālib arose and struck her a severe blow and said: "Tell the truth to the Messenger of Allah". She said: "I know nothing (of 'Ā'ishah) but what is good and I did not find in 'Ā'ishah any defect, except that I was kneading my dough and I asked her to watch but she fell asleep and the sheep came and ate it.

Then the Messenger of Allah came in to me and my parents and a woman of the Helpers were with me; I was weeping and she was weeping with me. He squatted down, praised and blessed Allah and said: "O 'Ā'ishah verily you have heard what people say, so act piously towards Allah. If you have committed the fault which the people say repent towards Allah, for Allah accepteth repentance on the part of his servants". She said: No sooner had he said that to me than my tears dried up so that I felt them not at all and I expected my parents would reply to the Messenger of Allah on my behalf, but they did not speak. I swear by Allah that I was too insignificant and of too little account for Allah to send down a Qur'ān about me which should be recited in the mosque at worship, but I had been hoping that the Messenger of Allah would see something in his sleep whereby Allah would declare it false for me because He had knowledge of my innocence; or that he should receive some word; but that a Qur'ān should come down about me, I was indeed too insignificant in my own estimation for that. When I saw that my parents did not speak I said to them: "Will you not reply to the Messenger of Allah?". They said: "Indeed we know not how to reply to him". I know of the people of no family to whom there came what came to the family of Abū Bakr in those days. When they were unable to answer me, my tears flowed (afresh) and I wept, then I said: "I will never repent to Allah of what you have mentioned, and I know that if I made acknowledgement of what people say, when Allah knows that I am innocent of it, I would admit something that did not happen: if I denied what you say you would not believe me". She said: Then I sought for the name of Jacob but could not remember it, so I said: "But I will say as the father of Joseph said: 'Patience is admirable, and Allah is the Helper against what you describe'". She said: The Messenger of Allah was still squatting when there overshadowed him that which used to overshadow him from Allah, so he was wrapped in his clothes and a cushion of skin placed beneath his head. As for me, when I saw what I saw of that, I was not afraid, nor was I anxious. I knew that I was (declared) innocent and that Allah would do me no wrong. As for my parents, by Him in whose hand is the life of 'Ā'ishah the clothes were not taken off the Messenger of Allah, till I imagined they themselves would pass out in dread lest there come from Allah a confirmation of what the people said. Then the clothes were

taken off the Messenger of Allah and he sat up, while the perspiration poured off him like pearls on a winter day. So he began to wipe the sweat from his forehead and say: "Rejoice, O 'Ā'ishah! Allah hath revealed thine innocence". I said: "Praise be to Allah!" Then he went out to the people and addressed them and recited to them the part of the Qur'ān Allah had sent down to him about that. Then he ordered Mistah bin Uthāthah, Hassān bin Thābit, and Hammah bint Jahsh, who were amongst those who had spoken openly of adultery to be beaten as their punishment.

My father Ishāq bin Yasār related to me on the authority of some of the Beni an-Najjār that the wife of Abū Ayyūb Khālīd bin Zaid, Umm Ayyūb said to him: "O Abū Ayyūb, do you not hear what the people are saying about 'Ā'ishah?". He said: "Certainly, and it is a lie. Would you do that, O Umm Ayyūb?" She said: "No, I would certainly not do it". He said: "'Ā'ishah is better than you". When the Qur'ān came down with mention of the evil-speakers and the liars who said what they said, He to Whom belong power and glory said:-

Verily those who have produced the lie are a small faction amongst you; do not consider it evil for you, rather is it good for you; every man of them will bear the guilt he has earned for himself, and for him amongst them who was responsible for the bulk of it is a great punishment.

That was Hassān bin Thābit and his friends who said what they said.

Ibn Hishām: It is said that was 'Abdallah bin Ubai and his friends.

Ibn Hishām: He who was responsible for the bulk of it was 'Abdallah bin Ubai, and Ibn Ishāq has mentioned that previously in this account. Then He Whose praise is glorious said:-

Why, when ye heard it did not the believing men and the believing women form in their minds a good opinion,

That is: And say what Abū Ayyūb and his wife said. Then He said:-

When ye took it up on your tongues and spoke with your mouths thing of which ye had no knowledge and ye thought it a light thing while in Allah's eyes it was serious. (Sūrah 24: 11 - 15).

When this came down about 'Ā'ishah and about those who said of her what they said, Abū Bakr, who was spending money on Mistah because of his relationship and his need, said: "I will never spend anything on Mistah, nor will I ever grant him a favour after what he said about

'Ā'ishah, and what he brought upon us. So Allah sent down about that:-

Let not those of you who have abundance and ample means swear off from giving to relatives and the poor and those who emigrate in the way of Allah; but let them pardon and overlook; do ye not like that Allah should forgive you; Allah is forgiving, compassionate. (Sūrah 24: 22)

Poetry, etc. omitted

Ibn Ishāq: Abū Bakr said: "Certainly, I would like Allah to forgive me". So he restored to Mistah the money he was spending on him and said: "I will never take it away from him".

The affair of Hassān and Safwān.

Ibn Ishāq: Then Safwān bin al-Mu'attal encountered Hassān bin Thābit with the sword when he heard what he had said about him. Along with that Hassān had spoken in verse alluding to Ibn Mu'attal and those of the Arabs of Mudar who had islamized and said:-

The followers of the prophet have become strong and numerous
And Ibn Furai'ah has become without equal
His mother has lost one to whom I was friend
Or he was caught in the lion's claws
For the one whom I meet in the morning and slay
There shall no blood-wit be given nor retaliation in kind
Not this is the sea when the wind blows
And it heaves and casts the foam upon the beach
There is no one more victorious, when you see me
I cleave like the hail cloud
As for Quraish, I will not make peace with them
Till they return from error to guidance
And abandon al-Lat and al-'Uzza in their secluded spots
And all of them worship the One Eternal (God)
And witness that what the Prophet said to them was true
And fulfil the covenant of Allah and confirm it.

So Ibn Mu'attal encountered him with the sword and smote him. Then he said according to what Ya'qūb bin 'Utbah related to me:-

Take from me the edge of the sword for I am a young man;
If I am satirised I am not a poet.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad bin Ibrāhīm bin al-Hārith the Taimite related to me that Thābit bin Qais bin ash-Shammās attacked Safwān bin al-Mu'attal when he smote Hassān, tied his hands behind his neck with a rope, and took him to the abode of the Beni 'l-Hārith bin al-Khazraj. 'Abdallah bin Rawāhah met him and said: "What is this?" He said: "Does not not surprise you that he has smitten Hassān with the sword and I think has done no other than slay him. 'Abdallah bin Rawāhah said to him: "Does

the Messenger of Allah know anything of what you have done?" He said: "No". He said: "You have indeed been daring! Set the man free". So he freed him and they went to the Messenger of Allah and told him about that and he called Ḥassān and Saḥwān bin al-Mu'attal. Ibn al-Mu'attal said: "O Messenger of Allah, he harmed me and satirized me, so rage drove me on and I struck him". The Messenger of Allah said to Ḥassān: "O Ḥassān, you have behaved in an unseemly manner towards my people (after) that Allah has guided them to Islam". Then he said: 'Ḥassan, treat him well who has smitten you'. He said: "That shall be yours".

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as 'after that Allah has guided you to Islam'.

Ibn Ishāq: Muḥammad bin Ibrāhīm related to me that the Messenger of Allah gave him in compensation for it Bīrahā' a castle belonging to the Beni Hudhailah in Medina to-day which was a property belonging to Abū Talḥah bin Sahl. He gave it as alms to the Messenger of Allah, and he gave it to Ḥassān for the beating he got. He also gave him Sīrīn a Coptic slave-girl and she bore to him 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin Ḥassān. 'Ā'ishah said: He was asked about Ibn al-Mu'attal and they found him to be a discreet man who did not go near women, and after that he was slain a martyr.

Then Ḥassān bin Thābit said in apology for what he had said about the matter of 'Ā'ishah:-

Chaste, sedate, she is not suspected by doubt
 She would be hungry rather than have the flesh of the
 heedless
 The noble woman of a tribe; from Lu'ai bin Ghālib
 Who are noble in endeavour and whose glory endures
 Pure, Allah has made good her character
 And purified her from everything that is evil and vain
 If I have said that which you assert
 Let not my fingers lift my whip to me (?)
 And how should my love as long as I live and my help
 Be to the family of the Messenger of Allah - the ornament
 of (all) gathering-places
 He has an exalted position over all people
 The longest leap would come short of him
 Verily what has been said does not stick
 But it is the saying of a man who is a malevolent liar.

Ibn Hishām: His stanza 'the noble woman of a tribe' and the stanza which follows it 'He has an exalted position' are on the authority of

Abū Zaid the Helper.

Ibn Hishām: Abū 'Ubaidah related to me that a woman praised the daughter of Ḥassān bin Thābit in the presence of 'Ā'ishah and said:→

Chaste, sedate, she is not suspected by doubt
She would be hungry rather than have the flesh of the
heedless.

'Ā'ishah said: But her father (said that).

Ibn Ishāq: One of the Muslims said about the beating of Ḥassān and his friends for their falsehood against 'Ā'ishah:-

Ibn Hishām: About the beating of Ḥassān and his two friends:-

Ḥassān tasted that which he deserved
And Ḥammah and Mistah, because they used unseemly language
They engaged in secret conjectures about the wife of
their prophet
And in displeasing the bountiful Lord of the Throne so
they were afflicted
They harmed the Messenger of Allah by it and spread abroad
A disgrace which shall remain - they made it general
property and they were disgraced
And the stout whips were applied to them as if they were
showers of rain pouring from the highest rain-cloud.

The affair of al-Hudaibiyah in the latter part of year six and
mention of the treaty of friendship and peace between the Messenger
of Allah and Suhail bin 'Amr.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah resided in Medina for the remainder of Ramaḍān and Shawwāl, and set out in Dhu 'l-Qa'dah on the Lesser Pilgrimage, wishing to avoid hostilities.

Ibn Hishām: He appointed Numailah bin 'Abdallah the Laithite governor of Medina.

Ibn Ishāq: He called together the Arabs and the nomadic Beduin who were around them to go out with him for he was afraid of what Quraish might do in case they should oppose him by force or block his approach to the House, but many of the Beduin dallied with him. So the Messenger of Allah set out with the Emigres and Helpers and the Arabs who followed him, took with the sacrificial animals, and donned the pilgrim garb, so that the people might feel themselves safe from attack by him, and that they might know that he came merely as a pilgrim to the House to venerate it.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad bin Muslim bin Shihāb the Zuhrite on the authority of 'Urwah bin az-Zubair from Miswar bin Makhramah and Marwān bin al-Hakm that they related to him: They said: The Messenger of Allah set out in the year of al-Hudaibiyah, wishing to visit the House, not wanting to give battle, and took with him seventy sacrificial animals. The people numbered seven hundred men so that there was an animal for every ten persons. According to what I heard, Jābir bin 'Abdallāh said: "We, the men of al-Hudaibiyah were fourteen hundred". Az-Zuhri said: The Messenger of Allah set out, and when he was in 'Usfān, Bishr bin Sufyān the Ka'bite met him,

Ibn Hishām: Bushr

and said: "O Messenger of Allah, these Quraishites have heard of your march, and have come forth, accompanied by those who have but newly given birth and by those who have children; they are clothed in tiger skins and are encamped in Dhū Tuwa. They swear by Allah you shall never enter it (Mecca) and Khālid bin al-Walīd is in command of their cavalry which they have sent forward to Kurā' al-Ghamīm ". The Messenger of Allah said: "Unhappy Quraish! War has destroyed them! What would it matter to them if they left me and the rest of the Arabs alone: if they smite me that will be just what they want: if Allah grants me the victory over them they would enter Islam in their multitudes: if they do not do that they will fight while there is strength in them. Whatever Quraish may imagine I will not cease to strive for that with which Allah sent me till Allah shall cause it to triumph or the front (or side) of my neck be cleft". Then he said: "What man will lead us out by another road than that they have occupied?".

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallāh bin Abū Bakr related to me that a man of Aslam said: "I will, O Messenger of Allah". He led them though the defiles by a rough boulder-strewn path. When they emerged from it -it had been hard on the Muslims - they came on to level ground at the end of the valley and the Messenger of Allah said to the people: "Say: 'We will ask pardon of Allah and repent towards Him'", and they said it. He said: "It was the very same relief which was offered to the Children of Israel but they would not say it"⁹¹

Ibn Hishām: The Messenger of Allah issued orders to the people and said: March to the right between the mounds of al-Hamd along a road which

would bring them out at the pass of al-Murār, the declivity of al-Hudaibiyah towards Lower Mecca. So the army went by that route and when the cavalry of Quraish saw the dust of the army, (and realised that) they had by-passed the road which they occupied, they galloped back to Quraish. The Messenger of Allah went on and when he was through the pass of al-Murār, his she-camel knelt down. The people said: "She is stubborn". He said: "She is not stubborn and stubbornness is not a quality of hers, but He who restrained the elephant from Mecca is holding her back. Quraish shall not call me to any course of action to-day for the purpose of uniting the kindred that I will not grant". Then he said to the people: "Make camp". They said to him: "O Messenger of Allah, there is no water in the valley at which we may encamp". So the Messenger of Allah took an arrow out of his quiver, and gave it to one of his friends who went down one of the disused wells, pricked it on the inside, and it welled up with abundance of water so that the people had to move the kneeling place of the camels away from it.

One of the scholars related to me on the authority of certain men of Aslam that the man who went down the well with the arrow of the Messenger of Allah was Najiyah bin Jundub bin 'Umair bin Ya'mar bin Dārim bin 'Amr bin Wāthilah bin Sahm bin Māzin bin Salāman bin Aslam bin Afṣa bin Abū Hārithah who was the driver of the sacrificial animals of the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Hishām: Afṣa bin Hārithah.

Ibn Ishāq: One of the scholars asserted to me that al-Barā' bin 'Āzib said: "It was I who took down the arrow of the Messenger of Allah". Allah knows best whether that was so.

Aslam recited some stanzas of poetry which Najiyah composed whom we suppose took down the arrow and Aslam said that a maid-servant belonging to the Helpers came up with her bucket while Najiyah was in the well procuring water for the people and said:-

O thou who art filling the buckets here is my bucket for you
Verily I saw the people praising thee
They praise you for something good and honour you

Ibn Hishām: Verily I saw the people praising you.

Ibn Ishāq: Najiyah said while he was in the well procuring water for the people:-

A Yemenite slave girl-knew

That I was filling the buckets and my name is Najiyah

With a wide gash which gave forth a spray
I pierced the oncoming enemy in the chests.

Az-Zuhri said in his account: When the Messenger of Allah had settled in Budail bin Warqā' came to him at the head of some men of Khuṣā'ah and spoke with him and enquired of him why he had come. He informed them that he had not come seeking war: he came merely as a pilgrim to the House in veneration for its sacredness. He told them much the same as he had told Bishr bin Sufyān, so they returned to Quraish and said: "O people of Quraish, you are being too hasty where Muhammad is concerned. Muhammad has not come to fight: he comes merely as a pilgrim to this House", and they were suspicious of them and insulted them and said: "Even if he has come without any desire to fight he shall never come in to us forcibly; the Arabs will not relate that about us".

Az-Zuhri said: Khuṣā'ah were in the confidence of the Messenger of Allah, Muslim and polytheist alike and hid from nothing that took place in Mecca. Then they sent Mikraz bin Hafs bin al-Akhyaf brother of the Beni 'Amir bin Lu'āi to him and when the Messenger of Allah saw him coming he said: "This is a treacherous man. When he came to the Messenger of Allah and spoke with him, the Messenger of Allah said much the same thing to him as he had said to Budail and his friends, and he went back to Quraish and informed them of what the Messenger of Allah had said to him. Then they sent al-Hulais bin 'Alqamah or Ibn Zabbān to him - he was at that time chief of the tribal contingents and he was one of the Beni 'l-Hārith bin 'Abd Manāt bin Kinānah. When the Messenger of Allah saw him he said: "This man is from a tribe who worship so send forth the sacrificial animals to meet him that he may see them! When he saw the animals come racing towards him from the side of the valley in their garlands, and they had eaten their hair because they had been confined for so long without being brought to the place of sacrifice, he went back to Quraish without coming to the Messenger of Allah in wonderment at what he had seen. He told them that and they said to him: "Sit down, you are only a desert Arab and have no knowledge".

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah ibn Abū Bakr related to me that al-Hulais was enraged thereat and said: "O people of Quraish, it was not for this that we made a treaty with you, nor was it for this that we entered into an agreement with you. Shall one who comes to the House of Allah to venerate it be debarred from it? By Him in Whose hand is the life of al-Hulais, Muhammad shall be left free to do what he has come to do or I shall surely withdraw the contingents as if they were one man". They said to him: "Do nothing rash; leave us alone O Hulais, that we may obtain for ourselves those (terms) which will be acceptable to us.

Az-Zuhri said in his account: Then they sent 'Urwah ibn Mas'ūd the Thaqafite to the Messenger of Allah. He said: "O people of Quraish, I have seen the reproaches and insults which those you have sent to the Messenger of Allah receive when they return, and you recognise you are a father and I am a son". ('Urwah was a son of Subai'ah bint 'Abd Shams). "I heard of that which had overtaken you so I gathered together those of my tribe who own allegiance to me, and I came to you myself to give you comfort". They said: "You have spoken the truth; you are not under suspicion with us". So he set out, went to the Messenger of Allah, squatted down in his presence and said: "O Muhammad, have you collected a rabble of people and brought them against your own tribe to break it up thereby?". Quraish have come forth accompanied by those who have but newly given birth, and by those who have children; they are clothed in tiger skins and they swear by Allah that you shall never enter it (Mecca) by force. I swear by Allah that it seems to me that these will be routed and desert you by to-morrow". Abū Bakr the Faithful was sitting behind the Messenger of Allah and he said: "Suck the uncircumcised part of al-Lāt! Shall we desert him?". He said: "Who is this, O Muhammad?". He said: "This is the son of Abū Quhāfah". He said: "Had you not stretched out a helping hand to me I would have recompensed you for it, but this will be instead of it". Then he made to seize the Messenger of Allah by the beard while he was speaking to him, and al-Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah was standing guard over the Messenger of Allah in armour and he struck away his hand when he took hold of the beard of the Messenger of Allah and said: "Withdraw thy hand from the face of the Messenger of Allah before it be cut off". 'Urwah said: "Wretch! How churlish and ill-mannered you are!". The Messenger of

Allah smiled and 'Urwah said to him: "Who is this, O Muhammad?" He said: "This is your nephew al-Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah". He said: "O unfaithful one! Did I not wipe out your evil only yesterday?"

Ibn Hishām: 'Urwah meant by this saying of his that al-Mughīrah had, before he accepted Islam, killed thirteen men of the Beni Mālik ibn Thaqīf and the two tribes of Thaqīf, the Beni Mālik the kinsmen of the slain men, and the Ahlāf, the kinsmen of al-Mughīrah, attacked each other and 'Urwah paid the blood-price of the slain men, thirteen blood-wits in all and settled that affair.

Ibn Ishāq: Az-Zuhrī said: The Messenger of Allah spoke to him in much the same way that he had spoken to his friends and told him that he had not come seeking war. So he went away from the Messenger of Allah after having seen what his friends were doing for him. He did not perform ablutions without their striving to get the water he had used; he did not spit without them anticipating it; not a hair of his dropped that they did not pick up. So he returned to Quraish and said: "O people of Quraish, I have gone to Kosroes in his kingdom, Caesar in his kingdom, and the Negus in his kingdom and I have never seen a king over any people like Muhammad among his friends. I have indeed seen a company who would never betray him for anything; see what you think then".

Ibn Ishāq: One of the scholars related to me that the Messenger of Allah called Khirāsh ibn Umayyah the Khuzā'ite and sent him to Quraish in Mecca, to inform their noble men about him and why he had come, and mounted him on a camel of his called ath-Tha'lab. They maimed the camel of the Messenger of Allah and wanted to slay him but the contingents gave him protection, and set him free to go back to the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of 'Ikrimah client of Ibn 'Abbās that Quraish sent forty or fifty men and ordered them to go round the camp of the Messenger of Allah and kill any of his friends (they should find). They were captured in one swoop and brought before the Messenger of Allah who forgave them and set them free, although they had cast stones and shot arrows into his camp

Then he called 'Umar bin al-Khattab to send him to Mecca to inform the nobles of Quraish about him and why he had come. He said: "O Messenger of Allah, I am afraid of Quraish on my own account and there is no one of the Beni 'Adi bin Ka'b in Mecca to afford me protection and Quraish know my enmity and rudeness to them, but I will indicate to you a man who has more power in Mecca than I have - 'Uthmān bin 'Affān". The Messenger of Allah called 'Uthmān bin 'Affān and sent him to Abū Sufyān and the nobility of Quraish to tell them that he had not come for war, that he came merely as a pilgrim to the House and in veneration for its sacred territory. So 'Uthman set out for Mecca and Abān bin Sa'īd bin al-Qās met him when he entered Mecca or before he entered it, took responsibility for him and afforded him protection till he had communicated the message of the Messenger of Allah. 'Uthmān went to Abū Sufyān and the great ones of Quraish and informed them of that wherewith the Messenger of Allah had sent him and they said to him when he had delivered the message of the Messenger of Allah: "If you desire to circumambulate the House, do so". He said: "I shall certainly not do so till the Messenger of Allah circumambulates it along with me". So Quraish kept him in custody with them and the Messenger of Allah and the Muslims heard that 'Uthmān had been slain.

The Pledge of Consent.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr related to me that the Messenger of Allah said when he heard that 'Uthmān had been slain: "We will not go away till we have gone forth against the people". The Messenger of Allah called the people to take the pledge, which was the Pledge of Consent, under a tree. The people said: "The messenger of Allah pledged them till death", but Jābir bin 'Abdallah said: "The Messenger of Allah did not pledge us till death, but he pledged us not to desert, and the people gave this pledge to the Messenger of Allah. None of the Muslims who were present abstained but al-Jadd bin Qaid brother of the Beni Salimah". Jābir bin 'Abdallah said: "It was as if I saw him hanging on to the shoulder of his she-camel to which he attached himself to hide behind her from the people". Then word came to the Messenger of Allah that what had been said about 'Uthmān was false.

Ibn Hishām: Wakī' mentioned on the authority of Isma'īl bin Abū Khālid from ash-Sha'bī that the first one to give the Pledge of Consent to the Messenger of Allah was Abu Sinan the Asadite.

One in whom I have confidence related to me on the authority of whoever related it to him with its chain of authorities from Ibn Abū Mulaikah from Ibn 'Amr that the Messenger of Allah (himself) took the Pledge for 'Uthmān and struck one of his hands on the other.

The affair of the truce.

Ibn Ishāq: Az-Zuhrī said: Then Quraish sent Suhail bin 'Amr, brother of the Beni 'Āmir bin Lu'ai to the Messenger of Allah and said to him: "Go to Muhammad and make peace with him, and let there be nothing in the peace but that he go away from us this year, for the Arabs shall never relate about us that he came in upon us by force". So Suhail bin 'Amr went to him and when the Messenger of Allah saw him coming he said: "The people want peace since they have sent this man". When Suhail bin 'Amr reached the Messenger of Allah he made his proposals, and the conference was long, and they replied to each other, and peace was made between them.

When the matter was arranged and nothing remained but the writing, 'Umar bin al-Khattāb jumped up, went to Abū Bakr and said: "O Abū Bakr, is he not the Messenger of Allah?". He said: "Certainly". He said: "Are we not the Muslims?". He said: "Certainly". He said: "Are they not the polytheists?". He said: "Certainly". He said: "On what basis then are we given a lower status in regard to our religion?" Abū Bakr said: "O 'Umar, hold on by his stirrup, for I testify that he is the Messenger of Allah". 'Umar said: "I too testify that he is the Messenger of Allah". Then he went to the Messenger of Allah and said: "O Messenger of Allah, are you not the Messenger of Allah?". He said: "Certainly". He said: "Are we not the Muslims?". He said: "Certainly". He said: "Are they not the polytheists?". He said: "Certainly". He said: "On what basis then are we given a lower status in regard to our religion?". He said: "I am the servant and messenger of Allah; I will never disobey His commandment and He will never let me perish". 'Umar said: "I did not cease to give alms, fast, pray, and free slaves because of what I did that day out of fear of the words which I spoke when I hoped they would be (for) good.

Then the Messenger of Allah called 'Ali bin Abū Tālib and said: "Write; 'In the name of Allah the Merciful, the Compassionate'. Suhail said: "I do not recognise this, write: 'In thy name O Allah'".⁹² The

Messenger of Allah said: "Write: 'In thy name O Allah'", and he wrote it. Then he said: "Write: 'These are the conditions on which Muhammad the Messenger of Allah has made peace with Suhail bin 'Amr'". Suhail said: "Had I testified that you are the Messenger of Allah I would not have fought against you, write instead your own name and the name of your father". So the Messenger of Allah said: "Write: 'These are the conditions on which Muhammad bin 'Abdallah has made peace with Suhail bin 'Amr. They have agreed to put away war from the people for ten years during which the people will be secure and refrain from (Attacking) each other on condition that whoever of Quraish goes over to Muhammad without the permission of his patron he shall return him to them; but whoever of those who are with Muhammad shall go over to Quraish they shall not send him back to him. A pact of non-aggression is in existence between us, no sword shall be drawn and no treachery practised. Whoever wishes to enter into a compact and covenant with Muhammad can do so, and whoever wishes to enter into a compact and covenant with Quraish can do so'". Khuzā'ah rushed forward and said: "We are in compact and covenant with Muhammad. The Beni Bakr rushed up and said: "We are in compact and covenant with Quraish. You shall take your departure for this year without coming in to us in Mecca. Next year however, we shall withdraw from you and you may enter it with your friends and remain in it for three days and you shall have only the weapons of the traveller - daggers in their sheaths. You shall not enter it with anything else"

While the Messenger of Allah was writing the document along with Suhail bin 'Amr, Abū Jandal, bin Suhail bin 'Amr arrived in shackles having made his escape to the Messenger of Allah. The friends of the Messenger of Allah had gone out without any doubt of a victory because of a vision which the Messenger of Allah had seen. When they saw the peace and the return (journey) and what the Messenger of Allah himself had borne, great misgivings entered the hearts of the people so that they almost perished. When Suhail saw Abū Jandal, he went up to him, struck him on the face, took him by the upper part of his garment and said: "O Muhammad, this question was settled between you and me before this man came to you". He said: "You are right". So he began to drag him along roughly by the upper part of his garment and pulling him to take him back to Quraish, and Abū Jandal began to shout at the top of

his voice: "O Muslim people, shall I be returned to the polytheists who will persecute me for my faith", and that increased the feelings the people already had. The Messenger of Allah said: "O Abū Jandal be patient and content for Allah will grant relief and an issue to you and to those weak people who are with you. We have concluded peace between the people and ourselves and we have given them and they have given us the covenant of Allah and we shall not deal treacherously with them". Then 'Umar bin al-Khattāb rushed up to Abū Jandal, walked alongside him and said: "Have patience, O Abū Jandal, they are merely polytheists, and the blood of any one of them is but the blood of a dog", while he offered him the hilt of the sword. 'Umar said: "I hoped he would take the sword and smite his father with it, but the man grudged (to kill) his father and the treaty was put into effect".

When the Messenger of Allah had finished the writing he made certain men of the Muslims and certain men of the polytheists witness of the peace: Abū Bakr the Faithful, 'Umar bin al-Khattāb, 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin 'Auf, 'Abdallah bin Suhail bin 'Amr, Sa'd bin Abū Waqqās, Mahmūd bin Maslamah, Mikraz bin Hafs who was a polytheist, and 'Ali bin Abū Tālib who did the writing and was the scribe of the document.

The Messenger of Allah had pitched his tents outside the sacred territory but he prayed inside the sacred territory. When he had finished with the peace he took his animals and sacrificed them; then he squatted down and shaved his head. According to what I heard, the one who shaved his head that day was Khirāsh bin Umaiyyah bin al-Fadl the Khuza'ite. When the people saw that the Messenger of Allah had sacrificed and shaven they made haste to sacrifice and shave.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Najīh related to me on the authority of al-Mujāhid from Ibn 'Abbās. He said: Some people shaved on the day of al-Hudaibiyah and others shortened their hair and the Messenger of Allah said: "Allah be merciful to those who have shaved". They said: "And to those who have shortened their hair, O Messenger of Allah". He said: "Allah be merciful to those who have shaved". They said: "And to those who have shortened their hair, O Messenger of Allah²". He said: "Allah be merciful to those who have shaved". They said: "And to those who have shortened their hair, O Messenger of Allah". He said: "And to those who have shortened their hair". They said: "O Messenger of Allah, why did you emphasise your call for mercy for those

who had shaved apart from those who had shortened their hair?". He said: "They did not doubt".

'Abdallah bin Abū Najīh said: Mujāhid related to me on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās that the Messenger of Allah sacrificed amongst his sacrifices on the day of al-Hudaibiyah a camel belonging to Abū Jahl, on whose head was a silver ring, in order to irritate the polytheists thereby.

Az-Zuhri said in his account: Then the Messenger of Allah broke up camp and returned and when he was between Mecca and Medina there came down the Chapter of the Victory: (Sūrah 48: 1 -).

Verily We have given thee an evident victory
In order that Allah may forgive thee thy sins that are
past and those that are still to come, and perfect His
favour to thee and guide thee in a straight path.

Then follows the story about him and his friends till he comes to mention the Pledge and says:-

Verily those who take the oath to thee are in reality
taking the oath to Allah; the hand of Allah is above their
hands; so whoever breaks faith, to his own hurt he breaks
it, and to those who fulfil what they have pledged to
Allah, He will give a great reward.

Then He mentions the Beduin who had remained behind and said of the time when he called them together to go out with him and they dallied with him:-

The Beduin who are left behind will say to thee: "Our
properties and households kept us busy....."

Then (follows) the account of them till he comes to His saying:-

Those who are left behind will say when ye set out to take
spoils: "Let us follow you", wishing to alter what Allah
said. Say: "Ye shall not follow us.....".

Then follows the account of them and the struggle of a people of great courage which was offered to them.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Najīh related to me on the authority of 'Atā' bin Abū Ribāh from Ibn 'Abbās. He said: Persia

Ibn Ishāq: One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of az-Zuhri, that he said: The people of great courage were the (Beni) Hanīfah with the liar (Musailamah). Then He said:-

Allah was satisfied with the believers when they were

swearing allegiance to thee under the tree , so He hath sent down the Assurance⁹⁸ upon them and hath recompensed them with a victory near at hand, and numerous spoils to take; Allah was mighty, wise.

Allah hath promised you numerous spoils to take, and hath hastened these for you, and hath restrained the people's hands from you, that it might be a sign to the believers, and guide you in a straight path

And others which ye were not able (to take) Allah hath comprehended, and Allah had power over all things.

Then He mentioned his withholding of him and restraining of him from fighting after victory over them (came) from Him meaning the group of whom he took some and restrained them from him. He said:-

He it is who hath restrained their hands from you and your hands from them in the middle of Mecca, after He had given you the victory over them, and Allah was observant of what ye did

Then He said:-

They are the ones who have disbelieved, and have turned aside from the sacred mosque both you and the offering prevented from reaching its place

Ibn Hishām : al-Ma'kūf means 'kept back'. A'sha of the Beni Qais bin Tha'labah said:-

It was as if a thread supported the necklace on the sides of the shapely neck of Umm Ghazāl

This stanza is in a poem of his.

Ibn Ishāq:

Had it not been for men and women who were believers, whom ye did not know, lest ye should have trampled them and disgrace fallen on you unwittingly on their account...

Al-Ma'arraḥ means 'fine', or 'indemnity' 'lest an indemnity should befall you unwittingly on their account and you pay the blood-wit. As far as wrong-doing was concerned he had no fear of them.

Ibn Hishām : I have heard on the authority of Mujahid that he said: This verse came down about al-Walīd bin al-Walīd bin al-Mughīrah, Salamah bin Hishām, 'Ayyāsh bin Abū Rabī'ah, and Abū Jandal bin Suhail, and their like.

Ibn Ishāq: Then he said:

When those who have disbelieved set fierceness in their hearts, the fierceness of the Barbarism

meaning Suhail bin 'Amr when he scorned to write: 'In the name of Allah the Merciful the Compassionate' and that Muhammad was the

Messenger of Allah. Then he said:-

then Allah sent down His assurance upon His messenger and upon the believers and caused them to cleave to the word of piety, they being most entitled and fit for it.

That is: The declaration of the Unity; the testimony that there is no god but Allah and that Muhammad is His servant⁹⁴ and Messenger. Then He said:-

Allah hath indeed given to His messenger a true and right vision: "Ye shall certainly enter the sacred mosque if Allah wills in security, your heads shaven, your hair cut short, fearing nothing". He knew what ye did not know.

That is: In reference to the vision which the Messenger of Allah saw that he would enter Mecca in security without fear. He says: Your heads shaven, your hair cut short, along with him, fearing nothing. He knew what ye did not know of that.

and before that He hath appointed a victory near at hand the peace of al-Hudaibiyah.

Az-Zuhri says: No previous victory won in Islam was greater than this the fight took place only where the people met. When the truce was signed and war was laid aside and the people trusted each other they met and engaged in conversation and discussion and no one of any intelligence spoke of Islam without entering it. In those two years there came in as many as had been previously in Islam or more.

Ibn Hisham: The proof of the words of az-Zuhri that the Messenger of Allah went to al-Hudaibiyah at the head of one thousand four hundred men is in the saying of Jabir bin 'Abdallah: "Then he went out the year of the conquest of Mecca, which was two years after that, at the head of ten thousand men".

How the affair of some of the weak people went after the peace.

Ibn Ishaq: When the Messenger of Allah returned to Medina, Abu Basir 'Utba bin Usaid bi Jariyah who was one of those interned in Mecca, came to him. When he came to the Messenger of Allah, Azhar bin 'Abd 'Auf bin 'Abd bin al-Harith bin Zuhrah and al-Akhnas bin Sharif bin 'Amr bin Wahb the Thaqafite wrote about him to the Messenger of Allah and they sent one of the Beni 'Amir bin Lu'ai accompanied by a client of theirs who brought the letter of al-Azhar and al-Akhnas to the Messenger of Allah. The Messenger of Allah said: "We have given those

people what you know and treachery is not permitted to us in our religion and Allah will appoint for you and the weak ones who are with you relief and an issue, so go back to your people". He said: "O Messenger of Allah, will you return me to the polytheists who will persecute me for my faith?". He said: "O Abū Basīr, go, for Allah will appoint for you and the weak ones who are with you relief and an issue". So he departed with the pair of them and when he was in Dhū 'l-Hulaifah he squatted beside a well and his two friends squatted along with him. Abū Basīr said: "Is this sword of yours sharp, O brother of the Beni 'Āmir?" He said: "Yes". He said: "May I see it?". He said: "Yes, if you wish". Then Abū Basīr drew it, attacked him and slew him. The client ran away and went to the Messenger of Allah while he was squatting in the mosque. When the Messenger of Allah saw him coming he said: "Verily this man has seen fear". When he came to the Messenger of Allah he said: "Out upon you what is the matter with you?". He said: "Your friend has slain my friend", and he had not finished till Abū Basīr came up girded with the sword and stood in the presence of the Messenger of Allah and said: "Your responsibility is discharged; Allah has made a settlement for you; you gave me up to the party and I am now protected in my faith so that I may not be persecuted on account of it or sent away". The Messenger of Allah said: "Alas for his mother! A kindler of war if he only had men". Then Abū Basīr went out and encamped at al-'Īs in the vicinity of Dhū 'l-Marwah on the sea-coast on the route which Quraish were in the habit of taking to Syria. The Muslims who were incarcerated in Mecca heard the saying of the Messenger of Allah to Abū Basīr: "Alas for his mother! A kindler of war if only he had men", and they set out to join him in al-'Īs and almost seventy men of them gathered to him. They reduced Quraish to great straits, they overcame none of them that they did not kill, and no caravan passed by that they did not waylay till Quraish wrote to the Messenger of Allah asking him for the sake of their kinship to give them refuge for they did not want them, and the Messenger of Allah gave them refuge and they came to him in Medina.

Ibn Hishām: Abū Basīr was a Thaqafite.

Ibn Ishāq: When Suhail ibn 'Amr heard of the killing by Abū Basīr of their friend of 'Āmir he leant his back against the Ka'bah and said: "I will not take my back away from the Ka'bah till the blood-wit be

be paid for this man? Abū Sufyān bin Harb said three times: "This is just sheer folly; it shall not be paid".

Poetry omitted

The affair of the female Emigres after the truce.

Ibn Ishāq: Umm Kulthūm bint 'Uqbah bin Abū Mu'ait migrated to the Messenger of Allah during that period. Her two brothers, 'Umārah and al-Walīd two sons of 'Uqbah set out and went to the Messenger of Allah to ask him to return her to them in terms of the treaty between him and Quraish at al-Hudaibiyah, but he did not do it; Allah disallowed that.

Ibn Ishāq: Az-Zuhri related to me on the authority of 'Urwah bin az-Zubair. He said: I went in to him as he was writing a letter to Ibn Abū Hunaidah the friend of al-Walīd bin 'Abd al-Malik, and he wrote to him asking him about the saying of Allah the Exalted:-

When believing women come to you as Emigres examine them - Allah knows best their faith - then if ye know them to be believers do not send them back to the unbelievers - such women are not allowable for them nor are they allowable for such women, and pay them what they have expended; it is no crime that ye marry them after ye have given them their hires, and do not hold on to ties with the unbelievers,

Ibn Hishām: The singular of al-'Isam is 'Isamah and means a rope or a cord. A'sha of the Beni Qais bin Tha'labah said:-

We prolong the night journey to the man Qais
And from each tribe take ropes.

This stanza is in a poem of his.

and ask what ye have expended, and let them ask what they have expended; that is the judgment of Allah; He judgeth between you: Allah is knowing, wise. (Sūrah 60: 10).

So 'Urwah bin az-Zubair wrote to him: Verily the Messenger of Allah made peace with Quraish on the day of al-Hudaibiyah on the understanding that he would send back to them those who came without the permission of their patron. When women migrated to the Messenger of Allah and to Islam, Allah disallowed that they be returned to the polytheists when they have gone through the inquisition of Islam, and they have recognised that they have come only out of a desire for Islam; and he ordered the return of their dowries to them if they are kept away from them, if they have returned to the Muslims the dowry of their women

they have kept away from them. That is the judgment of Allah who judgeth between you, and Allah is knowing, wise. So the Messenger of Allah retained the women and sent back the men. He asked for the dowries of the women whom they had kept back from them which Allah commanded him to ask for, and that they would send back to them the same as they sent back to them if they did it. Had it not been for this judgment which Allah gave, the Messenger of Allah would have sent back the women as he sent back the men. Had it not been for the truce and treaty which was in force between him and Quraish on the day of al-Hudaibiyah, he would have kept the women and would not have given them back the dowries which was what he was in the habit of doing with the Muslim women who came to him before the treaty.

Ibn Ishāq: I asked az-Zuhri about this verse and the saying of Allah in it:-

If any of your wives slip away from you to the unbelievers, and ye make retaliation give to those whose wives have gone away the equivalent of what they have expended; show piety towards Allah in whom ye are believers. (Sūrah 60:11).

He said: If the family of any of you slipped away to the unbelievers and no woman came to you for whom you could get the same as they got from you, give them booty in exchange if you have taken it.

When this verse came down:-

O ye who have believed, when believing women come to you as Emigres

down to his saying:-

and do not hold on to ties with the unbelievers....

amongst those who had divorced their wives was 'Umar bin al-Khattāb who had divorced his wife Quraibah bint Abū Umaiyyah bin al-Mughīrah, and Mu'āwiyah bin Abū Sufyān married her after him, and they were both polytheists in Mecca. Also Umm Kulthūm bint Jarwal, Umm 'Ubaid Allah bin 'Umar, a woman of Khuza'ah and Abū Jahm bin Hudhaifah bin Ghānim a man of his people, married her, and they were both polytheists.

Ibn Hishām: Abu 'Ubaidah related to us that some of those who were with the Messenger of Allah said to him when he returned to Medina: "O Messenger of Allah, did you not say that you would enter Mecca in safety?". He said: "Certainly, but did I tell you it would be this year?". They said: "No". He said: "It is as Gabriel told me".

Account of the march against Khaibar in al-Muharram of year seven.⁹⁵

Muhammad bin Ishāq said: Then the Messenger of Allah, when he returned from al-Hudaibiyah, resided in Medina Dhu 'l-Hijjah and part of al-Muharram, the polytheists being in charge of that pilgrimage. In the latter part of al-Muharram he set out for Khaibar.

Ibn Hishām: He appointed Numailah bin 'Abdallah the Laithite governor of Medina, and he gave the banner which was a white one to 'Ali bin Abū Tālib.

The affair of 'Āmir bin al-Akwa'.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad bin Ibrāhīm bin al-Hārith the Taimite related to me on the authority of Abū 'l-Haitham bin Nasr bin Dahr the Aslamite that his father related to him that he heard the Messenger of Allah say on the march to Khaibar to 'Āmir bin al-Akwa', who was the uncle of Salamah bin 'Amr bin al-Akwa', and the name of al-Akwa' was Sinān ; "Come down O Ibn al-Akwa', choose for us one of your little things". So he came down reciting verses about the Messenger of Allah and said:-

Had it not been for Allah we would not have been guided
aright
We would not have given alms nor would we have prayed
Verily when any people acted wrongfully towards us
And if they wanted dissension we refused
So send down Assurance to us
And make firm our feet when we meet.

The Messenger of Allah said: "May the Lord have mercy on you!". 'Umar bin al-Khattāb said: "O Messenger of Allah, you should have given us a longer time in which to enjoy him". He was slain a martyr on the day of Khaibar. According to what I heard his death took place because his sword recoiled upon him while he was fighting and inflicted a serious wound from which he died. The Muslims were in doubt about him and said: "It was merely his armour that killed him". So his nephew Salamah bin 'Amr bin al-Akwa' asked the Messenger of Allah about that and told him what the people were saying. The Messenger of Allah said: "He is indeed a martyr", and he prayed over him and the Muslims did likewise.

The prayer of the Messenger of Allah when he was near to Khaibar.

Ibn Ishāq: One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of 'Atā' bin Abū Marwān the Aslamite on the authority of Abū Mu'attib bin 'Amr that when the Messenger of Allah drew near to Khaibar he said to his friends amongst whom I was: "Stand still". Then he said:

"O Allah, Lord of the heavens and what they overshadow; Lord of the earths and the little they possess; Lord of the satans, and what they lead astray; Lord of the winds and what they scatter; we ask Thee for the good in this village and its people and the best of what is in it; and we take refuge in Thee from its evil, the evil of its people, and the evil of what is in it. Go forward in the name of Allah". This was what he said about every village he entered.

The saying of the people of Khaibar when they saw the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of Anas bin Mālik. He said: When the Messenger of Allah made a raid on a people he did not attack them till the morning: if he heard a proclamation he withheld his hand; if he did not hear such proclamation he attacked. We made camp at Khaibar by night, and the Messenger of Allah spent the night until morning came and he did not hear a proclamation, so he mounted and we mounted with him. I was mounted behind Abū Talhah, and my foot was touching the foot of the Messenger of Allah, and we met the labourers of Khaibar as they came forth carrying their hoes and baskets. When they saw the Messenger of Allah and the army they said: "Muhammad and the army with him", and they turned their backs in flight. The Messenger of Allah said: "Allah is great! Khaibar is undone! Verily when we descend on the coasts of a people the morning of those who are warned is disturbed".

Ibn Ishāq: Hārūn related to us a like story on the authority of Humaid on the authority of Anas.

Camping places of the Messenger of Allah on that raid.

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah set out from Medina to Khaibar he went by way of 'Isr where a mosque was built for him and then by way of Sahbā'. Then the Messenger of Allah advanced with his army and encamped in a valley called ar-Rajī', thus encamping between them and Ghatafān to cut off any help they might give to the people of Khaibar, for they were helping them against the Messenger of Allah. I heard that when Ghatafān heard of the camping place of the Messenger of Allah at Khaibar they gathered themselves together and went out to assist the Jews against him but when they had gone a day's march they heard a rumour behind them about their properties and families, and they imagined that the people had gone against

them in their absence, so they retraced their steps, stayed by their families and properties, and left the issue between the Messenger of Allah and Khaibar.

The Messenger of Allah's subjugation of the strongholds.

He said: The Messenger of Allah advanced bit by bit on the properties taking them one by one and subduing them stronghold by stronghold. The first of their strongholds to be taken was that of Nā'im, where Mahmūd bin Maslamah was slain - a mill-stone was thrown from it upon him and it killed him. Next came al-Qamūs, a stronghold of the Beni Abū 'l-Huqaiq, (where) the Messenger of Allah took some of them prisoner, amongst whom was Safiyyah daughter of Huayy bin Akhtab, who was the wife of Kinānah bin ar-Rabi' bin Abū 'l-Huqaiq, and two female cousins of hers. The Messenger of Allah chose Safiyyah for himself. Dihyah bin Khalīfah the Kalbite had asked the Messenger of Allah for Safiyyah, and when he chose her for himself he gave him her two cousins. Thus the prisoners from Khaibar were distributed amongst the Muslims.

The Messenger of Allah's prohibition of certain things on the day of Khaibar.

He said: The Muslims ate the flesh of some of their asses but the Messenger of Allah took steps to prohibit the people from (doing) certain things which he named for them:

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin 'Amr bin Damrah the Fazārite related to me on the authority of 'Abdallah bin Abū Salīt from his father. He said: The Messenger of Allah's prohibition of the eating of domesticated asses' flesh came to us when the pots were bubbling over with it and we turned them upside down.

'Abdallah bin Abū Najīh related to us on the authority of Makhūl that the Messenger of Allah disallowed them four things at that time: going to the pregnant women among the captives; eating domesticated asses; eating any beast of prey with teeth; and selling spoils before they have been divided.

Ibn Ishāq: Sallām bin Kirkirah related to me on the authority of 'Amr bin Dīnār from Jābir bin 'Abdallah the Helper - Jābir did not witness Khaibar - that when the Messenger of Allah forbade the people to eat the flesh of asses, he allowed them to eat the flesh of horses.

Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd bin Abū Ḥabīb related to me on the authority of Abū Marzūq a client of Tujīb from Hanash the San'ānite. He said: We attacked with Rūwāifi' bin Thābit the Helper al-Maghrib and he subdued one of its villages called Jarbah and stood up as an orator in our midst and said:-

O People, I will say nothing about you except what I heard the Messenger of Allah say about us on the day of Khaibar. The Messenger of Allah stood up in our midst and said: "It is not allowable for a man who believes in Allah and the Last day to water the tillage of another", He means going to the pregnant women among the captives. "It is not allowable for a man who believes in Allah and the Last Day to take a woman of the captives before he give her an interval. It is not allowable for a man who believes in Allah and the Last Day to dispose of spoils before they are divided. It is not allowable for a man who believes in Allah and the Last Day to ride a beast (taken) from the spoil of the Muslims till he has made it lean and then

return it to it. It is not allowable for a man who believes in Allah and the Last Day to don a robe from the booty of the Muslims and return it to it after he has worn it out".

Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd bin 'Abdallah bin Qusait related to me that it was related to him on the authority of 'Ubādah bin as-Sāmit. He said: On the day of Khaibar, the Messenger of Allah forbade us to sell or buy unwrought gold for wrought gold, or unwrought silver for wrought silver and said: "Buy unwrought gold with wrought silver, and unwrought silver with wrought gold".

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah began to take the strongholds and properties one after another.

The affair of the Beni Sahn of Aslam.

'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr related to me that someone of Aslam related to him that the Beni Sahn of Aslam came to the Messenger of Allah and said: "O Messenger of Allah, we are hard-pressed and we possess nothing", but they found that the Messenger of Allah did not possess anything he could give them. He said: "O Allah, Thou knowest their circumstances; they have no means and I have nothing to give them, so overcome for them that stronghold of theirs which has the most wealth, food and cooking-fat". So the people went out in the morning and Allah overcame for them the stronghold of as-Sa'b bin Mu'adh and there was not in Khaibar a stronghold with more food and cooking-fat than it.

The affair of Marhab and his death.

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah had subdued some of their strongholds and possessed himself of some of their property, they came to two of their strongholds, al-Watīh and as-Sulālim, which were the last strongholds of the people of Khaibar to be conquered. The Messenger of Allah laid siege to them for ten nights and more.

Ibn Hishām: The slogan of the friends of the Messenger of Allah on the day of Khaibar was: "O victorious one! Slay! Slay!".

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Sahl bin 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin Sahl brother of the Beni Hārithah related to me on the authority of Jābir bin 'Abdallah. He said: Marhab the Jew came out of their stronghold, having collected his arms, reciting poetry and saying:-

Khaibar knows that I am Marhab
Equipped with a sharp weapon, a hero tried
Sometimes I give thrusts, at other times blows.
When the lions advance enraged
What I protect is safe; none approached it
The one who makes the attempt will be scared off by my
attack

He said: "Who will fight a duel". Ka'b bin Malīk answered him and said:-

Khaibar knows that I am Ka'b
The reliever of distress, the daring, the strong.
When war is kindled and breaks out
I have a sharp sword like the lightning flash
We shall tread you down till as-Sa'b is overcome
We shall either be given the poll-tax or else divide
the spoil
In a finely-poised scale in which is no error

Ibn Hishām: Abu Zaid the Helper recited to me:-

Khaibar knows that I am Ka'b
And that whenever war breaks out
Daring and strong, I by-pass fear
I have a sharp sword like the lightning flash
In an unerring hand which makes no mistake
We will beat you down till as-Sa'b is brought low.

Marhab was from Himyar.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Sahl related to me on the authority of Jābir bin 'Abdallah. He said: The Messenger of Allah said: "Who will go out against this man?". Muhammad bin Maslamah said: "I will, O Messenger of Allah, for I have been wronged and I seek revenge for my brother who was slain yesterday". He said: "Go out against him,

O Allah, help him against him!" When they drew near to each other one of the ancient gum-trees came in between them, and one of them took shelter behind it from the other, and whenever he took shelter behind it, his opponent cut the part of it that was near to him till each of them became visible to the other, and it remained between them like a man standing upright, without any branches on it. Then Marhab attacked Muhammad and struck him but he was on his guard against him with his shield so that his sword came down upon it and it seized it and held it fast, and Muhammad bin Muslim smote and slew him.

Ibn Ishāq: Then after Marhab his brother Yāsir came out saying: "Who will fight a duel?" Hishām bin 'Urwah asserts that az-Zubair bin al-Awwām went out to meet Yāsir, and his mother Safiyyah bint 'Abd al-Muttalib said: "O Messenger of Allah, he will slay my son". He said: "Nay, your son will slay him, if Allah wills. Then az-Zubair went out, they met, and az-Zubair slew him.

Hishām bin 'Urwah related to me that someone said to az-Zubair: "Your sword was indeed sharp and cutting to-day", and he said: "It was not sharp but I forced it."

The affair of 'Ali on the day of Khaibar.

Ibn Ishāq: Buraidah bin Sufyān bin Farwah the Aslamite related to me on the authority of his father Sufyān from Salamah bin 'Amr bin al-Akwa'. He said: The Messenger of Allah sent Abū Bakr the Faithful with his standard against some of the strongholds of Khaibar, and he fought and returned without achieving victory although he endured hardship. The next day he sent 'Umar bin al-Khattāb, and he fought and returned without achieving victory although he endured hardship. The Messenger of Allah said: "I shall give the standard to-morrow to a man who loves Allah and His messenger by whose hands Allah will grant victory who shall not flee". So the Messenger of Allah called 'Ali who suffered from ophthalmia, spat ⁹⁶ in his eyes and said: "Take this banner and bear it forward till Allah grant you victory". So he set out with it groaning going at a half-trot and we were following behind him and he planted his standard in a cairn of stones beneath the stronghold. A Jew looked down at him from the top of the stronghold and said: "Who are you?". He said: "I am 'Ali bin Abū Tālib. The Jew said: "By that which was sent down to Moses, you have become high in rank", or words to that effect. He did not return till Allah

granted victory to his arms.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallāh bin al-Hasan related to me on the authority of one of his people from Abū Rāfi', client of the Messenger of Allah. He said: We set out with 'Ali when the Messenger of Allah sent him with his standard. When he drew near to the stronghold, its people came out against him and he fought them. One of the Jews smote him and knocked his shield out of his hand, so 'Ali obtained a door which was beside the stronghold, made a shield out of it for himself, and went on fighting with it in his hand till Allah granted him victory. Then he threw it away when he had done with it and I found myself and seven others with me of whom I was the eighth doing our best to turn over this door, but in vain.

The affair of Abū 'l-Yasar, Ka'b bin 'Amr.

Ibn Ishāq: Buraidah bin Sufyān the Aslamite related to me on the authority of some of the Beni Salamah from Abū 'l-Yasar, Ka'b bin 'Amr. He said: We were with the Messenger of Allah in Khaibar one evening when a flock of sheep belonging to a Jew came up towards their stronghold while we were besieging them. The Messenger of Allah said: "Which man will provide food for us from these sheep?". Abū 'l-Yasar said: I said: "I will, O Messenger of Allah". He said: "Do it then". He said: So I set out running like an ostrich, and when the Messenger of Allah looked at me as I turned away, he said: "O Allah, let us enjoy him for a long time". So I overtook the sheep when the first of them had entered the stronghold, seized two lambs from the rear, carried them in my arms, and brought them along quickly as if I had nothing, and laid them down before the Messenger of Allah, and they killed and ate them. Abū 'l-Yasar was one of the last of the friends of the Messenger of Allah to die and when he related this story he wept. He said: "By my life, they enjoyed me, for I was one of the last of them".

The affair of Safiyyah the mother of the believers.

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah had subdued al-Qamūs, a stronghold of the Beni 'l-Huqaiq, Safiyyah daughter of Huayy bin Akhtab and another along with her were brought to the Messenger of Allah. Bilāl, who brought them, made them pass by some of the slain Jews, and when the one who was with Safiyyah saw them, she screamed, beat her face, and cast dust on her head. When the Messenger of Allah

saw her, he said: "Take this she-devil away from me". He gave orders for Safiyyah to be put behind him, and he cast his cloak over her, so the Muslims realised that the Messenger of Allah had chosen her for himself. According to what I heard, the Messenger of Allah said to Bilāl, when he saw what he saw in that Jewess: "Were you deprived of pity, O Bilāl, when you brought two women past their slain men-folks". Safiyyah had seen in a dream when she was the bride of Kinānah bin ar-Rabi' bin Abū 'l-Huqaiq, that the moon had fallen into her lap. She showed her vision to her husband and he said: "This means nothing else than that you desire Muhammad, the king of al-Hijāz", and struck her a blow on the face which gave her a black eye. When she was brought to the Messenger of Allah she still bore the mark of it, so he asked her what it was and she told him this story.

The remainder of the affair of Khaibar: The punishment of Kinānah bin ar-Rabi'.

Kinānah bin ar-Rabi', who had the treasures of the Beni an-Nadīr, was brought to the Messenger of Allah. He asked him about them and he denied all knowledge of their whereabouts. Then one of the Jews was brought to the Messenger of Allah and he said to him: "I saw Kinānah walk around this ruin every morning". The Messenger of Allah said to Kinānah: "Do you agree that if we find it with you I shall kill you?" He said: "Yes". So the Messenger of Allah gave orders for the ruin to be excavated and part of the treasure was brought out from it. Then he asked him about the remainder but he refused to give it up. The Messenger of Allah gave orders to az-Zubair bin al-'Awwām and said: "Torture him till you extract what he has got", and az-Zubair struck him fire with a flint on his chest till he was at the point of death. Then the Messenger of Allah handed him over to Muhammad bin Maslamah and he beheaded him (in retaliation for) his brother Mahmūd bin Maslamah.

The Messenger of Allah makes peace with the people of Khaibar.

The Messenger of Allah besieged the people of Khaibar in their two strongholds of al-Watīh and as-Sulālim, and when they were convinced that destruction awaited them, they asked him to banish them, and prevent their bloodshed, and he did so. The Messenger of Allah had appropriated all the properties, ash-Shiq, Natāt and al-Katībah, and all the strongholds except those two. When the people of Fadak heard

that they had done what they did, they sent to the Messenger of Allah asking him to banish them and prevent their bloodshed, and they would leave him the properties, and he did so. One of those who went to and fro between them and the Messenger of Allah was Muhayyisah bin Mas'ud brother of the Beni Harithah. When the people of Khaibar capitulated on these terms, they asked the Messenger of Allah to treat with them for a half of their property. They said: "We know more about it than you, and are better cultivators than you". So the Messenger of Allah made peace with them on the half-and-half basis, 'on condition that if we desire to expel you we may do so', and the people of Fadak made peace with him on those terms. Khaibar was divided as spoil amongst the Muslims, but Fadak was entirely assigned to the Messenger of Allah because they did not go against it with either horse or camels.

The affair of the poisoned kid.

When the Messenger of Allah was enjoying quietness, Zainab bint al-Harith, wife of Sallam bin Mishkam, made him a present of a roasted kid. She had asked which part of the kid the Messenger of Allah liked, and she was told: "The shoulder", so she dosed it well with poison, then poisoned the rest of the kid and brought it along. When she placed it before the Messenger of Allah, he took up the shoulder and chewed a mouthful of it but did not swallow it. Bishr bin al-Bara' bin Ma'rur who was with him, took some of it as the Messenger of Allah had done, but Bishr swallowed it while the Messenger of Allah spat it out. Then he said: "This bone tells me that it is poisoned". He called for her and she confessed and he said: "What made you do this?". She said: "You inflicted on my people what is not hidden from you and I said: 'If he is a king, I shall be rid of him but if he is a prophet he will be informed'". He said: The Messenger of Allah passed over her (fault), but Bishr died from the mouthful he had eaten.

Ibn Ishaq: Marwan bin 'Uthman bin Abu Sa'id bin al-Mu'alla related to me. He said: The Messenger of Allah said in the sickness with which he died when Umm Bishr bint al-Bara' bin Ma'rur went in to visit him: "O Umm Bishr, even now I feel a stoppage in the great artery because of the mouthful which I ate with your brother at Khaibar. He said: Wherefore the Muslims consider that the Messenger of Allah died a martyr in addition to the prophetic office with which Allah honoured him.

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah had finished with Khaibar he went away to Wādī al-Qura and besieged its people some nights. After that he set out on the return journey to Medina.

The affair of the fraudulent slave.

Ibn Ishāq: Thaur bin Zaid related to me on the authority of Sālim, client of 'Abdallah bin Muṭī' from Abū Hurairah. He said: When we went away from Khaibar with the Messenger of Allah to Wādī al-Qura we made camp there in the evening at set of sun. The Messenger of Allah had a slave-boy whom Rifā'ah bin Zaid of Judhām and from the sub-division of Dubab had given him.

Ibn Hishām: Judhām brother of Lakhm

He said: He was putting away the saddle of the Messenger of Allah when an unknown arrow struck and killed him; We said: Congratulations! Paradise is his!". The Messenger of Allah said: "By no means, by Him in whose hand is the life of Muhammad, the cloak which he pilfered from the spoils of the Muslims on the day of Khaibar is even now burning in the Fire!" He said: "One of the friends of the Messenger of Allah heard it, came to him, and said: "O Messenger of Allah, I took two straps for my sandals". He said: "A portion of the Fire of like size shall be assigned to you".

The affair of Ibn al-Mughaffal.

Ibn Ishāq: One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of 'Abdallah bin Mughaffal the Muzanite. He said: "I took a leather bag of suet from the spoils of Khaibar, and carried it on my shoulder to my tent and my comrades. But the man who had been appointed in charge of the spoil met me, took it by the side and said: 'Fetch this that we may divide it amongst the Muslims'. I said: 'No, indeed, I shall not give it to you', and he began to pull the bag away from me.

The Messenger of Allah saw us while we were doing that, smiled broadly and said to the man in charge of the spoil: "It does not concern you, leave it to him". So he let it go and I took it to my tent and my comrades and we ate it.

The Messenger of Allah goes in to Safiyyah

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah had Safiyyah brought to him either at Khaibar or on some part of the journey, the woman who attired her, braided her hair and made her look her best for the Messenger of Allah was Umm Sulaim bint Milhān Umm Anas bin Mālik.

The Messenger of Allah spent the night with her in a pavilion of his and Abū Ayyūb bin Zaid brother of the Beni an-Najjār spent the night with dagger girt guarding the Messenger of Allah and walking around the pavilion, till the Messenger of Allah emerged in the morning. When he saw him stationed there he said: "O Abū Ayyūb, what is the matter with you?". He said: "O Messenger of Allah, I was afraid of this woman where you were concerned. She is a woman whose father, husband, and people you have slain, and was but recently an unbeliever, and I was afraid of her on your account". They claim that the Messenger of Allah said: "O Allah, keep Abū Ayyūb, as he has spent the night keeping me".

Their affair when they overslept the time for morning prayer.

Ibn Ishāq: Az-Zuhri related to me on the authority of Sa'īd bin al-Musayyab. He said: When the Messenger of Allah took his departure from Khaibar and was on the way, he said towards the end of the night: "Who will watch for dawn for us in case we oversleep". Bilāl said: "I will, O Messenger of Allah, I will keep watch for you". So the Messenger of Allah made camp and the people did likewise and went to sleep, but Bilāl started to pray and he prayed as long as Allah willed he should pray. Then he leant against his camel and was waiting ready to meet the dawn, but his eyes grew heavy and he fell asleep, and the touch of the sun was the first thing that awakened them. The Messenger of Allah was the first of his friends to awake from sleep and he said: "What have you done to us, O Bilāl?". He said: "That which laid hold of you laid hold of me". He said: "You have spoken the truth". Then the Messenger of Allah led the way forward a little bit, dismounted and performed his ablutions, the people following suit. Then he commanded Bilāl and he announced the Prayer, and the Messenger of Allah led the people in Prayer. When he had given the salutation he went forward to the people and said: "If you have omitted the Prayer, pray it; if you have remembered it, Allah the Blessed the Exalted says: 'Perform the Prayer in remembrance of Me'".

Ibn Ishāq: According to what I heard, when the Messenger of Allah conquered Khaibar he gave Lughaim the Absite the domestic fowls and animals that were there. The conquest of Khaibar was in Safar.

Poetry omitted.

Ibn Ishāq: Some wives of the Muslims witnessed Khaibar with the Messenger of Allah and he gave them a small part of the spoils without giving them full shares.

The affair of the Ghifārite woman.

Ibn Ishāq: Sulaimān ibn Suhaim related to me on the authority of Umayyah ibn Abū 's-Salt from a woman of the Beni Ghifār whose name he gave to me. She said: "I came to the Messenger of Allah along with some women of the Beni Ghifār and we said: "O Messenger of Allah, we would like to go along with you on this undertaking of yours - he was marching against Khaibar - and attend the wounded and help the Muslims as we are able". He said: "With the blessing of Allah". She said: "So we set out with him, and I was but a young maid, and the Messenger of Allah mounted me pillion on the provision-bag of his camel. Towards morning the Messenger of Allah made camp; he dismounted and I descended from the provision bag of his camel and there was some blood of mine on it. It was the first menstruation I had had, so being ashamed I climbed on to the camel in my confusion. When the Messenger of Allah saw what I had and the blood he said: 'What is the matter with you, perhaps you have been menstruating'. I said: 'Yes'. He said: 'Attend to yourself now, then take a vessel of water, throw salt in it and wash away the blood which has come on the provision bag, and return to your mount'. When the Messenger of Allah conquered Khaibar he gave us a small part of the spoil, and he took this necklace which you see on my neck and gave it to me, hanging it on my neck with his own hand, and I shall never let it go". She said: It was on her neck till she died and then she enjoined that it be buried with her. She never purified herself from menstruation without putting salt in her water of purification and she enjoined it to be put in her washing water when she died

List of names omitted

The affair of al-Aswad the shepherd, in the story of Khaibar.

Ibn Ishāq: The story of al-Aswad the shepherd, according to what I heard, was that he came to the Messenger of Allah while he was besieging one of the strongholds of Khaibar with some sheep of his. He was a hired servant to one of the Jews. He said: "O Messenger of Allah, expound Islam to me" He expounded it to him and he islamized.

The Messenger of Allah did not deem anyone of too little account to call him to Islam and expound it to him. When he islamized he said: "O Messenger of Allah, I was hired servant to the owner of these sheep which have been entrusted to me; what shall I do with them?". He said: "Throw (something) in their faces and they will return to their owner", or words to that effect. So al-Aswad went and took a handful of pebbles, threw them in their faces and said: "Go back to your owner for I will not go with you. They went out with one accord as if a drover were driving them and entered the fortress. Then he advanced to that fortress to fight with the Muslims and a stone struck and killed him. He had never prayed a prayer to Allah, and he was brought to the Messenger of Allah and placed behind him. He was shrouded in a cloak which he wore, and the Messenger of Allah, with whom were a few of his friends, turned towards him and then turned away from him. They said: "O Messenger of Allah, why did you turn away from him?". He said: "Now two of his spouses from the Houris of Paradise are with him".

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Najīh told that it was mentioned to him that when a martyr is slain, his two spouses from the Houris of Paradise are let down to him, and they wipe the dust from his face and say: "May Allah cast dust on the face of him who has cast dust on thee, and kill him who has killed thee".

The affair of al-Hajjāj the Sulamite.

Ibn Ishāq: When Khaibar was conquered, al-Hajjāj bin 'Ilāt the Sulamite and from the sub-division of al-Bahz spoke to the Messenger of Allah and said: "O Messenger of Allah, I have property in Mecca with my wife Shaibah bint Abū Talhah ". She became his wife and by her he had Mu'rid bin al-Hajjāj and property dispersed amongst the merchants of the inhabitants of Mecca. "So give me leave, O Messenger of Allah", and he gave him leave. He said: "O Messenger of Allah, I must needs speak". He said: "Say on". Al-Hajjāj said: "I set out and when I reached Mecca I found some men of Quraish in Thaniyat al-Baidā' who were picking up the news and asking about the affair of the Messenger of Allah. They had heard that he had marched against Khaibar, and they recognised that it was the town of the Hijāz, as far as fertility, impregnability and man power were concerned and they were asking travellers who came past. When they saw me, they said: "Al-Hajjāj bin 'Ilāt", but they did not know of my islamization.

"Give us the news, O Abu Muhammad for we have heard that the disrupter has gone to Khaibar, a town of the Jews and a fertile place in the Hijāz". I said: 'I have heard that, and I have news that will please you'. So they hung on to my camel all around saying: "Come on O Hajjāj, tell us.". I said: 'He has been routed with a rout the like of which you have never heard, and his friends have been slain with a slaughter the like of which you have never heard, and Muhammad has been made prisoner, and they have said: We will not slay him so that we may send him to Mecca and they will kill him in their midst for their men who have been slain by him'. So they went and cried it in Mecca and said: 'News has come to you! This Muhammad - you are merely waiting till he shall be brought to you and slain amongst you'. I said: 'Help me to gather together my property in Mecca for my creditors, for I want to go to Khaibar and obtain some of Muhammad's routed army, before the merchants anticipate me to what is there.

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as 'the spoil of Muhammad'.

Ibn Ishāq: He said: So they started and collected for me my property in the most expeditious manner of which I have heard. Then I went to my wife and said: 'My property'. I had property stored with her in case I should go to Khaibar and get some opportunities of trade before the merchants could precede me. When al-'Abbās bin 'Abd al-Muttalib heard the news and (word) came to him about me he came up and stood by my side while I was in one of the merchants' booths and said: 'O Hajjāj, what (news) is this you have brought?'. I said: 'Have you kept what I placed in your care?'. He said: 'Yes'. I said: 'Wait behind for me so that I may see you in private for I am now engaged in collecting my property as you see, go away from me till I have done'. When I had finished with everything that belonged to me in Mecca and decided to set out I met al-'Abbās and said: 'O Abū 'l-Faḍl keep my story secret for me for three days for I am afraid of a search, then say whatever you please'. He said: 'I will do it'. I said: 'Indeed I left your nephew a bridegroom to the daughter of their king' - meaning Safiyyah bint Huayy - 'he has indeed conquered Khaibar, cleared out all that was in it, and it belongs to him and his friends'. He said: "What are you saying, O Hajjāj?'. I said: 'It is indeed so; keep quiet about me then. I have islamized and I came merely to take away my possessions in fear lest I should be deprived of them. When three days

have passed manifest your affair, for it is in line with what you like! When the third day came, al-'Abbās donned a robe he had, perfumed himself, took his staff, set out, went to the Ka'bah and circumambulated it. When they saw him they said: "O Abū 'l-Faḍl, this is indeed endurance in face of the misfortune". He said: "Not at all. By Allah by Whom you swear Muhammad has conquered Khaibar, and was left a bridegroom to the daughter of their king. He has secured their properties and what is in it; it belongs to him and his friends". They said: "Who brought you this news?". He said: "He who brought you what he brought you. He came in to you a Muslim, took his possessions, and went away to join Muhammad and his friends and be with him". They said: "Help, O servants of Allah! The enemy of Allah has made his get-away but had we known there would have been a matter to settle between him and us". They did not have long to wait till news of that came to them.

Poetry of the day of Khaibar omitted.

Mention of the division of Khaibar and its properties.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the division of the properties of Khaibar, of ash-Shiq, Natāt, and al-Katībah took place. Ash-Shiq and Natāt were the shares of the Muslims, and al-Katībah was the fifth of Allah, the share of the prophet, the relatives, the orphans and the poor, sustenance for the wives of the prophet and for the men who went to and from between the Messenger of Allah and the people of Fadak in connection with the peace amongst whom was Muhayyisah bin Mas'ūd, to whom the Messenger of Allah gave thirty camel loads of barley and thirty camel loads of dates. Khaibar was divided amongst the men of al-Hudaibiyah, both those who saw Khaibar and those who were absent, and no one was absent but Jabīr bin 'Abdallah bin 'Amr bin Hārām, and to him the Messenger of Allah gave a share equal to the shares of those who were there. Its two valleys were the valley of as-Surair and the valley of Khās, they were the two parts into which Khaibar was divided. Natāt and ash-Shiq were (divided into) eighteen lots) of which Natāt was five lots and ash-Shiq thirteen, so ash-Shiq and Natāt were divided into one thousand eighteen hundred shares. The number of the friends of the Messenger of Allah to whom Khaibar was apportioned was one thousand eight hundred shares, in men and horses, fourteen hundred men and two hundred horses. Each horse had two shares and its rider a share, and

each foot-soldier had a share. Each lot had a man in charge around whom were gathered one hundred men so that there were eighteen lots altogether.

Ibn Hishām: On the day of Khaibar the Messenger of Allah declared Arab the horses of true Arab blood and contemned the mongrel breeds.

List of names and shares omitted.

Then the Messenger of Allah divided up al-Katībah which was the Wadi Khās, amongst his relatives, his wives, certain men of the Muslims and certain women, to whom he gave part of it. The Messenger of Allah allotted to Fātimah two hundred camel loads, to 'Alī bin Abū Tālib a hundred camel loads, to Usāmah bin Zaid two hundred and fifty camel loads of dates, to 'Ā'ishah two hundred camel loads, to Abū Bakr bin Abū Quhāfah a hundred camel loads, to 'Aqīl bin Abū Tālib one hundred and forty camel loads, to the Beni Ja'far fifty camel loads, to Rabi' bin al-Hārith a hundred camel loads, to as-Salt bin Makhramah and his two sons a hundred camel loads, to as-Salt forty loads of it, to Abū Nabīqah fifty camel loads, to Rukānah bin 'Abd Yazīd fifty camel loads, to Qais bin Makhramah thirty camel loads, to Abū 'l-Qāsim bin Makhramah forty camel loads, to the daughters of 'Uḡaidah bin al-Hārith and the daughter of al-Husain bin al-Hārith a hundred camel loads, to the Beni 'Abīd bin 'Abd Yazīd sixty camel loads, to Ibn Aus bin Makhramah thirty camel loads, to Mistah bin Uthāthah and Ibn Ilyās fifty camel loads, to Umm Rumaithah forty camel loads, to Nu'aim bin Hind thirty camel loads, to Buhainah bint al-Hārith thirty camel loads, to 'Ujair bin 'Abd Yazīd thirty camel loads, to Umm al-Hakm bint az-Zubair bin 'Abd al-Muttalib thirty camel loads, to Jumānah bint Abū Tālib thirty camel loads, to Umm al-Arqam fifty camel loads, to 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin Abū Bakr forty camel loads, to Hamnah bint Jahsh thirty camel loads, to Umm az-Zubair forty camel loads, to Dubā'ah bint az-Zubair forty camel loads, to Ibn Abū Khunais thirty camel loads, to Umm Tālib forty camel loads, to Abū Basrah twenty camel loads, to Numailah the Kalbite fifty camel loads, to 'Abdallah bin Wahb and his two sons ninety camel loads, forty of which were for his sons, to Umm Ḥabīb bint Jahsh thirty camel loads, to Malkū bin 'Abdah thirty camel loads, and to his (Muhammād's) wives seven hundred camel loads.

In the name of Allah the Merciful, the Compassionate: Mention of what Muhammad the Messenger of Allah gave his wives from the wheat of Khaibar.

He allotted to them one hundred and eighty loads: to Fātimah daughter of the Messenger of Allah eighty five loads, to Usāmah bin Zaid forty loads, to al-Miqdad bin al-Aswad fifteen loads, to Umm Rumaithah five loads, 'Uthmān bin 'Affān and 'Abbās being witnesses and recorders.

Ibn Ishāq: Sālih bin Kaisān related to me on the authority of Ibn Shihāb the Zuhrite from 'Ubaid Allah bin 'Abdallah bin 'Utbah bin Mas'ūd. He said: The Messenger of Allah gave directions only about three things at the time of his death: he left to the Raha'ites as much of the land of Khaibar as would produce one hundred camel loads; to the Dārītes as much of the land of Khaibar as would produce one hundred camel loads; to the Sabā'ites as much of the land of Khaibar as would produce one hundred camel loads; to the Ash'arites as much of the land of Khaibar as would produce one hundred camel loads. He also enjoined that the (decision about) sending Usāmah bin Zaid bin Hārithah be implemented, and that two religions should not be left in the Arabian peninsula.??

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah had finished with Khaibar, Allah cast terror into the hearts of the people of Fadak when they heard what Allah had caused to come on the people of Khaibar, and they sent to the Messenger of Allah to make peace with him on terms of (the surrender of) the half of Fadak. Their messengers came to him either at Khaibar or on the way or after he returned to Medina, and he accepted that. Fadak belonged entirely to the Messenger of Allah for none had gone against it either with horses or riders.

Names of Dārītes omitted.

According to what 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr related to me, the Messenger of Allah sent 'Abdallah bin Rawāhah as arbiter between the Muslims and the Jews and to assess for them. When they said: "You are encroaching on our rights," he would say: "If you wish, let it belong to us, and if you wish, let it belong to you". The Jews said: "On this stood the heavens and the earth". But 'Abdallah bin Rawāhah assessed them only one year when he was slain at Mu'tah, may Allah have mercy on him. Jabbār bin Sakhr bin Umayyah bin Khansā brother of the Beni Salamah was the one who assessed them after 'Abdallah bin Rawāhah.

The affair of 'Abdallah bin Sahl.

He said: So the Jews remained in this state and the Muslims experienced no harm in their dealings with them till they attacked and killed 'Abdallah bin Sahl, brother of the Beni Hārithah in the time of the Messenger of Allah; and the Messenger of Allah and the Muslims suspected them of killing him.

Ibn Ishāq: Az-Zuhri related to me on the authority of Sahl bin Abū Hathmah, and Bushair bin Yasār client of the Beni Hāritha also related to me on the authority of Sahl bin Abū Hathmah. He said: 'Abdallah bin Sahl was killed in Khaibar. He went to it with some friends of his to get dates from it and he was found in a well; his neck had been broken and he was thrown into it. So they took him out and hid him away and then came to the Messenger of Allah and mentioned his business to him. 'Abd ar-Rahmān came to him accompanied by his two nephews, Huwayyisāh and Muhayyisāh, the two sons of Mas'ūd. 'Abd ar-Rahmān was the youngest of them in years, the one to whom the blood wit would be paid, and he held high rank among the people. When he spoke before his two nephews, the Messenger of Allah said: The eldest! The eldest!".

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as "Extol! Extol!" (or: "Say a Takbīr) according to what Malik bin Anas said.

So he was silent and Huwayyisāh and Muhayyasāh spoke and he spoke afterwards. They told the Messenger of Allah about the killing of their friend and the Messenger of Allah said: "Will you give the name of the killer and get the oaths of fifty men that it was he and we will hand him over to you". They said: "O Messenger of Allah, we are not in the habit of swearing about that which we do not know". He said: "Will fifty of them then swear to you by Allah that they did not kill him and that they do not know who killed him, and then they shall be clear of his blood?". They said: "O Messenger of Allah, we do not accept the faith of the Jews; the unbelief amongst is greater than that they would take an oath about crime". So the Messenger of Allah gave him a hundred camels of his own. Sahl said: "I shall not forget a tawny young she-camel which struck me when I was collecting them".

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad bin Ibrāhīm bin al-Hārith the Taimite related to me on the authority of 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin Bujaid bin Qaithī brother of

the Beni Hārithah. Muhammad bin Ibrāhīm said: I swear that Sahl did not know any more than he did but he was older than he was, and he said to him: "The business did not take place in that way; Sahl only imagined it. The Messenger of Allah did not say: 'Swear about something concerning which you have no knowledge', but when the Helpers told him he wrote to the Jews of Khaibar: 'A murdered man has been found (somewhere) amongst your houses; you must pay his blood-wit'. They wrote to him swearing by Allah that they neither murdered him nor knew the murderer, and the Messenger of Allah paid the blood-wit for him.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Amr bin Shu'aib related to me a like story to that of 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin Bujaid except that he said in his account: 'Pay his blood money or be sure of war' and they wrote swearing by Allah that they neither murdered him nor knew the murderer. So the Messenger of Allah paid the blood-money for him out of his own property.

The expulsion of the people of Khaibar.

Ibn Ishāq: I asked Ibn Shihāb of what terms the Messenger of Allah had granted the Jews of Khaibar their date palms, when he granted them the palms on the basis of (an agreement about) their produce; did he give them to them till his death, or did he grant them to them on some other terms? Ibn Shihāb informed me that the Messenger of Allah conquered Khaibar by force after a battle, and Khaibar was part of what Allah ^{gave} as spoil to the Messenger of Allah, from which the Messenger of Allah deducted the fifth and then divided it amongst the Muslims. Those of its people who surrendered did so on the understanding that they would be expelled after the battle. Then the Messenger of Allah called them and said: "If you like, I will hand these properties over to you, on condition that you work them and their produce be divided between you and us. I will confirm to you what Allah has confirmed to you". So they accepted and they stayed on those terms to work the properties. The Messenger of Allah sent 'Abdallah bin Rawāhah who divided the produce and dealt justly with them in his assessments. When Allah caused His prophet to die, Abū Bakr acknowledged the agreement after the time of the Messenger of Allah, and left it in their hands in accordance with the treatment which the Messenger of Allah had given them till he died. 'Umar continued them in possession at the beginning of his reign; then he

heard that the Messenger of Allah had said during the illness in which Allah took him: "There shall not exist together two religions in the Arabian peninsula". 'Umar made enquiry about that till he was certain and then sent to the Jews and said: "Allah hath given me permission to expel you. I have heard that the Messenger of Allah said: 'Two religions shall not exist together in the Arabian peninsula'. Whoever then, holds a contract from the Messenger of Allah let him bring it to me and I will honour it, but whoever of the Jews does not hold a contract from the Messenger of Allah let him prepare for expulsion. So 'Umar expelled those of them who did not hold a contract from the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: Nāfi', client of 'Abdallah bin 'Umar related to me on the authority of 'Abdallah bin 'Umar. He said: Az-Zubair bin al-'Awwān, al-Miqdād bin al-Aswad, and I went out to our properties in Khaibar to make a contract about them. When we arrived we separated to go to our properties. I was attacked under cover of night while I lay asleep on my couch and my arms twisted out of my elbow joints. When morning came my two companions were called to my aid, and they came to me and asked me: "Who did this to you?". I said: "I do not know". So they put my arms right, brought me to 'Umar and he said: "This is the work of Jews". Then he stood up in the midst of the people, made a speech and said: "O people, the Messenger of Allah treated with the Jews of Khaibar on the understanding that we could expel them if they wished. They have attacked 'Abdallah bin 'Umar and twisted his arms as you have heard, in addition to their attacks on my Helpers before him. We doubt not that they have perpetrated it; we have no enemy there but them. So whoever has property in Khaibar let him go to it for I am expelling the Jews". Thus he expelled them.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr related to me on the authority of 'Abdallah bin Maknaf brother of the Beni Hārithah. He said: When 'Umar expelled the Jews from Khaibar, he ride out at the head of the Emigres and the Helpers and Jabbar bin Sakhr bin Umayyah bin Khansā' brother of the Beni Salamah who was the assessor and accountant for the people of Medina went with him, also Yazīd bin Thābit. These two men divided up Khaibar in accordance with the original drawing of lots that had been made for it.

Ibn Hishām: Sufyān bin 'Uyainah mentioned on the authority of al-Ajlāh on the authority of ash-Sha'bi that Ja'far bin Abū Tālib returned to the Messenger of Allah the day of the conquest of Khaibar and the Messenger of Allah kissed him between the eyes, clung to him, and said: "I do not know which of the two things please me most - the conquest of Khaibar or the return of Ja'far."

Mention of the return of Ja'far from Ethiopia.

Ibn Ishāq: The friends of the Messenger of Allah who remained in the country of Ethiopia till the Messenger of Allah sent 'Amr bin Umayyah the Damrite to the Negus in connection with them and he transported them in two ships and brought them back to him while he was in Khaibar after al-Hudaibiyah, were:-

- List of names omitted.

Of those who emigrated to the country of Ethiopia and did not return until after Badr and whom the Negus did not transport in the two ships to the Messenger of Allah; also those who returned after that and the emigrants to Ethiopia who died there (were): From the Beni Umayyah bin 'Abd Shams bin 'Abd Manāf, 'Ubaid Allah bin Jahsh bin Ri'āb, the Asadite, Asad of Khuzaimah, ally of the Beni Umayyah bin 'Abd Shams accompanied by his wife Umm Habībah bint Abū Sufyān and his daughter Habībah bint 'Ubaid Allah. It was because of her she was surnamed Umm Habībah bint Abū Sufyān; her own name was Ramlah.. He ('Ubaid Allah) emigrated with the Muslims and when he reached the country of Ethiopia he became a Christian, separated from Islam, and died there a Christian. The Messenger of Allah married his wife Umm Habībah bint Abū Sufyān bin Harb after his death.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad bin Ja'far bin az-Zubair related to me on the authority of 'Urwah. He said: 'Ubaid Allah bin Jahsh set out as a Muslim along with the (other) Muslims and when he arrived in the country of Ethiopia he became a Christian. Whenever he passed the Muslims of the friends of the Messenger of Allah he would say: "We have opened our eyes but you are only trying to open your eyes". That is: 'We see but you still seeking sight but do not yet see". For young whelps when they want to open their eyes to see try to do so beforehand, and that became a proverb for him and them. That is: We have opened our eyes and we see, but you have not opened your

eyes to see and you are merely trying to do that.

Further list of names omitted.

The Pilgrimage of Fulfilment in Dhū 'l- Qa'dah of year seven.

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah returned to Medina from Khaibar he resided in it the two months of Rabī', the two Jumādās, Rajab, Sha'bān, Ramadān, and Shawwāl, in which period he organised some raids and sent out some raiding parties. Then in Dhū 'l-Qa'dah, the month in which the polytheists had debarred him, he set out to perform the Lesser Pilgrimage - the Pilgrimage of Fulfilment, in place of the Lesser Pilgrimage from which they had debarred him.

Ibn Hishām: He appointed 'Auwaif ibn al-Aḍbat the Dīlite governor of Medina. It is also called the Pilgrimage of Retaliation because they debarred the Messenger of Allah in Dhū 'l-Qa'dah, the sacred month of year six, so the Messenger of Allah retaliated on them and entered Mecca in Dhū 'l-Qa'dah the sacred month in which they had debarred him, in year seven. We heard on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās that he said: "Allah sent down about that:-

And the sacred things are (subject to the law of)
retaliation (Sūrah 2: 194).

Ibn Ishāq: The Muslims who had been debarred with him fulfilled that Lesser Pilgrimage and that was year seven. When the people of Mecca heard of him they withdrew and Quraish related among themselves that Muhammad and his friends were in difficulty, fatigue and distress.

The affair of the wrapping and the running.

One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of 'Abdallah ibn 'Abbās. He said: They arranged themselves in lines for him at the House of Assembly to see him and his friends. When the Messenger of Allah entered the mosque he tucked his cloak under his right arm, leaving the right arm exposed, and said: "May Allah have mercy on a man who showed them power from himself to-day". Then he kissed the Stone and started running and his friends ran with him till the House hid him from their view and he kissed the Yemenite Stone and then walked till he kissed the Black Stone. He performed three circumambulations running in this fashion and walked the remainder of them. Ibn 'Abbās said: The people imagined that it was not obligatory on them because the Messenger of Allah did it merely for the benefit of the tribe of Quraish because of what he heard about them. When he performed the Pilgrimage of Farewell, by which precedent was

established, he made it obligatory.

The entry of the Messenger of Allah into Mecca.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallāh bin Abū Bakr related to me that when the Messenger of Allah entered Mecca on that Lesser Pilgrimage, he did so with 'Abdallāh bin Rawāḥah holding his camel's rein and saying:-

Clear the sons of the unbelievers from his path
Make way, for all good is in His messenger
O Lord, I am a believer in what he says
I recognise the verity of Allah in accepting him
We have killed you in accordance with his interpretation
As we have killed you according to his revelation
With blows which smite heads from necks
And cause a man to forget his friend.

Ibn Hishām: We have killed you in accordance with his interpretation down to the end of the stanzas belongs to 'Ammār bin Yāsir in connection with a day other than this; and the proof of that is that Ibn Rawāḥah referred only to the polytheists. The polytheists did not acknowledge the Revelation, and only those who acknowledge the Revelation can be slain in accordance with it.

The marriage of the Messenger of Allah and Maimūnah in Mecca.

Ibn Ishāq: Abān bin Sālīh and 'Abdallāh bin Abū Najīh related to me on the authority of 'Atā' bin Abū Ribāh and Mujāhid Abū 'l-Hajjāj on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās that the Messenger of Allah married Maimūnah bint al-Hārith on that journey of his while he was in the pilgrim state. It was al-'Abbās bin 'Abd al-Muttalib who gave her to him.

Ibn Hishām: She put her affair into the hands of her sister Umm al-Faḍl, and Umm al-Faḍl was the wife of al-'Abbās, so Umm al-Faḍl turned her affair over to al-'Abbās who married her to the Messenger of Allah, and gave her four hundred dirhems as dowry on behalf of the Messenger of Allah.

Departure of the Messenger of Allah from Mecca.

Ibn Ishāq: So the Messenger of Allah remained three days in Medina and then Huwaitib bin 'Abd al-'Uzza bin Abū Qais bin 'Abd Wudd bin Nasr bin Mālīk bin Hishl came to him at the head of a group of Quraishites on the third day, and Quraish had given him authority to expel the Messenger of Allah from Mecca. They said to him: "Your time is up, depart from us". The prophet said: "No harm will come to you if you were to let me remain and I married amongst you, and made

you a feast and you attended it". They said: "We have no need of your food; depart from us". So the Messenger of Allah took his departure and placed Abū Rāfi' his client in charge of Maimūnah and he brought her to him at Sarif, where the Messenger of Allah went in to her. Then he returned to Medina in Dhū'l-Hijjah.

Ibn Hishām: According to what Abū Ubaidah related to me, Allah the Exalted sent down to him:-

Verily Allah hath given to His messenger a true and right vision: "Ye shall enter the sacred mosque, if Allah will, in security, your heads shaven, your hair cut short, fearing nothing". He knew what ye did not know, and before that He hath appointed a victory near at hand. (Surah 48:27)

meaning Khaibar.

Mention of the raid of Mu'tah in Jumāda I of year eight, and the killing of Ja'far, Zaid, and 'Abdallah bin Rawāhah.

Ibn Ishāq: He resided there the remainder of Dhū 'l-Hijjah, the polythēists being in charge of that pilgrimage, al-Muharram, Safar, and the two months of Rabī'. Then in Jumāda I he sent his expedition to Syria which was defeated at Mu'tah.

Muhammad bin Ja'far bin az-Zubair related to me on the authority of 'Urwah bin az-Zubair. He said: The Messenger of Allah sent his expedition to Mu'tah in Jumāda I of year eight, put Zaid bin Hārithah in command of them and said: "Should Zaid be slain, Ja'far bin Abū Tālib shall take command of the people; should Ja'far be slain, 'Abdallah bin Rawāhah shall take command of the people". So the people equipped themselves and made ready for setting out, and they were three thousand men. When the time of their departure came, the people said farewell to the commanders of the Messenger of Allah and wished them well. When 'Abdallah ibn Rawāhah was bidden farewell along with the other commanders of the Messenger of Allah, he wept, and they said: "What makes you weep O Ibn Rawāhah?". He said: "It is not from love of the world or from deep affection to you, but I heard the Messenger of Allah recite a verse from the Book of Allah, to Whom belong power and glory in which he mentions the Fire:-

Not one of you but shall go down to it - that is for thy Lord a fixed decree. (Surah 19: 71).

and I do not know what my return will be like after I go down. The Muslims said: "May Allah accompany you, protect you, and bring you

back to us in safety. 'Abdallah bin Rawāḥah said:-

But I ask forgiveness of the Merciful
And a wide wound which casts forth the foaming blood
Or a swift thrust at the hands of Harrān
With a spear that perforates the bowels and liver
So that it shall be said when men pass near my grave
Allah guided the victor and he kept right.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the people prepared for departure, and 'Abdallah bin Rawāḥah came to the Messenger of Allah, bade him farewell, and said:-

May Allah confirm the good He gave to thee
With the confirmation (He gave to) Moses, and help like
him who was helped
I discovered in thee the good as a gift from heaven
Allah knows that I have clear perception
Thou art the Messenger, and whoever has been deprived of
his gifts
And his countenance - destiny has been unkind to him

Ibn Hishām: One of the scholars of poetry recited these stanzas to me (as follows):-

Thou art the messenger, and whoever has been deprived of
his gifts
And his countenance - destiny has been unkind to him
May Allah confirm the good He gave to thee
Above (all) the messengers, and help like him who was
helped
I discovered in thee the good as a gift from heaven
An insight which differed regarding you from what they
saw. That of all others who saw you.

He means the polytheists. These stanzas are in a poem of his.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the people set out, and the Messenger of Allah accompanied them (some distance) and when he bade them farewell and left them, 'Abdallah bin Rawāḥah said:-

May peace abide with the man to whom I have said farewell
In Nakhīl, the best of escorts, and the best of friends.

Then they went on and made camp in Mu'ān in the country of Syria. There word reached the people that Heraclius had encamped in Ma'āb in the country of al-Balqā' with one hundred thousand Byzantines, and (another) hundred thousand who had joined him from Lakhm, Judhām, al-Qain, Bahrā', and Balī, with a man of Balī, from the sub-division of Irāshah called Mālik bin Zāfilah in command of them. When that word came to the Muslims, they remained in Mu'ān two nights considering their position, and they said: "We will write to the Messenger of

Allah and inform him of the numbers of our enemy, and he will either re-inforce us with men or give us his orders and we will carry them out!" So 'Abdallah ibn Rawāḥah encouraged the people and said: "O people, that which you hate is that which you have come to seek - martyrdom. We do not fight the people in numbers or strength or abundance of anything; we do not fight except by this religion with which Allah hath honoured us. Forward then! It will be one of two desirable things, either victory or martyrdom". The people said: "Ibn Rawāḥah has indeed spoken the truth", and they went forward.

Poetry omitted.

The meeting with the Byzantines.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the people advanced and when they were on the borders of al-Balqā', the hosts of Heraclius, both Byzantine and Arab, met them at one of the villages of al-Balqā' called Mashārif. As the enemy drew near the Muslims withdrew to a village called Mu'tah and there the people met. The Muslims set themselves in array for them placing a man of the Beni 'Udhrah called Qutbah ibn Qatādah in command of their right flank, and a man of the Helpers called 'Abāyah ibn Mālik in command of their left flank.

Ibn Hishām: He is given as 'Ubādah ibn Mālik.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the people met and fought, and Zaid ibn Hārithah fought with the standard of the Messenger of Allah till he died on the spears of the people. Then Ja'far took it and fought with it and when the battle closed in around him, he threw himself off his roan mare, maimed her, and fought the people till he was slain. Ja'far was the first Muslim to maim (his mount) in Islam.

Yahya ibn 'Abbād ibn 'Abdallah ibn az-Zubair related to me on the authority of his father 'Abbād. He said: My foster-father, who was one of the Beni Murrah ibn 'Auf, and was in that raid, the raid of Mu'tah, related to me. He said: "I can even now see Ja'far throwing himself off his roan mare, maiming her and fighting till he was slain, while he said:-

Bravo! Paradise and its approach
How splendid it is! How cool its drink!
The Byzantines are Byzantines, their punishment draws near
Unbelievers whose pedigree is not to be found
It is my duty to smite them when I find them

Ibn Hishām: A scholar in whom I have confidence related to me that Ja'far bin Abū Talib took up the standard in his right and when it was cut off he took it in his left, and when it was cut off he clapped it in his arms and so was slain. He was a man of thirty-three years of age. Allah rewarded him for that with two wings in Paradise with which he flies wherever he wills. It is said that one of the Byzantines struck him a blow that day which cut him in half.

Ibn Ishāq: Yahya bin 'Abbād bin 'Abdallah bin az-Zubair related to me on the authority of his father 'Abbād. He said: "My foster-father, who was one of the Beni Murrah bin 'Auf related to me. He said: "When Ja'far was killed, 'Abdallah bin Rawāḥah took up the standard, advanced with it on his horse, and went to take the field in some hesitation, and said:-

I swore O my soul that you should take the field
That you should take the field or be compelled (to do so)
If the people make a tumult and their wailing increases
Why do I see you loathing Paradise
You have for long been contented
Are you anything but a little clear water in an old skin?

He also said:-

O soul, if you do not kill you will die
This is the fate of death you endure
Whatever you desired you were given
If you do what they two did you are guided.

He means his two friends Zaid and Ja'far. Then he took the field and when he did so a cousin of his came to him with a meat bone and said: "Strengthen your loins with this; you have found in these days what you have found". He took it out of his hand, took a bite out of it, and he heard the surging in the direction of the people and said: "And you (still) in the world". So he cast it out of his hand, took his sword, advanced and fought till he was slain. Then Thābit bin brother of the Beni 'l-'Ajlān took up the banner and said: "O Muslim people, agree on one of your men". They said: "You". He said: "I will not do it", so the people agreed on Khālīd bin al-Walīd and when he took the banner he held the enemy at bay and avoided them. Then he withdrew and they withdrew from them till he got the people away.

The Messenger of Allah is informed of the disaster to the people.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what I heard, when the people were smitten the Messenger of Allah said: "Zaid bin Hārithah took the standard

and fought with it till he was slain a martyr; then Ja'far took it and fought with it till he was slain a martyr! Then the Messenger of Allah was silent and the faces of the Helpers changed for they imagined that there was something about 'Abdallah bin Rawāḥah they would dislike, and then he said: "So 'Abdallah bin Rawāḥah took it and fought with it till he was slain a martyr". Then he said: "They have been seen by me in Paradise, as a sleeping man may see, on thrones of gold, and I saw in the throne of 'Abdallah bin Rawāḥah an inclination away from the thrones of his two friends. I said: 'Why is this?', and I was told: 'They went (right into battle), while 'Abdallah hesitated somewhat (before going in)!'"

'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr related to me on the authority of Umm 'Īsa of Khuzā'ah from Umm Ja'far bint Muhammad bin Ja'far bin Abū Tālib from her grandmother Asmā' bint 'Umais. She said: "When Ja'far and his friends were slain, the Messenger of Allah came in to me after I had dyed eighty pounds (Ibn Hisham: It is given as forty skins), kneaded my dough, bathed my children, anointed them, and cleansed them. The Messenger of Allah said to me: 'Bring me the sons of Ja'far', and he smelled them while his eyes shed tears. I said: 'O Messenger of Allah, may my father and mother be your ransom, what makes you weep, have you heard anything about Ja'far and his friends?'. He said: 'Yes, they were slain this day'. So I began to cry aloud and the women gathered to me and the Messenger of Allah went to his family and said: 'Do not neglect the family of Ja'far to make them food for they are occupied with the affair of their master'".

'Abd ar-Rahmān bin al-Qāsim bin Muhammad related to me on the authority of his father from 'Ā'ishah wife of the prophet. She said: When news of the death of Ja'far came, we recognised the grief in the face of the Messenger of Allah. A man went in to him and said: "O Messenger of Allah, the women are troubling us and are a trial to us". He said: "Go back to them and silence them", and he went. Then he came back and said the same thing and added: 'She said that perhaps restraint would do his people harm'. He said: "Go and silence them and if they refuse, pour dust in their mouths". I said to myself: "May Allah curse you, you did not omit yourself and you are not obedient to the Messenger of Allah". I recognised that he would not be able to pour dust in their mouths.

Ibn Ishāq: Qutbah bin Qatādah the 'Udhrite, who was in command of the Muslim right wing, attacked and killed Mālik bin Zāfilah. Qutbah bin Qatādah said:-

I pierced Ibn Zāfilah bin al-Irāsh
With a spear which penetrated his body and broke
Then I struck him on the neck
And he swayed as sways the branch of a tree
We drove away his cousins' wives
Like cattle on the day of Raqūqain.

Ibn Hishām: His words 'Ibn al-Irāsh' are on the authority of another than Ibn Ishāq. The third stanza is on the authority of Khālīd bin Qurrah. It is also given as: Mālik bin Rāfilah.

The saying of the sorceress of Hadas.

Ibn Ishāq: There was a sorceress of Hadas who, when she heard that the army of the Messenger of Allah was approaching, said to her people of Hadas - her people were a sub-tribe called Beni Ghanm:-

I warn you of a narrow-eyed people
Who look with hostile glance
Who drag the horses along with violence
And pour out the mixed blood

So they took her at her word and withdrew from Lakhm and after that she became the wealthiest person in Hadas. Those who bore the brunt of the fighting that day were the Beni Tha'labah a sub-tribe of Hadas and they were ever afterwards few in number. When Khālīd got the people off the field he set out with them on the return journey.

Their entry into Medina.

Muhammad bin Ja'far bin az-Zubair related to me on the authority of 'Urwah bin az-Zubair. He said: When they approached the outskirts of Medina, the Messenger of Allah and the Muslims met them. He said: The children ran forward while the Messenger of Allah was approaching with the people on his beast. He said: "Take the children and carry them, but give me Ja'far's son". So 'Abdallah bin Ja'far was brought to him and he took him up and mounted him in front of him. The people began to throw dust on the army and say: "O runaways, who have fled in the way of Allah". The Messenger of Allah said: "They are not runaways; they are the ones who shall return, if Allah will".

'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr related to me on the authority of 'Āmir bin 'Abdallah bin az-Zubair from one of the family of al-Māriṭh bin

bin Hishām, who were his uncles, from Umm Salamah wife of the prophet. He said: Umm Salamah said to the wife of Salamah bin Hishām bin al-'Ās bin al-Mughīrah: "Why do I not see Salamah present at prayer with the Messenger of Allah and the Muslims?". She said: "He is unable to come out; whenever he comes out the people cry at him: 'O runaway who fled in the way of Allah'. So he stayed in his house and did not go out".

Ibn Ishāq: Qais bin al-Musahhar the Ya'marite said about the affair of the people and the affair of Khālīd when he feared for the people's safety and withdrew them, making excuse for what the people did that day and what Khālīd did:-

Indeed my soul does not cease to blame me
For my stand while the squint-eyed horses were held in check
I stood there without seeking help or advancing
Or protecting him who was destined to die
But I imitated Khālīd
Khālīd has no equal among the people
My spirit was agitated because of Ja'far
In Mu'tah when arrows did not benefit him who threw them
And he brought over to us both their two sides
Emigres, neither polytheists nor unarmed (men)

Qais made plain in this poetry of his something about which people differ, (namely) that the people refrained from fighting through dislike of death, and he justified the withdrawal by Khālīd of those who were with him.

Ibn Hishām: According to what we heard, az-Zuhrī said: The Muslims appointed Khālīd bin al-Walīd as their commander, and Allah opened the way for them, and he remained in command of them till he returned to the prophet.

Poetry and list of names omitted.

Mention of the reasons that made the march on Mecca necessary, and an account of the conquest of Mecca in Ramadan of year eight.

Ibn Ishāq: After (the return of) his expedition to Mu'tah, the Messenger of Allah resided (in Medina) Jumāda II and Rajab.

Then the Beni Bakr bin 'Abd Manāt bin Kinānah attacked Khuza'ah while they were at a water spot of theirs in Lower Mecca called al-Watīr.

What started the trouble between the Beni Bakr and Khuza'ah was a

man of the Beni 'l-Hadrami whose name was Malik Bin 'Abbād, and al-Hadrami was in treaty relations with al-Aswad bin Razn, who set out on a trading trip and when he was in the middle of Khuzā'ite territory, they attacked and slew him and seized his property. Then the Beni Bakr attacked and slew a man of Khuzā'ah, and Khuzā'ah a little while before Islam, attacked the Beni 'l-Aswad bin Razn the Dīlite, who were the most noble and dignified of the Beni Kinānah - Salma, Kulthūm and Dhu'waib, and killed them in 'Arafah at the boundary stones of the sacred territory.

Ibn Ishāq: One of the Beni ad-Dīl related to me. He said: The Beni 'l-Aswad were paid two blood-wits in the Age of Barbarism, because of their excellence amongst us and we were paid one.

Ibn Ishāq: While the Beni Bakr and Khuzā'ah were engaged on that, Islam interposed between them and the people were distracted from each other by it. When the peace of al-Hudaibiyah took place between the Messenger of Allah and Quraish, according to what az-Zuhri related to me on the authority of 'Urwah bin az-Zubair from al-Miswar bin Makhramah, Mirwān bin al-Hakm and other scholars of ours related to me, amongst the condition which they required of him and he required of them was that whoever wished to enter into an alliance and compact with the Messenger of Allah could do so, and whoever wished to enter into an alliance and compact with Quraish could do so. So the Beni Bakr entered into an alliance with Quraish and Khuzā'ah entered into an alliance with the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: When the truce was declared, the Beni 'd-Dīl of the Beni Bakr seized the opportunity it afforded them of getting their revenge from Khuzā'ah for those individuals belonging to them who had been killed amongst the Beni 'l-Aswad bin Razn. So Naufal bin Mu'āwiyah the Dīlite, who was their leader at that time, set out at the head of the Beni 'd-Dīl, for not all the Beni Bakr followed him, and came upon Khuzā'ah by night while they were at al-Watir, a water-spot of theirs. They killed one of their number and withdrew. Then they fought and Quraish helped the Beni Bakr with arms and some of Quraish fought with them secretly by night and drew Khuzā'ah into the sacred territory. When they reached it, the Beni Bakr said: "O Naufal, we have entered the sacred territory. Beware of your God! Beware of your God!"

He said: "A great word, it has no deity to-day. O Beni Bakr, take your revenge, for by my life you are stealing in the sacred territory and will you not take your revenge in it!". On the night they fell upon them in al-Watīr they killed one of them called Munabbih. He was a man with a weak heart and he had gone out along with one of his people called Tamīm bin Asad. Munabbih said to him: "O Tamīm, save yourself, as for me I am a dying man; they ^{will} kill me or spare me, my heart has given up". So Tamīm departed and made his escape and they overtook Munabbih and killed him. When Khuza'ah entered Mecca they took refuge in the house of Budail bin Warqā', and in the house of a client of theirs called Rāfi'.

Poetry Omitted.

The departure of 'Amr bin Sālim the Khuza'ite to the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: When the Beni Bakr and Quraish helped each other against Khuza'ah, inflicted what they inflicted upon them, and broke the covenant and treaty that was between them and the Messenger of Allah, in that they regarded as lawful (prey) Khuza'ah, while they were in alliance and treaty with the Messenger of Allah, 'Amr bin Sālim the Khuza'ite, and a member of the sub-division of the Beni Ka'b set out and went to the Messenger of Allah at Medina. That was one of the things that set the conquest of Mecca on foot. So he stood before him as he squatted in the mosque amongst the people and said:-

O Lord, I am seeking (from) Muhammad
(Fulfilment) of the ancient treaty between his father and
our father
You were the sons and we the parents
Then we islamized and did not withdraw our hands
Help then, may Allah provide you with a ready help
And call on the servants of Allah to bring help
Amongst them the Messenger of Allah has prepared (for war)
If he is wronged his face grows stern
At the head of many troops he marches raging
Verily Quraish have broken their promise to you
And have set aside their treaty certified
And laid for me an ambush in Kidā'
And thought I would not call anyone
While they are mean and few in numbers
They came upon us while we were sleeping in al-Watīr
And slew us kneeling and prostrating.

Ibn Hishām: It is related as:-

Achieve then a mighty victory, may Allah guide you.

It is also related as:→

We gave you birth and you were a child.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah said: "You will receive help O 'Amr bin Sālim ". Then a rain cloud from heaven appeared to the Messenger of Allah and he said: "Verily this cloud will rain down help for the Beni Ka'b!"

Departure of Budail bin Warqā' to the Messenger of Allah.

Then Budail bin Warqā' set out at the head of a group of Khuza'ah and went to the Messenger of Allah in Medina, and told him of what had been inflicted on them and of the backing which Quraish gave to the Beni Bakr against them. After that they set out on their return journey to Mecca. The Messenger of Allah said to the people: "It seems that Abū Sufyān is coming to you to strengthen the alliance and lengthen the period". Budail bin Warqā' and his friends went away and they met Abū Sufyān bin Harb in 'Uṣfān, Quraish having sent him to the Messenger of Allah to strengthen the alliance and lengthen its duration for they were in dread because of what they had done. When Abū Sufyān met Budail bin Warqā' he said: "Where have you come from, O Budail?" - he supposed he had been to the Messenger of Allah. He said: "I have marched at the head of Khuza'ah through this plain and through the bottom of this valley". He said: "Did you not go to the Messenger of Allah?" He said: "No". When Budail had gone away to Mecca, Abū Sufyān said: "If he has really been to Mecca he will have given (his camels) date-stones as fodder". So he went to the place where his beast had knelt down, took up some of its dung, crumbled it in his fingers and found date-stones in it. He said: "I swear by Allah, Budail has been to Muhammad."

The arrival of Abū Sufyān in Medina.

Then Abū Sufyān set out and went to the Messenger of Allah in Medina, and went to his daughter Umm Habībah bint Abū Sufyān. When he went to squat on the mat of the Messenger of Allah, she folded it up out of his reach and he said: "My daughter, I do not know whether you think more of me than this mat, or whether you think more of it than you do of me". She said: "Nay, it is the mat of the Messenger of Allah, and you are an unclean polytheist, so I would not like you to squat on the mat of the Messenger of Allah". He said: "There has surely befallen you some great evil after (you left) me, my daughter".

Then he set out, went to the Messenger of Allah, and spoke to him but he answered him not a word. Next he went to Abū Bakr and told him that he should speak to the Messenger of Allah for him but he said: "I will not do it". Then he went to 'Umar bin al-Khattāb, spoke to him and he said: "Shall I intercede with the Messenger of Allah for you? Even if I could find nothing but the atoms I would fight you with those". Then he went away to 'Ali bin Abū Tālib who had Fātimah daughter of the Messenger of Allah and she had Hasan bin 'Ali, a boy crawling in front of her. He said: "O 'Ali, you are the most closely related to me of the people; I have come for a necessity, and I will not go back as I came, empty-handed. Intercede with the Messenger of Allah for me". He said to him: "Alas for you! The Messenger of Allah has resolved on an affair about which we cannot speak to him. Then he turned to Fātimah and said: "O daughter of Muhammad, have you a mind to command this little son of yours that he may give protection among the people, and he will be lord of the Arabs till the end of time? She said: "My little son has not reached an age when he may give protection among the people, and no one is able to give protection against the Messenger of Allah". He said: "O Abū Hasan, I perceive that matters have become critical for me, give me some advice". He said: "Indeed I know of nought that will avail you at all except that you are the chief of the Beni Kinānah. Arise then and give protection among the people and afterwards go back to your own country". He said: "Do you think that will bring me any benefit"? He said: "No, I don't suppose it will, but I see nothing else for you to do". So Abū Sufyān went to the mosque and said: "O people, I have given protection among the people", after which he mounted his camel and took his departure. When he came to Quraish they said: "What is your news?". He said: "I went to Muhammad and spoke to him but he answered me not a word; then I went to Ibn Abū Quhāfah, but found no good in him; then I went to Ibn al-Khattāb and found him the meanest of the enemy".

Ibn Hishām: The most hostile of the enemy.

Ibn Ishaq: "Then I went to 'Ali and found him the easiest of the people and he indicated to me a certain course which I followed but I do not know whether it avails me anything or not". They said:

"What did he command you to do?". He said: "He commanded me to give protection among the people, which I did". They said: "Did Muhammad sanction that?". He said: "No". They said: "Alas for you! The man carried on till he made sport of you; what you said will not benefit you". He said: "Indeed I could^{sc} see nothing else to do".

The preparation of the Messenger of Allah for the raid of the Conquest.

The Messenger of Allah gave orders for preparations to be made and he ordered his family to equip him. Abū Bakr came in to his daughter 'Ā'ishah while she was preparing some of the accoutrements of the Messenger of Allah, and said: "O my daughter, has the Messenger of Allah commanded you to equip him?". She said: "Yes, so prepare yourself". He said: "Where do you think he is going?". She said: "Indeed I know not". Then the Messenger of Allah informed the people that he was going to Mecca and commanded them to be thorough in their preparations. He said: "O Allah, take away sight and news from Quraish so that we may take them by surprise in their own country". So the people made ready, and Ḥassān bin Thābit said to incite the people mentioning what had befallen the men of Khuḏā'ah:-

It was of concern to me and I did not see in Mecca's vale
The men of the Beni Ka'b with heads shorn off
At the hands of men who did not unsheath their swords
And many slain whose clothes were not covered (or buried)
Would that I knew whether you would get my help!
O Suhail bin 'Amr its heat and its punishment
Safwan is an old camel the hair of whose thighs has been
cut away
This is the time of war - its tie-rope has been stretched
Do not trust us O Ibn Umm Mujālid
If they give pure milk and their teeth are crooked
And do not be anxious about them for our swords
Have a conflict whose door is opened by death.

The saying of Ḥassān:

At the hands of men who did not unsheath their swords
refers to Quraish. By Ibn Umm Mujālid he refers to 'Ikrimah bin
Abū Jahl.

The affair of the letter of Ḥatīb bin Abū Balta'ah.

Ibn Ishāq: Muḥammad bin Ja'far bin az-Zubair related to me on the authority of 'Urwah bin az-Zubair and other scholars of ours. He said; When the Messenger of Allah decided to march to Mecca, Ḥatīb bin Abū Balta'ah wrote a letter to Quraish informing them of what the Messenger of Allah had decided to do, (namely) to march against them.

Then he gave it to a woman whom Muhammad bin Ja'far claims belonged to Muzainah but others claim that she was Sarah a clientess of one of the Beni 'Abd al-Muttalib, and he gave her a reward on condition that she deliver it to Quraish so she put it on her head and twined her locks over it and set out with it. But news of what Hātib had done came to the Messenger of Allah from heaven, so he sent 'Ali bin Abū Tālib and az-Zubair bin al-'Awwām (after her) and said: "Overtake a woman by whom Hātib has sent a letter to Quraish warning them of what we have decided upon where they are concerned". They set out and overtook her in al-Khalīqah - Khalīqah of the Beni 'Abū Ahmad, asked her to dismount and searched her saddle but found nothing. Then 'Ali bin Abū Tālib said to her: "I swear by Allah that the Messenger of Allah was not told a lie and we were not told a lie, and you shall surely produce this letter for us or we will search you". When she saw his thoroughness she said: "Turn aside". He turned aside and she undid the locks of her head and extracted the letter, handed it over to him, and he brought it to the Messenger of Allah. So the Messenger of Allah called Hātib and said: "O Hātib, what made you do that?". He said: "O Messenger of Allah, I am indeed a believer in Allah and His messenger, I have neither changed nor exchanged, but I was a man who had no roots among the people and no kindred, while I had children and a family amongst them, (and I did this) to conciliate them towards them". Umar bin al-Khattāb said: "O Messenger of Allah, let me strike off his head for the fellow has turned hypocrite". The Messenger of Allah said: "Who knows, O 'Umar, perhaps Allah looked upon the men of Badr on the day of Badr and said: 'Do what you please for I have forgiven you'". Then Allah sent down about Hātib:-

O ye who have believed, do not take My enemy and your enemy as friends, showing them love

down to His saying:-

There was a good example for you in Abraham and those with him when they said to their people: "We are quit of you and of what ye serve apart from Allah, we renounce you, and there has appeared between us and you enmity and hatred for ever till ye believe in Allah alone....

(Surah 60: 1 - 4)

down to the end of the story.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad bin Muslim bin Shihāb the Zuhrite related to me on the authority of 'Ubaid Allah bin 'Abdallah bin 'Utbah from

'Abdallah bin 'Abbās. He said: Then the Messenger of Allah went on his way and he appointed as his vicecergent over Medina Abū Ruḥm Kulthūm bin Ḥusain bin 'Utbah bin Khalaf the Ghifārite. He set out after ten days of the month of Ramaḍān had elapsed, and the Messenger of Allah fasted and the people fasted with him till he was in al-Kuda'id between 'Uṣfān and Amaj when he broke his fast.

The Messenger of Allah encamps in Marr ath-Thahrān.

Ibn Ishāq: Then he went on and made camp in Marr ath-Thahrān at the head of ten thousand Muslims. Sulaim had seven hundred men and some of them say Sulaim had a thousand men and Muzainah had a thousand men and in every tribe there was preparedness and submission. The Emigres and Helpers went out with the Messenger of Allah, not one of them remained behind him. When the Messenger of Allah made camp in Marr ath-Thahrān, and the news was withheld from Quraish so that no news reached them about the Messenger of Allah and they did not know what he was doing. So Abū Sufyān bin Ḥarb, Ḥakīm bin Hizām, and Budail bin Warqā' went out on those nights to find out the news and see if they could pick up or hear any news, and al-'Abbās bin 'Abd al-Muttalib met the Messenger of Allah on the way.

Ibn Hishām: He met him in al-Juhfah migrating with his family and prior to that he was resident in Mecca as the provider of water. The Messenger of Allah was pleased with him, according to what Ibn Shihāb the Zuhrite said.

The affair of Abū Sufyān bin al-Ḥārith and 'Abdallah bin Abū Umayyah.

Ibn Ishāq: Abū Sufyān bin al-Ḥārith bin 'Abd al-Muttalib and 'Abdallah bin Abū Umayyah bin al-Mughīrah also met the Messenger of Allah in Niq al-'Uqāb which is between Mecca and Medina and sought to go in to (see) him, and Umm Salamah spoke to him about them and said: "O Messenger of Allah, your uncle's son, your aunt's son and your brother-in-law are here". He said: "I did not wish (to see) them; as for my uncle's son, he disgraced my honour. and as for the son of my aunt and brother-in-law it was he who said to me in Mecca what he said". When word of that came out to them, Abū Sufyān who was accompanied by a small son of his, said: "He will surely give permission or I will take my small son by the hand and we will wander in the land till we die of hunger and thirst!" When the Messenger of Allah heard that, he had pity on them, granted them permission and they went in to him and

accepted Islam. Then Abū Sufyān recited to him what he said about his acceptance of Islam, apologised to him for what had come from him in the past, and said:-

By thy life, on the day when I bear a banner
The horsemen of al-Lāt will overcome the horsemen of
Muhammad
(I was) like one walking in perplexity in the darkness
of night
And he gave me shelter when I went in the true way and
accepted guidance
A guide other than myself gave me guidance
And one whom I had persecuted most violently received me
with Allah
I debarred (people) from Muhammad and kept myself aloof
in my struggle with him
And made false claims even though I was not related to
Muhammad
They are what they are, whoever does not say what they like
Even though he be a man of judgment he is blamed and
ridiculed
I wanted to satisfy them while not adhering to the people
in every assembly so long as I was not guided
Say to Thaqif I do not wish to fight them
And say to Thaqif: "Threaten someone else not me".
I was not in the army that took 'Āmir
And it was not the result of my tongue or my hand
Tribes came from a far country
Strangers came from Sahām and Surdad.

Ibn Hishām: It is given as:-

He whom I had persecuted most violently guided me to
the truth½

Ibn Ishāq: They say that when he recited to the Messenger of Allah
the words:-

And one whom I had persecuted most violently received me
with Allah

the Messenger of Allah smote upon his chest and said: "You did indeed
persecute me with violence".

The meeting of al-'Abbās with Abū Sufyān ibn Harb and their business.

When the Messenger of Allah encamped in Marr az-Zahrān, al-'Abbās
ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib said: "Alas for the morning of Quraish! If the
Messenger of Allah enters Mecca by force before they come to him and
seek his protection, it will be the destruction of Quraish to the end
of time". So I mounted the white mule belonging to the Messenger of
Allah and set out and went to al-Arāk, and said: "Perhaps I will
find some wood-cutter or milkman or someone with a

necessity coming to Mecca who will inform them where the Messenger of Allah is that they may come out to him and seek his protection before he enters it by force". I was going forward on the mule seeking that for which I had come out when I heard the speech of Abū Sufyān and Budail bin Warqā' as they were returning by slow stages, and Abū Sufyān was saying: "I have never seen fires like last night nor a camp" (like it). Budail said: "This is Khuzā'ah whom war has stirred up". Abū Sufyān said: "Khuzā'ah are too few and insignificant to have fires like these and a camp like this". So I recognised his voice and said: "O Abū Hanthalah", and he recognised my voice and said: "O Abū 'l-Tadl". I said: "Yes". He said: "What is the matter with you? May my father and mother be your ransom!". I said: "Out upon you, Abū Sufyān! This is the Messenger of Allah at the head of the people. Alas for the morning of Quraish!". He said: "What is the trick, may my father and mother be your ransom?" I said: "If he overcomes you, he will cut off your head, mount then on the rump of this mule that I may take you to the Messenger of Allah and seek his protection for you". So he mounted behind me, while his two friends returned, and I brought him (to the Messenger of Allah). Whenever I passed by one of the fires of the Muslims they said: "Who is this?", and when they saw the mule of the Messenger of Allah and me riding it, they said: "The uncle of the Messenger of Allah. When I passed by the fire of 'Umar bin al-Khattāb, he said: "Who is this?", and came up to me. When he saw Abū Sufyān on the rump of the beast he said: "Abū Sufyān, the enemy of Allah! Praise be to Allah who has put you in our power without either covenant or compact!". Then he set out running in the direction of the Messenger of Allah and the mule ran and beat him by as much as a swift beast beats a slow man, and I leapt off the mule and went in to the Messenger of Allah. 'Umar went in to him and said: "O Messenger of Allah, here is Abū Sufyān! Allah has put him in our power without either covenant or compact. Give me leave and I will cut off his head". I said: "O Messenger of Allah, I have taken him under my protection". Then I squatted down by the Messenger of Allah, put my hand on his head and said: "No one shall impart the secret to him to night but me". When 'Umar had talked at length about his affair, I said: "Slowly, O 'Umar! If he were one of the Beni 'Adi bin Ka'b you would not say this, but you know he is one of the Beni 'Abd Manāf". He said: "Slowly, O 'Abbās! Your

islamization on the day you islamized was more pleasing to me than the islamization of al-Khattāb, had he islamized, and it does not concern me except that I know that your islamization was more pleasing to the Messenger of Allah than the islamization of al-Khattāb". The Messenger of Allah said: "O 'Abbās, take him to your tent and bring him to me in the morning". So I took him to my tent and he spent the night with me, and when morning came I took him to the Messenger of Allah. When he saw him he said: "Out upon you, Abū Sufyān! Has not the time come for you to know that there is no god but Allah". He said: "May I ransom you with my father and mother, how clement, how noble, how generous you are! I thought that if there had been any other god besides Him he would yet be of some avail to me". He said: "Out upon you, Abū Sufyān! Has not the time come for you to know that I am the Messenger of Allah?". He said: "May I ransom you with my father and mother, how clement, how noble, how generous you are! As to this there is something of it in my soul even now". Al-'Abbās said to him: "Out upon you! Islamize and testify that there is no god but Allah and that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah before your head be cut off". So he testified the testimony of the truth and accepted Islam. Al-'Abbās said: "O Messenger of Allah, Abū Sufyān is a man who likes glory, appoint something for him". He said: "Yes, whoever enters the house of Abū Sufyān will be safe, whoever locks his door on himself will be safe, and whoever enters the mosque will be safe."

The detention of Abū Sufyān in a narrow part of the valley.

When he went to take his departure, the Messenger of Allah said: "O 'Abbās, detain him in the narrow part of the valley where the mountain side juts out so that the armies of Allah may pass by him and he may see them". He said: So I went out and detained him in the narrow part of the valley where the Messenger of Allah commanded me to detain him while the tribes with their standards passed by. Whenever a tribe passed by he would say: "O 'Abbās, who are these? I would say: "Sulaim", and he would say: "What have I to do with Sulaim?". Then another tribe would pass by and he would say: "O 'Abbās, who are these? I would say: "Muzainah", and he would say: "What have I to do with Muzainah?", (and so on)-till all the tribes were accounted for. No tribe passed without him asking me about it, and when I informed him

about them, he would say: "What have I to do with the Beni So-and-so" till the Messenger of Allah passed by at the head of his squadron of green mailed knights.

Ibn Hishām: They were called 'the green ones' because of the great quantity of armour and their appearance in it. Al-Hārith bin Hillizah the Yashkurite said:-

And I refer to Hujr, Ibn Umm Qatām
Who had Persians clad in armour

He means the squadron; and this stanza is in a poem of his. Ḥassān bin Thābit said:-

When he saw the banks of Badr alive with an armoured
brigade of the Beni 'l-Khaṣraj.

This stanza is amongst some stanzas of his which we have recorded in the poetry of the day of Badr.

Ibn Ishāq: In it were the Emigrés and Helpers, nothing was seen of them but a wall of iron. He said: "Praise be to Allah, O 'Abbas, who are these?". I said: "This is the Messenger of Allah at the head of the Emigrés and Helpers". He said: "No one has power or ability to stand against them, and indeed, O Abū 'l-Faḍl, the kingdom of your nephew has become great". I said: "O Abū Sufyān, it is the prophetic office". He said: "It is thus then". I said: "Haste back to your people". When he came to them he cried out at the top of his voice; "O people of Quraish, this Muḥammad has come upon you with that which you have no power to resist. Whoever enters the house of Abū Sufyān will be safe!" Hind bint 'Utbah went up to him, took him by the whiskers and said: "Slay the greasy, gross butter-skin, who is a disgrace to the vanguard of a nation!". He said: "Alas for you! Let her not deceive you, for there has come upon you that which you have no power to resist. Whoever enters the house of Abū Sufyān will be safe". They said: "May Allah destroy you! What good would your house do us?". He said: "And whoever locks his door on himself will be safe and whoever goes into the mosque will be safe". So the people scattered to their houses and to the mosque.

The Messenger of Allah reaches Dhū Tuwa

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr related to me that when the Messenger of Allah arrived at Dhū Tuwa, he stood up on his camel, wearing as turban a piece of a striped Yemenite garment of reddish

hue, and lowered his head in token of humility before Allah, when he saw the victory with which Allah had honoured him, till his beard almost touched the middle of the saddle.

Ibn Ishāq: Yahya bin 'Abbād bin 'Abdallah bin az-Zubair related to me on the authority of his father from his grandmother Asmā' bint Abū Bakr. She said: When the Messenger of Allah halted on Dhū Tuwa, Abū Quhāfah said to a daughter of his - one of his smaller children: "My little daughter, take me up to Abu Qubais". She said: His eyesight had failed. So he took him up to it and he said: "My little daughter, what do you see?" She said: "I see a blackness gathering". He said: "That is the cavalry". She said: "And I see a man running to and fro in front of the blackness". He said: "My little daughter, that is the man who sets the army in battle array", meaning the man who is in command of the cavalry and who advances at their head. Then she said: "The blackness has spread". He said: "Then indeed the cavalry are on the move, take me quickly to my house". So she brought him down but the cavalry met him before he reached his house. The girl had a silver necklace round her neck but a man met her and tore it off her neck. When the Messenger of Allah entered Mecca and went into the place of worship, Abū Bakr came leading his father, and when the Messenger of Allah saw him he said: "Why did you not leave the old man in his house and I would have gone to him there". Abū Bakr said: "O Messenger of Allah, it was more fitting that he should come to you than that you should go to him". So he made him squat down in front of him, rubbed his chest, and said to him: "Islamize", and he did so. So Abū Bakr brought him in, and his head was like the mountain plant, and the Messenger of Allah said: "Change this hair of his". Then Abū Bakr arose, took his sister by the hand, and said: "I adjure you by Allah and Islam for the necklace of my sister", but no one made answer. Then he said: "My little sister, be content without your necklace, for trustworthiness amongst men to-day is indeed rare.

The disposition of the army for the entry of Mecca.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Najīh related to me that when the Messenger of Allah disposed his army on Dhū Tuwa, he ordered az-Zubair bin al-'Awwām to enter at the head of some of the people by way of Ruda. Az-Zubair was in command of the left wing. He also ordered Sa'd bin 'Ubadah to enter at the head of some of the people

by way of Kadā'.

Ibn Ishāq: A scholar asserts that when Sa'd went towards Mecca to enter it he said:-

To-day is a day of battle

To-day the sacred territory will be profaned

One of the Emigrés heard him (Ibn Hisham: It was 'Umar bin al-Khattab) and said: "O Messenger of Allah, listen to what Sa'd bin 'Ubādah said. We cannot be certain that he will not make a sudden onslaught on Quraish". So the Messenger of Allah said to 'Ali bin Abū Tālib: "Follow him, take the banner (from him), and be thou the one to carry it into Mecca".

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Najīh related to me in the course of his narrative that the Messenger of Allah ordered Khālīd bin al-Walīd to enter Lower Mecca at the head of some of the people by way of al-Liṭ. Khalid was in command of the right wing in which were Aslam, Sulaim, Ghifār, Muzainah and Juhainah, and other Arab tribes. Abū 'Ubaidah bin al-Jarrāh advanced with the column of Muslims which poured into Mecca in front of the Messenger of Allah. The Messenger of Allah entered by way of Adhākhīr and reached Upper Mecca where his pavilion was erected.

The affair of the people of al-Khandamah.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Najīh and 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr related to me that Safwān bin Umayyah, 'Ikrimah bin Abū Jahl and Suhail bin 'Amr had collected men in al-Khandamah in order to fight. Himās bin Qais bin Khālīd, brother of the Beni Bakr, was preparing arms and repairing them before the entry of the Messenger of Allah, and his wife said to him: "Why are you preparing these things that I see?". He said: "For Muhammad and his friends". She said: "I do not think that anything will happen to Muhammad and his friends". He said: "I certainly hope to give some of them to you as servants". Then he said:-

If they advance to-day I have no weak point

This is the complete armour -- a well-sharpened spear,

A sword with good edges swift to draw.

Then he witnessed al-Khandamah with Safwān, Suhail and 'Ikrimah. When the Muslims from the company of Khālīd bin al-Walīd met them they engaged them in a sort of battle and Kurz bin Jabir one of the Beni

Muhārib bin Fihir and Khunais bin Khālīd bin Rabī'ah bin Asram ally of the Beni Munqidh were slain. They were amongst the horsemen of Khālīd bin al-Walīd, but got separated from him, went by a different route, and both of them were killed. Khunais bin Khālīd was slain before Kurz bin Jābir, so Kurz placed him between his feet and fought over him till he was slain, reciting as he did so and saying:-

Safra' of Beni Fihir knew
Clean of face and pure of heart
I will surely strike to-day on behalf of Abū Sakhr.

Khunais was surnamed Abū Sakhr.

Ibn Hishām: Khunais bin Khālīd bin Khuzā'ah

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Najīh and 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr related to me. They said: Salamah bin al-Mailā' of Juhainah, one of the horsemen of Khalid was killed, and almost twelve or thirteen men of the polytheists were killed and they were routed. So Hishām fled in rout and entered his house and said to his wife: "Lock the door on me". She said: "Whatever are you saying?" He said:-

Verily if you had seen the day of al-Khandamah
When Safwān and 'Ikrimah fled
And Abū Yazīd stood like a widow left with orphan children
While the Muslims met them with swords
They cut off each arm and head at a blow
And nothing could be heard but the shouting (of warriors)
They had a lion's roar behind us and a chesty growl
You would not have uttered the least word in blame.

Ibn Hishām: One of the scholars of poetry recited to me his saying:-
'Like a widow' which is ascribed to ar-Ra'ās the Hudhalite. The slogan of the friends of the Messenger of Allah on the day of the conquest of Mecca, Hunain and at-Ta'if was the slogan of the Emigrés: "O Beni 'Abd ar-Rahmān". The slogan of the Khazraj was: "O Beni 'Abdallah", and the slogan of the Aus: "O Beni 'Ubaid Allah".

The affair of the few individuals whom the Messenger of Allah ordered to be slain.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah had taken an oath of his Muslim commanders when he ordered them to enter Mecca that they would not fight with any except those who fought with them, but he also took an oath about certain people whom he mentioned by name and ordered them to be killed even if they were found underneath the coverings of the Ka'bah. Amongst them was Ibn Sa'd brother of the Beni 'Amir bin Lū'ai, and the Messenger of Allah ordered him to be slain

merely because he had islamized and wrote out the revelations for the Messenger of Allah when he reverted to polytheism and went back to Quraish. He fled to 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān who was his foster-brother who hid him and brought him to the Messenger of Allah, after the people and the inhabitants of Mecca had settled down, and asked for protection for him. They assert that the Messenger of Allah was silent for a long time and then said: "Yes". When 'Uthmān went away the Messenger of Allah said to his friends who were around him: "I kept silent so that one of you might arise and strike off his head". One of the Helpers said: "Why did you not give me a sign, O Messenger of Allah?". He said: "Verily a prophet does not put (anyone) to death by a sign".

Ibn Hishām: He islamized afterwards and 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb made him governor of one of his provinces, and 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān made him governor after 'Umar.

Ibn Ishāq: And 'Abdallah ibn Khatal one of the Beni Taim ibn Ghālib. He ordered him to be killed because he had been a Muslim and the Messenger of Allah sent him out to collect the tithe, sending along with him one of the Helpers accompanied by a client of his who served him, who was a Muslim. He made camp, ordered the client to kill a goat and prepare food for him and went to sleep. When he awoke he had prepared nothing for him so he attacked and killed him, after which he reverted to polytheism. He had two singing girls, Fartana and her friend who had sung in mockery of the Messenger of Allah, so he ordered the pair of them to be killed with him.

And al-Huwairith ibn Nuqaidh ibn Wahb ibn 'Abd ibn Qusai who was one of those who did him harm in Mecca.

Ibn Hishām: Al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib had taken Fātimah and Umm Kulthūm the two daughters of the Messenger of Allah from Mecca to Medina and al-Huwairith ibn Nuqaidh molested them and threw them on the ground.

Ibn Ishāq: And Miqyas ibn Dubābah. The Messenger of Allah ordered him to be killed because he had killed the Helper who had killed his brother in error, and had reverted to Quraish and polytheism.

And Sārah a clientess of one of the Beni 'Abd al-Muttālib and 'Ikrimah bin Abū Jahl. Sārah was one of those who had done him harm in Mecca. As for 'Ikrimah, he fled to the Yemen and his wife, Umm Hakīm bint al-Hārith bin Hisham, asked the Messenger of Allah for protection for him which he granted. So she went out in search of him, brought him to the Messenger of Allah, and he islamized.

As for 'Abdallah bin Khatal, Sa'īd bin Huraith the Makhzūmite and Abū Barzah killed him and shared in shedding his blood.

As for Miqyas, bin Dubābah, Numailah bin 'Abdallah, one of his tribe killed him, and the sister of Miqyas said about his death:-

By my life, Numailah has brought disgrace on his people
And afflicted the guests of winter through Miqyas
Good be the eyes of him who saw the like of Miqyas
When the confined woman brought forth no food was ready for her.

As for the two singing girls of Ibn Khatal one of them was killed and the other fled and when protection was sought for her from the Messenger of Allah afterwards he granted it.

As for Sārah, protection was sought for her and granted. Then she lived till one of the people trampled her under the feet of his horse in the valley in the time of 'Umar bin al-Khattāb and killed her.

As for al-Huwairith bin Nuqaidh, 'Ali bin Abū Tālib killed him.

Ibn Ishāq: Sa'īd bin Abū Hind related to me on the authority of Abū Murrah, client of Aqīl bin Abū Tālib that Umm Hani' daughter of Abū Tālib, said: When the Messenger of Allah encamped in Upper Mecca, two of my in-laws from the Beni Makhzūm fled to me - she was married to Hubairah bin Abū Wahb the Makhzūmite. She said: So 'Ali bin Abū Tālib my brother came in to me and said: "I will surely kill them", so I locked them in my house and came to the Messenger of Allah while he was in Upper Mecca. I found him washing himself out of a basin in which were traces of dough while his daughter Fātimah screened him with her cloak. When he had washed, he took his cloak, girded it on, and performed eight prostrations of the forenoon prayer. Then he came to me and said: "Welcome, O Umm Hani', what has brought you?". So I told him the story of the two men and 'Ali and he said: "We have protected those whom you have protected, and granted security to those

to whom you have granted it, and he shall not slay them".

Ibn Hishām: They were al-Hārith ibn Hishām and Zuhair ibn Abū Umayyah ibn al-Mughīrah.

The Messenger of Allah's circumambulation of the Ka'bah after the victory and his sermon.

Ibn Ishāq: Muḥammad ibn Ja'far ibn az-Zubair related to me on the authority of 'Ubaid Allah ibn 'Abdallah ibn Abū Thaur from Safiyyah bint Shaibah that when the Messenger of Allah encamped in Mecca and the people were reassured he set out, went to the House, and circumambulated it seven times on his camel, touching the stone with a stick in his hand. When he had completed his circumambulation he called 'Uthmān ibn Talḥah, got the key of the Ka'bah from him. It was opened for him, he entered it and found in it a pigeon of wood which he broke with his own hands and threw away. Then he took his stand at the door of the Ka'bah while the people collected in the place of worship for him.

Ibn Ishāq: One of the scholars related to me that the Messenger of Allah stood at the door of the Ka'bah and said: "There is no god but Allah alone; He has no partner. He has made good His promise, helped His servant and put the confederates to flight by Himself. All benefits, blood-monies, and possessions that will be claimed are entirely at my disposal, except the guardianship of the House and the giving of water to the pilgrims. There shall not be for the man who is killed by a mistake that is like an intention, whether by whip or stick, a blood-wit exacted under stringent terms, of a hundred camels, forty of which are with young. O people of Quraish, Allah hath put away from you the pride and boastfulness about ancestors that pertained to the Age of Barbarism. Men are (descended) from Adam, and Adam was taken out of the dust. Then he recited this verse:-

O people, we have created you male and female, and made you races and tribes, that ye may show mutual recognition; verily the most noble of you in Allah's eyes is the most pious.....(Sūrah 49: 13)

to the end of the verse. Then he said: "O people of Quraish, what do you think I will do in your midst?". They said: "(That which is) good; a noble brother, the son of a noble brother". He said: "You may go, you are now dismissed". So the Messenger of Allah squatted in the place of worship and 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib went up to him with the key

of the Ka'bah in his hand and said: "O Messenger of Allah, combine for us the office of chamberlain with that of supplying water, may Allah bless you". The Messenger of Allah said: "Where is 'Uthmān bin Talhah?" and he was called to him and he said: "Here is your key, O 'Uthmān, to-day is a day of righteousness and fulfilment".

Ibn Hishām: Safwān bin 'Uyainah mentioned that the Messenger of Allah said to 'Alī bin Abū Tālib: "I will give you merely that of which you have been deprived; not that of which you would deprive (others)"

Ibn Hishām: One of the scholars related to me that the Messenger of Allah entered the House on the day of the victory and saw there the pictures of the angels and other beings. He saw Abraham portrayed with the divining arrows in his hand making distribution by lot, and said: "May Allah destroy them! They have made our Shaikh cast lots with arrows. What business has Abraham with diving arrows? Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian but he was a Hanīf, a Muslim; he was not one of the polytheists." Then he ordered those pictures to be effaced, which was done.

Ibn Hishām: He related to me that the Messenger of Allah entered the Ka'bah accompanied by Bilāl. Then the Messenger of Allah came out and Bilāl was left behind, and 'Abdallah bin 'Amr went in to Bilāl and asked him where the Messenger of Allah had prayed but he did not ask him how much he had prayed. When Ibn 'Amr entered the House, he went straight ahead leaving the door behind him till there was three cubits between him and the wall and there he prayed, aiming at the spot which Bilāl had indicated to him.

The call to prayer by Bilāl at the Ka'bah on the day of the victory.

He related to me that the Messenger of Allah entered the Ka'bah the year of the victory accompanied by Bilāl and he ordered him to give the call to prayer. Abū Sufyān bin Harb, 'Attāb bin 'Asīd and al-Hārith bin Hisham were squatting in the courtyard of the Ka'bah and 'Attāb bin 'Asīd said: "Allah hath indeed honoured 'Asīd because he does not hear this and hear what would provoke him to anger". Al-Hārith said: "If I knew that he was right, I would follow him". Abū Sufyān said: "I will say nothing; if I said anything these pebbles would inform about me". The prophet came out to them and said: "I know what you have said", and he repeated it to them. Al-Hārith and 'Attāb

said: "We testify that thou art the Messenger of Allah, for there was no one with us to overhear this so that we could say that he informed you".

Ibn Ishāq: Sa'īd bin Abu Sindar the Aslamite related to me on the authority of a man of his people. He said: A man called Ahmar Ba's was with us who was a brave man. When he slept he snored loudly so that it was well known where he was, and when he spent the night in a settlement he retired apart. If the settlement was attacked in the night they called out: "O Ahmar", and he would rush out like a lion; nothing would stand in his way. A raiding party from Hudhail came along seeking the settlement where he was and when they drew near to the settlement, Ibn al-Athwa' the Hudhalite said: "Do not be in a hurry till I have a look around for if Ahmar is in the settlement there is no way of approach to them, since he has a snore that cannot be hidden". So he listened and when he heard him snoring he went up to him, planted his sword in his chest, thrust it home and killed him. Then they attacked the settlement and they cried out: "O Ahmar", but there was no Ahmar. When the year of the victory came, and on the day after it, Ibn al-Athwa' the Hudhalite came and entered Mecca to look around and make enquiries about the affair of the people. He was a polytheist, and Khuza'ah saw him, recognised him, and surrounded him while he was alongside one of the walls of Mecca, and said: "You are the killer of Ahmar". He said: "Yes, I am the killer of Ahmar, what will you do?". Then Khirash bin Umayyah came up with girded dagger and said "Stand away from the man", and we did not think other than that he wanted to clear the people away from him, but when we did clear away from him, he attacked him, pierced him in the abdomen with his dagger and it seemed to me that his bowels streamed out from his abdomen and his eyes stood in his head as he said: "Have you done it O people of Khuza'ah?", and then fell down heavily. The Messenger of Allah said, "O people of Khuza'ah, withdraw your hands from bloodshed, for bloodshed has increased. You have killed a man and if it will be of any benefit I will certainly pay compensation for him".

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin Harmalah the Aslamite related to me on the authority of Sa'īd bin al-Musayyab. He said: When the Messenger of Allah heard what Khirash bin Umayyah had done he said: "Verily Khirash is a murderer", thereby stigmatising him

The sermon of the Messenger of Allah the day after the victory.

Ibn Ishāq: Sa'id bin Abū Sa'id the Maqbūrite related to me on the authority of Abū Shuraih the Khuza'ite. He said: When 'Amr bin az-Zubair came to Mecca to fight against of his brother 'Abdallah bin az-Zubair, I went to him and said to him: "O sir, we were in the company of the Messenger of Allah when he entered Mecca. The day after the victory, Khuza'ah attacked and killed a man of Hudhail who was a polytheist. So the Messenger of Allah arose in our midst, gave an oration, and said: 'O people, verily Allah made Mecca sacred in the day He created the heavens and the earth, and it remains most sacred till the Day of Resurrection. It is not permissible then for any man who believes in Allah and the Last Day to shed blood in it or cut a tree in it. It was not permitted to any who came before me and it will not be permitted to any who shall come after me, nor is it permitted to me except in this hour in anger against its inhabitants, and then it will return to its sanctity as of yore. Let him who is a witness inform him who is absent and whoever says to you that the Messenger of Allah made war in it, say that Allah made it allowable for His messenger, but He did not make it allowable for you O people of Khuza'ah. Withdraw your hands from bloodshed for it has increased. You have committed murder and if it will be of any benefit I will certainly pay compensation for him. Whoever is slain after this sojourn of mine his people will have the better of two choices, either the blood of the killer if they so desire, or there may be a blood-wit for him if they so desire! Then the Messenger of Allah paid the blood-money for the man whom Khuza'ah had killed. Then 'Amr said to Abū Shuraih; "Go your way O Shaikh, for we know more about its sanctity than you; it does not protect the shedder of blood nor the one who has cast off his allegiance, nor the one who forbids the poll-tax". Abū Shuraih said: "I was a witness and you were absent and the Messenger of Allah commanded us that those who were present should inform those who were absent. Now I have informed you and it is your affair".

Ibn Hishām: I heard that the first murdered man for whom the Messenger of Allah paid compensation the day of the victory was Junaidab bin al-Akwa' whom the Beni Ka'b killed; he paid one hundred she-camels for him.

The saying of the Helpers the day of The Victory.

Ibn Hishām: I heard on the authority of Yahya bin Sa'īd that when the prophet was victorious at Mecca and had entered it he stood in prayer on as-Safā whilst the Helpers stood around him. They said amongst themselves: "Do you think that the Messenger of Allah, since Allah has conquered for him his country and town, will abide in it". When he finished his prayer he said: "What were you saying?". They said: "It was nothing, O Messenger of Allah", but he did not cease to ask them till they told him, and the prophet said: "Allah forbid! Where ye live, there will I live, and where ye die, there too will I die".

The fall of the idols at a signal from the Prophet.

Ibn Hishām: One of the narrators in whom I have confidence who gives a chain of authorities related to me on the authority of Ibn Shihāb the Zuhrite from 'Ubad Allah bin 'Abdallah from Ibn 'Abbās. He said: The Messenger of Allah entered Mecca on the day of The Victory and went around it. Around the House were idols which were bound with lead, and the Prophet began to point to the idols with a cane in his hand and say:-

Truth hath come and falsehood gone; verily falsehood
vanisheth away. (Sūrah 17: 81)

He did not point at the face of an idol but it fell on its back and he did not point to any of them from behind but it fell on its face till not one of them remained that had not fallen. Tamīm bin Asad the Khuzā'ite said about that:-

In the idols is an example and knowledge
To whoever hopes for a reward or punishment

The affair of Fadālah.

Ibn Hishām: He related to me that Fadālah bin 'Umair bin al-Mulawwih the Laithite wanted to kill the Prophet as he was circumambulating the House the year of The Victory. When he drew near him, the Messenger of Allah said: "Is it Fadālah?". He said: "Yes, it is Fadālah, O Messenger of Allah". He said: "What were you talking to yourself about?". He said: "Nothing. I was making mention of Allah". The Prophet laughed and said: "Allah forbid!". Then he placed his hand on his breast and his heart was calmed. Fadālah said: "He did not take his hand off my breast till there was nothing dearer to me in

the whole of creation than him". Fadālah said: "So I returned to my family and passed by a woman with whom I had been talking who said: 'Come for a chat', and I said: 'No', and Fadālah went away saying:-

She said: 'Come for a chat', and I said: 'No
Allah and Islam refuse you that
And did you not see Muhammad and his tribe
In the Victory on the day the idols were smashed
You would then have seen the religion of Allah arising
clearly
And polytheism with darkness covering its face.

The affair of Safwān ibn Umayyah.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad ibn Ja'far related to me on the authority of 'Urwah. He said: Safwān ibn Umayyah set out to make for Jeddah to go by boat from there to Yemen. 'Umair ibn Wahb said: "O Messenger of Allah, Safwān ibn Umayyah the chieftain of his tribe has fled away from you to cast himself into the sea, so give him protection, may Allah bless you!". He said: "He is safe". He said: "O Messenger of Allah, give me a token by which he shall recognise your guarantee", and the Messenger of Allah gave him the turban in which he had entered Mecca. So 'Umair went away with it and overtook him when he was about to embark, and said: "O Safwān, may I ransom you with my father and mother! Fear Allah! Fear Allah in your soul lest you destroy it. Here is a guarantee from the Messenger of Allah which I have brought you". He said: "Alas for you! Go away from me and do not speak to me". He said: "O Safwān, may I ransom you with my father and mother! He is the best of men, the most righteous of men, the most clement of men, the most excellent of men, this cousin of yours; his might is your might, his honour is your honour, his kingdom is your kingdom". He said: "I am afraid of him on my own account". He said: "He is more clement and more honourable than that". So he came back with him and he brought him to the Messenger of Allah, and Safwān said: "This man claims that you have given me protection". He said: "He spoke the truth". He said: "Grant me then two months option". He said: "You shall have four".

Ibn Hishām: A man who was one of the scholars of Quraish related to me that Safwān said to 'Umair: "Alas for you! Go away from me and do not speak to me for you are surely a liar", because of what he had done to him, and we have mentioned it in the latter account of the day of Badr.

Ibn Ishāq: Az-Zuhri related to me that Umm Hakīm bint al-Hārith ibn

Hishām and Fākhītah bint al-Walīd - Fākhītah was the wife of Saifwān bin Umayyah, and Umm Hakīm was the wife of 'Ikrimah bin Abū Jahl - islamized. As for Umm Hakīm, she sought protection from the Messenger of Allah for 'Ikrimah which he granted and she went to him in the Yemen and brought him back. When 'Ikrimah and Saifwān islamized the Messenger of Allah confirmed them as husbands and wives in accordance with the former marriage.

Poetry connected with islamization of Ibn az-Zib'arī omitted

Ibn Ishāq: As for Hubairah bin Abū Wahb, the Makhzūmite, he resided in Mecca till he died an unbeliever and he had Umm Hani' daughter of Abū Tālib whose name was Hind.

Poetry omitted

Ibn Ishāq: The Muslims who witness the victory of Mecca were ten thousand in number. From the Beni Sulain seven hundred, but some say a thousand; from the Beni Ghifār four hundred; from Aslam four hundred from Muzainah a thousand and three; and the rest of them were from Quraish, the Helpers and their allies, and contingents of Arabs from Tamīm, Qais and Asad.

Poetry omitted.

The islamization of 'Abbās bin Mirdās.

Ibn Hishām: According to what one of the scholars of poetry related to me the islamization of 'Abbās bin Mirdās was (on this wise). His account (of it) was that his father had an idol which he worshipped. It was a stone called Damār. When Mirdās was at the point of death he said to 'Abbās: "My son, worship Damār for he can both benefit you and do you harm. Whilst 'Abbās was at Damār one day he heard someone calling from his interior and saying:-

Say to the tribes of Sulaim, all of them
Damār has perished and the people of the mosque are alive
He who has inherited the prophetic office and the guidance
After the Sān of Mary is from Quraish and is guided
Damār has been destroyed and it was once worshipped
Before the Book came to the Prophet Muhammad.

So 'Abbās burned Damār, joined the Prophet and islamized.

Further poetry about the conquest of Mecca omitted.

The march of Khālīd bin al-Walīd against the Beni Jadhīmah of Kinanah after the Victory and the march of 'Alī to set right Khālīd's mistake.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah sent out parties of men to the districts around Mecca to call to Allah to Whom belong power and glory but he did not command them to fight. Amongst those who were sent out was Khālīd bin al-Walīd and his orders were to go through Lower Tihāmah issuing the invitation. He did not send him to fight but he subdued the Beni Jadhīmah and killed some of them.

Ibn Hishām: 'Abbās bin Mirdās said about that:-

When you appointed Khālīd commander of the people
and advanced him - then he advanced
With an army which Allah guided of which you were
commander
And in the way of truth slay him who was unjust.

Ibn Hishām: These two stanzas are in a poem of his in connection with the day of Hunain and I will mention them in due course, if Allah wills.

Ibn Ishāq: Hakīm bin Hakīm bin 'Abbād bin Hunaif related to me on the authority of Abū Ja'far, Muhammad bin 'Alī. He said: When the Messenger of Allah was victorious at Mecca, he sent Khālīd bin al-Walīd to issue the invitation (to Islam); he did not send him to fight.. Accompanying him were the Arab tribes of Sulaim bin Mansūr and Mudlij bin Murrah and they subdued the Beni Judhaimah bin 'Amir bin 'Abd Manāt bin Kinānah. When the people saw him they took up arms and Khālīd said: "Lay down your arms for the people have islamized".

Ibn Ishāq: One of our friends, a scholar of the Beni Jadhīmah related to me. He said: When Khalid ordered us to lay down our arms, one of our number called Jahdam said: "Out upon you, O Beni Jadhīmah! It is Khālīd, and after you lay down arms there will be nothing but captivity and after captivity there will be nothing but decapitation, and so I will never lay down my arms". So some men of his people took him and said: "O Jahdam, do you wish to shed our blood? Verily the people have islamized, war has been laid aside and the people are safe". They did not let him go till they had deprived him of his weapons, and the people laid down their arms

at the word of Khālīd.

Ibn Ishāq: Hākīm bin Hākīm related to me on the authority of Abū Ja'far Muhammad bin 'Alī. He said: "When they laid them down, he gave orders for them to be handcuffed, put them to the sword and slew those^{of} them whom he slew. When news of it reached the Messenger of Allah, he lifted his hands to heaven and said: "O Allah, I am innocent before Thee of that which Khālīd bin al-Walīd hath done".

Ibn Hishām: One of the scholars related to me that it was related to him on the authority of Ibrāhīm bin Ja'far al-Mahmūdī. He said: The Messenger of Allah said: "It seemed to me as if I had taken a mouthful of curds and dates and enjoyed its taste, but some of it stuck in my throat when I swallowed it, and 'Alī put in his hand and took it out". Abū Bakr the Faithful said: "O Messenger of Allah, here is one of your marauding bands which you may send out and something that is pleasing may come to you out of it, and objection may be raised to some of them so send 'Alī that he may smooth it over.

Ibn Hishām: He related to me that one of the people escaped, came to the Messenger of Allah, and gave him the news. The Messenger of Allah said: "Did anyone disapprove of what he did?". He said: "Yes, a fair middle-sized man disapproved of it, but Khālīd chided him and he fell silent. Another man, tall and of uneven temperament, disapproved of it, doing it repeatedly, and both of them expressed strong disapprobation". 'Umar bin al-Khattāb said: "As for the first, O Messenger of Allah, he was a son of 'Abdallah, and as for the second, he was a client of Abu Hudhāifah, Sālim (by name).

Ibn Ishāq: Hākīm bin Hākīm related to me on the authority of Abū Ja'far Muhammad bin 'Alī. He said: Then the Messenger of Allah called 'Alī bin Abū Tālib and said: "O 'Alī, go to these people, look into their affair and put the affair of the Age of Barbarism beneath your feet". So 'Alī set out and went to them, and he had money which the Messenger of Allah had sent with him, so he paid them compensation for the blood shed and the property seized - he compensated them even for a dog's drinking dish, till no bloodshed or property was left which he had not compensated. There still remained some money in his possession so he said to them when he had done with them: "Is there yet any bloodshed or property for which compensation has not

been paid?". They said: "No". He said: "Then I will give you the remainder of this money as security for the Messenger of Allah against what he does not know and what you do not know". He did so, returned to the Messenger of Allah and gave him the news. He said: "You did right; you did well". Then the Messenger of Allah stood up in front of the Qiblah with outstretched hands till the parts beneath his shoulders was visible and said three times: "O Allah, I am innocent before Thee of what Khālīd bin al-Walīd hath done".

Ibn Ishāq: Some of those who excuse Khālīd say that he said: "I did not fight till 'Abdallah bin Hudhālah the Sahmite ordered me to do so and said: 'The Messenger of Allah has commanded you to fight them because they have held back from Islam'".

Ibn Hishām: Abū 'Amr of Medina said: When Khālīd came to them, they said: "We have become Sābians, we have become Sābians".

Ibn Ishāq: Jāhdam said to the Beni Jadhīmah after they laid down their arms and he saw what Khālīd was doing to them: "O Beni Jadhīmah, the throw is lost. I warned you about that into which you have fallen". According to what I heard, there were words between Khālīd and 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin 'Auf about that. 'Abd ar-Rahmān said to him: "You have done according to the custom of the Age of Barbarism in (the age of) Islam". He said: "I have merely avenged your father". 'Abd ar-Rahmān said: "You lie, I killed my father's murderer and you avenged your uncle al-Fākih bin al-Mughīrah". Thus there was enmity between the pair of them, and the Messenger of Allah heard of that and said: "Keep cool, O Khālīd. Leave my friends alone, for if you had an Uhud of gold and spent it in the way of Allah you would not be the equivalent of either a morning or an evening of one of my friends".

Al-Fākih bin al-Mughīrah bin 'Abdallah bin 'Umar bin Makhzūm, 'Auf bin 'Abd 'Auf bin 'Abd bin al-Hārith bin Zuhrah, and 'Affān bin Abū 'l-'Ās bin Umayyah bin 'Abd Shams had gone off as merchants to the Yemen. 'Affān was accompanied by his son 'Uthmān and 'Auf by his son 'Abd ar-Rahmān. When they returned they brought back with them the goods of a man of the Beni Jadhīmah bin 'Āmir who had died in the Yemen to his heirs. One of them called Khālīd bin Hishām claimed the goods and met them in the country of the Beni Jadhīmah before they reached

the dead man's family. They refused him and he fought them along with the men who were with him in order to take the goods and they fought him and 'Auf bin 'Abd 'Auf and al-Fākah bin al-Mughīrah were slain, and 'Affan bin Abū 'l-'Ās and his son 'Uthmān escaped. So they seized the goods of al-Fākah bin al-Mughīrah and those of 'Auf bin 'Abd 'Auf and carried them away. Then 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin 'Auf killed Khālīd bin Hishām the murderer of his father and Quraish determined to make a raid on the Beni Jadhīmah. The Beni Jadhīmah said: "The killing of your friends was not the work of any partisans of ours; a party attacked them in ignorance and slew them without our knowledge, but we will make restitution to you for the blood shed and the goods seized!" Quraish accepted that.

Poetry omitted.

The march of Khālīd bin al-Walīd to destroy al-'Uzza.

Then the Messenger of Allah sent Khālīd bin al-Walīd to al-'Uzza which was in Nakhlah. It was a house which the tribes of Quraish, Kinānah and Mudar venerated - all of them. Its custodians and chamberlains were the Beni Shaibān of the Beni Sulaim allies of the Beni Hāshim. When its servitor the Sulamite heard that Khālīd was on his way to it he hung his dagger about its neck and went up to the mountain where it was situated, and as he went he said:-

O 'Uzza gather your strength which will avail you nought
Against Khālīd; throw off the veil and tuck up your garments
O 'Uzza if you do not slay the man Khālīd
Either make speedy atonement for your sin or obtain help

When Khālīd reached it he destroyed it and returned to the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: Ibn Shihāb az-Zuhrī related to me on the authority of 'Ubaid Allah bin 'Abdallah bin 'Utbah bin Mas'ūd. He said: The Messenger of Allah resided in Mecca for fifteen nights after his victory curtailing the Prayer.

Ibn Ishāq: The victory of Mecca took place when there were left ten days of the month of Ramadān of year eight.

The day of Hunain in year eight after the Victory.

Ibn Ishāq: When Hawāzin heard of the Messenger of Allah and the victory which Allah had granted him at Mecca, Mālik bin 'Auf the

Nasrite gathered them together and along with Hawāzin there gathered to him the whole of Thaqīf, Nasr and Jusham as a whole, Sa'd ibn Bakr and some men of the Beni Hilāl, but they were only a few. None of Qais 'Ailān except these witnessed it, neither Ka'b nor Kilāb of Hawāzin were present at it, and none of them of any repute witnessed it. At the head of the Beni Jusham was Duraid ibn as-Simmah who was of no use except for his advice and his knowledge of the ways of war being an old man of experience. At the head of Thaqīf were two chieftains of theirs; at the head of the Confederates was Qārib ibn al-Aswad ibn Mas'ūd ibn Mu'attib, and at the head of the Beni Mālik was Dhū 'l-Khimār, Sabī' ibn al-Hārith ibn Mālik and his brother Ahmar ibn al-Hārith, and the affair of the people collectively was in the hands of Mālik ibn 'Auf the Nasrite.

The saying of Duraid ibn as-Simmah.

When he decided to march against the Messenger of Allah he placed their cattle, wives, and children with the people (in the rear). When he encamped in Autās the people collected to him with Duraid ibn as-Simmah at their head in a litter of his in which he was carried. When he dismounted he said: "In which valley are you?". They said: "In Autās". He said: "What an excellent range for the horses, no rough stony eminences and no level ground! Why do I hear the growling of camels, the braying of asses, the crying of infants, and the bleating of sheep?". They said: "Mālik ibn 'Auf drove along with the people their cattle, wives and children". He said: "Where is Mālik?". They told him: "Mālik is here", and he was called to him. He said: "O Mālik, you have become chieftain of your people, and this day is a day of importance for the days that come after it. Why do I hear the grumbling of camels, the braying of asses, the crying of infants, and the bleating of sheep?". He said: "I drove along with the people their sons, their wives, and their cattle". He said: "Wherefore?". He said: "I wish to place every man's family and cattle behind him so that he may fight for them". So he rebuked him and said: "A shepherd of the flock forsooth! And will anything bring back him who has been put to flight? If the day goes in your favour nothing will be any use to you but a man with sword and spear, and if it should go against you, you will be put to shame with regard to your people and your cattle". Then he said: "What about Ka'b and Kilāb?" They said: "Not one

of them has witnessed it". He said: "Courage and resolution are lacking. Had it been a day of grandeur and honour Ka'b and Kilāb would not have stayed away from it and I would have been pleased had you done what Ka'b and Kilāb have done. Which of you have seen it?" They said: "'Amr bin 'Āmir and 'Auf bin 'Āmir". He said: "Those are the two weak ones of 'Āmir, who neither benefit nor do harm. O Mālik you will accomplish nothing by bringing the people of Hawāzin to the sacrifice of the cavalry. Take them up to the inaccessible places of their country and the high places of their people and then meet the Sābians on the backs of the horses. If you gain the day, those who are behind you will join you, and if it should go against you, it will find that you have protected your families and your cattle". He said: "I will not do that; you have grown old and so has your mind. You shall indeed obey me O people of Hawāzin or I will thrust myself through with this sword so that it comes out of my back". He disliked that Duraid should have any say or opinion. They said: "We will obey you". Duraid bin as-Simmah said: "This is a day I did not witness but which did not pass me by".

O that I were a young man on this day
In it I would run and walk at a gentle pace
I would drive the long-haired horses by the forelock
As if they were middling-sized sheep.

Ibn Hishām: More than one scholar of poetry has recited to me:-

O that I were a young man on this day.

Ibn Ishāq: Then Mālik said to the people: "When you see them, break the sheaths of your swords and advance as one man.

He said: Umayyah bin 'Abdallah bin 'Amr bin 'Uthmān related to me that it was related to him that Mālik bin 'Auf posted some of his men as watchers and they came in with their joints disordered and he said: "Out upon you! What is the matter with you?". They said: "We saw white men on piebald horses and were unable to control ourselves till this that you see befell us. But that did not turn him back from going in accordance with his own desires.

The despatch of Ibn Abū Hadrād.

Ibn Ishāq: When the prophet of Allah heard about them he sent 'Abdallah bin Abū Hadrād the Aslamite to them and ordered him to go amongst the people and stay amongst them till he knew what there was

to be known and then bring him their news. So Ibn Abū Hadrād went away, got amongst them, and remained amongst them till he heard and knew what they decided to do about fighting the Messenger of Allah. So he heard of Mālik and the affair of Hawāzin on which they were engaged and returned to the Messenger of Allah and gave him the news. When the Messenger of Allah resolved to march against Hawāzin to meet them, it was mentioned to him that Safwān bin Umayyah had some suits of mail and arms which belonged to him, so he sent to him and said - he was a polytheist at that time - "O Abū Umayyah, lend us your arms and we will meet our enemy with them to-morrow". Safwān said: "Is it by compulsion, O Muhammad?". He said: "Nay, a loan, and under guarantee that we will return them to you". He said: "There is no harm in this", and he gave him a hundred suits of armour along with their complement of arms. They say that the Messenger of Allah asked him to give them sufficient for their transport and he did so.

The departure of the Messenger of Allah.

He said: Then the Messenger of Allah set out accompanied by two thousand of the people of Mecca as well as ten thousand of his friends who had come forth with him when Allah granted them victory at Mecca, so that they were twelve thousand men. The Messenger of Allah appointed 'Attāb bin Asīd bin Abū 'l-'Is bin Umayyah bin 'Abd Shams governor of Mecca in charge of those of the people who remained behind. Then the Messenger of Allah went away to meet Hawāzin.

Poetry omitted.

The affair of Dhāt Anwāt.

Ibn Ishāq: Ibn Shihāb az-Zuhrī related to me on the authority of Sinān bin Abū Sinān the Du'ilite on the authority of Abū Wāqid the Laithite, al-Hārith bin Mālik. He said: We set out with the Messenger of Allah to Hunain and we had been but lately in the Age of Barbarism. We went with him to Hunain and the unbelievers of Quraish and others besides them of the Arabs had a great green tree called Dhāt Anwāt to which they came each year, hung their arms upon it, performed sacrifices at it, and worshipped at it on a certain day. While we were marching with the Messenger of Allah, we saw a great green lotus-tree, and called out from the sides of the road: "O Messenger of Allah, appoint for us a Dhāt Anwāt since they have one". The Messenger of Allah said: "Allah is most great! By Him in whose hand

is the life of Muhammad, you have said what the people of Moses said to him: 'Appoint for us a god since they have gods'. He said: "You are indeed a people who are ignorant, it is your way, and you are surely following the ways of those who were before you".

The rout of the people.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah related to me on the authority of 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin Jābir from his father Jābir bin 'Abdallah. He said: When we reached the valley of Hunain we descended into one of the valleys of Tihāmah, (which was) wide and sloping. We only completed the descent into it in the darkness that precedes the dawn. But the people had got to the valley ahead of us and lay in wait for us in its clefts and sides and defiles having disposed themselves, equipped themselves and made themselves ready. The first shock we got was when detachments (of men) rushed out upon us as we were making the descent as one man, and the people broke and fled; no one stuck by another.

The steadfastness of the Prophet.

The Messenger of Allah withdrew to the right. Then he said: "O people, come to me, I am the Messenger of Allah, I am Muhammad bin 'Abdallah", but there was nothing. The camels charged each other, and the people fled away except that there remained with the Messenger of Allah a few of the Emigres and Helpers and people of his family. Amongst the Emigres who stood steadfast with him were Abū Bakr and 'Umar. From the people of his family were 'Ali bin Abū Tālib, al-'Abbās, Abū Sufyān bin al-Hārith, and his son, al-Fadl bin 'Abbās, Rabī'ah bin al-Hārith, Usāmah bin Zaid, Aiman bin Umm Aiman who was slain that day.

Ibn Hishām: The name of the son of Abū Sufyān bin al-Hārith was Ja'far, and the name of Abū Sufyān was al-Mughīrah, and some people reckon Qutham bin al-'Abbās amongst them and do not reckon the son of Abū Sufyān.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah related to me on the authority of 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin Jābir bin 'Abdallah. He said: Also a man of Hawāzin on a tawny camel of his, in his hand a black banner on the head of a long spear was in front of Hawāzin and they were behind him. When he overtook anyone he pierced him with his spear and when the people escaped him, he raised his spear to those who were

behind him and they followed him.

Ibn Ishāq: When the people were routed and the coarse people of Mecca who were with the Messenger of Allah saw the rout, some of them gave utterance to the enmity that was within them. Abū Sufyān bin Harb said: "Their rout will not stop short of the sea; the divining arrows are indeed with him in his quiver". Jabalah bin al-Hanbal cried (Ibn Hishām: Kaladah bin al-Hanbal, who, with his brother Safwān bin Umayyah, was a polytheist during the period which the Messenger of Allah appointed for him: "Has not sorcery been brought to nought to-day?". Safwān said to him: "Silence, may Allah break your teeth! It is more agreeable to me that a man of Quraish should lord it over me than a man of Hawāzin".

Ibn Ishāq: Shaibah bin 'Uthmān bin Abū Talhah brother of the Beni 'Abd ad-Dār said: I said: "I will be avenged on Muhammad this day". His father had been killed the day of Uhud. "I will slay Muhammad this day". He said: So I circled round the Messenger of Allah to slay him but something came over me so that my heart was veiled, and I could not bear it, so I knew he was protected against me.

Ibn Ishāq: One of the people from Mecca related to me that when the Messenger of Allah left Mecca for Hunain and saw the hosts of Allah who accompanied him, he said: "We shall not be overcome to-day because of fewness of numbers".

Ibn Ishāq: Some people assert that one of the Beni Bakr said it.

The return of the people at the call of al-'Abbās and the victory after the rout.

Ibn Ishāq: Az-Zuhri related to me on the authority of Kathīr bin al-'Abbās from his father al-'Abbās bin 'Abd al-Muttalib. He said: I was with the Messenger of Allah holding the ring of the bridle of his white mule with which I had tied her up. I was a stockily built man with a strong voice and the Messenger of Allah said when he saw what he saw on the part of the people: "Whither, O people?". But I saw the people had no care for anything, so he said: "O 'Abbās, cry out: 'O people of the Helpers, O people of the acacia-tree'". They answered him: "Here we are, at your service". A man would go to bring his camel back and be unable to do that, so he would take his suit of armour, cast it round his neck, take his sword and shield, leap off his camel, set him free, and follow the

voice till he reached the Messenger of Allah. When a hundred of them had gathered to him they faced the people and fought. The first call that went out was: "O people of the Helpers", and finally it ended with: "O people of the Khazraj". They were tenacious in battle and the Messenger of Allah looked on at the scene of the conflict of the people as they fought and said: "Now the oven has warmed up".

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim ibn 'Umar ibn Qatādah related to me on the authority of 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn Jābir from his father Jābir ibn 'Abdallah. He said: While that man of Hawāzin, the standard bearer on his camel was doing what he was doing, 'Ali ibn Abū Tālib advanced on him with one of the Helpers. 'Ali came up behind him and severed the camel's two tendons so that he fell on his hind quarters. Then the Helper leapt on the man and gave him a blow which severed his leg in the middle of the shank so that he fell prone off his mount. So the people fought and when the people returned from their flight they found the prisoners handcuffed with the Messenger of Allah. The Messenger of Allah turned to Abū Sufyān ibn al-Hārith ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib who was one of those who remained steadfast with the Messenger of Allah and who became a good Muslim when he islamized as he held the crupper of his mule's saddle and said: "Who is this?". He said: "I am your mother's son, O Messenger of Allah".

The affair of Umm Sulaim.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah ibn Abū Bakr related to me that the Messenger of Allah turned and saw Umm Sulaim bint Milhān, who was with her husband Abū Talhah, and her waist was bound with a striped cloth of hers, and she was pregnant with 'Abdallah ibn Abū Talhah. She had Abū Talhah's camel with her and she was afraid the camel would be too strong for her so she drew his head near her and put her hand in the nose ring together with the nose rein. The Messenger of Allah said: "Is it Umm Sulaim?". She said: "Yes, may I ransom you with my father and mother, O Messenger of Allah. Slay those who have fled away from you as you would slay those who fight against you, for they are worthy of that". The Messenger of Allah said: "Will Allah be sufficient, O Umm Sulaim?". She had a large knife with her and Abū Talhah said to her: "What is the meaning of this knife you have got,

O Umm Sulaim?" She said: "It is a knife I took with which, if any of the polytheists came near me, I would have ripped him open". Abū Talhah said: "Do you not hear, O Messenger of Allah, what Umm Sulaim with the notes in her eyes says!"

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah set out for Hunain he joined the Beni Sulaim to ad-Dahhāk bin Sufyān the Kalbite so they belonged to him and were with him.

Poetry omitted.

The affair of Abū Qatādah and his plunder.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr related to me that it was related to him on the authority of Abū Qatādah the Helper; and one of our friends who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of Nāfi', client of the Beni Ghifār, Abū Muhammad from Abū Qatādah. Both of them said: I saw two men fighting on the day of Hunain, one a Muslim and the other a polytheist. When one of the polytheists wanted to help his friend the polytheist against the Muslim, I went up to him, struck him on the hand, and cut it off, but he seized me by the neck with the other hand and did not release me till I felt the smell of death (It is related as smell of blood according to what Ibn Nisham says) and he almost killed me. Had it not been that loss of blood weakened him, he would have killed me, and he fell and I slew him. The battle kept me away from him and one of the people of Mecca passed by him and plundered him. When the weapons of war were laid aside and we had finished with the people, the Messenger of Allah said: "Whoever has slain anyone to him belongs his spoil". I said: "O Messenger of Allah, I killed a man who had spoil, but the battle kept me away from him and I know not who has plundered him". One of the people of Mecca said: "He speaks the truth O Messenger of Allah, (the plunder of that slain man is with me), give him satisfaction on my behalf from the plunder". Abū Bakr the Faithful said: "No, he shall not give him satisfaction out of it, you mean that you shall share the booty with one of the lions of Allah who fights on behalf of the religion of Allah. Give back to him the plunder of the man he slew". The Messenger of Allah said: "He is right; give him back his plunder". Abū Qatādah said: "So I got it from him, sold it and with its price I bought some palm-trees and that was the first property I acquired."

Ibn Ishāq: One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of Abū Salamah from Ishāq bin 'Abdallah bin Abū Talhah from Anas bin Mālik. He said: Abū Talhah single-handed plundered twenty men on the day of Hunain.

The help of the angels.

Ibn Ishāq: My father Ishāq bin Yasār related to me that it was related to him on the authority of Jubair bin Mat'am. He said: Before the rout of the people whilst they were fighting, I saw something like a black covering from heaven and it fell between the people and us, and I looked and lo black ants had spread abroad filling the valley. I did not doubt it was the angels and there remained nothing but the rout of the people.

The rout of the polytheists.

Ibn Ishāq: When Allah put the polytheists of the people of Hunain to flight and made it possible for the Messenger of Allah to overcome them a Muslim woman said:-

The horsemen of Allah have overcome the horsemen of al-Lāt
Allah is more worthy of steadfastness

Ibn Hishām: Some scholars in the narration of poetry recited it to me (thus):-

The horsemen of Allah have overcome the horsemen of al-~~Lāt~~
And His horsemen are more entitled to be steadfast.

Ibn Ishāq: When Hawāzin were routed, the battle waxed hot on the part of Thaqīf against the Beni Mālik and seventy men of them were slain under their banner amongst whom was 'Uthmān bin 'Abdallah bin Rabī'ah bin al-Hārith bin Habīb. Their banner was with Dhū 'l-Khimār and when he was slain, 'Uthmān bin 'Abdallah took it and fought with it till he was slain.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āmir bin Wahb bin al-Aswad told me. He said: When the Messenger of Allah heard of his death he said: "May Allah curse him for he hated Quraish".

Ibn Ishāq: Ya'qūb bin 'Utbah bin al-Mughīrah bin al-Akhnas related to me that an uncircumcised Christian slave belonging to 'Uthmān bin 'Abdallah was slain along with him. While one of the Helpers was stripping the slain men of Thaqīf he uncovered the slave as he was stripping him and found him uncircumcised. So he cried out at the

top of his voice: "O Arab people, Allah knows that Thaḡīf are uncircumcised. Al-Mughīrah bin Shu'bah said: So I took him by the hand as I was afraid it would go out about us among the Arabs and said: "Do not say that, may my father and mother be your ransom; he is merely a Christian slave of ours". Then I began to uncover the slain for him and say: "Do you not see that they are circumcised".

Ibn Ishāq: The banner of the Confederates was with Qāribbin al-Aswad and when the people were routed he propped his banner against a tree and fled, both he and his cousin, and his people the Confederates. None of the Confederates was slain except two men, one from the Beni Ghīrah called Wahb and the other from the Beni Kunnah called al-Julāh. When the Messenger of Allah heard of the killing of al-Julāh, he said: "The prince of the young men of Thaḡīf is slain to-day except what happened to Ibn Hunaidah". By Ibn Hunaidah he meant al-Hārith bin Uwais.

Poetry omitted.

Ibn Ishāq: When the polytheists were routed they went to at-Tā'if accompanied by Mālik bin 'Auf, but some of them encamped in Autās, and some of them went off in the direction of Nakhlah. No one but the Beni Ghīrah of Thaḡīf went off towards Nakhlah and the cavalry of the Messenger of Allah pursued those people who went to Nakhlah but did not pursue those who went by way of the mountain passes.

The killing of Duraid bin as-Simmah

Rabī'ah bin Rufai' bin Uhbān bin Tha'labah bin Rabī'ah bin Yarbū' bin Sammāl bin 'Auf bin Imru 'l-Qais, who was called Ibn ad-Dughannah - she was his mother and that epithet overshadowed his name; (it is also given as Ibn Ladh'ah, according to what Ibn Hishām says) overtook Duraid bin as-Simmah and took hold of his camel's bridle supposing him to be a woman, because he was in his litter, and lo, it was a man. He made him dismount and found he was a very old man and he was Duraid bin as-Simmah but the youth did not recognise him. Duraid said to him: "What do you wish with me?". He said: "I will slay you". He said: "Who are you?". He said: I am Rabī'ah bin Rufai' the Sulamite. Then he struck him with his sword but to no purpose. He said: "What your mother has armed you with is useless. Take this sword of mine from behind the baggage in the litter and strike with it, keep above

the bones and below the skull for thus indeed to smite men. Then when you go to your mother tell her that you have slain Duraid bin as-Simmah, for many a day have I protected your women! The Beni Sulaim assert that Rabi'ah said: "When I smote him he fell uncovered and his perineum and the insides of his thighs were like parchment from riding horses bare-back". When Rabi'ah returned to his mother he told her of his having killed him and she said: "He did indeed free three mothers of yours".

Poetry omitted.

The affair of Abū 'Āmir the Ash'arite.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah sent Abū 'Āmir the Ash'arite after those who had gone in the direction of Autās. He overtook some of the people who had been routed, they charged him in battle, and Abū 'Āmir was shot with an arrow and killed, so Abū Mūsā the Ash'arite who was his cousin took the banner. He fought them, Allah granted him victory and he put them to flight. They claim that it was Salamah bin Duraid who shot Abū 'Āmir the Ash'arite with an arrow which struck him in the knee and killed him and said:-

If you enquire about me, I am Salamah
Bin Samadīr for whoever enquires after him
I smite the heads of the Muslims with the sword.

Samadīr was his mother.

The fight waxed hot on the side of the Ben Nasr against the Beni Ri'āb and they claim that 'Abdallah bin Qais who was called Ibn al-'Aurā' and was one of the Beni Wahb bin Ri'āb said: "O Messenger of Allah, the Beni Ri'āb have been destroyed". They assert that the Messenger of Allah said: "O Allah, recover (them from) their calamity".

The affair of Mālik bin 'Auf.

Mālik bin 'Auf went out after the rout, stood up amongst some horsemen of his people on an eminence by the wayside and said to his friends: "Stand still till your weak ones go away and join others than you". So he stood there till the routed people who had joined them went on their way. Mālik bin 'Auf said about that:-

Had it not been for two charges on Muhāj
The road would have been too narrow for the followers
Had it not been for the charge of Duhmān bin Nasr
At Nakhlah which leads to Shadīq

Ja'far and the Beni Hilāl would have returned
Discomfited riding pillion with difficulty

Ibn Hishām: These stanzas belong to Mālik bin 'Auf about a day other than this, and among the things which indicate that that is so is the saying of Duraïd bin as-Simmah at the beginning of this narrative: "What about Ka'b and Kilāb?". They said: "Not one of them has witnessed it". Ja'far was the son of Kilāb. But Mālik bin 'Auf says in these stanzas:

Ja'far and the Beni Hilāl would have returned.

I heard that some cavalry appeared while Mālik and his friends were on the eminence and he said to his friends: "What do you see?" They said: "We see a party of men setting their lances between the ears of their horses which are long of thigh". He said: "They are the Beni Sulaim, no harm will come to you from them". When they drew near they went along the bottom of the valley. Then other horsemen appeared in their wake and he said to his friends: "What do you see?" They said: "We see a body of men on horseback showing spears without any distinguishing mark". He said: "They are the Aus and the Khazraj, no harm will come to you from them". When they reached the bottom of the eminence they took the same road as the Beni Sulaim! Then a single horseman appeared and he said to his friends: "What do you see?". They said: "We see a horseman long of thigh, resting his lance on his shoulder, his head bound with a red plaid". He said: "This is az-Zubair bin al-'Awwām, and I swear by al-Lāt he will surely fall upon you, so stand firm against him". When az-Zubair reached the bottom of the eminence he saw the party, came towards them, and kept on fighting them with his lance till he dislodged them from it.

The rest of the story of Abū 'Āmir.

Ibn Ishāq: Salamah said as he took away his wife and made his escape from them:-

You made me forget when you were not suffering calamity
and you recognised on the morning we were at the foot
of the hill
I protected you when riding was beloved
And I walked behind you with the walk of the halt
When each man who had experienced misfortune and was
fleet of foot fled away
From mother and friend and did not return.

Ibn Hishām: One of the scholars of poetry in whom I have confidence

related to me. His account was that Abū 'Āmir the Ash'arite met ten brothers of the polytheists on the day of Autās. One of them attacked him, and Abū 'Āmir attacked him, calling him to Islam the while and saying: "O Allah, testify against him", and Abū 'Āmir slew him. Then another of them attacked him, and Abū 'Āmir attacked him, calling him to Islam the while, and saying: "O Allah, testify against him", and Abū 'Āmir slew him. Then they began to attack him one by one, and Abū 'Āmir attacked, saying that the while, till he had slain nine and the tenth remained. He attacked Abū 'Āmir, and Abū 'Āmir attacked him, calling him to Islam the while, and saying: "O Allah, testify against him". The man said: "O Allah, do not testify against me", and Abū 'Āmir withheld his hand and he escaped. He islamized afterwards and his islamization was a good thing and whenever the Messenger of Allah saw him he said: "This is he who was scared by Abū 'Āmir". Then two brothers al-'Alā' and Aufa, sons of al-Hārith of the Beni Jusham bin Mu'āwiyah shot Abū 'Āmir; the one got him in the heart and the other in the knee, and they killed him. The Abū Mūsā the Ash'arite took command of the people, attacked and slew the pair of them. One of the Beni Jusham bin Mu'āwiyah said in a lament for them:-

The calamity was the killing of al-'Alā'
He fulfilled all his due and was not supported
They two were the slayers of Abū 'Āmir
He was the wielder of a shimmering sword with streaks in it
They have left him at the place of battle
As if over his side was a garment dyed (red)
You will not find their like among men
With fewer faults or truer of aim.

The Messenger of Allah prohibits the slaying of women.

Ibn Ishāq: One of our friends related to me that the Messenger of Allah passed by a woman that day whom Khālīd bin al-Walīd had slain and the people were milling around her. He said: "What is this?". They said: "A woman whom Khālīd bin al-Walīd has slain". The Messenger of Allah said to some of those who were with him: "Go after Khālīd and say: 'The Messenger of Allah forbids you to slay, child, woman, or hired servant'".

The affair of Bijād and abh-Shaimah.

Ibn Ishāq: One of the Beni Sa'd bin Bakr related to me that the Messenger of Allah said that day: "If you get Bijād, a man of the

Beni Sa'd bin Bakr, in your power, do not let him give you the slip. He was guilty of some misdemeanour and when the Muslims got him in their power, they drove him and his family to the Messenger of Allah. They also drove along with them ash-Shaimah bint al-Narīth bin 'Abd al-'Uzza, foster-sister of the Messenger of Allah, and treated her roughly while they were bringing her. She said to the Muslims: "Know that I am the foster-sister of your friend", but they did not believe her till they brought her to the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd bin 'Ubaid the Sa'dite related to me. He said: When she was brought to the Messenger of Allah, she said: "O Messenger of Allah, verily I am your sister". He said: "And what sign have you of that". She said: "A bite which you gave me on my back whilst I was carrying you". So the Messenger of Allah recognised the mark and spread out his cloak for her, made her squat down on it, gave her a choice and said: "If you wish you may abide with me, loved and honoured, and if you wish that I should give you something useful and you return to your people, I will do it". She said: "Nay, give me a dowry and send me back to my people". So the Messenger of Allah gave her a dowry and sent her back to her people. The Beni Sa'd assert that he gave her a slave of his called Makhūl and a servant girl, and they married one another, and some of their descendants still survive amongst them.

Ibn Hishām: Allah sent down about the day of Hunain:

Allah hath already helped you on many battle-fields, and on the day of Hunain when your number pleased you

to the end of the two verses where He says:-

that is the recompense of the unbelievers. (Sūrah 9: 25 & 26)

Names of martyrs and poetry omitted.

An account of the raid of at-Ta'if after Hunain in year eight.

When the defeated army of Thaḡīf returned to at-Ta'if, they locked the gates of the city on themselves and made preparations for the battle. Neither 'Urwah bin Mas'ūd nor Ghailān bin Salamah witnessed Hunain or the siege of at-Ta'if for they were in Jurash learning to manipulate engines of siege, catapults and battering-rams. Then the Messenger of Allah marched against at-Ta'if when he had finished with Hunain.

Poetry omitted.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah went by way of Nakhlah in Yemen, then by way of Qarn, then by way of Mulaih then by way of Bahrat-ar-Rughā' of Liyyah where he built a mosque and prayed in it.

'Amr bin Shu'aib related to me that he granted retaliation for blood at that time in Bahrat-ar-Rughā' and it was the first blood for which retaliation was granted in Islam. A man of the Beni Laith had killed a man of Hudhail and he killed him for him. The Messenger of Allah gave orders about the castle of Mālik bin 'Auf when he was in Liyyah and it was destroyed.

Then he went along a road which was called 'The Narrow' and when he set out on it he asked about its name and said: "What is the name of this road?", and he was told: "The Narrow". He said: "Nay, the Easy". By it he came out at Nakhb and dismounted beneath a lotus-tree called as-Sādirah near to the property of a man of Thaqīf. The Messenger of Allah sent word to him: "Either you set out or your garden will be destroyed for you". He refused to go out so the Messenger of Allah ordered its destruction. Then the Messenger of Allah went on his way and he halted near at-Tā'if, and made his camp there. And some of his friends were killed by the arrows because the camp was near the walls of at-Tā'if, and the arrows got them. The Muslims were unable to enter by their wall which they had shut up against them and when those few friends of his were killed with the arrows he placed his camp where the mosque stands in at-Tā'if to-day and besieged them for twenty nights and more.

Ibn Hishām: It is said; Seventeen nights.

Ibn Ishāq: Two of his wives accompanied him; one of them was Umm Salamah bint Abū Umayyah and he erected two pavilions for them and then prayed between them, and stayed there. When Thaqīf surrendered, 'Amr bin Umayyah bin Wahb bin Mu'attib bin Mālik built a mosque over the place where the Messenger of Allah prayed. According to what they say, there is a column in that mosque upon which the sun never rose on any day without a noise from it being heard. So the Messenger of Allah besieged them, fought a bitter fight with them, and they shot at each other with arrows.

Ibn Hishām: The Messenger of Allah cast stones at them with a catapult. One in whom I have confidence related to me that the

Messenger of Allah was the first one in Islam to hurl stones with the catapult when he hurled them at the people of at-Ta'if.

Ibn Ishāq: And when the day of the crushing came at the walls of at-Ta'if, a few of the friends of the Messenger of Allah went under an engine of siege and crept forward with it to the walls of at-Ta'if to penetrate them. But Thaqīf dropped down upon them ploughshares of iron which had been heated in the fire, so they emerged from below it and Thaqīf shot arrows at them and killed some of them. Then the Messenger of Allah ordered the grape-vines of Thaqīf to be cut down and the people fell to cutting them down. And Abū Sufyān bin Harb and al-Mughīrah bin Shu'bah came to at-Ta'if and called upon Thaqīf "to guarantee our safety till we speak to you". They gave them a guarantee of safety and they called on some of the women of Quraysh and the Beni Kinānah to go out to them, as they were afraid captivity would be their lot, but they refused. Amongst them was Āminah bint Abū Sufyān who was married to 'Urwah bin Mas'ūd, by whom he had Dāūd bin 'Urwah.

Ibn Hishām: It is said that the mother of Dāūd was Maimūnah bint Abū Sufyān who was the wife of Abū Murrah bin 'Urwah bin Mas'ūd and she bore to him Dāūd bin Abū Murrah.

Ibn Ishāq: And the woman of Firās bint Suwaid bin 'Amr bin Tha'labah who had 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin Qarīb, and the woman of Fuqaim Umaimah bint an-Nasi' Umayyah bin Qal'. When the women refused them Ibn al-Aswad bin Mas'ūd said to them: "O Abū Sufyān, and Mughīrah, shall I not guide you to something better than that for which you have come? The property of the Beni Aswad bin Mas'ūd is where you know it to be". The Messenger of Allah was between it and at-Ta'if encamped in a valley called al-'Aqīq. "Verily there is not in at-Ta'if a property of greater extent, or one which yields more produce, or one more prosperous than the property of the Bani 'l-Aswad and if Muhammad carves it up it will never be prosperous. Speak to him then, and let him either take it for himself or leave it to Allah and the relatives, for the near relationship which exists between him and us is not unknown". They claim that the Messenger of Allah left it in their hands.

I heard that the Messenger of Allah, whilst he was besieging at-Ta'if

said to Abū Bakr the Faithful: "I saw that a wooden cup full of milk was given to me but a cock pecked it and spilled out what was in it". Abū Bakr said: "I do not think you will obtain from them what you desire at this time". The Messenger of Allah said: "And I too do not think so".

Then Khuwailah bint Hakīm bin Umayyah bin Hārithah bin al-Auqas, a woman of Sulaim who was the wife of 'Uthmān bin Math'ūn said: "O Messenger of Allah, if Allah grants you the victory over at-Ta'if give me the jewels of Bādiyah bint Ghailān bin Salamah or the jewels of al-Fāri'ah bint 'Aqīl". They were amongst the most beautiful women of Thaḡīf. I was told that the Messenger of Allah said to her: "If I am not allowed (to conquer) Thaḡīf, what then O Khuwailah". So Khuwailah went out and mentioned that to 'Umar bin al-Khaṭṭab and he went in to the Messenger of Allah and said: "O Messenger of Allah, what a tale Khuwailah has told me! She says you said it". He said: "I did say it". Are you not allowed (victory) over them, O Messenger of Allah?". He said: "No". He said: "Shall I not then give the proclamation to march?". He said: "Certainly", and 'Umar gave the proclamation to march. When the people departed, Sa'īd bin 'Ubaid binn Usaid bin Abū 'Amr bin 'Ilāj called out: "So the tribe is remaining". 'Uyainah bin Hisn said: "Yes, with glory and honour". One of the Muslims said to him: "May Allah fight you, O 'Uyainah! Are you praising the polytheists for being well defended from the Messenger of Allah, while you have come to help him (against them)?" He said: "I did not come to fight Thaḡīf with you, but I wanted Muhammad to conquer at-Ta'if, and I should get a slave girl from Thaḡīf, with whom I would have sexual intercourse, in the hope that she would bear me a man-child, for Thaḡīf are a people of shrewdness and sagacity. Some of the slaves who were besieged in at-Ta'if surrendered to the Messenger of Allah during his stay there, islamized, and he set them free.

Ibn Ishāq: One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of 'Abdallah bin Mukaddam from some men of Thaḡīf. They said: When the people of at-Ta'if islamized a number of them spoke about those slaves and the Messenger of Allah said: "No, they are the freedmen of Allah", and amongst those who spoke about them was al-Harith bin Kaladah

Ibn Hishām: Ibn Ishāq has given the names of those slaves who surrendered.

Ibn Ishāq: Thaqīf had got a family belonging to Marwān bin Qais the Dausite who had islamized and helped the Messenger of Allah against Thaqīf.. Thaqīf base their claim to be from Qais on the fact that the Messenger of Allah said to Marwān bin Qais: "O Marwān, take the first man of Qais you meet (as hostage) for your family". He met Ubai bin Mālik the Qushairite and took him till they should restore to him his family. Ad-Dahhāk bin Sufyān the Kilābite took part in that and spoke with Thaqīf so that they set free the family of Marwān, and he released Ubai bin Mālik for them. Ad-Dahhāk said concerning something that was between him and Ubai bin Mālik:-

Have you forgotten my generosity O Ubai bin Mālik
When the Messenger turned his eyes away from you
Marwān bin Qais led you on a rope
In contempt as the tame animal is led
A band from Thaqīf returned against you
When the one who seeks evil comes to them they let him
have it
They were the masters and their senses came back to them
Concerning you when your soul was in despair.

Ibn Hishām: 'Yuqbisū' is on the authority of other than Ibn Ishāq.

Names of martyrs and poetry omitted.

The affair of the property and prisoners of Hawāzin, and the gifts to those of them whose hearts were won over, and the Favour of the Messenger of Allah towards them.

When the Messenger of Allah took his departure from at-Ta'if, he set out by way of Dahnā and made camp in al-Ji'rānah with the people who accompanied him. He had many prisoners from Hawāzin and one of his friends said to him the day he left Thaqīf : "O Messenger of Allah, curse them". The Messenger of Allah said: "O Allah guide Thaqīf aright and bring them(into Islam)!"

Then a delegation from Hawāzin came to him in al-Ji'rānah . The Messenger of Allah had six thousand prisoners from Hawāzin (composed) of women and children and an unknown number of camels and sheep.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Amr bin Shu'aib related to me on the authority of his father from his grandfather 'Abdallah bin 'Amr that the delegation of Hawāzin came to the Messenger of Allah, having islamized, and said:

"O Messenger of Allah, verily we are a race and a tribe, and misfortunes of which you are not unaware have befallen us, grant us your favour then, and may Allah bestow his favour on you". A man of Hawāzin and of the sub-division of the Beni Sa'd bin Bakr called Zuhair and surnamed Abū Surad rose and said: "O Messenger of Allah, in these enclosures there are your paternal and maternal aunts and your nurses who have nursed you. If we nursed al-Hārith ibn Abū Shimr or an-Nu'mān ibn al-Mundhir and he came against us in the way you have done we would hope for his favour and generosity, and you are the best of the pledged ones."

Ibn Hishām: It is also related as: If we suckled al-Hārith bin Abū Shimr or an-Nu'mān bin al-Mundhir.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Amr bin Shu'aib related to me on the authority of his father from his grandfather 'Abdallah bin 'Amr. He said: The Messenger of Allah said: "Your sons and wives or your property, which is dearer to you?". They said: "O Messenger of Allah, you have given us the choice between our property and our honour; nay, give back to us our wives and sons for they are dearer to us". He said: "As for what belonged to me and the Beni 'Abd al-Muttalib, that is yours. When I pray the noon prayer with the people, arise and say: 'We ask the intercession of the Messenger of Allah with the Muslims, and of the Muslims with the Messenger of Allah concerning our wives and children', and I will grant it to you and ask it for you".

When the Messenger of Allah prayed the noon prayer with the people they arose and said that which he had commanded them and the Messenger of Allah said: "As for what belonged to me and the Beni 'Abd al-Muttalib, that is yours". The Emigres said: "And what we had belongs to the Messenger of Allah". The Helpers said: "And what we had belongs to the Messenger of Allah". Al-Aqra' bin Hābis said: "As far as I and the Beni Tamīm are concerned, no". 'Uyainah bin Hishām said: "As far as I and the Beni Fazārah are concerned, no". 'Abbās bin Mirdās said: "As far as I and the Beni Sulaim are concerned, no". The Beni Sulaim said: "Of course, what we had belongs to the Messenger of Allah". 'Abbās said to the Beni Sulaim: "You have weakened me". The Messenger of Allah said: "Whoever of you refuses to forego his rights with regard to these captives shall receive six

shares for every captive from the first booty I capture". So their women and children were returned to them.

Ibn Ishāq: Abū Wajzah, Yazīd bin 'Ubaid the Sa'dite related to me that the Messenger of Allah gave 'Ali bin Abū Tālib a young woman called Raitah bint Hilāl bin Hayyān bin 'Umairah bin Hilāl bin Nāsirah bin Qusayyah bin Nasr bin Sa'd bin Bakr. He also gave 'Uthmān bin 'Affān a young woman called Zainab bint Hayyān bin 'Amr bin Hayyān. He also gave 'Umar bin al-Khattāb a young woman whom he gave to his son 'Abdallah bin 'Umar.

Ibn Ishāq: Nafi', client of 'Abdallah bin 'Umar related to me on the authority of 'Abdallah bin 'Umar. He said: I sent her to my uncles the Beni Jumah to fit her out and prepare her for me while I should circumambulate the House, after which I would come to them, as I wanted to have her when I should get back to her. I went out of the mosque when I had finished and lo, the people were running. I said: "What is your business?". They said: "The Messenger of Allah has given back our women and children to us". I said: "That woman friend of yours is with the Beni Jumah, go and take her". They went to her and took her.

Ibn Ishāq: As for 'Uyainah bin Hishn, he took one of the old women of Hawāzin and when he took her he said: "I see an old woman whom I reckon to be a person of pedigree in the tribe; perhaps her ransom will be a large one". When the Messenger of Allah returned the captives for six shares, he refused to give her up. Zuhair Abū Surad said to him: "Put her away from you, her mouth is not cool, her breasts are not rounded, her womb will not bear, her husband will have no regrets about her, and she has not a good supply of milk". So he returned her for the six shares when Zuhair said what he said. They say that 'Uyainah met al-Aqra' bin Hābis, complained to him about that, and he said: "You did not take her pure and inexperienced nor yet in middle life when soft and plump".

The islamization of Mālik bin 'Auf the Nasrite.

The Messenger of Allah said to the deputation of Hawāzin enquiring after Mālik bin 'Auf what he was doing. They said: "He is in at-Ta'if with Thaqīf". The Messenger of Allah said: "Tell Mālik that if he comes to me a Muslim I will return to him his family and property

and will give him a hundred camels". Word of that was brought to Mālik and he went out to him from at-Ta'if. Mālik was afraid of Thaqīf on his own account lest they should get to know that the Messenger of Allah had said to him what he said and should imprison him. So he ordered his riding-camel to be prepared for him, and he ordered a horse of his which was brought to at-Ta'if. He set out by night riding on his horse at the gallop till he reached his camel where he had ordered it to be kept for him. He mounted it and followed the Messenger of Allah and came up with him either in al-Ji'rānah or in Mecca, and he returned his family and property to him and gave him a hundred camels. So he islamized and became a good Muslim. Mālik bin 'Auf said when he islamized:-

I have neither seen nor heard of one like him
Among all the people - of one like Muhammad
He fulfilled (his promise) and gave generously when he
was asked
And whenever you will, he will tell you of what will be
on the morrow
And when the squadron grew in strength
With the lance and the stroke of every sword
As if he were a lion in charge of whelps
In the dust lying in ambush in his den

The Messenger of Allah put him in charge of those of his people who islamized and those tribes were Thūmālah, Salamah and Fahm, and with them he fought Thaqīf. No flock of theirs went out that he did not attack till he reduced them to great straits. Abu Mihjan bin Habib bin 'Amr bin 'Umair the Thaqafite said:-

The enemy dreaded our flank
Then the Beni Salamah raided us
Mālik brought them to us
In breach of the covenant and its inviolability
They came to us in our encampments
And we were the people of vengeance.

The division of the spoil.

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah had finished returning the captives of Hunain to their people he mounted and the people followed him saying: "O Messenger of Allah, apportion to us our spoil of camels and sheep", so that he was forced beneath a tree and his cloak was snatched from off him. He said: "O people, give me back my cloak, for I swear to you that if you had cattle in number like the trees of Tihāmah, I would divide them amongst you, and you have not found me niggardly, cowardly, or false". Then he went to the side of a

camel, plucked a hair from its hump, took it between two of his fingers, held it aloft and said: "I would keep nothing of your spoil, not even this hair, only the Fifth, and even the Fifth will be given back to you. Restore even a needle and thread for fraud will mean disgrace, Fire, and deep humiliation for those who practise it on the day of Resurrection. He said: So one of the Helpers brought a ball of fine thread and said: "O Messenger of Allah, I took this ball to make a pack-saddle cloth for a camel of mine which has a sore". He said: "As far as my share of it is concerned, it belongs to you". He said: "Since it has come to this, I do not want it", and he threw it away.

Ibn Hishām : Zaid bin Aslam related to me on the authority of his father that 'Aqīl bin Abu Tālib went in to his wife Fātimah bint Shaibah bin Rabī'ah on the day of Hunain with his dagger smeared with blood, and she said: "I realise that you have been fighting but what spoil have you taken from the polytheists?". He said: "Nothing but this needle with which you may sew your clothes", and he handed it over to her. Then he heard the herald of the Messenger of Allah say: "Whoever has taken anything, even a needle and thread, let him return it". 'Aqīl came back and said: "I see that your needle must go back, and he took it, and cast it among the spoils."

The gifts to those whose hearts were to be won over:

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah gave (gifts) to those whose hearts were to be won over. They were some of the nobles of the people whom he would win over, and through whom he would win over their people. He gave Abū Sufyān bin Harb a hundred camels, he gave his son Mu'āwiyah a hundred camels, he gave Ḥakīm bin Hizām a hundred camels, and he gave al-Ḥārith bin al-Ḥārith bin Kaladah, brother of the Beni 'Abd ad-Dār a hundred camels.

Ibn Hishām: Nuṣair bin al-Ḥārith bin Kaladah and it is possible that his name was al-Ḥārith also.

Ibn Ishāq: He gave al-Ḥārith bin Hishām a hundred camels, he gave Suhail bin 'Amr a hundred camels, he gave Ḥuwaitib bin 'Abd al-'Uzza bin Abū Qais a hundred camels, he gave al-'Alā' bin Jāriyah the Thaqafite, ally of the Beni Zuhrah a hundred camels, he gave 'Uyainah bin Hish bin Hudhaifah bin Badr a hundred camels, and he gave

al-Aqra' bin Hābis the Tamīmite a hundred camels, he gave Mālik bin 'Auf the Nasrite a hundred camels, and he gave Saḥwān bin Umayyah a hundred camels. These were the people who got a hundred. He gave less than a hundred to certain men of Quraish amongst whom were Makhramah bin Naufal the Zuhrite, 'Umair bin Wahb the Jumahite, and Hishām bin 'Amr brother of the Beni 'Āmir bin Lu'ai. I do not remember what he gave them but I know it was less than a hundred. He gave Sa'īd bin Yarbū' bin 'Ankathah bin 'Āmr bin Makhzūm fifty camels, and he gave the Sahmite fifty camels.

Ibn Hishām: His name was 'Adi bin Qais.

Ibn Ishāq: He gave 'Abbās bin Mirdās some camels which displeased him and he reproached the Messenger of Allah about them. 'Abbās bin Mirdās said in reproach of the Messenger of Allah:-

It was booty which I got
For my charge on the colt on the sandy plain
When I wakened the people lest they should sleep
When the people slept I did not sleep
My booty and that of al-'Ubaid
Was divided between 'Uyainah and al-Aqra'
In war I was a means of defence
And I was neither given anything nor afforded protection
Except young camels which I was given
Equal in number to their four legs
Neither Hishn nor Hābis
Were superior to my father in the assembly
And as a man I am not inferior to either of them
Whoever you put down to-day is not exalted.

Yūnus the Grammarian recited to me:-

Neither Hishn nor Hābis
Were superior to Mirdās in the assembly.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah said: "Take him and put a stop to (the reproaches of) his tongue against me". So they gave him till he was satisfied, and that was the stopping of his tongue which the Messenger of Allah commanded.

Ibn Hishām: One of the scholars related to me that 'Abbās bin Mirdās came to the Messenger of Allah, and the Messenger of Allah said to him: "Was it you who said: 'My booty and that of 'Ubaid was (divided) between al-Aqra' and 'Uyainah?'". Abū Bakr the Faithful said: "Between 'Uyainah and al-Aqra'. The Messenger of Allah said: "The two things are one". Abū Bakr the Faithful said: "I bear witness

that you are just what Allah said:-

We have not taught him the art of poetry nor does it
beseem him. (Sūrah 36: 69).

Ibn Hisham: One of the scholars in whom I have confidence related to me with a chain of authorities from Ibn Shihāb the Zuhrite from 'Ubaid Allah bin 'Abdallah bin 'Utbah from Ibn 'Abbās. He said: The Messenger of Allah received a pledge from Quraish and others and gave them part of the spoils of Hunain on the day of al-Ji'rānah.

List of names omitted.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad bin Ibrahim bin al-Hārith the Taimite related to me that one of his friends said to the Messenger of Allah: "O Messenger of Allah, you gave 'Uyainah bin Hishn and al-Aqra' bin Hābis one hundred each and passed over Ju'a'il bin Surāqah the Damrite". The Messenger of Allah said: "By Him in whose hand is the life of Muhammad, Ju'a'il bin Surāqah is better than all those like 'Uyainah bin Hishn and al-Aqra' bin Hābis who walk the earth, but I have been winning them over that they may islamize, but I had confidence in Ju'a'il bin Surāqah where his islamization was concerned".

The objection of Dhū 'l-Khuwaisirah the Tamīmite.

Ibn Ishāq: Abu 'U'aidah bin Muhammad bin 'Ammār bin Yāsir related to me on the authority of Miqdam, Abu 'l-Qāsim, client of 'Abdallah bin al-Hārith bin Naufal. He said: I set out with Talīd the Laithite and we went to 'Abdallah bin 'Amr bin al-'Ās as he was circumambulating the House with his sandals dangling in his hand, and we said to him: "Were you present with the Messenger of Allah when the Tamīmite spoke to him on the day on Hunain?". He said: "Yes, a man of the Beni Tamīm called Dhu 'l-Khuwaisirah came and stood by him as he was giving to the people, and said: 'O Muhammad, I saw what you did to-day'. The Messenger of Allah said: 'Yes, what did you think?'. He said: 'I did not think you did justice'. The prophet got annoyed and said: 'Out upon you! If justice is not to be found with me with whom will it be found?'. 'Umar bin al-Khattāb said: 'O Messenger of Allah, shall I not slay him?'. He said: 'No, let him live for he will have a sect that will carry out a thorough investigation of religion, and they shall go out from him just as the arrow flies from the socket, one looks for the head and nothing is there, then for the shaft and nothing is there, then for the

dent in the bow-string and nothing is there, it has already gone to the offal and the blood".

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad bin 'Ali bin al-Husain, Abū Ja'far related to me the same narrative as Abū 'Ubaidah and called him Dhū 'l-Khuwaisirah.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Najih gave me a similar account on the authority of his father.

Poetry omitted.

What the Helpers said that day.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Asim bin 'Umar bin Qatadah related to me on the authority of Mahmūd bin Labīd from Abū Sa'īd the Khudrite. He said: When the Messenger of Allah distributed among Quraish the gifts which he distributed, and also among the Arab tribes, and there was nothing for the Helpers, the tribe of the Helpers were grieved so that they had much to say about it. One of them said: "The Messenger of Allah has found his own people", so Sa'd bin 'Ubādah went in to him and said: "O Messenger of Allah, the tribe of the Helpers are grieved with you because of what you did with the spoil which you took. You distributed it amongst your people and gave huge gifts to the Arab tribes, but none of it came to the tribe of the Helpers". He said: "What have you got to do with that, O Sa'd?". He said: "O Messenger of Allah, I surely belong to my people". He said: "Collect your people for me in this enclosure". So Sa'd went out and gathered the Helpers together in that enclosure. Some of the Emigres came and he let them pass, but others came whom he turned back. When they were collected for him, Sa'd came to him and said: "The tribe of the Helpers have collected for you". The Messenger of Allah came to them, praised and blessed Allah in a befitting manner, and said: "O people of the Helpers, what is this talk I hear about you? An outbreak of rancour in yourselves against me? Did I not come to you when you were in error and Allah guided you aright, needy and Allah enriched you, enemies, and Allah brought your hearts together?". They said: "Certainly, Allah and His messenger are most benevolent and generous". Then he said: "Do you not answer me, O people of the Helpers?". They said: "What answer shall we give you, O Messenger of Allah? To Allah and His Messenger belong benevolence and generosity". He said: "Had you wished you might have said with

truth and I would have believed you: 'You came to us after having been called a liar and we accepted you as genuine, rejected and we helped you, an outcast and we gave you shelter, destitute and we cared for you'. Are you disturbed in mind, O people of the Helpers, about the herbs of the world with which I have won over a people to islamize, while I had confidence in your islamization? Does it not please you, O people of the Helpers, that the people should take the sheep and the camels while you bring back the Messenger of Allah to your tents? By Him in whose hand is the life of Muhammad, were it not for the Migration, I would be a fellow-Helper, and if the people took one path and the Helpers took another path, I would tread the path of the Helpers. Allah have mercy on the Helpers, their sons, and their sons' sons ". He said: So the people wept till they wet their beards and said: "We are satisfied with lot and share, O Messenger of Allah". Then the Messenger of Allah took his departure and they disbanded.

The Lesser Pilgrimage of the Messenger of Allah from al-Ji'rānah, his appointment of 'Attāb bin Asīd as his successor in authority over Mecca, and the pilgrimage of 'Attāb with the Muslims in year eight.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah set out from al-Ji'rānah on the Lesser Pilgrimage after he had given orders for the remainder of the spoil to be stored in Majannah in the vicinity of Marr ath-Thahrān. When the Messenger of Allah had completed the ceremonies of the Lesser Pilgrimage, he took his departure and returned to Medina. He appointed 'Attāb bin Asīd as his successor in authority over Mecca and he left Mu'ādh behind along with him to instruct the people in the religion and teach them the Qur'ān, and the Messenger of Allah was followed by the remainder of the spoil.

Ibn Hishām: I heard on the authority of Zāid bin Aslam that he said: When the Prophet appointed 'Attāb bin Asīd governor of Mecca he gave him an allowance of a dirhem a day, and he made a speech to the people and said: "May Allah make hungry the liver of him who is hungry on a dirhem (a day). The Messenger of Allah has given me an allowance of a dirhem a day and I have need (of help) from none".

Ibn Ishāq: The Lesser Pilgrimage of the Messenger of Allah was in Dhū 'l-Qa'dah and he returned to Medina either in the latter part of Dhū 'l-Qa'dah or the beginning of Dhū 'l-Hijjah.

Ibn Hishām: The Messenger of Allah returned to Medina when there were still six nights of Dhū 'l-Qa'dah left according to what Abū 'Amr of Medina says.

Ibn Ishāq: The people made the Pilgrimage that year under the same conditions as the Arabs made the Pilgrimage. 'Attāb bin Asīd took the Muslims on pilgrimage that year which was year eight. The people of at-Tā'if remained in their polytheism and aloofness in at-Tā'if during the period between Dhū 'l-Qa'dah, when the Messenger of Allah took his departure, and the month of Ramadān in year nine.

The affair of Ka'b bin Zuhair after the departure from at-Tā'if.
When the Messenger of Allah returned after his departure from at-Tā'if Bujair bin Zuhair bin Abū Sulma wrote to his brother Ka'b bin Zuhair telling him that the Messenger of Allah had killed some men in Mecca from amongst those who had satirized him and done him harm, and that the poets of Quraish who were left alive, namely, Ibn az-Zib'arā and Hubair bin Abū Wahb, had fled in haste. "If then you are in need hasten to the Messenger of Allah, for he will slay none who comes to him repenting, and if you will not do this, make your escape from the country to your place of asylum.

Poetry omitted.

Ibn Ishāq: When the letter came to Ka'b the earth was too narrow for him and he went in fear for himself and his enemies who were in his settlement agitated him and said: "He is as good as dead". When he could find escape in any other way, he composed his poem in which he praised the Messenger of Allah, and mentioned his fear and the agitation caused him by his enemies who calumniated him. Then he set out and went to Medina, and he stayed with a man of Juhainah whom he knew, according to what I was told, who took him to the Messenger of Allah in the morning when he was praying the morning prayer and he prayed with the Messenger of Allah. Then he indicated the Messenger of Allah to him and said: "This is the Messenger of Allah; go up to him and seek protection from him. I was told that he went up to the Messenger of Allah, squatted beside and put his hand in his hand, but the Messenger of Allah did not recognise him so he said: "O Messenger of Allah, Ka'b bin Zuhair has come to seek your protection in repentance and as a Muslim. Will you accept him if I bring him to you?". The Messenger of Allah said: "Yes".

He said: "O messenger of Allah, I am Ka'b bin Zuhair.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah related to me that one of the Helpers leaped on him and said: "O Messenger of Allah, leave the enemy of Allah to me and I will strike off his head". The Messenger of Allah said: "Let him be, for he has come repentant and abjuring his former position". So Ka'b was incensed at the tribe of the Helpers because of what their friend had done to him and because not one of the Emigrés had anything but good to say of him.

Poetry omitted.

The raid of Tabūk in Rajab of year nine.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah resided in Medina during the period between Dhū 'l-Hijjah and Rajab when he ordered the people to prepare for an expedition against the Byzantines. Az-Zuhrī, Yazīd bin Ruman, 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr, 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah, and other scholars of ours mentioned to us - each of them related what he had heard about the expedition of Tabūk and some of them related what others did not relate - that the Messenger of Allah ordered his friends to prepare for an expedition against the Byzantines. It was a difficult time for the people because of the intense heat and barrenness in the land. The fruit also was ripe and people preferred to remain in their vineyards and booths and hate to be disturbed at that season of the year. The Messenger of Allah rarely went out on a raid without giving some hint of it, or else he gave it out that he was going in another direction, but in the case of the expedition of Tabūk that was not so, for he made it plain to the people (beforehand) having regard to the long distance, the difficulty of the season, and the great numbers of the enemy against whom he was going, so that the people could get their provisions ready. He ordered the people to equip themselves and told them that he was marching against the Byzantines. One day while the Messenger of Allah was engaged in his preparations he said to al-Jadd bin Qais one of the Beni Salamah: "O Jadd, have you a mind to fight the sallow faces this year?". He said: "O Messenger of Allah, would that you would give me leave and not tempt me, for my people know that there is not a man who takes a greater delight in women than I do and I fear that if I see the women of the sallow faces I would not restrain myself. The Messenger of Allah turned away from him and said: "I

grant you leave". This verse came down about al-Jadd bin Qais:-

Some of them say: "Give me leave and do not tempt me".
Have they not fallen into temptation? Verily Gehenna is
round about the unbelievers. (Sūrah 9: 49).

That is: Since he feared temptation by the women of the sallow-faced
ones, when that was not the case, the temptation into which he fell
by remaining behind the Messenger of Allah was greater and his
preference for himself before him. He says: Verily Gehenna is
behind him. A party of the Hypocrites said to each other:
"Do not march out in the heat"; thereby abstaining from the struggle,
doubting the truth, and agitating the messenger. So Allah who is
blessed and exalted sent down about them:-

They said: "Do not march out in the heat"; say: "The fire
of Gehenna will be hotter still, if they would use their
intelligence".
Let them laugh a little and weep much - a recompense
for what they have gained. (Sūrah 9: 81 & 82).

Ibn Hishām: Ath-Thiqah related to me on the authority of whoever
related it to him from Muhammad bin Talhah bin 'Abd ar-Rahmān from
Ishāq bin Ibrāhīm bin 'Abdallah bin Hārithah from his father from
his grandfather. He said: The Messenger of Allah heard that some
of the Hypocrites were gathering in the house of Suwailim the Jew,
which was at Jāsūm, to turn people away from the Messenger of Allah
in the expedition of Tabūk. The Prophet sent Talhah bin 'Ubaid
Allah with a few of his friends against them and ordered them to
burn the house of Suwailim over their heads, which Talhah did.
Ad-Dahhāk bin Khalīfah bin Thahr jumped from the roof of the
house and broke his leg and his friends rushed out and escaped.
Ad-Dahhāk said about that:-

By the House of Allah, ad-Dahhāk and Ibn Ubairiq were
about to be burned in the fire of Muhammad

I remained after I had ascended the house of Suwailim
Rising painfully on my broken leg and my elbow
Peace be upon you! I shall not return to anything like it
I am afraid, whoever the fire envelops is burned.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah set about his journey in
earnest, ordered the people to equip in a hurry, and stirred up
rich people to spend and sacrifice in the way of Allah, and some of
the men of wealth made sacrifices in anticipation of reward. 'Uthmān
bin 'Affān spent a large sum on that; no one else spent anything like
it.

Ibn Hishām: One in whom I have confidence related to me that 'Uthmān bin 'Affān spent a thousand dinars on the destitute army in the expedition of Tabūk and the Messenger of Allah said: "A Allah, accept 'Uthmān for I am pleased with him".

The affair of the Weepers.

Ibn Ishāq: Then certain of the Muslims came to the Messenger of Allah. They were the Weepers, and they were seven (men) from the Helpers and others: From the Beni 'Amr bin 'Auf, Sālim bin 'U'air, 'Ulbah bin Zaid, brother of the Beni Hārithah, Abū Lailah 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin Ka'b, brother of the Beni Māzin bin an-Najjār, 'Amr bin Humām bin al-Jumūh brother of the Beni Salamah, 'Abdallah bin al-Mughaffal the Muzanite, but some people say he was 'Abdallah bin 'Amr the Muzanite, Haramai bin 'Abdallah brother of the Beni Wāqif, and 'Irād bin Sāriyah the Fazārite. They asked the Messenger of Allah to provide them with mounts for they were needy folk. He said: "I can find nothing on which to mount you", and they turned away their eyes brimming over with tears, in grief that they could find nothing to give. I heard that Ibn Yāmīn bin 'Umair bin Ka'b the Nadrite met Abū Laila, 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin Ka'b, and 'Abdallah bin Mughaffal as they were weeping and said: "What makes you weep?". They said: "We came to the Messenger of Allah to obtain a mount but we found with him nothing on which he could mount us, and we have nothing which will enable us to go out with him". So he gave them a pack-animal of his, supplied them with some dates and they set out with the Messenger of Allah.

He said: Some of the Bedouin who wanted to excuse themselves came to him and offered their excuses but Allah did not excuse them. It was mentioned to me that they were a group of the Beni Ghifār. Then his journey was arranged by the Messenger of Allah and he resolved to march. But there were a few of the Muslims who withheld from the Messenger of Allah on purpose and remained behind him not because of doubt or suspicion amongst whom were Ka'b bin Mālik bin Abū Ka'b, brother of the Beni Salamah, Murārah bin ar-Rabī' brother of the Beni 'Amr bin 'Auf, Hilāl bin Umayyah brother of the Beni Wāqif, and Abū Haithamah brother of the Beni Sālim bin 'Auf. They were a faithful group whose islamization was not suspect. When the Messenger of Allah set out, he pitched his camp on the hill of

Farewell.

Ibn Hishām: He appointed Muhammad bin Maslamah the Helper governor of Medina. 'Abd al-'Azīz bin Muhammad the Andarāwardite said that when the Messenger of Allah set out to Tabūk he appointed Sibā' bin 'Uffuthah governor of Medina.

The Hypocrites remain behind:

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Ubai pitched his camp on his own (his tent-campment being) lower down in the vicinity of Dhubāb. According to what they say, it was not the lesser of the two camps. When the Messenger of Allah marched out, 'Abdallah bin Ubai remained behind with those Hypocrites and doubters who remained behind. The Messenger of Allah appointed 'Ali bin Abū Tālib his agent in charge of his family and ordered him to care for them. But the Hypocrites caused him embarrassment by saying: "He appointed him merely because he found him a bore and (wished) to be rid of him". When the Hypocrites said that, 'Ali bin Abū Tālib took his arms, set out and went to the Messenger of Allah who was encamped in al-Jurf, and said: "O Prophet of Allah, the Hypocrites assert that you appointed me merely because you found me a bore and wanted rid of me". He said: "They lie; I appointed you in charge of what I left behind me, return then, and take my place over my family and your family. Are you not satisfied O 'Ali to be in the same position with regard to me as Aaron was in regard to Moses, with this exception, that there shall arise no prophet after me". So 'Ali returned to Medina and the Messenger of Allah went on his journey.

The affair of Abū Khaithamah.

After the Messenger of Allah had been on the march for several days Abū Khaithamah returned to his family on a hot day and found two wives of his in two arbours of theirs in his garden. Each of them had sprinkled her arbour with water and made it cool inside for him and had also prepared food for him. When he entered he stood at the door of the arbour and looked at his two wives and what they had done for him and said: "The Messenger of Allah is in the sun, and wind, and heat while Abū Khaithamah is in a cool shade with food prepared and a good-looking wife, abiding by his possessions. This is not justice". Then he said: "I shall certainly not enter the arbour of

either of you but will join the Messenger of Allah; so prepare me victuals" and they did so. Then he brought out his pack-animal, saddled it and went out in search of the Messenger of Allah till he overtook him when he arrived in Tabūk. 'Umair bin Wahb the Jumahite had overtaken Abū Khaithamah on the way while he was looking for the Messenger of Allah, and they went together. When they drew near to Tabūk, Abū Khaithamah said to 'Umair bin Wahb: "I have committed a fault and you must remain behind me while I go to the Messenger of Allah". He did so, and when he approached the Messenger of Allah while he was encamped in Tabūk the people said: "There is a mounted man coming along the road". The Messenger of Allah said: "It will be Abū Khaithamah". They said: "O Messenger of Allah, it is indeed Abū Khaithamah". When he dismounted he came forward, and greeted the Messenger of Allah, and the Messenger of Allah said to him: "Woe to you, O Abū Khaithamah!" Then he told him his story and the Messenger of Allah said to him: "Well done!" and blessed him.

Ibn Hishām: Abu Khaithamah, whose name is Mālik bin Qais said about that:-

When I saw some people playing the hypocrite in religion
I came to that which was more tolerant and more honourable
And I gave a pledge with my right hand to Muhammad
And did not commit a crime or conceal any illicit action
I left in the harbour a woman with hennaed hands and
date palms
And noble fruit trees whose fresh fruit had grown black
When a hypocrite was in doubt I myself inclined him towards
religion
Wherever he was tending.

Their affair when they encamped in al-Hijr.

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah was passing through the valley of al-Hijr he alighted there and the people drank from its well. When they relaxed the Messenger of Allah said: "Do not drink any of its water, and do not purify yourselves with it for prayer, and whatever dough you have made feed it to the camels but eat none of it and let none of you go out to-night unless he has a companion with him. The people (all) did what the Messenger of Allah commanded them to do except two men of the Beni Sā'idah, one of whom went out to relieve nature and the other went out in search of a camel of his. As for the one who went out to relieve nature, he was strangled in the place to which he went, and as for him who went in search of his

camel, the wind carried him away and cast him on the mountains of Tai'. The Messenger of Allah was informed about that and he said: "Did I not forbid any of you to go out except he had his friend with him?". Then he prayed for the for the man who was smitten in the place to which he had gone and he was healed; and as for him who fell on the mountains of Tayy! Tayy gave him back to the Messenger of Allah when he returned to Medina. The account about the two men is on the authority of 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr from 'Abbās bin Sahl bin Sa'd the Sā'idite. 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr related to me that al-'Abbās gave him the names of the two men, but he had confided them to him and 'Abdallah refused to mention their names to me.

Ibn Hishām: I heard on the authority of az-Zuhri that he said: When the Messenger of Allah passed through al-Hijr he wrapped his cloak round his face and hurried his mount forward, and said: "Do not enter the houses of those who did wrong except with lamentation for fear there befall you the like of what befell them!"

Ibn Ishāq: When the people went out in the morning and found no water they complained about it to the Messenger of Allah. The Messenger of Allah prayed and Allah sent a cloud which gave rain till the people had abundance of water and they carried away what they required.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah related to me on the authority of Mahmūd bin Labīd from certain men of the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal. He said: I said to Mahmūd: "Did the people recognise the hypocrisy (when it was) amongst them?". He said: "Yes, a man could recognise it on the part of his brother, his father, his uncle, or among his kindred and then they would keep it dark from each other". Mahmūd said: "Some of my people told me about one of the hypocrites whose hypocrisy was recognised who was marching with the Messenger of Allah as he marched. When the affair of the water in al-Hijr took place, and the Messenger of Allah prayed when he did, and Allah sent the cloud and it gave rain so that the people had abundance of water they said: "We went to him and said: 'Out upon you! Is there anything further after this?'. He said: 'A passing cloud'".

The Messenger of Allah is informed regarding his she-camel when she strayed.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah marched on, and when he was at a certain point on the way his she-camel strayed and his friends went out in search of her. One of his friends, called 'Umārah bin Hazm, who was from 'Aqabah and had seen Badr, and was an uncle of the Beni 'Amr bin Hazm, was with the Messenger of Allah, while Zaid bin al-Lusait of the Qainuqā' was in his tent.

Ibn Hishām: He is also given as Lusaib.

He was a Hypocrite. Zaid bin al-Lusait said while he was in 'Umārah's tent and 'Umārah was with the Messenger of Allah: "Does not Muhammad claim to be a prophet and brings you news of heaven and yet he does not know where his she-camel is". The Messenger of Allah said while 'Umārah was with him: "A certain man has said: 'Muhammad brings you news of the affair of heaven and yet he does not know where his she-camel is'. Certainly I know nothing except what Allah hath taught me, and Allah hath shown me where she is; she is in this valley in such and such a crevice and a shrub has caught her by the bridle. Go then, and bring her to me". So they went and brought her and 'Umārah bin Hazm returned to his tent and said: "Indeed it was as wonderful as something the Messenger of Allah related to us on a previous occasion about a saying of someone about which Allah informed him that it was such and such a thing", in reference to the saying of Zaid bin al-Lusait. One of those who were in the tent of 'Umārah and was not present with the Messenger of Allah said: "Zaid made this statement before you came, and 'Umārah took him roughly by the neck, saying the while: 'To me, ye servants of Allah, a cunning man has been in my tent without my realising it. Go out of my tent, O enemy of Allah, and be friend of mine no more'".

Ibn Ishāq: Some people claim that Zaid repented afterwards but some say that he remained under suspicion of evil (motives) till he died.

The affair of Abū Dharr.

Then the Messenger of Allah went on his way and when a man dropped behind they would say: "O Messenger of Allah, So-and-So has dropped behind" and he would say: "Let him be, if there be good in him Allah will bring him up to you, and if it be otherwise, Allah hath given you relief from him." He was told: "O Messenger of Allah, Abū Dharr

has dropped behind and his camel is holding him up". He said: "Let him be, if there be good in him Allah will bring him up to you, and if it be otherwise, Allah hath given you relief from him". Abū Dharr waited long for his camel and as it still delayed him, he took his gear, carried it on his back, and set out on foot to follow in the wake of the Messenger of Allah. The Messenger of Allah encamped in one of his camping-places and a Muslim watchman looked out and said: "O Messenger of Allah, this man is walking along the road by himself". The Messenger of Allah said: "It must be Abū Dharr". When the people had regarded him they said: "O Messenger of Allah, it is indeed Abū Dharr". The Messenger of Allah said: "May Allah have mercy on Abū Dharr, who walks alone, and will die alone, and be raised up alone".

Ibn Ishāq: Buraidah bin Sufyān the Aslamite related to me on the authority of Muhammad bin Ka'b of Quraithah from 'Abdallah bin Mas'ūd. He said: When 'Uthmān exiled Abū Dharr to ar-Rabadhah and death overtook him there, no one was with him but his wife and his slave-boy, and he commanded them: "Wash me, shroud me, and place me in the middle of the road, and say to the first party that passes by you: 'This is Abū Dharr, friend of the Messenger of Allah, help us to bury him'". When he died they did that with him and put him in the middle of the road, and 'Abdallah bin Mas'ūd came with a party of people from Iraq on the Lesser Pilgrimage when they were confronted with a bier on the roadway on which the camels almost trod. The slave-boy went up to them and said: "This is Abū Dharr, friend of the Messenger of Allah, help us to bury him". So 'Abdallah lifted up his voice and wept and said: "The Messenger of Allah spoke the truth; you shall walk alone, you shall die alone, you shall be raised up alone." Then he and his friends dismounted and buried him, and 'Abdallah bin Mas'ūd related his story to them and what the Messenger of Allah said to him in his march to Tabūk.

The Messenger of Allah is informed about the statement of the Hypocrites.

Ibn Ishāq: There was a party of Hypocrites amongst whom were Wadī'ah bin Thābit, brother of the Beni 'Amr bin 'Auf and a man of Ashja' ally of the Beni Salamah called Mukhashshin bin Humayyar.

Ibn Hishām: Mukhashsha

who were making allusions to the Messenger of Allah as he went to Tabūk. They said to one another: "Do you reckon that the fighting of the Aryans will be like the fighting of the Arabs with each other? And it seems to me that by to-morrow you will be bound with ropes as a means of alarming and terrifying the believers". Mukhashshin bin Humayyar said: "I would prefer to be sentenced that each of us be given a hundred lashes and get off with that rather than that a Qur'ān come down about us for this statement of yours". According to what I heard, the Messenger of Allah said to 'Ammār bin Yāsir: "Follow up this party, for verily they have forged a lie and ask them about what they said. If they deny it, say: 'Certainly you said such and such a thing". 'Ammār went to them, said that to them and they came to the Messenger of Allah to make excuses to him. Wadī'ah bin Thābit said while the Messenger of Allah was stationary on his she camel, and he began to speak while holding the camel's girth-band: "O Messenger of Allah, we were only indulging in talk and playing, and Allah sent down about them:-

If thou askest them they will no doubt say: "We were only indulging in talk and playing.... (Sūrah 9: 65).

Mukhashshin ibn Humayyar said: "O Messenger of Allah, my own name and that of my father have held me back". The one who was forgiven in this verse was Mukhashshin ibn Humayyar so he took the name of 'Abd ar-Rahmān.

He asked Allah that He would slay him a martyr whose place was not known and he was killed on the day of al-Yamāmah and no trace of him was found.

Arrival of the Messenger of Allah at Tabūk.

When the Messenger of Allah arrived at Tabūk, John bin Ru'bah prince of Aylah to him and made peace with him and paid the poll-tax. The inhabitants of Jarbā' and Adhruh also came to him and paid the poll-tax. The Messenger of Allah wrote a letter to them which they have, and he wrote to John bin Ru'bah:-

In the name of Allah, the Merciful the Compassionate:
This is a guarantee from Allah and Muhammad the prophet and Messenger of Allah (granted) to John bin Ru'bah and the people of Aylah whose ships and caravans by land and sea enjoy the protection of Allah and Muhammad the prophet and those who are with them of the people of Syria

the people of Yemen and the people of the sea-coast. Whoever of them does anything wrong, his wealth will not avail him and it will be beneficent for whichever of the people takes it. It will not be permissible that they be kept away from the water to which they wish to go, or that they should be prevented from taking any road they wish whether by land or sea.

The Messenger of Allah sends Khālīd bin al-Walīd to Ukaidar of Dūmah.

Then the Messenger of Allah called Khālīd bin al-Walīd and sent him against Ukaidar of Dūmah. He was Ukaidar bin 'Abd al-Malik, a man of Kindah, who was king over it and he was a Christian. The Messenger of Allah said to Khālīd: "You will find him hunting the wild cow". So Khālīd set out till he was within sight of his fortress. It was a clear moonlit night and he was on his roof with his wife while the cows were spending the night rubbing the castle gates with their horns. His wife said to him: "Have you ever seen the like of this?" He said: "No indeed". She said: "Who would leave this?". He said: "No one". So he went down and ordered his horse and it was saddled for him, and a company of his household rode out with him amongst whom was a brother of his called Hassān. Thus he mounted and they set out with their short spears. When they came out, the cavalry of the Messenger of Allah met them, and they took him prisoner and killed his brother. He was wearing a long-sleeved gown of silk embroidered with gold which Khālīd seized and sent to the Messenger of Allah before he returned to him.

He said: 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah related to me on the authority of Anas bin Mālik. He said: I saw the robe of Ukaidar when it was brought to the Messenger of Allah and the Muslims started touching it with their hands and marvelling at it. The Messenger of Allah said: "Do you marvel at this? By Him in whose hand is my life, the turban of Sa'd bin Mu'adh in Paradise is better than this",

Ibn Ishāq: Then Khālīd brought Ukaidar to the Messenger of Allah and he preserved him alive and made peace with him on condition that he paid the poll-tax. Then he set him free and he returned to his town. A man of Tai called Bujair bin Bajrah said recalling the saying of the Messenger of Allah to Khālīd: "You will find him hunting the wild cow", and what the cows did that night till they brought him out to confirm the saying of the Messenger of Allah:-

Blessed be the driver of the cows
Verily I saw Allah guide every leader
So who would turn aside from the man of Tabūk
For we were indeed commanded to strive.

The Messenger of Allah remained in Tabūk somewhat more than ten nights but not longer. Then he took his departure and returned to Medina.

The outrush of the water in the valley at the prayer of the Messenger of Allah.

On the way there was water which came forth in a trickle barely sufficient to give drink to one or two or three horsemen in a valley called Wadi 'l-Mushaqqaq. The Messenger of Allah said: "Let not those who have preceded us to that water draw from it at all till we reach it". He said: A group of the Hypocrites got to it before him and drew what was in it. When the Messenger of Allah came to it, he stood over it and saw nothing there and said: "Who got to this water ahead of us?", and he was told: "O Messenger of Allah, So-and-So and So-and-So". He said: "Did I not forbid them to draw any of it till I should come to it?", and the Messenger of Allah cursed them and called down evil upon them. Then he dismounted, put his hand beneath the trickle and it began to pour into his hand as much as Allah willed it should pour into it. Then he sprinkled the place with it, wiped it with his hand prayed for the blessing which Allah willed he should pray for, and there gushed out so much water, as one who heard it says, that it had a noise like thunder, so that the people drank and drew what they needed. The Messenger of Allah said: "If you survive, or, whoever of you survives, will hear of this valley and it is the most fertile of all before it and behind it".

Account of the death of 'Abdallah the Muzanite the owner of the two striped garments.

He said: Muhammad bin Ibrahim bin al-Harith the Taimite related to me that 'Abdallah bin Mas'ūd related. He said: When I was with the Messenger of Allah in the expedition of Tabūk I rose in the middle of the night and observed a fiery torch in the vicinity of the camp. I followed it keeping it in sight and it was the Messenger of Allah with Abu Bakr and 'Umar. 'Abdallah, the owner of the two striped garments had died and they had dug a grave for him, and the Messenger of Allah was in the grave while Abū Bakr and 'Umar lowered him down to him as he said: "Lower your brother to me", and they lowered him

down to him. When he had prepared him for his niche he said: "O Allah, I have been pleased with him, do Thou be pleased with him". 'Abdallah bin Mas'ūd said: "Would that I had been the occupant of the grave".

Ibn Hishām: He was called the owner of the two striped garments because he yearned for Islam but his people prevented him from (accepting) it, treated him with severity, and at last left him with one garment and no other. Al-Bijād is thick coarse clothing. So he fled away from them to the Messenger of Allah, and when he got near him he tore his garment in two, girded himself with one piece, and threw the other around him, after which he came to the Messenger of Allah. Because of that he was called 'the owner of the two garments'. Al-Bijād also means sackcloth.

The affair of Abū Ruhm.

Ibn Ishāq: Ibn Shihāb the Zuhrite said on the authority of Ibn Ukaimah the Laithite from a nephew of Abū Ruhm the Ghifārite that he heard Abū Ruhm, Kulthūm bin al-Husain, who was one of the friends of the Messenger of Allah who took the pledge under the tree, say: I went with the Messenger of Allah on the expedition of Tabūk. I marched with him one night when we were in al-Akhdar near to the Messenger of Allah, and we were overcome with drowsiness, but I set myself to keep awake. My beast drew near to that of the Messenger of Allah and this made me afraid that his foot in the stirrup might get injured, so I set myself to guide my beast away from him till drowsiness overcame me in a certain part of the way and we were more or less in darkness. My beast pressed against that of the Messenger of Allah while his foot was in the stirrup and I was only awakened by him saying: "Oh", and I said: "O Messenger of Allah, pardon me". He said: "March on". Then the Messenger of Allah started to enquire about the Beni Ghifār who had remained behind and I told him about them. He asked me: "What did the red ones who are tall of stature do?", and I told him about them remaining behind. He said: "What did the black fuzzy-haired short people do?". I said: "I do not recognise that they belong to us". He said: "Yes, those who have cattle in Shabakat-Shadakh", and I remembered them in connection with the Beni Ghifār and I did not mention them till I recalled that they were a group from Aslam who

were allies amongst us, and I said: "O Messenger of Allah, they were a party from Aslam, allies amongst us". The Messenger of Allah said: "What was to hinder any of them when he remained behind (Himself) from mounting an active man on one of his camels in the way of Allah. Verily the dearest of my people to me who could remain behind me are the Emigrés of Quraish, the Helpers, Ghifār, and Aslam".

The affair of the Mosque of Contention during the return from the campaign of Tabūk.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah advanced and encamped in Dhū Awān, a town distant one hour from Medina. The custodians of the Mosque of Contention came to him while he was preparing for Tabūk and said: "O Messenger of Allah, we have built a mosque for those who are sick or in need on a wet or wintry night, and we would like you to come and pray with us in it". He said: "I am on the point of making a journey and work prevents me", or words to that effect. "But when we return, if Allah wills, we will surely come and pray with you there". When he encamped in Dhū Awān, intelligence about the Mosque came to him, and the Messenger of Allah called Mālik bin ad-Dukhshum, brother of the Beni Sālim bin 'Auf, Ma'n bin 'Adi or his brother 'Āsim bin 'Adi, brother of the Beni 'l-'Ajlān and said: "Go against this mosque, the people of which are wrong-doers, and pull it down and burn it". They set out in haste and went to the Beni Sālim bin 'Auf who were kinsmen of Mālik bin ad-Dukhshum, and Mālik said to Ma'n: "Wait for me till I bring a fire out to you from my people". He went in to his people, took branches of palm trees and with them kindled a fire. Then they came out at a run, entered it while its people were in it, burned and destroyed it, and they scattered away from it". Then there came down about them what of the Qur'ān came down:-

And those who have chosen a place of worship out of opposition and unbelief and to cause division among the believers..... (Sūrah 9: 107).

to the end of the story.

Names of builders omitted.

The mosques of the Messenger of Allah between Medina and Tabūk were designated and had names. (There was) a mosque in Tabūk, one in Thaniyat Midrān, one in Dhāt az-Zirāb, one in al-Akhdar, one in Dhāt al-Khithmi, one in Alā', one on the outskirts of Petra in Dhanab

Kawākib, one in Shiq, Shiq 'Tārā, one in Dhū 'l-Jifāh, one in the higher part of Haudā, one in al-Hijr, one in Sa'id, one in the Wādī which to-day is Wādī 'l)Qura, one in Ruq'ah in ash-Shiqqah, which belongs to the Beni 'Udhrah, one in Dhū 'l-Marwah, one in Faifā', and one in Dhū Khushub.

The affair of the three who were left behind and the affair of those who excused themselves in the expedition of Tabūk.

The Messenger of Allah returned to Medina. A number of the Hypocrites had remained behind; also those three individuals of the Muslims remained behind without either doubt or hypocrisy - Ka'b bin Mālik Murārah bin ar-Rābī', and Hilal bin Umayyah. The Messenger of Allah said to his friends: "Do not speak to any of these three". Those Hypocrites who had remained behind came to him, began swearing fealty to him and excusing themselves, but the Messenger of Allah turned away from them. Neither Allah nor His messenger excused them, and the Muslims dissociated themselves from the words of those three people.

Ibn Ishāq: Az-Zuhri, Muhammad bin Muslim bin Shihāb mentioned on the authority of 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin 'Abdallah bin Ka'b bin Mālik that his father, 'Abdallah, who was leading his father about when he lost his sight, said: I heard my father Ka'b bin Mālik relate his story when he remained behind the Messenger of Allah in the expedition of Tabūk and his two friends. He said: I did not remain behind the Messenger of Allah on any expedition he undertook except that I remained behind in the expedition to Badr, and that was an expedition in which neither Allah nor His messenger blames any who remained behind. That was because the Messenger of Allah set out merely in search of the caravan of Quraysh and Allah brought him and the enemy together without an appointment. With the Messenger of Allah I witnessed al-'Aqabah when we bound ourselves by contract to Islam, and I would not prefer to have witnessed Badr instead of it even if the expedition of Badr is more memorable among the people. My story, when I remained behind the Messenger of Allah in the expedition of Tabūk, is that I was never stronger nor in easier circumstances than I was when I remained behind him in that expedition. Indeed I had not collected two camels before till I collected them in connection with that expedition. Whenever the Messenger of Allah wanted to make a foray he disguised it with something else till the time for that foray arrived. But when the

time for that expedition came, the Messenger of Allah undertook it during a time of intense heat, faced a long journey and ^anumerous enemy, and disclosed the affair to the people so that they might get their victuals ready for it. He also informed them as to the direction in which he intended to go. The Muslims who followed the Messenger of Allah were numerous - no roll could contain them. Ka'b said: Few men wished to be absent but they imagined it would be hidden from him till a revelation from Allah came to him concerning it. The Messenger of Allah undertook that expedition when fruit was good and shade preferred and people were inclined towards it. So the Messenger of Allah and the Muslims made preparations together and I took to going out in the morning to make preparations along with them, but I would return without having done anything, and I would say to myself: "I am able to do that if I like". So that kept on putting me off, but a sense of purpose urged the people on, and the Messenger of Allah went away in the morning accompanied by the Muslims when I had not completed any of my preparations. I said: "I will fit myself out a day or two after them and overtake them". So I went out early after they had gone away to equip myself but I came back without doing anything. Then I went out in the morning and returned without accomplishing anything. That kept on putting me off till the expedition had hasted away and passed me by. Then I thought I would take to the road and overtake them, and would that I had so done, but I did not. When I went out amongst the people after the departure of the Messenger of Allah and went around them, it would grieve me that I did not see anyone except a man who was accused of hypocrisy or one of those whom Allah had excused because of weakness. The Messenger of Allah did not mention me till he reached Tabūk and he said while he was squatting amongst the people at Tabūk: "What about Ka'b ibn Mālīk?". One of the Beni Salamah said: "O Messenger of Allah, his cloak and his self-admiration have kept him in". Mu'ādh ibn Jabal said to him: "What you have said is bad, and indeed, O Messenger of Allah, we have known nothing of him but good", and the Messenger of Allah was silent. When I heard that the Messenger of Allah had set out on the return journey from Tabūk my sorrow came to me and I began to remember the lie and say: "How will I emerge from the wrath of the Messenger of Allah to-morrow?", and I was asking the help of every one of my

family who could give me advice. When they told me that the Messenger of Allah was still on the way, lying departed from me, and I recognised that I could not escape from him except by telling the truth, and I made up my mind to tell him the truth. The Messenger of Allah returned from Medina in the morning and when he returned from a journey he was in the habit of beginning in the mosque. He performed two cycles of prayer and then squatted with the people. When he did that, those who had remained behind came to him and began swearing fealty to him and excusing themselves, and there were more than eighty of them. The Messenger of Allah accepted their declaration and their oath, asked forgiveness for them, and committed their secrets to Allah. When I came to him I greeted him and he smiled the smile of an angered man. Then he said to me: "Come here", and I walked up and squatted down before him and he said to me: "What kept you behind? Did you not purchase a mount?". I said: "O Messenger of Allah, if I were squatting in the presence of another than you of the people of this world, I think I would escape his wrath by means of an excuse. I have indeed been given a plea but I know that if I related to you a lying story to-day you would be pleased with me, but Allah would be quick to make you angry with me; if I relate a true story you will realise from it that I hope my retribution will come from Allah. I had no excuse at all for I was never stronger nor in easier circumstances than I was when I remained behind you". The Messenger of Allah said: "As far as this is concerned, you have spoken the truth about it, rise then, that Allah may give judgment in your case". So I arose and some men of the Beni Salamah arose with me and followed me. They said to me: "We have never known you perpetrate a fault before this and you are weak because you did not make an excuse to the Messenger of Allah - the excuse which those who have remained behind gave him, and the Messenger of Allah asking forgiveness for your fault would have been sufficient for you". They would not leave me alone till I wanted to go back to the Messenger of Allah and call myself a liar. Then I said to them: "Did anyone besides me experience this (treatment)?". They said: "Yes, two men who said much the same as you and they were told the same as you". I said: "Who were they?". They said: "Murārah bin Rabi' the 'Amrite from the Beni 'Amr bin 'Auf and Hilāl

bin Abū Umayyah the Wāqifite! They mentioned two good men who were worthy of imitation and when they mentioned them I was silent. "The Messenger of Allah has forbidden us to speak (to you) O three among all who remained behind". So the people avoided us and changed towards us till both myself and the earth changed for the worse and it was not any more the world that I used to know, and we remained in that state for fifty nights. As for my two friends, they were submissive and remained indoors, but as for me, I was the youngest and strongest of the party, and I was going out and witnessing the prayers with the Muslims and going around the streets but no one spoke to me. I would go to the Messenger of Allah and greet him while he was in session after the prayer and I would say to myself: "Did his lips move in reponse to my greeting? or not?". Then I would pray close by him and look at him by stealth. When I came to prayer, he looked at me, but when I turned towards him he turned away. When that ill-treatment of me by the Muslims had gone on for some time, I set out on foot, and scaled the walls of the garden of Abū Qatādah, my cousin, and the dearest of men to me. I greeted him but he did not return my greeting. Then I said: "O Abū Qatādah, I adjure you by Allah, do you know that I love Allah and His messenger?", but he remained silent. I adjured him a second time and he remained silent. I adjured him a third time and he remained silent. I adjured him a fourth time and he said: "Allah and His messenger know best". My eyes filled with tears, I leaped up, scaled the wall and went out to the market. When I was walking in the market, one of the Nabataeans of Syria who had brought food to sell in Medina asked about me and said: "Who will direct me to Ka'b bin Mālik?". So people began pointing me out to him and when he came to me he handed me a letter from the king of Ghassān which he had written on a piece of fine silk, in which he said:-

Now we have heard that your master has ill-treated you when Allah did not appoint you to the house of shame or to ruin; come to us, we will console you.

When I read it I said: "This too is a calamity. What has befallen me has been reported so that one of the polytheists covets me". So I put it in the oven and made a blaze with it.

Thus we remained till forty nights of the fifty had passed and the Messenger of Allah came to me and said: "The Messenger of Allah

commands you to withdraw from your wife". I said: "Shall I divorce her or what?". He said: "No, withdraw from her and come not near her". He sent the same message to my two friends. I said to my wife: "Go to your family and remain with them till Allah gives whatever decision He will give in this matter".

He said: The wife of Hilāl bin Umayyah came to the Messenger of Allah and said to him: "O Messenger of Allah, Hilāl bin Umayyah is a very old man, in a state of neglect, with no servant, would it be distasteful to you if I serve him?". He said: "No, but let him not come near you". She said: "Indeed he has no desire for me, O Messenger of Allah, and he has not ceased to weep since there happened to him what happened till this day, and I am afraid for his sight". One of my family said to me: "You should ask the permission of the Messenger of Allah to have your wife; he has given permission to the wife of Hilāl bin Umayyah to serve him". I said: "I will not seek his permission to have her; I do not know what the Messenger of Allah would say to me if I asked permission to have her since I am a young man.

He said: So we remained (in that state) for ten nights after that till fifty nights were completed from the time the Messenger of Allah prohibited the Muslims from speaking to us, and I prayed the morning prayer for fifty days on the top of one of our houses in the state which Allah mentioned: 'The earth was too narrow for us although it was wide and I was in distress'. I had erected a tent on the top of Sal' and I was in it when I heard the voice of someone who had gone to the top of Sal' calling out at the top of his voice: "Rejoice, O Ka'b bin Malik". So I prostrated myself in worship and I realised that relief had come. The Messenger of Allah proclaimed to the people that Allah had relented towards us when he prayed the early morning prayer, and the people went away to give us the good news. Some messengers of the good tidings went off to my two friends, while a man galloped his horse towards me. But a runner of Aslam ran, climbed the mountain, and the voice was quicker than the horse. When the man whose voice I had heard came to me to give me the good news, I took off my two garments and clothed him with them for joy, and at that time I had none other, so I borrowed

two garments and donned them. Then I went off in the direction of the Messenger of Allah, and the people met me giving me the good news of the relenting and saying: "May the relenting of Allah give you joy!" till I entered the mosque where the Messenger of Allah was squatting with the people around him. Talhah bin 'Ubaid Allah came up to me, congratulated me, and wished me joy, but not one of the Emigres save he got up for me. Ka'b bin Malik did not forget it to Talhah. Ka'b said: When I greeted the Messenger of Allah he said to me while his face lit up with pleasure: "Rejoice in the best day has passed over your head since your mother gave you birth". I said: "Was it from you, O Messenger of Allah, or from Allah?". He said: "Nay, from Allah". When the Messenger of Allah rejoiced at good news it seemed as if his face were a piece of the moon, and it was by this that we recognised when he rejoiced. When I squatted down before him I said: "O Messenger of Allah, it is part of my repentance towards Allah that I should rid myself of my property as alms for Allah and His messenger". The Messenger of Allah said: "Retain some of your property for yourself for that is better for you". I said: "I will retain my share which is in Khaibar". I also said: "O Messenger of Allah, Allah hath delivered me by means of the truth, and it is part of my repentance towards Allah that I relate nothing but the truth as long as I live". I know of no one amongst men whom Allah has tried more in the matter of relating the truth since I mentioned that to the Messenger of Allah than He has tried me, and certainly I have not sought purposely to tell a lie from the time I mentioned that to the Messenger of Allah to this day, and I hope Allah will keep me in that which is yet to come. Allah sent down:-

Allah hath relented towards the prophet and the Emigres and the Helpers who followed him in the hour of difficulty after the hearts of some of them had nearly swerved aside; then He relented towards them, verily He is pitiful with them, compassionate.

And towards the three who were left behind⁹⁹.

down to his saying:

and be with those who speak the truth. (Surah 9: 118 & 119).

Ka'b said: Allah did not grant me any favour whatever, after He guided me to Islam, greater where I was concerned than my truthfulness to the Messenger of Allah at that time, so that I did not lie to him and perish as those who lied to him had perished. Allah

the Exalted said about those who lied to Him when He sent down the revelation, as evil a thing as He ever said of any. He said:-

They will swear to you by Allah when ye return to them that ye may turn from them; so turn from them, they are pollution, and their resort is Gehenna, a recompense for what they have been piling up

They will swear to you in order that ye may be satisfied with them; so if ye are satisfied with them, Allah will not be satisfied with the people who are reprobates. (Sūrah 9: 95 & 96).

He said: We were left over, the three of us, from the affair of those whom the Messenger of Allah accepted when they swore to him and he excused them and asked forgiveness for them. The Messenger of Allah left over our affair till Allah gave the decision about it that He gave. It was in connection with that that Allah said:-

And towards the three whose cases were left over. The leaving of us over which Allah mentioned did not refer to our remaining behind from the expedition to Tabūk, but to his leaving us over and deferring our cases, in contrast to those who swore to him, and made excuses to him which he accepted.

The affair of the delegation of Thaqīf and its islamization in the month of Ramadān of year nine.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah returned to Medina from Tabūk in Ramadān, and in that month a delegation from Thaqīf came to him. The account of them is that when the Messenger of Allah took his departure from them, 'Urwah bin Mas'ūd the Thaqafite followed him and overtook him before he reached Medina. He islamized and he asked him to take Islam back to his people. The Messenger of Allah said to him, according to what his people relate: "Verily they will kill you". The Messenger of Allah recognised that there was in them a certain pride in holding aloof (from Islam) which they showed. 'Urwah said: "O Messenger of Allah, I am dearer to them than their first-born".

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as 'their eyesight'.

Ibn Ishāq: He was loved and obeyed among them and he went out to call his people to Islām in the hope that they would not disobey him because of his position amongst them. But when he looked down on them from an upper room of his after he had called them to Islam and declared his religion to them, they shot arrows at him from all

sides and one of them struck him and killed him. The Beni Mālīk assert that one of them called Aus bin 'Auf, brother of the Beni Sālīm bin Mālīk killed him but the Confederates assert that one of them from the Beni 'Attāb bin Mālīk called Wahb bin Jābir killed him. They said to 'Urwah: "What do you think about your death?". He said: "An honour with which Allah hath honoured me; a martyrdom which Allah hath brought to me. There is nothing more in connection with me than what was in connection with the martyrs who were slain with the Messenger of Allah before he went away from you, so bury me with them", and they did so. They assert that the Messenger of Allah said about him: "He was in connection with his people like what the man of Yā Sīn was in connection with his people".

Then Thaḡīf remained thus for some months after the killing of 'Urwah after which they held deliberations among themselves when they realised that they had not the strength to fight the Arabs around them who had given their pledge (to the Prophet) and islamized.

Ya'qūb bin 'Utbah bin al-Mughīrah bin al-Akhnas related to me that 'Amr bin Umayyah, brother of the Beni 'Ilāj, was an Emigre on account of 'Abd Yalīl, for there was enmity between them. 'Amr bin Umayyah was the wisest of the Arabs and he went to 'Abd Yalīl bin 'Amr, entered his dwelling, and sent word to him saying: "'Amr bin Umayyah says to you: 'Come forth'". 'Abd Yalīl said to the messenger: "Out upon you, was it 'Amr who sent you to me?". He said: "Yes, and behold he stands within your house". He said: "Verily this is something I would not have imagined for 'Amr was more unapproachable than that". So he went out to him, and when he saw him he welcomed him and 'Amr said to him: "There has come to us an affair from which there is no getting away. You have seen what has transpired of the affair of this man; the Arabs have all islamized and you have not the strength to fight them, so consider your position". Thereupon Thaḡīf held consultations amongst themselves and said to each other: "You see that no flock of yours is safe and none of you sets out without being waylaid". So they deliberated together and decided to send someone to the Messenger of Allah as they had sent 'Urwah. They spoke to 'Abd Yalīl bin 'Amr bin 'Umair who was the same age as 'Urwah bin Mas'ūd and put that proposition before him but he

refused to do it, for he was afraid they would do to him what they did to 'Urwah when he returned, so he said "I will not do it till you send some others with me". Then they resolved to send two men of the Confederates with him and three of the Beni Mālīk so that they would be six in number. Along with 'Abd Yalīl they sent al-Hakm bin 'Amr bin Wahb bin Mu'attib and Shurahbīl bin Ghailān bin Salamah bin Mu'attib. From the Beni Mālīk they sent 'Uthman bin Abū 'l-'Ās bin Bishr bin 'Abd Duhmān, brother of the Beni Yasār, Aus bin 'Auf, brother of the Beni Sālīm bin 'Auf, and Numair bin Kharashah bin Rabī'ah, brother of the Beni 'l-Hārith. So 'Abd Yalīl set out with them he being the head-man of the people and the one in charge of their affair, but he set out in fear that what happened to 'Urwah bin Mas'ūd would happen to him, so that when they returned to At-Tā'if each of them would draw off the attention of his kinsmen.

When they drew near to Medina and made camp in Qanāt they found al-Mughīrah bin Shu'bah there taking his turn at herding the beasts of the friends of the Messenger of Allah, for this was a duty which fell to his friends in turn. When he saw them he left the beasts with the Thaqafites and leapt away at a run to inform the Messenger of Allah of their arrival. Abū Bakr the Faithful met him before he went in to the Messenger of Allah and he informed him about the party from Thaqīf that they had come desiring to swear fealty and accept Islam on the conditions the Messenger of Allah would lay down for them and to receive a written charter with regard to their tribe, their country, and their property. Abū Bakr said to al-Mughīrah: "I adjure you by Allah do not go to the Messenger of Allah before me, so that I may be the one to relate it to him", and al-Mughīrah did so. Then Abū Bakr went in to the Messenger of Allah and informed him of their coming to him and al-Mughīrah accompanied them to his friends and passed the noon-time with them teaching them how to greet the Messenger of Allah for they practised nothing but the greeting of the Barbarism. When they came to the Messenger of Allah, he erected a pavilion for them in the vicinity of his mosque according to what they say. Khālīd bin Sa'īd bin al-'Ās was the one who went to and fro between them and the Messenger of Allah till they had drawn up their charter and it was Khālīd who wrote it with his own hand. They

did not eat the food which came to them from the Messenger of Allah before Khālīd had eaten of it till they had islamized and completed their charter. One of the things which they asked the Messenger of Allah to leave them was at-Ṭāghiyah, which was al-Lāt, and not destroy it for three years but the Messenger of Allah did not grant that request. They kept on reducing the period by a year and he refused till they were asking for one month after their return but he refused to leave it for any period at all. According to what they declared, they wanted that (concession) only in order that their ignorant ones, their women and their children should agree to abandon it, and they disliked the idea of frightening their people by destroying it before Islam had entered into them. The Messenger of Allah refused everything except to send Abū Sufyān bin Harb and al-Mughīrah bin Shu'bah to destroy it. In addition to the request to leave them at-Ṭāghiyah they had asked him to excuse them from prayer and that they should not have to break their idols with their own hands. The Messenger of Allah said: "As for the breaking of your idols with your own hands, we will spare you that, but as for prayer, there is no good in a religion which does not have prayer in it". They said: "O Muhammad, we will yield to you even if it is a degradation".

When they had islamized and the Messenger of Allah had written their charter for them, he appointed 'Uthmān bin Abū 'l-'Ās, who was one of the youngest of them in years, to be their leader because he was the keenest of them in studying Islam and learning the Qur'ān. Abū Bakr said to the Messenger of Allah: "O Messenger of Allah, I have observed that this youth is the keenest of them in studying Islam and learning the Qur'ān".

Ibn Ishāq: 'Īsā bin 'Abdallāh related to me on the authority of 'Atiyyah bin Sufyān bin Rabī'ah the Thaqafite from one of their delegation. He said: When we had islamized and were fasting with the Messenger of Allah for the remainder of Ramadān, Bilāl used to bring us our break-fast in the evening and in the morning from the Messenger of Allah. He would bring us our morning break-fast and we would say: "We perceive (by this) that dawn has come", to which he would say: "I left the Messenger of Allah partaking of his morning break-fast", in reference to the postponement of the morning break-fast. He would

bring us our evening break-fast and we would say: "We do not see that the sun has yet completely gone", to which he would say: "I did not come to you till the Messenger of Allah had eaten". Then he put his hand in the dish and took a mouthful out of it.

Ibn Hishām: With our break-fast and our morning meal.

Ibn Ishāq: Sa'īd ibn Abū Hind related to me on the authority of Mutarrif ibn 'Abdallah ibn ash-Shakhiyyir from 'Uthmān ibn Abū 'l-'Ās. He said: One of the last things the Messenger of Allah enjoined on me when he sent me to Thaḳīf was that he said: "O 'Uthmān, shorten the Prayer and value the people by the weakest of them, for amongst them are great, small, weak, and needy ones".

The destruction of at-Tāghiyah.

Ibn Ishāq: When they had finished their business and set out to return to their country, the Messenger of Allah sent Abū Sufyān ibn Harb and al-Mughīrah ibn Shubah with them for the destruction of at-Tāghiyah. They set out with the party and when they reached at-Tā'if al-Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah wished to send forward Abū Sufyān but Abū Sufyān refused to do that and said: "Go in yourself to your people", and Abū Sufyān remained with his belongings in Dhū 'l-Hadm. When al-Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah went in he attacked it with his pick-axe while his people, the Beni Mu'attib stood round him fearing he would be shot at or killed as 'Urwah was killed. The women of Thaḳīf came out with uncovered faces weeping for it and saying:-

The Protector is to be wept for
The ignoble ones have betrayed it
They did not fight to any purpose.

Ibn Hishām: 'To be wept for' is on the authority of another than Ibn Ishāq.

Ibn Ishāq: Abū Sufyān said while al-Mughīrah was striking it down with the axe: "How sad for you! How sad for you!". When al-Mughīrah had destroyed it and taken its possessions and jewels he sent word to Abū Sufyān when its jewels and possessions of gold and onyx stones were collected. Abū Mālīh ibn 'Urwah and Qārib ibn al-Aswad had come to the Messenger of Allah before the delegation of Thaḳīf when 'Urwah was slain, desiring to break with Thaḳīf and never

to unite with them in anything. They islamized and the Messenger of Allah said to them: "Take as your patron whomsoever you wish". They said: "We will take Allah and His Messenger as our patron". The Messenger of Allah said: "Your uncle is Abū Sufyān bin Harb". They said: "Our uncle is Abū Sufyān bin Harb". When the people of at-Tā'if islamized and the Messenger of Allah sent Abū Sufyān and al-Mughīrah to destroy at-Tāghiyah, Abū Malīh bin 'Urwah asked the Messenger of Allah to settle a debt incurred by his father 'Urwah out of the possessions of at-Tāghiyah. The Messenger of Allah said to him: "Yes". Then Qārib bin al-Aswad said: "Settle it also for al-Aswad, O Messenger of Allah", for 'Urwah and al-Aswad were brothers the sons of the same father and mother. The Messenger of Allah said: "Al-Aswad died a polytheist". Qārib said to the Messenger of Allah: "But it will come to a Muslim who is a relative" meaning himself, "I am the one who is responsible for the debt and it is I who ask for it". So the Messenger of Allah commanded Abū Sufyān to settle the debts of 'Urwah and al-Aswad out of the possessions of at-Tāghiyah. When al-Mughīrah collected its possessions he said to Abū Sufyān: "The Messenger of Allah has commanded you to settle the debts of 'Urwah and al-Aswad", and he did so.

The charter of the Messenger of Allah which he wrote for them was:-

In the name of Allah, the Merciful the Compassionate. From Muhammad the Prophet, the Messenger of Allah to the believers. Verily the forest of Wajj^{iq} and its chase shall not be cut down. Whoever is caught doing anything of that nature shall be scourged and his garments taken away and if he repeat the offence he shall be seized and brought to the Prophet Muhammad. This is the command of the prophet Muhammad the Messenger of Allah, and Khālid bin Sa'id wrote by command of the Messenger Muhammad bin 'Abdallah. Let no one transgress it and do wrong to himself in regard to what Muhammad the Messenger of Allah has commanded.

The pilgrimage of Abu Bakr with the people in year nine, and the Prophet's choice of 'Ali bin Abū Tālib to carry out the first renunciation on his behalf and mention of the renunciation and the stories in connection with it.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah resided for the remainder of the month of Ramadān, Shawwāl and Dhu 'l-Qa'dah in Medina, and sent

Abū Bakr as commander of the pilgrimage in year nine to arrange for their pilgrimage for the Muslims, and the people of the polytheists were in their stations for their pilgrimage. So Abū Bakr and the Muslims who were with him set out and there came down a renunciation concerning the breaking of the treaty which was between the Messenger of Allah and the polytheists on the basis of which relations between him and them were adjusted, (namely) that no one should be debarred from the House who came to it and that no one should be feared during the sacred months. That was a general treaty between him and the people of polytheism, and along with that there were special treaties between the Messenger of Allah and the Arab tribes specified for a definite period. So there came down about it and about the hypocrites who remained behind him at Tabūk and about what some of them said and in it Allah revealed the secrets of peoples who were concealing something different from what they revealed, some of them are known to us by name and some are not so known. He said:-

Renunciation by Allah and His messenger of the polytheists
with whom ye have made covenants

That is: In reference to the polytheists who are included in the
general treaty

So go about in the land four months and know that ye
cannot frustrate Allah and that Allah is the humiliator
of the unbelievers

And a proclamation from Allah and His messenger to the
people on the day of the greatest pilgrimage, that Allah
renounces the polytheists (as does) also His messenger

That is: After this pilgrimage.

So if ye repent it is better for you, but if ye turn away,
know that ye cannot frustrate Allah; announce (thou) to
those who have disbelieved a painful punishment
Except those polytheists with whom ye have made a covenant

That is: The special treaty for a specified period

and who then have not failed you in anything, or backed
anyone against you; fulfil their covenant up to the end
of its period; Allah loveth those who show piety
Then when the sacred months have slipped away

He means the four which were appointed to them for a term

slay the polytheists wherever ye find them, seize them,
beset them, lie in ambush for them everywhere; if they
repent, perform the Prayer and give alms, then set them
free; Allah is forgiving, compassionate

If one of the polytheists

That is: One of these whom I have commanded thee to slay

asks protection of thee, grant him protection until he hear the word of Allah, then see that he reaches a place of security; that is because they are a people who have no knowledge.

Then He said:-

How shall the polytheists

With whom you have a general treaty that they shall not intimidate you and that you shall not intimidate them in the sacred place or during the sacred months

have a covenant with Allah and with His messenger except those with whom ye have made covenants at the Sacred Mosque

They were certain tribes of the Beni Bakr who had entered the compact and covenant of Quraish on the day of al-Hudaibiyah for the period which was specified between the Messenger of Allah and Quraish. None but this tribe of Quraish had broken it and they were ad-Dīl from the Beni Bakr who had entered the covenant and compact of Quraish, and he was commanded to fulfil the terms of the covenant to those of the Beni Bakr who had not broken it for its duration.

as long as they act straight with you, act straight with them; verily Allah loveth those who show piety.

Then He said:

How? If they get the upper hand of you

That is: The polytheists who have no covenant for a specified time but belong to the polytheists who have the general covenant they will not regard bond or agreement.

Ibn Hishām: Al-ill means the alliance. Aus bin Hajar one of the Beni Usaid bin 'Amr bin Tamīm said:-

Had it not been for the Beni Mālik and the alliance which was observed
And Mālik, graces and dignity are found amongst them.

This stanza is in a poem of his. Its plural is 'ālāl'. The poet said:-

There is no bond between you and me
So do not be at pains to create a bond

Adh-dhimmah means 'the covenant'. Al-Ajda' bin Mālik of Hamdān who was Abū Masrūq bin al-Ajda' and was skilled in jurisprudence said:-

We have a covenant to observe that you shall pass through the land whether it be known to us or unknown

This stanza is in three stanzas belonging to him. Its plural is 'dhimam'.

they will satisfy you with their mouths but their hearts will refuse; the most of them are reprobates

They have sold the signs of Allah for a small price, and have turned (people) aside from His way; that which they have been doing is evil.

In respect of a believer they will not regard bond or agreement; they are the ill-disposed.

That is: They have shown hostility to you

So if they repent and perform the Prayer and pay the alms they are your brothers in religion - We make clear Our signs for a people who have knowledge.

Ibn Ishāq: Hakīm bin Hakīm bin 'Abbād bin Munaif related to me on the authority of Abū Ja'far, Muhammad bin 'Ali, that he said: When the renunciation came down to the Messenger of Allah he had already sent Abū Bakr the Faithful to carry out the pilgrimage for the people and someone said to him: "O Messenger of Allah, you should have sent it to Abū Bakr". He said: "None but one of my house shall deliver it for me", and he called 'Ali bin Abū Tālib and said to him: "Take this story from the beginning of the ^{Surah of} Renunciation and proclaim it among the people on the day of sacrifice when they are collected in Mina that no unbeliever shall enter Paradise, that no polytheist shall make the pilgrimage after this year or circumambulate the House naked, and whoever has a covenant with the Messenger of Allah it shall be observed to the end of its term. So 'Ali bin Abū Tālib set out on the she-camel of the Messenger of Allah with the slit ear and overtook Abū Bakr the Faithful. When Abū Bakr saw him on the road he said: "Are you a commanded or one under orders?". He said: "Nay, one under orders". Then they went on their way and Abū Bakr carried out the pilgrimage for the people and when that took place that year the Arabs were at the stations on the pilgrimage which they had had in the Barbarism. When the day of sacrifice came, 'Ali bin Abū Tālib arose and proclaimed to the people that which the Messenger of Allah had commanded him, and said: "O People, verily no unbeliever shall enter Paradise, and no polytheist shall perform the pilgrimage after this year, nor shall he circumambulate the House naked, and whoever has a treaty with the Messenger of Allah, it is still in force

till the end of its term", and he granted a respite of four months to the people from the day on which he made the proclamation to them so that each tribe might get to a place of security and to their country. Thereafter no polytheist had treaty or alliance with the Messenger of Allah except he who had a treaty with him for a specified period and it remained in force till the end of the period, and after that year no polytheist might perform the pilgrimage or circumambulate the House naked.

Ibn Ishāq: This was a renunciation of the polytheists who had a comprehensive treaty, but the people who had a specified period had up till the end of the period.

Ibn Ishāq: Then Allah commanded His messenger to make war on the polytheists both those who had the treaty for a specified period who had broken it and those who had the comprehensive treaty after the four months which he appointed as a term for them, except in cases where any of them made an attack during these months when he was to be attacked in return. He said:-

Will ye not fight against a people who have violated their oaths, and had it in mind to expel the Messenger, and who took the initiative with you the first time? Are ye afraid of them? Allah is more entitled to you fear if ye be believers

Fight them and Allah will punish them at your hands, will humiliate them and aid you against them, and will bring healing to the breasts of a people who are believers, and will take away the anger of their hearts; Allah relenteth

That is: After that

towards whomsoever He willeth; Allah is knowing, wise Or did ye reckon that ye would be left (at peace) when Allah did not yet know those of you who had striven and have not chosen any ally apart from Allah and His messenger and the believers. Allah is well aware of what ye do.

Ibn Hishām: Walījah means an intruder, its plural is Walā'ij and it comes from walaja, yaliju; that is, dakhala yadkhalu. In the Book of Allah (it is said):-

till a camel enter the eye of a needle¹⁰¹ (Sūrah 7: 40).

That is: Goes into. He says: They did not chose a partisan apart from Him, hiding from Him something other than they manifested like what the hypocrites do, manifesting faith to those who have believed and when they went apart to their satans they said: "we are with you".

The poet said:-

Know that you have been made a partisan
They have brought to you death unmixed.

Ibn Ishāq: Then he mentioned the saying of Quraish: "We are the people of the sacred territory, the providers of water for the pilgrims, and those who visit the House on the Lesser Pilgrimage, so there is no one superior to us", and said:-

They only shall visit Allah's places of worship who have
believed in Allah and the Last Day

That is: Your pilgrimage is not on that basis. Only those shall
visit Allah's places of worship; that is, those who visit them aright,
who have believed in Allah and the Last Day

have performed the Prayer, brought their alms, and have
feared nothing but Allah;

That is: These are its pilgrims

happily such will be among those who are rightly guided
and happily truth is from Allah. Then he said:-

Do ye place the giving of water to the pilgrims and the
visitation of the Sacred Mosque on the same level as him
who has believed in Allah and the Last Day, and has
striven in the way of Allah? They are not alike in Allah's
estimation.....

Then the story*(follows) and he ends with mentioning Munain and what
happened there - their turning away from their enemies and the help
which Allah sent down after their forsaking. Then he said:-

The polytheists are simply filth, so after this present
year they shall not approach the Sacred Mosque; if ye
fear poverty

That was because the people said: "The markets will be cut off from
us and trade will die and all the benefits we derived from it will
go away" so Allah said:-

if ye fear poverty, Allah will enrich you from His bounty
if He willeth;

That is: From another direction

Allah is knowing, wise.

Fight against those who do not believe in Allah nor in
the Last Day, and who do not make forbidden what Allah
and His messenger have made forbidden, and who do not
practise the religion of truth, of those who have been
given the Book, till they pay the poll-tax off-hand, being
humbled.

That is: In this there is compensation for the cutting off of the

*Variant: 'About their enemy'.

markets which ye feared; Allah hath compensated you for what was taken away from you with the affair of polytheism by the poll-tax which He gave you from the necks of the People of the Book. Then He mentioned the people of the two Books and the evil and calumny against him that existed among them and ended with His saying:-

Many of the Rabbis and monks consume the wealth of the people in vanity, and turn (others) aside from the way of Allah; those who treasure up gold and silver and do not expend them in the way of Allah - to them give tidings of a painful punishment. ^{102.}

Then he mentioned the Postponement and the sins which the Arabs committed in connection with it. The Postponement was the making secular some of the months which Allah had made sacred, and making sacred some months which Allah had made secular. He said:-

The months with Allah are twelve in number, (written) in Allah's Book on the day when He created the heavens and the earth; of these four are sacred; that is the right religion; so do not wrong each other in them

That is: Do not make what is sacred secular, nor what is secular sacred, as the polytheists have done.

The Postponement
which they were practising

is simply an increase in unbelief in which those who have disbelieved go astray; they make it secular one year and sacred the next, that they may make the number of what Allah hath made sacred, adaptable, and make secular what Allah hath made sacred; the evil of their deeds appears good to them, but Allah guideth not the unbelieving people.

Then He mentioned Tabūk and the sluggishness of the Muslims in regard to it and how much they said about the expedition against the Byzantines when the Messenger of Allah called upon them to fight them; also the hypocrisy of those who played the hypocrite when they were summoned to the struggle to which they were summoned; and their wrong actions in Islam with which he reproached them. He said:-

O ye who have believed, what is the matter with you? When one says to you: "March out in the way of Allah", ye are weighed down to the ground....

Then follows the story down to His saying:-

He will inflict upon you a painful punishment, and will substitute (for you) another people.

down to His saying:-

If ye do not aid him, Allah hath already aided him, when

those who have disbelieved expelled him, the second of two when they were in the cave.

Then He said to His Prophet mentioning the hypocrites:-

If it were some gain near at hand and a journey with a definite object, they would follow thee, but the distance is too great for them; they will swear by Allah: "If we were able we should go out with you", destroying themselves; Allah knoweth they are lying.

That is: That they are able.

Allah forgive thee! why didst thou admit them until it was clear to thee who spoke truly, and thou didst know who were the ones who were lying

down to His saying:-

Had they gone out with you, they would have added to you nothing but corruption, and they would have run about in the midst of you desiring to bring sedition upon you and amongst you are some who would have listened to them.

Ibn Hishām: Auda'ū Khilālakum means 'they went about among your weak ones. Al-Īdā' is a way of going quicker than walking. Al-Ajda' bin Mālik of Hamdān said:-

One alone chases you who pounces on his prey
With a kind (of gait) between running and cantering

This stanza is in a poem of his.

Ibn Ishāq: The people of rank who sought his permission (to remain behind) were, according to what I heard, 'Abdallah bin Ubai bin Salūl and al-Jadd bin Qais. They were noble men in their tribe, and Allah withheld them from setting out with him because of what He knew of them for they would have corrupted his soldiers; there was in his army a group of people who liked them, and would have obeyed them in anything to which they called them, because of their rank amongst them. So He said:-

amongst you are some who would have listened to them;
Allah knoweth the wrongdoers
They were desirous of sedition before this

That is: Before they asked permission of thee
and turned things upside down for thee

That is: In order to induce your friends to forsake you and turn your affair back upon yourself

until the truth came and the affair of Allah gained the upper hand in spite of them.
Some of them say: "Grant me permission and do not tempt me"; have they not fallen into sedition?

The one who said that, as his name was given to us, was al-Jadd bin Qais, brother of the Beni Salamah, when the Messenger of Allah summoned him to fight the Byzantines. Then follows the story down to His saying:-

If they were to find a place of refuge, or caves, or a place to enter they would have turned aside to it as they ran away.
Some of them speak ill of thee with regard to the alms; if they are given a share of them they are pleased, if they are not given a share of them they are angry

That is: Their thought, their satisfaction and their annoyance is with regard to their worldly things. Then he made plain for whom the alms were intended and named those who were to receive them:-

The alms are only for the poor and the destitute, for the agents employed therein, for those whose hearts are to be won over, for (the ransom of) slaves, for debtors, for expenditure in the way of Allah, and for the wayfarer - an ordinance from Allah; Allah is knowing, wise.

Then He mentioned their treachery and the harm they did to the Prophet and said:-

Some of them insult the Prophet and say: "He is (all) ears".
Say: "Good ears for you; he believes in Allah and gives credence to the believers
And a mercy for those of you who have believed but for those who injure the Messenger of Allah is a painful punishment.

According to what I heard the one who made that statement was Nabtal bin al-Harith, brother of the Beni 'Amr bin 'Auf, and this verse came down about him, because he said: "Muhammad is (all) ears; whoever tells him anything he believes it". Allah says:-

Say: "Good ears for you

That is: He hears the good and believes it. Then He said:-

They swear to you by Allah in order that they may satisfy you, but it is more fitting that they should satisfy Allan and His messenger if they are believers.

Then He said:

If you ask them they will no doubt say: "We were only engaging in conversation and playing"; say: "Were ye mocking at Allah, His signs, and His messenger?"

down to His saying:-

If one section of you be pardoned, another section will be punished.

The one who made this statement was Wadī' ibn Thābit, brother of the Beni Umayyah ibn Zaid, from the Beni 'Amr ibn 'Auf, and the one who was forgiven, according to what I heard, was Mukhashshin ibn Humayyar the Ashja'ite, ally of the Beni Salamah because he denied part of what he heard from them. Then the story describing them (follows) till he comes to His saying:-

O thou Prophet, strive with the unbelievers and the Hypocrites, and be rough with them; their resort is Gehenna - a bad destination.

They swear by Allah that they did not say it, but they spoke the word of unbelief, and have disbelieved after becoming Muslims, and had in mind what they did not attain to; nor had they anything to take revenge for except that Allah and His messenger had enriched them of His bounty.

down to His saying:-

neither a friend nor a helper.

The one who made that statement was al-Julās ibn Suwaid ibn Sāmīt, and a man who was under his protection called 'Umair ibn Sa'd reported it to him but he denied^{it} and swore by Allah that he did not say it. When the Qur'ān came down about them, he repented and withdrew(it), and according to what I heard, his repentance was genuine. Then He said:-

Some of them make a covenant with Allah: "If He giveth us of His bounty we will certainly give alms, and will be of those who are upright."

The one who made a covenant with Allah was Tha'labah ibn Hātib, also Mu'attib ibn Qushair and they were brothers from the Beni 'Amr ibn 'Auf. Then He said:-

Those who speak ill of the believers who are volunteers in the matter of alms-giving, and at those who find nothing to give but their effort, and scoff at them - may Allah scoff at them, for them is a punishment painful.

Those who were volunteers in that matter of alms-giving were 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Auf and 'Āsim ibn 'Adi, brother of the Beni 'l-'Ajlān because the Messenger of Allah urged alms-giving and made a special point of it. So 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Auf arose and gave alms to the tune of four thousand dirhems, and 'Āsim ibn 'Adi arose and gave alms to the tune of one hundred camel loads of dates, and they spoke ill of them and said: "This is nothing but hypocrisy". The one who gave alms according to his ability was Abū 'Aqīl brother of the Beni Unaif who brought a measure of dates, emptied it into the alms and

they laughed at him and said: "Verily Allah can do without the measure of Abū 'Aqīl ". Then He mentioned what they said to each other when the Messenger of Allah commanded them to fight and ordered them to march to Tabūk in spite of the intensity of the heat and the barrenness of the country. He said:-

They said: "Do not march out in the heat"; say: "The fire of Gehenna will be hotter still, if they would only be sensible

Let them laugh a little and weep much

down to His saying:-

Let not their wealth or their children please thee.

Ibn Ishāq: Az-Zuhri related to me on the authority of 'Ubaid Allah bin 'Abdallah bin 'Utbah from Ibn 'Abbās. He said: I heard 'Umar bin al-Khattāb say that when 'Abdallah bin Ubai died the Messenger of Allah was invited to pray over him, and when he stood over him about to pray, I turned round so that I stood face to face with him and said: "O Messenger of Allah, will you pray over the enemy of Allah, 'Abdallah bin Ubai who said such-and-such a thing on such-and-such a day, and I specified the days. The Messenger of Allah smiled and when I had enumerated a number of occasions, he said: "O 'Umar, leave me alone, I have been given the choice and I have made my choice. It was said to me: 'Ask pardon for them or do not ask it for them; if thou ask pardon for them seventy times Allah will not pardon them, and if I knew that he would be pardoned if I asked more than seventy times, I would ask more than seventy times"¹⁰³. Then the Messenger of Allah prayed over him, went with him, and stood beside his grave till he had finished with him. He said: I was amazed at myself and my boldness towards the Messenger of Allah, and Allah and His messenger know best. It was but a little while after that when these two verses came down:-

Never pray thou over any of them when he is dead or stand over his grave; they have disbelieved in Allah and His messenger and have died while they were reprobates.

After that the Messenger of Allah did not pray over any Hypocrite till Allah the Exalted took him.

Ibn Ishāq: Then He said:-

When a sūrah is sent down (which says): "Believe in Allah and strive in company with His messenger", the possessors of long purses ask leave of thee.....

Ibn Ubai was one of these and Allah reproached him with it and mentioned that he had done it. Then He said:-

But the messenger and those who have believed with him have striven with goods and persons and the good things are for them; they are the ones who succeed. And the apologists of the Bedouin came asking to be excused; and those who lie to Allah and His messenger sit still.

to the end of the story. The ones who made excuses for themselves, according to what I heard, were a party of the Beni Ghifār amongst whom was Khufāf ibn Aimā' ibn Rahādah. Then follows the narration to the people who made excuses till he comes to His saying:-

Nor against those to whom when they came to thee that thou mightest mount them, thou saidst: "I cannot find an animal on which to mount thee"; they turned away, their eyes full of tears for grief that they found not anything to contribute.

They were the Weepers. Then He said:-

Only is there an opening against those who, being rich, ask exemption from thee; who are content to be with those who stay behind, and Allah hath set a seal upon their hearts : they have no knowledge.

Those who stayed behind were the women. Then He mentioned their oath with the Muslims and their excuse and said:-

So turn away from them
down to His saying:-

so if ye are satisfied with them, verily Allah will not be satisfied with the people who are reprobates.

Then He mentioned the Bedouin and those of them who had played the hypocrite, and their waiting in ambush for the Messenger of Allah and the believers and said:-

Some of the Bedouin regard what they contribute as a tax, and wait for some change of fortune to befall you; a change of evil shall befall them; Allah is one who hears and knows.

Then He mentioned the Bedouins who were sincere in faith and said:-

But some of the Bedouin believe in Allah and the Last Day and regard what they contribute as a means of access to Allah, likewise the prayers of the Messenger - are they not a means of access for them.

Then He mentioned the original Emigres and Helpers, their excellence, and the good reward which Allah promised them, and linked with them those who followed them in well-doing and said:-

Allah is satisfied with them and they are satisfied with Him.

Then He said:-

Of the Bedouin who are round about you some are Hypocrites and some of the people of Medina too have become hardened in hypocrisy.

That is: They have persevered in it and have refused everything else.

We shall punish them twice

According to what I heard, the punishment which Allah promised them twice would be their remorse about the affair of Islam which they had had, and the anger which would enter into them about that would be without reckoning; then their punishment in the graves when they went to them; then the great punishment to which they would be sent - the punishment of the Fire and eternity in it. Then He said:-

Others have acknowledged their sins, and with an action that is right they have mixed another that is wrong; perhaps Allah will relent towards them; verily Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

Then He said:-

Take alms of their good to cleanse and purify them thereby to the end of the story. Then He said:-

Others are deferred for the command of Allah whether He will punish them or relent towards them

They were the three who were left behind and the Messenger of Allah deferred their affair till their repentance came from Allah.

Then He said:-

As for those who have chosen a place of worship out of opposition

to the end of the story. Then He said:-

Allah hath bought from the believers their persons and their goods at the price of Paradise (in store) for them.

Then (follows) a narration of the story of Tabūk and what happened during it which runs to the end of the Sūrah.

The (Sūrah of) Renunciation was called in the time of the Messenger of Allah and afterwards "The Scatterer" because of what it laid bare of the secrets of the people

Tabūk was the last expedition the Messenger of Allah undertook.

Poetry omitted.

Mention of year nine and its being called the Year of Deputations and the descent of the Chapter of the Victory.

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah had conquered Mecca and finished with Tabūk, and Thaqīf had accepted Islam and sworn allegiance to him, deputations of the Arabs came to him from every quarter.

Ibn Hishām: Mbū 'Ubaidah related to me that that was in year nine which was called the Year of the Deputations.

Ibn Ishāq: The Arabs were merely awaiting the affair of the tribe of Quraish and the affair of the Messenger of Allah where Islam was concerned, because Quraish were the foremost of the people, their guide, the people of the House and the sacred territory, of pure blood, being the descendants of Ishmael son of Abraham, and the leaders of the Arabs, a fact which they did not deny. It was Quraish who stood up to fight the Messenger of Allah and offer him opposition. So when Mecca was conquered, and Quraish submitted to him and Islam subdued them, the Arabs recognised that they had not the strength to fight the Messenger of Allah or to be ^{at} enmity with him, so they entered the religion of Allah, to Whom belong power and glory, in parties which came to him from all quarters. Allah says to His Prophet:-

When the help of Allah and the victory arrive
And thou seest the people entering the religion of Allah
in crowds
Then utter the praise of thy Lord

That is: Praise Allah for the religion which He hath revealed
and ask pardon of Him, for verily He was relenting.
(Surah 110: 1 - 3)

The arrival of the deputation of the Beni Tamīm and the descent of the Chapter of the Chambers.

Thus deputations of the Arabs came to the Messenger of Allah, and 'Utairid bin Hājib bin Zurārah bin 'Udus the Tamīmīte arrived at the head of the nobles of the Beni Tamīm amongst whom were al-Aqra' bin Hābis, az-Zibriqān bin Badr the Tamīmīte, one of the Beni Sa'd, and 'Amr bin al-Ahtam (and) al-Habhab (bin Zaid) . (Ibn Hisham: al-Mutāt) He was the one between whom and Mu'āwiyah bin Abū Sufyān the Messenger of Allah made a bond of brotherhood. The Messenger of

Allah had established a bond of brotherhood between some of his friends the Emigres: between Abū Bakr and 'Umar, between 'Uthmān bin 'Affān and 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin 'Auf, between Talhah bin 'Ubaid Allah and az-Zubair bin al-'Awwām, between Abū Dharr the Ghifārite and al-Miqdād bin 'Amr the Bahrānite, and between Mu'āwiyah bin Abū Sufyān and al-Hutāt bin Yazīd the Mujāsha'ite. Al-Hutāt died with Mu'āwiyah during his caliphate, and Mu'āwiyah took what inheritance he left because of this bond of brotherhood. Al-Farazdaq said to Mu'āwiyah:-

O Mu'āwiyah, your father and my uncle left an inheritance
And his near relatives took possession of it
Why have you consumed the inheritance of al-Hutāt
And an inheritance of war which is hard for you you
despise.

These two stanzas occur in some stanzas of his.

Ibn Ishāq: In the deputation of the Beni Tamīm were Nu'aim bin Yazīd, Qais bin al-Hārith, and Qais bin 'Āsim brother of the Beni Sa'd, who were part of a big deputation from the Beni Tamīm.

Ibn Hishām: 'Utārid bin Hājib, one of the Beni Dārim bin Mālik bin Hanthalah bin Mālik bin Zaid Manāt bin Tamīm, al-Aqra' bin Hābis one of the Beni Dārim bin Mālik, al-Hutāt bin Yazīd one of the Beni Dārim bin Mālik, az-Zibriqān bin Badr, one of the Beni Bahdalah bin 'Auf bin Ka'b bin Sa'd bin Zaid Manāt bin Tamīm, 'Amr bin al-Ahtam, one of the Beni Minqar bin 'Ubaid bin al-Hārith bin 'Amr bin Ka'b bin Sa'd bin Zaid Manāt bin Tamīm, and Qais bin 'Āsim, one of the Beni Minqar bin 'Ubaid.

Ibn Ishāq: With them was 'Uyainah bin Hishn bin Hudhaifah bin Badr the Fazārite; al-Aqra' bin Hābis and 'Uyainah bin Hishn had witnessed along with the Messenger of Allah the conquest of Mecca, Hunain and at-Tā'if, and when the deputation of the Beni Tamīm came both were with them. When the deputation of the Beni Tamīm entered the mosque of the Messenger of Allah they called to the Messenger of Allah from the rear of his apartments (and said): "O Muhammad, come out to us". Their cry was an insult to the Messenger of Allah but he came out to them and they said: "We have come to have a contest with you, allow our poet and orator to speak". He said: "I give your orator permission, let him speak". So 'Utārid bin Hājib stood up and said: "Praise be to Allah who hath bestowed His bounty upon us: He is worthy of it who hath made us princes and granted us great wealth

wherewith to bestow favours. He has made us the strongest people of the East, the most numerous of them and the best equipped of them in resources. Who then among men is like unto us? Are we not the princes of the people and in possession of their favour? Whoever would strive with us let him enumerate the things we have enumerated. And verily, if we wished, we could speak at great length but we would avoid doing that concerning what He hath given us, and we are well known for this. I say this in order that you may say something like what we have said, and tell of an affair better than ours. Then he squatted down.

The Messenger of Allah said to Thābit ibn Qais ibn ash-Shammās brother of the Beni 'l-Hārith ibn al-Khazraj: "Rise and give an answer to the oration of this man", and Thābit arose and said:- "Praise be to Allah whose creation is the heavens and the earth in which He executed His affair; His knowledge embraces His throne and there had been nothing at all except by His bounty. Then it was by His power that he made us princes and chose the best of His creation as a messenger, whom He honoured in pedigree, made him speak veraciously, caused him to excel in merit, sent down His Book to him, and entrusted him with His creation, so that he was Allah's chosen one from all the worlds. Then He called upon the people to believe in him, and the Emigres of his people believed in the Messenger of Allah, and those who were of his kindred - the most noble of men in pedigree and the goodliest of men in appearance and the best of men in deed. Then we were the first of creation to comply and to respond to Allah when the Messenger of Allah gave his call. As for us, we are the Helpers of Allah the ministers of His messenger who fight the people till they believe in Allah. Whoever believes in Allah and His messenger has protected his life and property, and whoever disbelieves we will contend against him in (the way of) Allah at all times and it will be an easy matter for us to kill him. I make this statement of mine, and I ask the forgiveness of Allah for myself and the believers, men and women. Peace be upon you".

Poetry omitted.

Ibn Ishāq: When Hassān ibn Thabit had finished what he had to say al-Aqrā' ibn Hābis said: "By my father, this man has got something

his orator is abler than ours; their voices are louder than ours. When the party had finished they accepted Islam and the Messenger of Allah gave them their trophies which were good ones. The people had left 'Amr bin al-Ahtam behind in charge of their camels and he was the youngest of them in years, and Qais bin 'Āsim who hated 'Amr bin al-Ahtam said: "O Messenger of Allah, there was one of the men in our camp who is young and I regard him as of no account". The Messenger of Allah gave him the same as he gave the people, and 'Amr bin al-Ahtam said, when he heard what Qais had said, satirizing him:-

You have continued to belittle the hairless ones (when)
you reviled me
In the presence of the Messenger of Allah; you did not
speak the truth and you were not right
We have to a large extent become your masters and your
mastery is broken
(like) the teeth of (the dog who) sits on his tail.

Ibn Hishām: A stanza remains which we have omitted because he uses unseemly language in it.

Ibn Ishāq: Part of the Qur'ān came down in connection with them:-
Verily those who call to thee from behind the chambers
are mostly people who have no knowledge. (Surah 49: 4).

The story of 'Āmir bin at-Tufail and Arbad bin Qais in connection with the delegation from the Beni 'Āmir.

A delegation from the Bani 'Āmir at the head of whom were 'Āmir bin at-Tufail and Arbad bin Qais bin Jaz' bin Khālīd bin Ja'far and Jabbar bin Salma bin Mālīk bin Ja'far came to the Messenger of Allah. These three were the chiefs of their people and their satans. 'Āmir bin at-Tufail came to the Messenger of Allah with treacherous intent. His people had said to him: "O 'Āmir, the people have islamized, so do thou likewise". He said: "I have sworn that I will not desist till the Arabs are following in my wake; shall I then follow in the wake of this youth from Quraish?". Then he said to Arbad: "When we go to the man I will divert this face from you, and when I do that, slay him with the sword". When they came to the Messenger of Allah 'Āmir bin at-Tufail said: "O Muhammad, come aside with me". He said: "Certainly not till you believe in Allah alone". He said: "O

Muhammad, come aside with me", and began talking to him in the hope that Arbad would do what he had commanded him to do, but 'Arbad was somewhat perplexed. When 'Amir saw what he was doing, he said: "O Muhammad, come aside with me". He said: "No, till you believe in Allah alone, He has no partner". When the Messenger of Allah rebuffed him he said: "Then I will indeed fill it (Medina) with men and horses against you". When he turned away, the Messenger of Allah said: "O Allah, let this be enough of 'Amir bin at-Tufail". When they went away from the Messenger of Allah, 'Amir said to Arbad: "Out upon you, O Arbad! What about the thing I commanded you to do? There was not on the face of the earth a man more fearsome than you in my estimation than you, but I swear to you by Allah, I shall never be afraid of you after to-day". He said: "May you have no father! Do not be hasty with me. Indeed I had just set my mind on doing what you commanded me to do with regard to him, but you came between the man and me, till I could see nobody but you, and should I smite you with the sword". Thus they set out on their return to their country and when they were at a certain stage of the journey, Allah sent a plague (spot) on 'Amir bin at-Tufail's neck, and Allah killed him in the house of a woman of the Beni Salul. Then he said: "O Beni 'Amir, is there a disease like the disease of the young camel in the house of a woman of the Beni Salul?"

Ibn Ishaq: After they had buried him, his friends set out and reached the country of the Beni 'Amir in two companies. When they arrived their people came to them and said: "What is behind you, O Arbad?" (i.e. What news have you brought?). He said: "Nothing. He called us to the worship of something and I would that he were beside me now for I would smite him with arrows and kill him". A day or two after he said this he set out with a camel of his which he had for sale, and Allah sent a thunderbolt on him and his camel which consumed them both. Arbad bin Qais was a brother of Labid bin Rabi'ah by his mother.

Ibn Hisham: Zaid bin Aslam mentioned on the authority of 'Ata' bin Yasar from Ibn 'Abbās. He said: Allah sent down about 'Amir and Arbad:-

Allah knoweth what each female carries and by how much the wombs shrink or increase,

down to His saying:-

and apart from Him they have no patron. (Sūrah 13: 8 - 13).

He said: Those who follow one another (i.e. angels) are those who keep Muhammad by the command of Allah. Then He mentioned Arbad and that wherewith Allah slew him and said:-

and He sendeth the thunderbolts and smiteth with them
whomsoever He pleaseth

down to His saying:-

strong in device. (Sūrah 13: 15).

Poetry omitted.

The arrival of Dimām bin Tha'labah as delegate from the Beni Sa'd bin Bakr.

Ibn Ishāq: The Beni Sa'd bin Bakr sent one of their men called Dimām bin Tha'labah to the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad bin al-Walīd bin Nuwaifi' related to me on the authority of Kuraib, client of 'Abdallah bin 'Abbas from Ibn 'Abbās: He said: The Beni Sa'd bin Bakr sent Dimām bin Tha'labah as delegate to the Messenger of Allah and he came to him, dismounted at the door of the mosque, hobbled his camel, and entered the mosque where the Messenger of Allah was squatting with his friends. Dimām was a robust man, very hairy and the possessor of two locks. He came up and stood before the Messenger of Allah and his friends and said: "Which of you is the son of 'Abd al-Muttalib?". The Messenger of Allah said: "I am the son of 'Abd al-Muttalib". He said: "Are you Muhammad?". He said: "Yes". He said: "O Ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib, I will question you and use hard language to you in the matter so do not be grieved in yourself". He said: "I will not be grieved in myself, ask about anything that seems good to you". He said: "I adjure you by Allah, your God, the God of those who were before you, and the God of those who will be after you, has Allah sent you as a messenger?". He said: "Yes, of course". He said: "I adjure you by Allah, your God, the God of those who were before you, and the God of those who will be after you, did Allah command you to command us to worship Him alone, not to associate anything with Him, and to cast aside these equals which our fathers worshipped along with Him?". He said: "Yes, of course". He said: "I adjure you by Allah, your God, the God of

those who were before you, and the God of those who will be after you, did Allah command you that we should pray these five prayers?". He said: "Yes". Then he went on to mention the ordinances of Islam one by one, the alms, the fast, the pilgrimage, and all the institutions of Islam, adjuring him at each ordinance as he had done concerning those which went before, and when he had finished he said: "Then I testify that there is no god but Allah; I testify that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah, and I will fulfill those ordinances and shun what you have forbidden me, and I will neither add nor take away". Then he went out to return to his camel and the Messenger of Allah said: "If the owner of the two locks spoke the truth he will enter Paradise". So he came to his camel, loosed its shackles, set out and went to his people and they gathered together to him and the very first utterance he gave was to say: "Evil is al-Lāt and al-'Uzza". They said: "Gently O Dimām! Fear leprosy, fear elephantiasis, fear madness" He said: "Alas for you! They neither benefit nor do injury. Allah hath sent a messenger and given him a Book by which He has delivered you from that which you have followed. I testify that there is no god but Allah alone, He has no associates: that Muhammad is His servant and messenger and I have brought you from him that which he has commanded you to perform and that which he has forbidden you". He said: And from that day there was not a man or woman in his settlement who was not a Muslim. 'Abdallah bin 'Abbas said: "We did not hear of the delegate of any tribe who was better than Dimām bin Tha'labah.

The arrival of al-Jārūd with a deputation of 'Abd Qais.

Ibn Ishāq: Al-Jārūd bin 'Amr bin Hanash brother of 'Abd al-Qais came to the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Hishām : Al-Jārūd bin Bishr bin al-Mu'alla with a deputation of 'Abd al-Qais, and he was a Christian.

Ibn Ishāq: One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of al-Hasan. He said: When he came to the Messenger of Allah, he talked with him and the Messenger of Allah expounded Islam, called him to it, and desired to have him in it. He said: "O Muhammad, I had a religion but I will abandon my religion for yours, will you then guarantee to me my religion?". The Messenger of Allah said:

"Yes, I will guarantee that Allah has guided you to what is better than it". So he and his friends islamized. Then he asked the Messenger of Allah for a mount and the Messenger of Allah said: "I have nothing on which to mount you". He said: "O Messenger of Allah, between us and our country are some stray beasts belonging to the people, may we get to our country on them". He said: "No, I warn you to beware of them for they are merely the burning of the Fire". So al-Jārūd went away from him and returned to his people. He made good his acceptance of Islam and remained firm in his faith till he died although he lived to see the Apostasy.

When those of his people who had islamized returned to their former religion with al-Gharūr bin al-Mundhir bin an-Nu'mān bin al-Mundhir, al-Jārūd arose and spoke testifying the testimony of the truth and called to Islam and said: "O people, verily I testify that there is no god but Allah; that Muhammad is His servant and messenger; and I declare an unbeliever whosoever will not (thus) testify.

Ibn Hishām: It is also related as: I will be enough for those who do not testify.

Ibn Ishāq: Before the conquest of Mecca, the Messenger of Allah had sent al-'Alā' bin al-Hadramī to al-Mundhir bin Sāwā the 'Abdite and he islamized and his islamization was a good thing. Then he died after the Messenger of Allah before the apostasy of the people of Bahrain, and al-'Alā' was with him as a governor of the Messenger of Allah over Bahrain.

The arrival of the deputation of the Beni Hanīfah accompanied by the liar Musailamah.

A deputation of the Beni Hanīfah amongst whom was Musailamah bin Habib the liar came to the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Hishām: Musailamah bin Thamamah who was surnamed Abū Thumamah.

Ibn Ishāq: Their lodging-place was in the house of the daughter of al-Hārith a woman of the Helpers and from the sub-division of the Beni an-Najjār. One of scholars from the inhabitants of Medina related to me that the Beni Hanīfah brought him to the Messenger of Allah concealed in clothes while the Messenger of Allah was squatting with his friends and he had a leafless branch of palm and

on his head were palm leaves. When he came to the Messenger of Allah whilst they were concealing him with clothes, he spoke to him and requested (something) from him and the Messenger of Allah said to him: "Had you asked for this leafless palm branch I would not have given it to you".

Ibn Ishāq: An old man of the Beni Hanīfah from the inhabitants of al-Yamāmah related to me that this incident took place in another way. He asserted that the deputation of the Beni Hanīfah came to the Messenger of Allah leaving Musailamah behind in their tents. When they islamized they mentioned where he was and said: "O Messenger of Allah, we have left a friend of ours behind in our tents with the animals to look after them". So the Messenger of Allah ordered for him the same as what he had ordered for the people and said: "He is none the worse in station amongst you", that is, because he kept the effects of his friends. That was what the Messenger of Allah meant. Then they went away from the Messenger of Allah and brought him the answer he had given him. When they reached al-Yamāmah the enemy of Allah apostatized, pretended to be a prophet, lied to them and said: "Verily I have been made a partner with him in the affair" and he said to the deputation which had gone with him: "Did he not say to you when you mentioned me to him: 'He is none the worse in station amongst you'. That means nothing else but that he knows I have become a partner with him in the affair". Then he began to use rhyming prose and to say to them anything he said in imitation of the Qur'ān:-

Allah hath bestowed favour on the pregnant woman
He extracted from her a breath which blows between the
dermis and the intestines

He made wine and adultery allowable for them

He put away from the Prayer and withal he testified to the Messenger of Allah that he was a prophet and Hanīfah agreed with him about that. Allah, however, knows best whether that was so.

The arrival of Zaid al-Khail with the deputation of Tayy.

Ibn Ishāq: A deputation from Tayy with Zaid al-Khail who was their chieftain at their head, came to the Messenger of Allah. When they came to him they talked with him and the Messenger of Allah expounded Islam to them and they islamized and their islamization was

genuine. According to what one of the men of Tayy' who was above suspicion related to me, the Messenger of Allah said: "No man of the Arabs was ever mentioned to me for his excellence and then came to me whom I did not find to be inferior to what had been said of him except Zaid al-Khail for all that was in him was not told". Then the Messenger of Allah called him "Zaid al-Khair" and apportioned him Faid and certain lands along with it and gave him a document for it. Then he set out from the Messenger of Allah on his return journey to his people and the Messenger of Allah said: "If Zaid escapes the fever of Medina for it is.....". He said: The Messenger of Allah gave it another name than 'fever' and another name than 'Umm Maldam', but he did not confirm it. When he went out from the town of Najd to one of its water spots called Fardah the fever attacked him and he died there. When Zaid felt death approaching he said:-

Are my people journeying to the east in the morning
And having come to Najd shall I be left in a house in
Fardah
Many a day when I was sick there have come to me
Visitors, and those who are not wearied are in distress

The affair of 'Adi ibn Hātim.

As for 'Adi ibn Hātim, he said, according to what I heard: "None of the Arabs had a greater loathing for the Messenger of Allah when he heard of him than I had. For myself, I was a man of dignity and a Christian. I was marching at the head of my people, taking a quarter of the spoils. I had a religion and I was a prince among my people because of what had happened to me. When I heard of the Messenger of Allah, I loathed him and said to an Arab slave I had who was the shepherd for my camels: 'May you have no father! prepare for me from my camels some well-fed, trained beasts and hold them in readiness near me. If you hear that an army belonging to Muhammad has entered this country give me word'. He did so, came to me one morning and said: 'O Adi, that which you were going to do if the cavalry of Muhammad came upon you, do now, for I have seen some banners about which I made enquiries and they said: +These are the armies of Muhammad+'. I said: 'Bring my camels to me', and he brought them. I mounted my family and children and said: 'Go to the people of my religion, the Christians in Syria'. So I passed through al-Jūshiyyah (given as al-Hūshiyyah according to Ibn Hishām)

and left behind me a daughter belonging to Hātim in the settlement. When I came to Syria I resided there but the cavalry of the Messenger of Allah were following after me and they took the daughter of Hātim amongst those whom they took (captive), and she was brought to the Messenger of Allah amongst the captives from Tayy, for the Messenger of Allah had heard of my flight to Syria. Hātim's daughter was put in an enclosure at the door of the mosque in which the captives were imprisoned, and the Messenger of Allah passed by so she rose up before him - she was a chaste woman - and said: 'O Messenger of Allah, the father is dead and the trustee has gone away, so grant me protection, and may Allah grant you favour'. He said: 'Who is your trustee?'. She said: 'Adi bin Hātim'. He said: 'The one who fled from Allah and His messenger?'. She said: 'Then the Messenger of Allah went away and left me and when he passed by me the next day I said much the same thing to him, and he said to me much the same as he said the day before. When he passed by me the following day after I had despaired of him a man signed to me from behind him: +Rise and speak to him+. So I rose up before him and said: +O Messenger of Allah, the father is dead, and the trustee has gone away, so grant me protection, and may Allah grant you favour+. He said: +I will do it, but do not be in a hurry to set out till you find one of your people in whom you have confidence that he will take you to your country, then give me word+. I made enquiries about the man who had signed to me to speak to him and I was told: +'Ali bin Abū Tālib+. Thus I remained till a party of horsemen from Balī or Qudā'ah arrived. All I wanted was to get to my brother in Syria, so I went to the Messenger of Allah and said: +O Messenger of Allah, a party of my people in whom I have confidence has come+. Then the Messenger of Allah clothed me, and gave me something towards expenses, and I went away with them and arrived in Syria'. 'Adi said: "I was sitting with my family when I saw a camel-litter approaching and heading towards us. I said: 'Hātim's daughter', and lo, it was she. When she stopped before me she angrily reproached me saying: 'You sapparapist! you wrong-doer. You took away your family and children and abandoned your father's widow who gave you birth'. I said: 'My little sister, say nothing that is not good, for indeed I have no excuse; I have done all you have said'. Then she dismounted and

resided with me. She was a woman of resolution so I said to her: 'What do you think of the affair of this man?'. She said: 'Indeed I think that you should join him without delay, for if the man be a prophet the one who gets to him first will receive his generosity, and if he be a king, you being what you are, will never be brought low where power in the Yemen is concerned'. I said: 'This is indeed (good) advice'. So I set out, came to the Messenger of Allah in Medina, went in to him while he was in the mosque and greeted him. He said: 'Who is this man?'. I said: 'Adi bin Hātim', and the Messenger of Allah arose and took me to his house. While he was on his way thither an old weak woman met him and asked him to stop, and he stopped with her for a long time while she told him what she wanted. I said to myself: 'This is no king'. Then the Messenger of Allah took me (with him) and when he entered his house he took a leather cushion stuffed with palm leaves, threw it to me and said: 'Sit on this'. I said: 'Nay, you sit on it'. He said: 'Nay, you', so I sat on it while the Messenger of Allah sat on the ground. I said to myself: 'This is not the affair of a king'. Then he said: 'How now O 'Adi bin Hātim, are you not a Rakusian?'. I said: 'Certainly'. He said: 'And did you not march against your people for a quarter of the spoil?'. I said: 'Certainly'. He said: 'That was not allowable for you in your religion'. I said: 'That is so'. So I recognised that he was a prophet commissioned who knows what is not known. Then he said: 'O 'Adi, perhaps the poverty which you see amongst them prevents you from entering this religion, but I assure you, wealth is just about to come to them in such abundance that none will be found to take it. Perhaps the numbers of their enemies and the fewness of their own numbers prevents you from entering it, but I assure you, it will not be long till you hear of a woman setting out on her camel from al-Qadisiyyah to visit this House without fear. Perhaps what prevents you from entering it is the fact that you perceive the power and authority to belong to others: I swear by Allah that you are on the point of hearing that the white castles in the country of Babylon have been bestowed upon them'. So I islamized". 'Adi said: "Two were fulfilled and the third remained (unfulfilled), but it will surely come to pass. I saw the white castles of the country of Babylon conquered and I saw

the woman set out on her camel from al-Qadisiyyah without fear to perform the pilgrimage of this House, and I swear by Allah that the third will yet be accomplished and wealth shall be in such abundance that none will be found to take it!

The arrival of Farwah bin Musaik the Murādite.

Ibn Ishāq: Farwah bin Musaik the Murādite came to the Messenger of Allah, (thus) separating from the kings of Kindah and withdrawing from them to the Messenger of Allah. Some little time before Islam a battle took place between Murād and Hamdān in which Hamdān got their will of Murād and made a great slaughter on a day which was called the day of ar-Radm. The one who led Hamdān against Murād that day was al-Ajda' bin Mālik.

Ibn Hishām: The one who led Hamdān that day was Mālik bin Harīm of Hamdān.

Poetry omitted.

Ibn Ishāq: When he reached the Messenger of Allah, the Messenger of Allah said to him, according to what I heard: "Was that which befell your people on the day of ar-Radm bad for you, O Farwah?". He said: "O Messenger of Allah, who is there whose people are smitten with the like of what smote my people and does not suffer harm?". The Messenger of Allah said to him: "Verily that will merely be an increase of good for your people where Islam is concerned". The Prophet appointed him governor of Murād, Zubaid, and Mudhhiij - all of them, and sent with him Khālīd bin Sa'īd bin al-'Ās to take charge of the alms and he remained with him in his country till the Messenger of Allah died.

The arrival of 'Amr bin Ma'dī Karib with some men of the Beni Zubaid.

'Amr bin Ma'dī Karib came to the Messenger of Allah with some men of the Beni Zubaid and islamized. 'Amr said to Qais bin Makshūh the Murādite when the affair of the Messenger of Allah reached them: "O Qais, you are the chieftain of your people, and we have heard that a man of Quraish called Muhammad has arisen in the Hijāz saying that he is a prophet, so let us go to him that we know what knowledge he has. If he is a prophet as he says it will be obvious to you, and when we find him we will follow him, but if he is something else, we

will know what knowledge he has. Qais refused to do that and treated his advice as stupid, so 'Amr bin Ma'di Karib rode off, came to the Messenger of Allah, islamized, accepted him as genuine, and believed in him. When Qaid bin Makshūh heard that he threatened 'Amr, abused him and said: "He disagreed with me and rejected my advice".

Poetry omitted

Ibn Ishāq: 'Amr bin Ma'di Karib resided among his people, the Beni Zubaid when Farwah bin Musaik was their governor. When the Messenger of Allah dies, 'Amr bin Ma'di Karib apostatized and when he did that he said:-

We found the reign of Farwah an evil reign
An ass whose nose smells the hind-quarters
And if you but saw Abū 'Umair
You would see a bag of wickedness and treachery.

Ibn Hishām: His saying 'bithifr' is on the authority of Abū 'Ubaidah.

The arrival of al-Ash'ath bin Qais with a deputation of Kindah.

Ibn Ishāq: Al-Ash'ath bin Qais came to the Messenger of Allah with a deputation of Kindah.

Ibn Shihāb az-Zuhrī related to me that he came to the Messenger of Allah with eighty horsemen of Kindah, and they went in to the Messenger of Allah in his mosque after they had combed their luxuriant hair and put on antimony wearing long-sleeved garments of striped material which they had embroidered with silk. When they went in to the Messenger of Allah, he said: "Have you not accepted Islam?". They said: "Certainly". He said: "What then is the meaning of this silk around your necks?", so they tore it up and threw it away. Then al-Ash'ath said to him: "O Messenger of Allah, we are sons of Ākil al-Murār, and you are a son of Ākil al-Murār". The Messenger of Allah smiled and said: "They placed in this lineage al-'Abbās bin 'Abd al-Muttalib, and Rabī'ah bin al-Hārith". Al-'Abbās and Rabī'ah were two merchants and when they went abroad amongst the Arabs and were asked who they were they said: "We are sons of Ākil al-Murār", thereby obtaining consideration, because Kindah were kings. Then he said to them: "Nay, we are the Beni 'n-Nadr bin Kinānah, we do not follow the pedigree of our mother, we are not disavowed by our father". Al-Ash'ath bin Qais said: "Have you finished O people of Kindah.

Any man I hear say it I will give him eighty strokes.

Ibn Hishām: Al-Ash'ath was one of the descendants of Ākil al-Murār on the distaff side. Ākil al-Murār was al-Hārith bin 'Amr bin Hujr bin 'Amr bin Mu'āwiyah bin al-Hārith bin Mu'āwiyah bin Thaur bin Muratti' bin Mu'āwiyah bin Kindī, also given as Kindah. He was called Ākil al-Murār merely because 'Amr bin al-Habūlah the Ghassānid attacked them while al-Hārith was away and took spoils and captives. Amongst those he took captive was Umm Unās daughter of 'Auf bin Muhallim of Shaibān, wife of al-Hārith bin 'Amr. She had said to 'Amr about his journey: "It seems that a black man with pendulous lips whose under-lip is like that of a camel who eats sedge (or viper's grass) seized you by the neck", meaning al-Hārith. So he was called Ākil al-Murār, and al-Murār is a shrub. Then al-Hārith pursued him amongst Bekr bin Wā'il, overtook and slew him delivering his wife and what he had taken. Al-Hārith bin Hillizah the Yashkurite said to 'Amr bin al-Mundhir who was 'Amr bin Hind the Lakhmite:-

We have helped you, O lord of Ghassān to avenge the blood of your father al-Mundhir because blood is immeasurable.

because al-Hārith the Lame the Ghassānid killed his father al-Mundhir. This stanza is in a poem of his. This story is longer than I have given it, and only those considerations of brevity which I have mentioned prevent me from relating it. It is said (on the other hand): Ākil al-Murār was Hujr bin 'Amr bin Mu'āwiyah, who is the author of this account and he was called Ākil al-Murār merely because on that raid he and friends ate a shrub called al-Murār (sedge).

The arrival of Surad bin 'Abdallah the Azdite.

Ibn Ishāq: Surad bin 'Abdallah the Azdite came to the Messenger of Allah with a deputation of al-Azd, islamized, and his islamization was genuine. So the Messenger of Allah made him governor of those of his people who had islamized, and commanded him to fight with those who had islamized against the polytheists of the tribes of the Yemen, who were his neighbours. Surad ibn 'Abdallah set out by the command of the Messenger of Allah and made camp at Jurash, which at that time was a closed town and in it were some Yemenite tribes. Khath'am had come to it for refuge and entered it along with them when they heard of the Muslim march against them. He besieged them there for nearly

a month but inside it they were beyond his reach. Then he went away from them to return and when he reached a mountain of theirs called Shakar, the inhabitants of Jurash imagined that he had turned away from them in rout. So they went out in search of him and when they overtook him he turned on them and made a terrible slaughter amongst them. The people of Jurash had sent two of their men to the Messenger of Allah in Medina to make enquiries and observations. While they were with the Messenger of Allah one evening, the Messenger of Allah said: "In what country is Shakar?". The two men of Jurash came up to him and said: "O Messenger of Allah, there is a mountain in our country called Kashar; thus the people of Jurash call it". He said: "It is not Kashar but Shakar". They said: "What is there concerning it?". He said: "The victims for Allah are being sacrificed there just now". The two men squatted down beside either Abū Bakr or 'Uthmān, who said to them: "Alas for you! The Messenger of Allah was just now giving you bad tidings about your people, so go to the Messenger of Allah and ask him to pray to Allah to refrain from your people!". They went up to him and asked him to do that and he said: "O Allah, refrain from them". Then they set out from the Messenger of Allah to return to their people and they found their people had been smitten on the day Surad bin 'Abdallah smote them, the day on which the Messenger of Allah said what he said, and the hour wherein he mentioned what he mentioned. So a deputation from Jurash set out, came to the Messenger of Allah and islamized, and he prescribed for them a protected area around their town with well-known marks for horses and riding-animals, and for tillage by ploughing animals, and whoever of them looked after it was not allowed to use any of it. A man of al-Azd said about that raid - Khath'am had inflicted defeat on al-Azd in the Age of Barbarism when they encroached upon the sacred month:-

What a raid! We never made a raid without being disappointed

In it were mules and horses and asses

Till we came to a little ass amongst its buildings

And the concourse of Khath'am - the consecrated ones were easy for them

If I laid aside the thirst which I was enduring

I would not care whether they professed religion afterwards or disbelieved.

The messenger of the Himyarite princes arrives (bringing) their Book.

The Book of the kings of Himyar came to the Messenger of Allah after his return from Tabūk, and the messengers of their acceptance of Islam were al-Hārith ibn 'Abd Kulāl, Nu'aim ibn 'Abd Kulāl, and an-Nu'mān prince of Dhū Ru'ain, Ma'āfir and Hamdān. Zur'ah Dhū Yazan sent Mālik ibn Murrah the Rahāwite with (the announcement of) their acceptance of Islam and their abandonment of polytheism and its people. The Messenger of Allah wrote to them:-

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. From Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah, the Prophet, to al-Hārith ibn 'Abd Kulāl, Nu'aim ibn 'Abd Kulāl, and an-Nu'mān, prince of Dhū Ru'ain, Ma'āfir and Hamdān. To you (I say) Praise Allah - Allah besides Whom there is no other deity. Now your messenger reached us on our return from the country of the Byzantines. He met us in Medina and he has delivered your message, given your news, and informed us of your acceptance of Islam and your fighting against the polytheists, and that Allah hath guided you aright if you do that which is right. Obey Allah and His messenger perform the Prayer, pay the Tithe, give Allah a fifth of the spoils after the share of the messenger and his choice. Also the alms which have been prescribed for believers; of land a tenth of what is watered by spring and by heaven; of what is watered by irrigation half a tenth. For forty camels a young female foal still sucking; for thirty camels a sucking male; for five camels a lamb and for ten camels two lambs; for every forty head of cattle a cow, and for every thirty head of cattle you should sell a male or female goat; for every forty sheep pasturing on their own, a lamb. It is an ordinance of Allah which He hath imposed on the believers, so whoever excels in good it will be better for him. Whoever fulfils this, gives testimony as to his acceptance of Islam, and helps the believers against the polytheists, he is indeed one of the believers; he shall have what they have and be responsible for that for which they are responsible; he shall enjoy the protection of Allah and His messenger. Whoever embraces Islam, be he Jew or Christian shall be one of the believers; he shall have what they have and be responsible for that for which they are responsible. Whoever remains in Judaism or Christianity shall not be turned away from it; he shall pay a poll-tax, for every adult male or female bond or free a full dinar - the value of a Yemenite robe, or its equivalent in cloth. Whoever fulfils this to the Messenger of Allah shall have the protection of Allah and His messenger; whoever refuses it shall be the enemy of Allah and His messenger.

Now the Messenger of Allah, Muhammad the Prophet (sent) word to Zur'ah Dhū Yazan: If my messengers come to you I command you to treat them well; Mu'ādh ibn Jabal, 'Abdallah

bin Zaid, Mālik bin 'Ubādah, 'Uqbah bin Nimir, Mālik bin Murrah and their friends. Collect what you have in the way of alms and of poll-tax from those subservient to you and bring them to my messengers. Their commander is Mu'ādh bin Jabal, let him return satisfied

Now Muhammad testifies that there is no god but Allah and that he is His servant and messenger.

Then Mālik bin Murrah the Rahāwite related to me that you have islamized - the first of Himyar, and have fought the polytheists, so delight in good. I command you to treat Himyar well; do not deal treacherously and do not desert; for the Messenger of Allah is the protector of both rich and poor among you. The alms are not allowable for Muhammad or the people of his house; they are tithes by which distribution is made to the poor Muslims and the wayfarer. Mālik has delivered the news, kept the secrets, and I command you to treat him well. I have sent to you some of my good people, the foremost in their religion and knowledge, and I command you to treat them well, for they should have consideration. Peace be upon you, the mercy of Allah and His blessing.

The command of the Messenger of Allah to Mu'ādh when he sent him to the Yemen.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr related to me that it was related to him that when the Messenger of Allah sent Mu'ādh he charged him and put him on oath and said: "Be gentle, be not hard: announce good tidings; do not frighten. You are going to a tribe of the People of the Book who will ask you what is the key of Paradise; say: 'The testimony that there is no god but Allah alone, He has no associates'". So Mu'ādh set out and went to the Yemen and performed what the Messenger of Allah had commanded him. A woman of the inhabitants of the Yemen came to him and said: "O friend of the Messenger of Allah, what right has a woman's husband over her?". He said: "Out upon you! a woman cannot give her husband his dues but do your best to give him them as far as you are able". She said: "Even if you are the friend of the Messenger of Allah you know what is due to the husband". He said: "Out upon you! if you return to him and find his nostrils pouring out matter and blood and you sucked it up till it stopped, you would not have given him his dues".

The islamization of Farwah bin 'Amr the Judhāmite.

Ibn Ishāq: Farwah bin 'Amr bin an-Nāfirah the Judhāmite and from the sub-division of an-Nufath sent a messenger to the Messenger of Allah with his islamization and gave him the gift of a white mule. Farwah

was a governor for the Byzantines over those Arabs who adhered to them. His district was Mu'ān and the country of Syria that lay around it. When the Byzantines heard of his islamization, they sought him out till they found him and imprisoned him.

Poetry omitted.

When the Byzantines resolved to crucify him at a water-spot of theirs called 'Ifra in Palestine, he said:-

Has Salma heard that her husband is at the water: water
of 'Ifra over one of the riding beasts
On a she-camel whose mother the stallion had not touched
whose extremities were pruned with reaping-hooks.

Ibn Shihāb az-Zuhri asserts that when they brought him forward to kill him he said:-

Tell the leaders of the Muslims that I am at peace with
my Lord my great One and my abode.

Then they beheaded and crucified him at that water-spot and may Allah the Exalted have mercy on him.

The islamization of the Beni 'l-Hārith bin Ka'b at the hand of Khālīd bin al-Walīd.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah sent Khālīd bin al-Walīd in the month of Rabī' II or Jumāda I of year ten to the Beni 'l-Hārith bin Ka'b in Najrān and commanded him to call them to Islam for three days before he fought with them. "If they respond, receive them; if they don't, fight them". So Khālīd set out and went to them, and he sent out parties to go in ever direction and give the call to Islam and say: "O people, accept Islam and you will be safe". So the people accepted Islam and entered into that to which they were called, and Khālīd resided among them teaching them Islam and the Book of Allah and the law of His Prophet, for the Messenger of Allah had commanded him so to do if they accepted Islam and did not fight. Then Khālīd bin al-Walīd wrote to the Messenger of Allah:-

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.
To Muhammad the Prophet, the Messenger of Allah from
Khālīd bin al-Walīd. Peace be upon thee O Messenger of
Allah, and the mercy of Allah and His blessing. I praise
Allah on your behalf besides whom there is no other deity.
Now, O Messenger of Allah, you sent me to the Beni 'l-
Hārith bin Ka'b and commanded me when I came to them not
to fight them for three days but to call them to Islam.

If they islamized I was to receive them, impart to them the distinguishing features of Islam, teach them the Book of Allah and the law of His prophet; if they did not islamize I was to fight them. So I came to them and called them to Islam for three days as the Messenger of Allah commanded me, sending out amongst them parties (to say): "O Beni 'l-Hārith, accept Islam and you will be safe!" so they islamized without fighting. I am now residing among them, commanding them to do what Allah hath commanded; and forbidding them to do what Allah hath forbidden; I am imparting to them the distinguishing features of Islam and the laws of the prophet until the Messenger of Allah writes to me. Peace be upon you O Messenger of Allah and the mercy of Allah and His blessing.

The Messenger of Allah wrote to him (as follows):-

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. From Muhammad the Prophet, the Messenger of Allah to Khālīd ibn al-Walīd. Peace be upon you. To you (I say) Praise Allah besides Whom there is no other deity. Now your letter has come to me by your messenger saying that the Beni 'l-Hārith ibn Ka'b accepted Islam before you fought them; responded to the Islam to which you called them, testified that there is no deity but Allah, and that Muhammad is the servant of Allah and His messenger; and that Allah hath guided them with His right guidance. Give them good tidings, warn them, come hither and let their deputation come with you. Peace be upon you and the mercy of Allah and His blessing.

So Khālīd came to the Messenger of Allah and a deputation of the Beni 'l-Hārith came with him amongst whom were Qais ibn al-Husain who had an obstruction in his throat, Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Madān, Yazīd ibn al-Muhajjal, 'Abdallah ibn Qurād az-Ziyādī, Shaddād ibn 'Abdallah al-Qanānī, and 'Amr ibn 'Abdallah ad-Dibānī. When they came to the Messenger of Allah and he saw them he said: "Who are these people who look as if they were men from India", and someone said to him: "O Messenger of Allah, these are the Beni 'l-Hārith ibn Ka'b". When they stopped in front of the Messenger of Allah they greeted him and said: "We testify that thou art the Messenger of Allah and that there is no deity but Allah". The Messenger of Allah said: "I too testify that there is no deity but Allah and that I am the Messenger of Allah". Then the Messenger of Allah said: "You are the (kind of people) who want to come forward when they are held back", and they were silent; none of them answered him. Then he repeated it a second time and none of them answered him, and he repeated it a third time and none of them answered him. He repeated it for the fourth time and Yazīd

bin 'Abd al-Madān said: "Yes, O messenger of Allah, we are (the kind of people) who want to come forward when they are held back. He said it four times and the Messenger of Allah said: "Had Khālīd not written that you islamized without fighting I would have cast your heads beneath your feet". Yazīd bin 'Abd al-Madān said: "We certainly did not praise you nor did we praise Khālīd". He said: "Whom did you praise?". "We praised Allah who guided us by means of you, O Messenger of Allah". He said: "You have spoken the truth". Then the Messenger of Allah said: "By what means did you conquer those who fought against you in the Age of Barbarism?". They said: "We did not conquer anyone". He said: "Of course you did, you conquered those who fought against you". They said: "O Messenger of Allah, we conquered those who fought against us because we kept together, did not separate, and did no one wrong in the first place". He said: "You have spoken the truth". Then the Messenger of Allah put Qais bin al-Husain in command of the Beni 'l-Hārith bin Ka'b and the deputation of the Beni 'l-Hārith returned to their people at the end of Shawwāl or the beginning of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah. After they returned to their people it was only a matter of four months till the Messenger of Allah died.

The Messenger of Allah sends 'Amr bin Hāzm to them;

After their deputation went back, the Messenger of Allah sent 'Amr bin Hāzm to instruct them in the religion, teach them the laws and the knowledge of Islam, and to receive their alms. He wrote him a letter in which he laid down conditions for him and gave him his orders:-

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is a declaration from Allah and His messenger. O ye who have believed, fulfil you compacts.

A covenant from Muhammad the Prophet, the Messenger of Allah with 'Amr bin Hāzm when he sent him to the Yemen. He commanded him to show piety towards Allah in all his affair, for Allah is with those who are pious and those who do good. He commanded him to take what is just as Allah had commanded him and that he should give tidings of good to the people and command them to perform it; that he should teach the people the Qur'ān and ground them well in it; that he should forbid the people that any man touch the Quran unless he were in a state of purity; that he should inform the people of what they have and what their duties are; that he should be lenient towards the people on a matter of right but be severe on them in a matter of wrong-doing, for Allah detesteth wrong-doing and hath

forbidden it. He said: Verily the curse of Allah is on the wrongdoers. He was to give the people the good news of Paradise and its works; and he was to warn the people of the Fire and its works and to cultivate the friendship of the people till they were grounded in the religion. He was to teach the people the knowledge of the pilgrimage, its regulations and ordinances and what Allah had commanded. The Greater Pilgrimage is the Greater Pilgrimage and the Lesser Pilgrimage is the 'Umrah. He was to forbid the people to pray in a single short garment unless it be a garment whose edges fold over the shoulder and he was to forbid any of them to use in kneeling a garment whose opening was toward heaven. He was to forbid any of them to twist the hair of his head on the nape of his neck and when there was unrest among the people he was to forbid any call to the tribes and kinsmen; their call should be to Allah alone who has no associate. Whoever then did not call on Allah but called on the tribes and clansmen let them smite with the sword till they make their call to Allah alone who has no associate. He was also to enjoin the people about the performance of the ablutions, their faces, their hands to the elbows and their feet to the ankles and they should wipe their heads as Alla had commanded them. He also commanded (the observance of) the Prayer at the proper time with full prostrations and due humility to be performed in the morning and at noon when the sun begins to decline, then in the late afternoon when the sun is turning away from the earth, and at sunset when night is coming on; it should not be deferred till the stars appear in the sky; and the evening prayer in the early part of the night. He commanded them to go to the Friday worship when called to it and to perform ablution when they went to it. He commanded him to take a fifth of the spoils for Allah and the alms prescribed for believers; of lands a tenth of what is watered by springs and rain, and of what is watered by irrigation half a tenth; for every ten camels two lambs, and for every twenty (camels) four lambs; for every forty head of cattle a cow; for every thirty head of cattle a male or female goat; for every forty sheep pasturing on their own a lamb. It is the ordinance of Allah which He has imposed on the believers concerning alms. Whoever excels in well-doing it will be better for him, and whoever has accepted Islam in sincerity be he Jew or Christian on his own account is one of the believers; he has what they have and he is responsible for that for which they are responsible. Whoever will remain in Judaism or Christianity will not be turned away from it. On every adult male or female, bond or free, a full dinar or its equivalent in cloth. Whoever fulfils this shall have the protection of Allah and His messenger, and whoever rejects it is an enemy to Allah and His messenger and to all the believers. The blessings of Allah be upon Muhammad, and His peace, mercy, and blessing.

The arrival of Rifā'ah bin Zaid the Judhāmīte.

Rifā'ah bin Zaid the Judhāmīte and from the subdivision of ad-Dubain came to the Messenger of Allah during the truce of al-Hudaibiyah before Khaibar, gave the Messenger of Allah the gift of a slave boy accepted Islam, and his islamization was genuine. The Messenger of Allah wrote him a letter for his people and in his letter (he said):-

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.
This is a letter from Muhammad the Messenger of Allah to Rifā'ah bin Zaid. I have sent him to his people as a whole and those who have come amongst them to call them to Allah and His messenger. Whoever comes is in the party of Allah and in the party of His messenger, and whoever turns his back has protection for two months.

When Rifā'ah came to his people, they complied and accepted Islam. Then they went to the stony place - the stony place of ar-Rajlā' and encamped there.

The arrival of the deputation of Hamdān.

Ibn Hishām: According to what one in whom I have confidence related to me on the authority of 'Amr bin 'Abdallah bin Udhainah the 'Abdite from Ibn Ishāq the Sabī'ite a deputation of Hamdan came to the Messenger of Allah. He said: The deputation came to the Messenger of Allah and they met him on his return from Tabūk. They were wearing sewn Yemenite garments, Aden turbans, and (rode on) saddles of Mais wood on Mahrite and Arhabite camels. Mālik and another man composed extemporary verse in the party. One of them would say:-

Hamdān are the best subjects
No kings in the world have the like of them
Their dwelling is in the high places - from them come the heroes
They have much natural wealth and good revenues

The other would say:-

We have passed by well-watered towns with abundance of fruit to come to you
In the dust of summer and autumn
(Our camels) bridled with ropes of palm

Mālik bin Namat stood up before him and said: "O messenger of Allah, the best of the people of Hamdan from every settlement and encampment have come to thee, riding on swift young camels, and joined together by the bonds of Islam, on whom the blame of any who blame will not rest, from the province of Khārif, Yāmi and Shākir

people of camels and horses who have complied with the call of the messenger and abandoned goddesses and idols. Their covenant will not be broken so long as La'la's remains or the young gazelle races with vigour". So the Messenger of Allah wrote for them a letter in which (he said):-

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. A letter from Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah to the province of Khārif and the people bordering on the heights and the winding tracts of sand with its delegate Dhū 'l-Mash'ār Malik bin Namat and those of his people who have islamized with him. They shall keep their highlands and lowlands on condition that they observe the Prayer and pay the Tithe; they shall eat their acacia-fruit and tend their plants. For that they have the covenant of Allah and the protection of His messenger and their witnesses are the Emigres and Helpers.

Poetry omitted

An account of the two liars Musailamah the Hanafite and al-Aswad the 'Ansite.

Ibn Ishāq: The two liars Musailamah bin Habib and al-Aswad bin Ka'b the 'Ansite gave out utterances in the time of the Messenger of Allah; the one in al-Yamamah among the Beni Hanīfah, and the other in San'a' Yazid bin 'Abdallah bin Qusait related to me on the authority of 'Atā' bin Yasār or his brother Sulaimān bin Yasār from Abū Sa'īd the Khudrite. He said: I heard the Messenger of Allah when he was speaking to the people from the pulpit say: "O people, I have seen the night of power and I was caused to forget it, and I have seen two bracelets of gold on my arms and loathed them so I blew upon them and they flew away and I interpreted them to be these two liars - the man from the Yemen and the man from al-Yamamah".

Ibn Ishāq: One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of Abū Hurairah that he said: I heard the Messenger of Allah say: "The hour will not come till there shall come forth thirty impostors claiming the prophetic office".

The departure of the governors and officials who were in charge of the alms.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah had sent out governors and officials in charge of the alms to every country where Islam had established itself. He sent al-Muhājir bin Abū Umayyah bin al-Mughīrah to San'a' and the 'Ansite who was there came out against him. He sent Ziyād bin Labīd brother of the Beni Bayādah the Helper to Hadramaut

and to be in charge of their alms. He sent 'Adi bin Hātim to Tayy to be in charge of it and the alms and the Beni Asad. He sent Mālik bin Nuwairah (Ibn Hisham: Al-Yarbū'ī) to be in charge of the alms of the Beni Hanthalah. He divided the alms of the Beni Sa'd between two of their men assigning az-Zibriqān bin Badr one district of it and Qais bin 'Āsim the other. He sent al-'Alā' bin al-Hadramī out to be in charge of Bahrain and he sent 'Ali bin Abū Tālib to the people of Najrān to collect their alms and bring him their poll-tax.

The letter of Musailamah to the Messenger of Allah and the reply to it.
Musailamah bin Habib wrote to the Messenger of Allah (saying):-

From Musailamah the Messenger of Allah to Muhammad the Messenger of Allah. Peace be upon thee. Now I have been made a partner with thee in the affair. Verily to us belongs half the country and to Quraish the other half; but Quraish are a people who transgress the bounds.

Two messengers came to him with this letter.

Ibn Ishāq: An old man of Ashja' related to me on the authority of Salamah bin Nu'aim bin Mas'ūd the Ashja'ite from his father Nu'aim. He said: I heard the Messenger of Allah say to those two when he read their letter: "What do you say?". They said: "We say as he said". He said: "Were it not that envoys are not put to death it would surely have beheaded you both". Then he wrote to Musailamah:-

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.
From Muhammad the Messenger of Allah to Musailamah the liar. Peace be upon all who follow the true guidance. Now the earth belongs to Allah and He maketh whomsoever He willeth of His servants to inherit it, and the reward is for those who act piously.

That was at the end of year ten.

The Pilgrimage of Farewell.

Ibn Ishāq: When Dhū 'l-Qa'dah came the Messenger of Allah made preparations for the pilgrimage and commanded the people to make preparations for it.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin al-Qāsim related to me on the authority of his father al-Qāsim bin Muhammad from 'Ā'ishah wife of the Prophet. She said: The Messenger of Allah set out to make the pilgrimage five nights before the end of Dhū 'l-Qa'dah.

Ibn Hishām: He appointed Abū Dujānah the Sā'idite governor of Medina and it is also said that it was Sibā' bin 'Urfuthah the Ghilfārite.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin al-Qāsim related to me on the authority of his father from 'Ā'ishah. She said: He did not mention anything but the Pilgrimage and neither did the people. The

Messenger of Allah had brought sacrificial victims and so had some nobles of the people and when he was in Sarif he ordered the people to occupy themselves with the Lesser Pilgrimage with the exception of those who had brought sacrificial victims. I was menstruating that day and he came in to me while I was weeping and said: "What is the matter with you O 'Ā'ishah? Perhaps you are menstruating. I said: "Yes, and indeed I would have been glad if I had not come with you this year on this journey". He said: "Say not so, for you are doing all that any pilgrim does except that you will not circumambulate the House". So the Messenger of Allah entered Mecca and every man who had not got sacrificial victims with him quitted the pilgrim state for the Lesser Pilgrimage and so did his women-folks. When the day of sacrifice came, I was brought a great quantity of meat which was thrown into my house and I said: "What is the meaning of this?". They said: "The Messenger of Allah has sacrificed the cattle for his wives. When the night of the stones came, the Messenger of Allah sent me with my brother 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin Abū Bakr who took me on the Lesser Pilgrimage from at-Tan'im in place of the Lesser Pilgrimage I had missed.

Ibn Ishāq: Nāfi', client of 'Abdallah bin 'Umar related to me on the authority of 'Abdallah bin 'Umar from Hafṣah bint 'Umar. She said: "When the Messenger of Allah commanded his wives to quit the pilgrim state for the Lesser Pilgrimage we said: "O messenger of Allah, what is there to prevent you quitting the pilgrim state with us?". He said: "I have sent sacrificial victims and have taken up my position and I will not quit the pilgrim state till I sacrifice my victims.

'Ali, on his return from the Yemen comes to the Messenger of Allah during the Pilgrimage.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Najīh related to me that the Messenger of Allah had sent 'Ali to Najrān and he met him in Mecca after he

had donned the pilgrim garb. He went in to Fātimah, daughter of the Messenger of Allah and found she had doffed the pilgrim garb and had made ready. He said: "What is the matter with you, O daughter of the Messenger of Allah?". She said: "The Messenger of Allah commanded us to quit the pilgrim state for the Lesser Pilgrimage so we have doffed the pilgrim garb. Then he came to the Messenger of Allah and when he had finished giving the news of his journey, the Messenger of Allah said to him: "Go and circumambulate the House and quit the pilgrim state as your friends have done". He said: "O Messenger of Allah, I have made the invocation as you have done". He said: "Go back and quit the pilgrim state as your friends have done". He said: "O Messenger of Allah, I said when I entered the pilgrim state: 'O Allah, I will make the same invocation as thy Prophet, servant and messenger Muhammad does'". He said: "Have you any sacrificial victims?". He said: "No". So the Messenger of Allah gave him a share of his sacrificial animals and he remained in the pilgrim state with the Messenger of Allah till they finished the Pilgrimage and the Messenger of Allah sacrificed victims for both of them.

Ibn Ishāq: Yahya bin 'Abdallah bin 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin Abū 'Amrah related to me on the authority of Yazīd bin Talhah bin Yazid bin Rukānah. He said: When 'Ali came from the Yemen to meet the Messenger of Allah in Mecca, he hurried to the Messenger of Allah, and appointed in his place in command of the troops who were with him one of his friends, and he decided to clothe every man of the company with a robe from the linen which 'Ali had with him. When his army came near he went out to meet them, and lo, they were wearing robes. He said: "Alas for you! What is this?". He said: "I clothed the company so that they might present a good appearance when they came among the people". He said: "Alas for you! Take them off before you come to the Messenger of Allah". So he took the robes off the men and put them back among the linen. He said: The army showed discontent over what he had done to them.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin Ma'mar bin Hazm related to me on the authority of Sulaimān bin Muhammad bin Ka'b bin 'Ujrah from his aunt Zainab bint Ka'b who was the wife of Abu Sa'īd the Khudrite from Abu Sa'īd the Khudrite. He said: The people

complained about 'Ali and the Messenger of Allah stood up to speak and I heard him say: "O people, do not complain about 'Ali for he is too intractable in what concerns Allah and the way of Allah to be complained about".

The Messenger of Allah's Sermon at the Pilgrimage of Farewell.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah went on his pilgrimage, showed the people the rites of the pilgrimage, taught them its laws, and delivered to them a sermon in which he made clear what he made clear. He praised and magnified Allah and said:-

O people, hear my words for I know not if ever I shall meet you again in this place after this year. O people, your lives and property are sacred till you meet your Lord, as sacred as is this day, as sacred as is this month. Verily you will meet your Lord, and He will ask you about your deeds; I have told you. Whoever has a security let him fulfil it to him who has entrusted him with it. Verily usury has been abolished but you have your capital without either oppressing or being oppressed. Allah hath decreed that there shall be no usury; all the usury of al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib shall be abolished. All blood-revenge which obtained in the Age of Barbarism is abolished, and the first blood-revenge I abolish is that of Ibn Rabi'ah ibn al-Harith ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib who was nursed among the Beni Laith and Hudhail killed him, and his is the first bloodshed of the Age of Barbarism with which I begin.

Now O people, Satan has despaired of ever being worshipped in this country of yours; but if he is obeyed in anything other than that, he will be well pleased with those deeds which you consider of no account; wherefore guard your religion against him.

O people, the Postponement is simply an increase of unbelief, in which those who have disbelieved go astray; they make it free one year and make it sacred another that they may equalise the number which Allah hath made sacred; so they make free what Allah hath made sacred, and make sacred what Allah hath made free. Now time has come round as it was in the day when Allah created the heavens and the earth, and the number of the months with Allah is twelve, of which four are sacred; three following in succession and Rajab of Mudar which is between Jumādā and Sha'bān.

Now O people, ye have rights over your wives and they have rights over you. It is incumbent on them not to defile your beds with anyone you dislike or practise any open immorality. If they do, Allah hath allowed you to seclude them in their apartments, and to beat them, but not severely. If they refrain therefrom let them have suitable food and clothing. Treat your wives well for they are with you as captives not possessing anything for themselves; ye have taken them merely on the security of Allah and ye have made their persons lawful to you by the words of Allah.

O people understand what I say, for I have given my message and I have left that amongst you - the Book of Allah and the laws of His Prophet - which if ye hold fast ye will never go astray.

O people listen to my words and understand them. Know that every Muslim is the brother of every other Muslim, and that the Muslims are brethren. Nothing which belongs to a man is lawful for his brother, unless given freely out of good-will. Do not then commit injustices against each other. O Allah, have I given my message?

I was told that the people said: "Yes, of course", and the Messenger of Allah said: "O Allah, bear witness".

Ibn Ishāq: Yahya bin 'Abbād bin 'Abdallah bin az-Zubair related to me on the authority of his father 'Abbād. He said: The man who called out the words of the Messenger of Allah for the people when he was on 'Arafah was Rabī'ah bin Umayyah bin Khalaf. The Messenger of Allah would say to him: Say: "O people, the Messenger of Allah says: 'Do you know what month this is'", and he would say it to them and they said: "The sacred month". Then he would say to him: "Say to them: 'Verily Allah hath made your lives and property as sacred as this month till you meet your Lord'". Then he would say: "Say: 'O people, the Messenger of Allah says: Do you know what territory this is'", and he would call it out and they would reply: "The sacred territory". Then he would say: "Say: 'Verily Allah hath made your lives and property as sacred as this sacred territory of yours until you meet your Lord'". Then he would say: Say: "O people, the Messenger of Allah says: 'Do you know what day this is'"; he would repeat it to them and they would say: "The day of the great Pilgrimage". Then he would say: "Say to them: 'Verily Allah hath made your lives and property as sacred as this day until you meet your Lord'".

Ibn Ishāq: Laith bin Abū Sulaim related to me on the authority of Shahr bin Haushab the Ash'arite from 'Amr bin Khārijah. He said: 'Attāb bin Asīd sent me to the Messenger of Allah in connection with something or other when the Messenger of Allah was standing on 'Arafah. I delivered my message and then took my stand below the she-camel of the Messenger of Allah so that her foam was falling on my head. I heard him when he said: "O people, verily Allah hath rendered to everyone who possesses rights their dues; a will for an heir to

is not permitted. The child belongs to the bed; the libertine shall be stoned. Whoso claims falsely another for his father or turns to other patrons, the curse of Allah and of the angels and of all mankind shall rest upon him". Allah will not accept from him artifice or ransom.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah ibn Abū Najīh related to me that when the Messenger of Allah stood on 'Arafah, he said: "This station (referring to the mountain on which he stood) and all 'Arafah is a station. When he stood by the devil on the morning of al-Muzdalifah he said: "This station and all al-Muzdalifah is a station". When he sacrificed at the place of sacrifice in Mina, he said: "This place of sacrifice and all Mina is a place of sacrifice". Thus the Messenger of Allah completed the Pilgrimage, showed them the rites, taught them the stances Allah had imposed on them in the Pilgrimage, the throwing of the stones and the circumambulation of the House, also what was made allowable for them in the Pilgrimage and what was forbidden them. It was the Pilgrimage of Completion, and the Pilgrimage of Farewell, because the Messenger of Allah did not make the Pilgrimage after that.

The despatch of Usāmah ibn Zaid to the country of Palestine.

Ibn Ishāq: Then the Messenger of Allah returned and resided in Medina for the remainder of Dhū 'l-Hijjah, al-Muharram, and Safar, and laid upon the people the duty of sending an expedition to Syria. He appointed his client Usāmah ibn Zaid ibn Hārithah as commander and ordered him to take the cavalry by the borders of al-Balqā' and ad-Dārūm in the country of Palestine. So the people made preparations and the original Emigres set out with Usāmah ibn Zaid.

The envoys of the Messenger of Allah go forth to the kings.

Ibn Hishām: The Messenger of Allah sent some of his friends as envoys to the kings by whom he wrote to them, calling them to Islam.

One in whom I have confidence related to me on the authority of Abū Bakr the Hudhalite. He said: I heard that the Messenger of Allah went out to his friends on a day after the Lesser Pilgrimage from which he was debarred on the day of al-Hudaibiyah, and said: "O people, verily Allah hath sent me as a mercy and a sufficiency, so do not differ about me in the way the disciples differed about Jesus, Son of Mary". His friends said: "O Messenger of Allah, how did the disciples differ?". He said: "He called them to that, to which I have

called you, and those whom he sent on a mission near at hand were content and consented, but those whom he sent on a mission far away detested it and were sluggish. So Jesus complained about that to Allah and when the sluggish ones arose in the morning they were each one speaking the language of the people to whom they were sent. The Messenger of Allah sent out some of his friends as envoys and by them wrote letters to the kings in which he called them to Islam. He sent Dahyah bin Khalifah the Kalbite to Caesar, Emperor of the Byzantines; he sent 'Abdallah bin Hudhāfah the Sahmite to Kosroes, king of Persia; he sent 'Amr bin Umayyah the Damrite to the Negus, king of Ethiopia; he sent Hatib bin Abū Balta'ah to the Muqauqis, king of Alexandria; he sent 'Amr bin al-'Ās the Sahmite to Jaifar and 'Iyādh, sons of al-Julanda, the Azdites, kings of 'Uman; he sent Salīṭ bin 'Amr one of the Beni 'Āmir bin Lu'ai to Thumamah bin Uthāl and Haudhah bin 'Alī, the two Hanafites, kings of al-Yamamah; he sent al-'Alā' bin al-Hadramī to al-Mundhir bin Sāwa the 'Abdite king of Bahrain; and he sent Shujā' bin Wahb the Asadite to al-Hārith bin Abū Shimr the Ghassānid, king of the borders of Syria.

Ibn Hishām: He sent Shujā' bin Wahb to Jabalah bin al-Aiham the Ghassānid; and he sent al-Muhājir bin Abu Umayyah the Makhzūmite to al-Hārith bin 'Abd Kulāl the Himyarite, king of the Yemen.

Ibn Hishām: I have given the genealogy of Salīṭ, Thumamah, Haudhah, and al-Mundhir.

Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd bin Abū Habīb the Egyptian related to me that he found a book in which was a record of those whom the Messenger of Allah sent out to the countries and kings both Arab and non-Arab, and what he said to his friends when he sent them out. So I sent it to Muhammad bin Shihāb az-Zuhri and he recognised it; and in it was recorded that the Messenger of Allah went out to his friends and said to them: "Verily Allah hath sent me as a mercy and a sufficiency; so carry it out for me, may Allah have mercy on you! Do not differ about me as the disciples differed about Jesus, Son of Mary". They said: "O Messenger of Allah, how did their defference arise?". He said: "He called them to something similar to what I have called you. He who was kept near at hand liked it and consented, but he whom he sent far away detested it and refused. So Jesus complained about them to Allah to whom belong power and glory, and each one of them

began speaking the language of the country to which he was sent.

Ibn Ishāq: The disciples whom Jesus Son of Mary sent forth, and the followers who were on earth after them were:- Peter the disciple and along with him Paul.- Paul was one of the followers, not one of the disciples - to Rome; Andrew and Manta to the country whose inhabitants eat men; Thomas to the country of Babylon, a land of the east; Philip to Carthage which is (in) Africa; John to Ephesus, the town of the young men who were the companions of the cave; James to Jerusalem which is Aeliā the city of the Holy Place; Ibn Thalmā' to the Arabians, which is the country of the Hijāz; Simon to the country of the Berbers; and Yahūdha who was put in the place of Judas was not one of the original disciples. ^{1011.}

Mention of all the raids.

Ibn Ishāq: All the raids in which the Messenger of Allah took part in person were twenty seven, and they were: The raid of Waddān which is the raid of al-Abwā'; the raid of Buwāt in the vicinity of Radwa; the raid of al-'Ushairah belonging to a sub-tribe of Yanpu'; the raid of the First Badr in search of Kurz bin Jābir; the raid of the Greater Badr where Allah slew the war lords of Quraish; the raid against the Beni Sulaim till he reached al-Kudr; the raid of the Meal-Bags in search of Abū Sufyān bin Harb; the raid of Ghatafān, which was the raid of Dhū Amarr; the raid of Bahrān Ma'dan in the Hijāz; the raid of Uhud; the raid of Hamrā' al-Asad; the raid against the Beni an-Nadīr; the raid of Dhāt ar-Riqā' of Nakhīl; the raid of the last Badr; the raid of Dūmat al-Jandal; the raid of al-Khandaq; the raid against the Beni Quraithah; the raid against the Beni Lihyān; of Hudhail; the raid of Dhū Qarad; the raid against the Beni 'l-Mustaliq of Khuza'ah; the raid of al-Hudaibiyah when he did not wish to fight but the polytheists barred his way; the raid of Khaibar; then the Pilgrimage of Fulfilment; the raid of the Conquest (of Mecca); the raid of Hunain; the raid of at-Tā'if; the raid of Tabūk; Of these he fought in nine raids: Badr, Uhud, al-Khandaq, Quraithah, Mustaliq Khaibar, the Conquest, Hunain, and at-Tā'if.

Mention of all the raiding parties and minor missions.

His minor missions and raiding parties were thirty eight in number between them. The raid of 'Ubaidah bin al-Hārith below Thaniyat al-Marah; the raid of Hamzah bin 'Abd al-Muttalib to the sea-shore in

the vicinity of al-'Is, and some people put the raid of Hamzah before that of Ubaidah; the raid of Sa'd bin Abū Waqqās to al-Kharzār; the raid of 'Abdallah bin Jahsh to Nakhlah; the raid of Zaid bin Hārithah to al-Qaradah; the raid of Muhammad bin Maslamah (to slay) Ka'b bin al-Ashraf; the raid of Marthad bin Abū Marthad the Ghanawite to ar-Rajī'; the raid of al-Mundhir bin 'Amr to Bi'r Ma'ūnah; the raid of Abū 'Ubaidah bin al-Jarrāh to Dhū 'l-Qassah on the road to Iraq; the raid of 'Umar bin al-Khattāb to Turbah in the country of the Beni 'Āmir; the raid of 'Ali bin Abū Tālib to the Yemen; the raid of Ghālib bin 'Abdallah the Kalbite from Kalb of Laith to al-Kudaid and he smote the Beni 'l-Mulawwih.

An account of the raid of Ghālib bin 'Abdallah the Laithite against the Beni 'l-Mulawwih.

This account of it is what Ya'qūb bin 'Utbah bin al-Mughīrah bin al-Akhnas related to me on the authority of Muslim bin 'Abdallah bin Khubaib the Juhanite from Jundub bin Mukaith the Juhanite. He said: The Messenger of Allah sent Ghālib bin 'Abdallah the Kalbite, Kalb bin 'Auf bin Laith, out at the head of a raiding-party in which I was present and ordered him to set his cavalry on the Beni 'l-Mulawwih who were in Qudaid. We set out and when we reached Qudaid we met al-Hārith bin Mālik who was Ibn al-Barsā' and took him (prisoner). He said: "I have come to accept Islam, I merely came out to the Messenger of Allah". We said to him: "If you be a Muslim bonds will do you no harm for one night, but if you are something else we will make you secure and strengthen the bonds. Then we left a black man, one of our friends in charge of him and said to him: "If he tries to get the better of you, cut off his head. We marched on and reached al-Kudaid at set of sun, and we were in the vicinity of the valley when my friends sent me out as their scout. I set out and went to an eminence which overlooked the settlement, so I ascended it till I reached the summit and observed the settlement. I was lying flat on the eminence when one of them emerged from his tent and said to his wife: "I see a blackness on the hillock which I did not see in the forepart of the day, so look to your provision bags and see if you have lost anything; in case the dogs have dragged off some of them". So she looked and said: "No, I have lost nothing". He said: "Hand me my bow and two arrows", and she did so.

So he let fly an arrow which got me in the side and I pulled it out, laid it aside and remained in my place. Then he let fly the second which he planted in my shoulder and I pulled it out, laid it aside, and remained in my place. He said to his wife: "If he were a scout for a tribe he would have moved for both my arrows got him. May you have no father! When you get up go for them and collect them so that the dogs may not chew them for me". Then he went inside and we left them alonetill theyhad settled down to sleep and at the first peep of dawn we set the cayalry on them, and we fought and drove away the cattle. The crier for help of the people went out and there came upon us a great concourse with which we were unable to cope so we took away the cattle. We passed by Ibn al-Barsā' and his friend and mounted them with us. The people came up till they were quite near to us with nothing between them and us but the valley of al-Qudaid, and Allah, the Blessed, the Exalted, sent a flood into the valley from where He willed without a cloud or rain that we could see. He brought something which no one had power over or was able to pass, so they stood looking at us while we drove away their cattle and not one of them was able to cross over to us and we drove them off speedily till we were out of their reach and they were unable to pursue us, and brought them to the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: A man of Aslam related to me on the authority of one of them that theslogan of the friends of the Messenger of Allah that night was: "Slay! Slay!" A versifier of the Muslims said while he drove (the cattle) away:-

Abū 'l-Qāsim has refused (to allow) you to remain in
remote pastures

And in their green juicy tangled herbage

Whose tops were yellow likethe colour of something gilt

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as 'kalaun adh-dhab'.

Ibn Ishāq: The raid of 'Alī bin Abū Tālib on the Beni 'Abdallah bin Sa'd of the people of Fadak; the raid of Abū 'l-'Anjā' the Sulamite on the country of the Beni Sulaim, in which he and all his comrades were killed; the raid of 'Ukāshah bin Mihsan on al-Ghamrah; the raid of Abu Salamah bin 'Abd al-Asad on Qatan, one of the water spots of the Beni Asad in the vicinity of Najd, in which Mas'ūd bin 'Urwah was slain; the raid of Muhammad bin Maslamah, brother of the Beni Hārithah on al-Qurtā' of Hawāzin; the raid of Bashir bin Sa'd on the

Beni Murrah of Fadak; the raid of Bashīr bin Sa'd in the vicinity of Khaibar; the raid of Zaid bin Hārithah on al-Jamūm in the country of the Beni Sulaim; the raid of Zaid bin Hārithah on Judhām in the country of Khushain.

Ibn Hishām: On my own authority and that of ash-Shāfa'ī from 'Amr bin Ḥabīb from Ibn Ishāq: In the country of Hisma.

The raid of Zaid bin Hārithah on Judhām.

Ibn Ishāq: According to what one who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of certain men of Judhām who were well versed in it the account of it is that when Rifā'ah bin Zaid the Judhāmite returned to his people from the Messenger of Allah with his letter calling them to Islam, they complied. A short time afterwards Dihyah bin Khalīfah the Kalbite returned from Caesar the Byzantine Emperor, at the time the Messenger of Allah sent him, and he had some merchandise with him. When he was in one of their valleys called Shinār, al-Hunaid bin Aus and his son Aus bin al-Hunaid, two men of ad-Dalī', who were a sub division of Judhām, attacked Dihyah bin Khalīfah and carried off all he had got. News of that came to a party of ad-Dubaib, kinsmen of Rifā'ah bin Zaid, who had become Muslims and responded, so they gathered together to al-Hunaid and his son with an-Nu'mān bin Abū Jī'āl at their head. When they met them they fought, and Qurrah bin Ashqar the Dafārite and from the sub-division of ad-Dul'a declared his origin that day, saying: "I am Ibn Lubna" and shot an-Nu'mān bin Abū Jī'āl with an arrow, striking him on the knee with it. He said when he struck him: "Take this, I am Ibn Lubna". His mother was called Lubna. Ḥassān bin Millah the Dubaibite had been a friend of Dihyah bin Khalīfah before that and had taught him the essence of the Book.

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as Qurrah bin Ashqar the Dafārite and Ḥayyān bin Millah.

Ibn Ishāq: One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of certain men of Judhām. He said: They retrieved what was in the hands of al-Hunaid and his son and returned it to Dihyah, who set out went to the Messenger of Allah, told him his tale and demanded the death of al-Hunaid and his son, so the Messenger of Allah sent Zaid bin Hārithah against them. This was what gave rise to the raid

by Zaid against Judhām; and he sent an army with him. Then Ghatafān, Wā'il, and those who belonged to Salāmān and Zaid bin Hudhaim parted company with Judhām when Rifā'ah bin Zaid came to them with the letter of the Messenger of Allah, and they (Judhām) encamped in the stony tract, the stony tract of ar-Rajlā'. But Rifā'ah bin Zaid who had no knowledge of this was in the mountains of Rayyah along with some men of the Beni Dubaib, the rest of the Beni Dubaid being in the valley of Midān in the vicinity of the stony trace, in the part of it that stretches eastwards. So the army of Zaid bin Hārithah advanced from the passes, fell on al-Māqis opposite the stony tract, collected all the people and cattle they could find, and slew al-Hunaid, his son, and two men of the Beni 'l-Ahnaf.

Ibn Hishām: Of the Beni 'l-Ajnaf.

Ibn Ishāq: Also a man of the Beni 'l-Khasīb. When the Beni 'd-Dubaib heard of that, the army being in the desert of Midān, a party of them too to their horses. Amongst those who rode out were Hassān bin Millah on a mare belonging to Suwaid bin Zaid called al-'Ajājah; Unaif bin Millah on a mare belonging to Millah called Righāl; and Abū Zaid bin 'Amr on a mare of his called Shamir. They set out and when they reached the army Abū Zaid and Hassān said to Unaif bin Millah: "Withdraw from us and go away for we fear your tongue". So he parted from them, but they had not gone far till his mare began pawing the ground with her fore-feet and jumping around, and he said: "I am more tenacious of the two men than you are of the two horses" and slackened the rein and allowed her to overtake them. They said to him: "Since you have done what you have done, withhold from us your tongue and do not bring ill-fortune upon us to-day"; and they charged each other that none of them should speak but Hassān bin Millah. There was a saying amongst them in the Age of Barbarism which they recognised the one from the other. When any of them wished to smite with his sword he would say: "Thūrī", or "Būrī". When they discovered themselves to the army the people came running up and Hassān said to them: "We are a party of Muslims". The first one to meet was a man on a black horse who advanced to drive them in (as prisoners), and Unaif said: "Būrī" but Hassan said: "Slowly". When they stood before Zaid bin Hārithah, Hassān said: "We are a party of Muslims" and Zaid bin Hārithah said: "Recite the essence of the Book" and Hassān did so.

Then Zaid bin Ḥarithah said: "Proclaim through the army that Allah hath forbidden us the mountain-pass of this party from which they came except they break their agreement. Now the sister of Ḥassān bin Millah who was the wife of Abū Wabr bin 'Adi bin Umayyah bin ad-Dubaiḥ was among the captives, and Zaid said to him: "Take her", and she seized him round the waist. Umm al-Fizr, a woman of Sula' said: "Will you set free your young girls and leave your mothers in captivity?". One of the Beni 'l-Khasīb said: "She belongs to the Beni 'd-Dubaib and the witchery of their tongues is current to-day". Some of the army heard it and informed Zaid bin Ḥarithah and he ordered Ḥassān's sister to take her arms from around his waist and said to her: "Be seated here with your cousins till Allah gives His decision with regard to you", and they retired. He forbade the army to descend into their valley from which they had come. So they spent the evening with their people and waited for the time of milking a few she-camels belonging to Suwaid bin Zaid and when they had drunk their milk they rode out to Rifā'ah bin Zaid. Amongst those who rode out to Rifā'ah bin Zaid that night were: Abū Zaid bin 'Amr, Abū Shammās bin 'Amr, Suwaid bin Zaid, Ba'jah bin Zaid, Bardha' bin Zaid, Thaḷabah bin Zaid, Mukharibah bin 'Adi, Unaif bin Millah, and Ḥassān bin Millah, and they came to Rifā'ah bin Zaid in the morning in the mountains of Rayyah behind the stony tract who was at a well there in the stony tract of Lailah. Ḥassān bin Millah said to him: "Here you are squatting milking the goats whilst the women of Judhām are captives: the letter which you brought deceived them". Then Rifā'ah bin Zaid called for a camel of his and began bracing the saddle on it, saying the while:-

Are you a tribe, or are you summoning a tribe?

Then he set out, accompanied by them, taking Umayyah bin Dafārah brother of the Khasībite the murdered man, along with him, making an early start from behind the stony tract and got to the plains of Medina in three nights. When they entered Medina and reached the mosque one of the people regarded them and said: "Do not make your camels kneel down to have their fore-feet cut off" so they dismounted from them while they stood upright. When they went in to the Messenger of Allah, he saw them and made a signal to them with his hand that they should come forward from behind the people. When Rifā'ah bin Zaid opened the conversation one of the people arose

and said: "O Messenger of Allah, these are a group of sorcerers", and repeated it twice. Then Rifā'ah bin Zaid said: "May Allah have mercy on him who speaks nothing but good of us this day", and Rifā'ah bin Zaid handed to the Messenger of Allah the letter which he had written for him and said: "Beware O Messenger of Allah! His letter is of old, his treachery is recent". The Messenger of Allah said: "Read it O young man and announce it". When he read his letter he asked them for news which they gave him. The Messenger of Allah said: "What shall I do about the slain" three times. Rifā'ah said: "You know best, O Messenger of Allah, we will not forbid to you what is allowable nor will we make allowable to you what is forbidden!" Abu Zaid bin 'Amr said: "O Messenger of Allah, release to us those who are alive; those who have been slain are beneath these feet of mine". The Messenger of Allah said: "Abū Zaid is right, Ride out with them O 'Ali". 'Ali said: "Zaid will never obey me, O Messenger of Allah". He said: "Take this sword of mine"; and he gave him his sword. Then 'Ali said: "O Messenger of Allah, I have no beast on which to ride"; so they mounted him on a camel belonging to Tha'labah bin 'Amr called Mikhāl. They set out and a messenger from Zaid bin Hārithah met them on a she-camel from the herd of Abū Wabr called ash-Shamr. They made him dismount and he said: "O 'Ali, what is my business?". He said: "They recognised their property and took it". Then they marched on, met the army in the desert of al-Fahlatain, and took all they had even to the extent of taking a woman's small pad from underneath a saddle.

Poetry omitted.

The raids are completed and we return to detailed mention of raiding parties and minor missions.

Ibn Ishāq: Also the raid of Zaid bin Hārithah on at-Taraf in the vicinity of Nakhīl on the road to Iraq.

The raid of Zaid bin Hārithah on the Beni Fazārah and the death of Umm Qirfah.

Also the raid of Zaid bin Hārithah on the Wadi 'l-Qura where he met the Beni Fazarah in which some of his friends were slain. Zaid himself was brought out from amongst the slain, and Ward bin 'Amr bin Midrāsh was slain in it. He was one of the Beni Sa'd bin Hudhail and one of the Beni Badr killed him.

Ibn Hishām: Sa'd bin Hudhaim.

Ibn Ishāq: When Zaid bin Hārithah returned he took an oath that no ablution for (ceremonial) impurity should touch his head till he had made a raid against the Beni Fazārah, and when he was healed of his wounds the Messenger of Allah sent him against the Beni Fazārah with an army and he fought then in Wadi 'l-Qura and slew some of them. Qais bin Musahhar the Ya'murite killed Mas'adah bin Hakamah bin Mālik bin Hudhaifah bin Badr, and Umm Qirfah, Fātimah bint Rabi'ah bin Badr was made prisoner. She was the wife of Mālik bin Hudhaifah bin Badr and a very old woman. A daughter of hers and 'Abdallah bin Mas'adah were also taken prisoner. Zaid bin Hārithah ordered Qais bin al-Musahhar to slay Umm Qirfah and he put her to a violent death. Then they brought the daughter of Umm Qirfah and Ibn Mas'adah to the Messenger of Allah. The daughter of Umm Qirfah was the wife of Salamah bin 'Amr bin al-Akwa'; it was he who got her. She belonged to an honourable family among her people and the Arabs said: "If you had been stronger than Umm Qirfah you could not have increased". Salamah asked the Messenger of Allah for her and he gave her to him. Then he gave her to his uncle Hazn bin Abū Wahb and she bore to him 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin Hazn. Qais bin al-Musahhar said about the slaying of Mas'adah:-

I rushed upon him on a reddish brown horse who raced like
his mother's son
On the reddish brown horse I was an avenger while he lived
I attacked him on the folt when I saw him
(I attacked) the hero of many battles from the family of
Badr
I poised against him a lance as if it were
A shooting star blazing out for the beholder in an open
place.

The raid of 'Abdallah bin Rawāhah to slay al-Yusair bin Rizām.

The raid of 'Abdallah bin Rawāhah against Khaibar on two occasions and one of them was when he killed al-Yusair bin Rizām.

Ibn Hishām: He is also given as al-Yusair bin Rāzim.

The story of al-Yusair bin Rizām was that he was in Khaibar collecting Ghatafān for an attack on the Messenger of Allah so the Messenger of Allah sent 'Abdallah bin Rawahah against him with a group of his friends amongst whom was 'Abdallh bin Unais, ally of the Beni Salamah. When they came to him they spoke with him, gave him gifts

and said: "Verily if you come to the Messenger of Allah he will give you a command and honour you", and they did not desist till he set out in their company with a group of Jews, 'Abdallah bin Unais having mounted him on his camel. When they were in al-Qaraqrah, six miles from Khaibar, al-Yusair bin Rizām repented of his going to the Messenger of Allah, and 'Abdallah bin Unais caught him in the act of reaching for his sword, rushed upon him, struck him with his sword, and cut off his leg. Al-Yusair struck him with a cudgel of yew that was in his hand and wounded him on the head, and every one of the friends of the Messenger of Allah turned on one of the Jews and killed them all except one who made his escape on foot. When 'Abdallah bin Unais returned to the Messenger of Allah, he spat on his gash and it neither suppurated nor did him any harm.

(There was) also the raid of 'Abdallah bin 'Atik against Khaibar in which he killed Abū Rāfi' bin Abū 'l-Huqaiq.

The raid of 'Abdallah bin Unais to slay Khālīd bin Sufyān bin Nubaih the Hudhalite.

The raid of 'Abdallah bin Unais against Khālīd bin Sufyān bin Nubaih the Hudhalite. The Messenger of Allah sent him against him when he was in either Nakhlah or 'Urnah collecting men to make an attack on the Messenger of Allah, and he killed him.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad bin Ja'far bin az-Zubair related to me. He said: 'Abdallah bin Unais said: "The Messenger of Allah called me and said: 'I have heard that Ibn Sufyān bin Nubaih the Hudhalite is collecting men to make an attack on me, and he is in either Nakhlah or 'Urnah; go against him and slay him'. I said: 'O Messenger of Allah, describe him to me that I may recognise him'. He said: 'When you see him he will surely remind you of Satan, and the sign of what is between him and you is that when you see him you will find that he has a trembling'. So I set out with girded dagger and I was guided to him while he was in charge of the women in litters looking for a camping-ground for them and the time was the late afternoon. When I saw him I found the trembling of which the Messenger of Allah had spoken to me. So I approached him fearing that there would be some manoeuvres between him and me which would distract me from the Prayer, so I prayed whilst I was walking towards him, making signs with my head.

When I reached him he said: 'Who is the man?'. I said: 'One of the Arabs who has heard of you and of your gathering (men) against this man; he has come to you in connection with this'. He said: 'Yes, I am engaged on that'. So I walked with him some little way, and when it became possible for me I attacked him with the dagger and slew him. Then I went away leaving his litters overturned upon him. When I returned to the Messenger of Allah and he saw me he said: 'The matter has prospered'. I said: 'I have slain him, O Messenger of Allah'. He said: 'You have spoken the truth'. Then he brought me into his house, gave me a staff and said: 'Keep this staff by you, O 'Abdallah bin Unais'. So I took it out to the people and they said: 'What is (the meaning of) this staff?'. I said: 'The Messenger of Allah gave it to me and ordered me to keep it by me'. They said: 'Will you not then go back to the Messenger of Allah and ask him why it is thus?'. So I went back to the Messenger of Allah and said: 'O Messenger of Allah, why did you give me this staff?'. He said: 'A sign between you and me on the Day of Resurrection. Verily few people will have staffs in their hands on that day!'. So 'Abdallah bin Unais put it along with his dagger and it remained constantly with him till he died and then he gave orders that it be put in his shroud and they were buried together.

Poetry omitted.

Ibn Ishāq: The raid of Zaid bin Hārithah, Ja'far bin Abū Tālib, and 'Abdallah bin Rawāḥah to Mu'tah in the country of Syria where they were slain; the raid of Ka'b bin 'Umair the Ghifārīte on Dhāt Atlāh in the country of Syria where he and all his comrades were slain; and the raid of 'Uyainah bin Hishn bin Hudhaifah bin Badr against the Beni 'l-'Anbar of the Beni Tamīm.

The raid of 'Uyainah bin Hishn against the Beni 'l-'Anbar of the Beni Tamīm.

The account of them is that the Messenger of Allah sent him against them and he attacked them, killing some of them and taking some of them prisoner.

'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah related to me that 'A'ishah said to the Messenger of Allah: "O Messenger of Allah, I am responsible for a slave of the descendants of Ishmael". He said: "The captives of the

Beni 'l-Anbar are coming now and we will give you a man of them so that you may set him free.

Ibn Ishāq: When their captives were brought in to the Messenger of Allah a deputation of the Beni Tamīm took to their horses and came to the Messenger of Allah amongst whom were Rabī'ah ibn Rufai', Sabrah ibn 'Amr, al-Qa'qā' ibn Ma'bad, Wardān ibn Muhriz, Qais ibn 'Āsim, Mālik ibn 'Amr, al-Aqra' ibn Hābis, and Firās ibn Hābis. They spoke to the Messenger of Allah about them and he freed some and accepted ransom for others.

List of names and poetry omitted.

The raid of Ghalib ibn 'Abdallah on the country of the Beni Murrah.

Ibn Ishāq: The raid of Ghālib ibn 'Abdallah the Kalbite of Kalb laith on the country of the Beni Murrah in which he slew Mirdās ibn Nahīk an ally of theirs from al-Hurqah of Juhainah, whom Usāmah ibn Zaid and one of the Helpers slew.

Ibn Hishām: Al-Huraqah, according to what Abū 'Uḡaidah related to me.

Ibn Ishāq: His story on the authority of Usāmah ibn Zaid was (as follows): He said: I and one of the Helpers overtook him and when we drew our swords against him he said: "I testify that there is no god but Allah", but we did not withdraw from him till we had slain him. When we came to the Messenger of Allah we told him his story and he said: "O Usāmah, who gave you the right to kill one who says: 'There is no god but Allah?'". I said: "O Messenger of Allah, he said it merely to escape from death". He said: "Who gave you this right, O Usāmah?" By Him who sent him with the truth he kept on repeating it to me till I could have wished that the time past of my having been a Muslim had never been, that I had accepted Islam that day, and that I had not slain him. I said: "Grant me respite O Messenger of Allah. I swear by Allah that I will never slay a man who says there is no god but Allah". He said: "You say: 'After my time' O Usāmah". I said: "After your time".

The raid of 'Amr ibn al-'Ās on Dhāt as-Salāsīl.

The raid of 'Amr ibn al-'Ās on Dhāt as-Salāsīl in the country of the Beni 'Udhrah. The story of it is that the Messenger of Allah sent

him to convoke the Arabs to war against Syria because Umm al-'Ās bin Wā'il was a woman of Balī. The Messenger of Allah sent him to gain their friendship for that purpose, and when he was at a water-spot in the country of Judhām called as-Salsal, on account of which that raid was called the raid of Dhat as-Salāsil. While he was there he was afraid and sent word to the Messenger of Allah asking him for help and the Messenger of Allah sent Abū 'Uбайдah bin al-Jarrāh to his assistance with the original Emigrés amongst whom were Abū Bakr and 'Umar. He said to Abū 'Uбайдah when he sent him out: "Do not disagree". So Abū 'Uбайдah set out and when he came to him 'Amr said to him: "You have come merely to give me help". Abū 'Uбайдah said: "Nay, I have my position and you have yours". Abū 'Uбайдah was an easy, gentle, pliable man for whom worldly things had no importance. 'Amr said to him: "Nay, you have brought reinforcements to me". Abū 'Uбайдah said to him: "O 'Amr, the Messenger of Allah said to me: 'Do not disagree', and if you disobey me I will obey you". He said: "Then I am the commander superior to you and you are helping me". He said: "As you will", and 'Amr led the people in worship.

Abū Bakr's injunction to Rāfi' bin Abū Rāfi'.

He said: A story connected with this raid was that Rāfi' bin Abū Rāfi' the Tai'ite, who was Rāfi' bin 'Amīrah, related on his own authority, according to what I heard. He said: I was a Christian and was called Sarjis and I was the best guide and the one who knew the desert. I used to bury water in ostrich eggs in the region of the sands in the Age of Barbarism then make a raid on the people's camels, and when I got them into the sands I had the better of them, no one was able to follow me there. When I passed by the water I had hidden in the ostrich eggs I took them out and drank. When I islamized I went on that raid on which the Messenger of Allah sent 'Amr bin al-'Ās to Dhat as-Salāsil. I said I would choose a companion for myself and I became the companion of Abū Bakr and was with him in his tent. He was wearing a thick cloak of 'adakh which belonged to him; when we dismounted he spread it out, and when we mounted he put it on, and made holes in it with a piercing instrument which he had. That was why the people of Najd said to him when they apostatized and became unbelievers: "We will swear allegiance to the possessor of the cloak". When we drew near to Medina on our return journey I said:

"O Abū Bakr, I had you as my companion so that Allah would benefit me through you", so advise me and teach me". He said: "Even if you had not asked me for it I would have done it. I command you to believe in the unity of Allah and not to associate anything with Him; to observe the Prayer, pay the Tithe, and fast in Ramadān; to perform the pilgrimage of the House; to cleanse yourself from impurity, and never to wield authority over two men of the Muslims". I said: "O Abū Bakr, I hope I shall never associate anyone with Him; as for the Prayer, I shall never abandon it, if Allah wills; as for the Tithe, if I possess property I will pay it, if Allah wills; as for Ramadān, I shall never abandon it, if Allah wills; as for the Pilgrimage, if I am able I will perform it if Allah wills; as for impurity, I will purify myself from it if Allah wills; as for wielding power, I have observed, O Abū Bakr, that people are not noble in the estimation of the Messenger of Allah if they do not possess it, why then do you forbid it to me?". He said: "You have called me to make an effort to make it plain to you and I will inform you about it. Verily Allah sent Muhammad with this religion and in it he has striven till the people entered it either willingly or unwillingly. When they entered they were the ones who had sought refuge in Allah, His neighbours, and under His protection, so beware lest you break with Allah where His neighbours are concerned, and Allah follow you up in connection with the breach of (His covenant) . If any of you break his covenant where His neighbour is concerned, and His muscles will remain swelled in wrath on account of His neighbour because a sheep or a camel of his has been taken. Allah is most violent in wrath on account of His neighbour". So I parted from him and when the Messenger of Allah was taken and Abū Bakr was appointed commander of the people, I went to him and said: "O Abū Bakr, did you not forbid me to exercise authority over two of the Muslims"? He said: "Certainly and even now I forbid you to do that". I said: "What then induced you to accept command of the affair of the people?". He said: "I could find no escape from it for I feared there would be division in the nation of Muhammad!"

The affair of 'Auf bin Mālik in that raid.

Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd bin Abū Ḥabīb told me that it was related to him on the authority of 'Auf bin Mālik the 'Ashja'ite. He said: I was in the raid in which the Messenger of Allah sent 'Amr bin al-'Ās to Dhāt as-Salāsīl, and I was a companion of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. I passed by a party beside a camel of theirs which they had slain and they were not able to divide it up. I was skilled in the art of slaughtering and I said: "Will you give me the tenth part of it on condition that I divide it amongst you"? They said: "Yes". So I took the two knives and divided it there and then, took a part of it, carried it off to my friends, and we cooked and ate it. Abū Bakr and 'Umar said to me: "Where did you get that meat, O 'Auf?". I told them the tale connected with it and they said: "You did not do right when you fed us with this", and they began to vomit all of it there was in their stomachs. When the people returned from that journey I was the first to approach the Messenger of Allah. I came to him while he was praying in his house and said: "Peace be upon you, O Messenger of Allah, and the mercy of Allah and His blessing". He said: "Is it 'Auf bin Mālik?". I said: "Yes, may I ransom you with my father and mother". "Are you the man of the slaughtered camel?". The Messenger of Allah said no more to me than that nor did he return my greeting.

The raid of Ibn Abū Ḥadrad against a sub-tribe of Idam and the killing of 'Amir bin al-Aḍbat.

The raid of Ibn Abū Ḥadrad against a sub-tribe of Idam which took place before the Victory.

Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd bin 'Abdallah bin Qusait related to me on the authority of al-Qa'qā' bin 'Abdallah bin Abū Ḥadrad, from his father 'Abdallah bin Abū Ḥadrad. He said: The Messenger of Allah sent us against Idam with a party of the Muslims amongst whom was Abu Qatādah, al-Ḥārith bin Rib'iyy and Muḥallim bin Jaththāmah bin Qais. We set out and when we reached the sub-tribe of Idam, 'Amir bin al-Aḍbat the Ashja'ite passed by us on a riding camel of his. He had with him some provisions of his and a skin of milk. When he passed by us he gave us the salutation of Islam and we refrained from (attacking) him. But Muḥallim bin Jaththāmah attacked and killed

him on account of something that was between them and took his camels and provisions. When we came to the Messenger of Allah and told him our tale, there came down about us:-

O ye who have believed, when ye go about in the way of Allah, make (things) clear to yourselves; do not say to one who gives you the peace-greeting, "Thou art not a believer", in desire of the chance gain of this present life.....(Surah 4: 93).

to the end of the verse.

Ibn Hishām: Abu 'Amr bin al-'Alā' recited:-

Do not say to one who gives you the peace-greeting, "Thou art not a believer".

in connection with this story.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad bin Ja'far bin az-Zubair related to us. He said: I heard Ziyād bin ad-Duḡairah bin Sa'd the Sulamite relate on the authority of 'Urwah bin az-Zubair from his father, from his grandfather, who had both witnessed Hunain with the Messenger of Allah. He said: The Messenger of Allah prayed the noon prayer with us and then betook himself to the shade of a tree under which he squatted when he was in Hunain, and al-Aqra' bin Hābis and 'Uyainah bin Hish bin Hudhaifah brought to him a dispute about 'Āmir bin al-Aḍbat the Ashja'ite, 'Uyainah, who was at that time chief of the Ghatafān seeking compensation for the killing of 'Amir, and al-Aqra' bin Hābis defending Muhallaim bin Jaththamah because he belonged to Khindif. They took turns at disputing their case in the presence of the Messenger of Allah while we listened and we heard 'Uyainah bin Hish say: "I will not desist from him till I have made his women a heat similar to that which he made my women taste". The Messenger of Allah said: "Nay, you shall receive the blood-wit, fifty on this journey and fifty when he return". He refused (to accept) that and then one of the Beni Laith called Mukaitar, a short, thick-set man, rose and said: (Ibn Hishām: Mukaital) "O Messenger of Allah, I can find no comparison for this slain man in the early days of Islam except it be that of sheep who have gone to the water the foremost of which are attacked and the ones behind scattered away, give a decision to-day and arrange the blood-wit to-morrow". The Messenger of Allah raised his hand and said: "Nay, you will take the blood-wit of fifty on this journey and fifty when we return", and they accepted the blood-wit. Then they said: "Here is this friend of

yours for whom the Messenger of Allah will ask forgiveness?". So a brown, slight, tall man, wearing his robes in which he had been about to die, arose and squatted before the Messenger of Allah, and he said: to him: "What is your name?". He said: "I am Muhallim ibn Jaththamah". The Messenger of Allah raised his hand and said: "O Allah, do not grant forgiveness to Muhallim ibn Jaththamah" three times, and he arose wiping his tears with the fringe of his cloak. As for us, we said among ourselves: "We had hoped that the Messenger of Allah would ask forgiveness for him, and this is what the Messenger of Allah has done".

Ibn Ishāq: One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of al-Hasan of Basrah. He said: The Messenger of Allah said to him when he squatted down in front of him: "You guaranteed him safety in (the name of) Allah and then you slew him", and after that he said to him what he said. Muhallim ibn Jaththamah lived only seven days and then died, and by Him in whose hand is the life of al-Hasan, the earth cast him forth; they put him back again and the earth cast him forth; they put him back yet again and the earth cast him forth. When his people were worsted, they went to two mountains, laid him out between them and cast stones over him till they covered him up. His case was reported to the Messenger of Allah and he said: "Verily the earth has received those who were more wicked than he but Allah willed to give you warning of the sacredness of what is among you by what he showed you in connection with him".

Ibn Ishāq: Sālim, Abu Nadr told me that it was related to him that when al-Aqra' ibn Hābis was alone with 'Uyainah ibn Hisn and Qais he said to them: "O People of Qais, you prevented the Messenger of Allah from slaying a man through whom he would have made peace with the people, are you safe from the curse of the Messenger of Allah in case Allah curses you with His curse, or from his wrath against you in case Allah be wroth with you? By Allah, in whose hand is the life of al-Aqra', you shall indeed give him up to the Messenger of Allah that he may do with him as he wills, or I will bring fifty men of the Beni Tamīm all of whom will testify by Allah that your friend was slain an unbeliever who had never prayed, and thus I will let his death go unavenged". When they heard that they accepted the blood-wit.

Ibn Hishām: Muhallim in the whole of this story is on the authority of another than Ibn Ishāq. He was Muhallim bin Jaththamah bin Qais the Laithite.

Ibn Ishāq: Mulajjam in what Ziyād related to us about him.

The raid of Ibn Abū Hadrad to slay Rifā'ah bin Qais the Jushamite.

Ibn Ishāq: The raid of Ibn Abū Hadrad the Aslamite on al-Ghābah. According to what I heard, its account is on the authority of one who is above suspicion from Ibn Abū Hadrad. He said: I married a woman of my people and gave her two hundred dirhems as dowry. I came to the Messenger of Allah seeking his assistance in connection with my marriage and he said: "How much dowry did you give?". I said: "Two hundred dirhems, O Messenger of Allah". He said: "Allah be praised! Had you got the dirhems from the bottom of a valley you would not have given more; I have nothing wherewith to help you". I waited some days and a man of the Beni Jusham bin Mu'awiyah called Rifā'ah bin Qais or Qais bin Rifā'ah advanced with a large sub-tribe of the Beni Jusham and encamped with his people and those who were with him in al-Ghābah, wishing to gather Qais to make war on the Messenger of Allah. He had a (good) name and was held in esteem by Jusham. So the Messenger of called me and two others of the Muslims along with me and said: "Go out to this man and bring back some information. He presented us with an old emaciated she-camel and one of us was mounted on her and she could not rise with him for weakness till the men helped her with their hands from behind and she raised herself up, and she scarcely made it. Then he said: "Go there on her and ride her by turns". We set out, having with us our arms which consisted of arrows and daggers and when we came near the settlement it was evening at set of sun. I hid myself in one part of the settlement and ordered my two companions to hide themselves in the other parts and said to them: "When you hear me giving a Takbīr and running in the direction of the camp, you give a Takbīr and run with me! Thus we were expecting to take the people off their guard or inflict some (injury) on them. The night enveloped us and then the first darkness was past. They had a shepherd who pastured his flocks in that district and he delayed till they were afraid for his safety. So their friend Rifā'ah bin Qais got up, took his

dagger, put it round his neck, and said: "I will surely follow the steps of this shepherd of ours for evil has befallen him". Some of those who were with him said: "You shall not go, we are surely able to do that for you". He said: "No one but myself shall go". They said: "Then we go with you". He said: "None of you shall follow me". So he set out and passed my way and when it was possible for me I shot him with an arrow, placing it in his heart. He did not utter a sound, so I leapt upon him and cut off his head. Then I ran in the direction of the camp, uttered a Takbīr, and my two companions ran out and uttered a Takbīr. There was no thought of anything on the part of those who were in it but escape with all their women and children and the light effects they could take with them; a fact which was indicated by their cries of: Look out! Look out! So we drove away a large number of camels and many sheep which we brought to the Messenger of Allah. I also brought his head which I carried with me. The Messenger of Allah helped me with my dowry with thirteen of those camels and I gathered my family to me.

The raid of 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin 'Auf against Dumat al-Jandal.

Ibn Ishāq: One who is above suspicion related to me on the authority of 'Atā' bin Abū Ribāh. He said: I heard one of the inhabitants of Basrah ask 'Abdallah bin 'Umar bin al-Khattāb about the loosing of the turban behind the man when he bound it on. 'Abdallah said: I will tell you about that if Allah wills, having had knowledge of it. I was the tenth of a party of ten of the friends of the Messenger of Allah who were in his mosque; Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Ali, 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin 'Auf, Ibn Mas'ūd, Mu'ādh bin Jabal, Hudhaifah bin al-Yamān, Abū Sa'īd the Khudriti, and I were with the Messenger of Allah, when a young man of the Helpers came up, greeted the Messenger of Allah and squatted down. Then he said: "O Messenger of Allah, which of the believers is the most excellent?" He said: "The best of them in character". He said: "Which of the believers is the most intelligent?" He said: "The one who is most mindful of death and the one who is best prepared for it before it comes upon him; they are the most intelligent". The young man was silent and the Messenger of Allah came up to us and said: "O people of the Emigrés, there are five vices which if they come upon you - but I take refuge in Allah lest you should live to see them. Verily immorality does not

make its appearance among any people and they become notorious for it without pestilences and diseases also appearing amongst them which did not appear amongst their ancestors who are passed away. They have not given short measures and weights without being overtaken by famine, lack of sustenance and the tyranny of those in authority. They have not withheld the Tithe on their property without being denied dew from heaven, and were it not for the animals, they would receive no rain. They have not broken the covenant of Allah and His messenger without a foreign enemy being given power over them, and he took a part of what they possessed. Their leaders did not give judgment according to the Book of Allah, being in perplexity regarding what Allah had sent down, without Allah sending adversity among them! Then he ordered 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin 'Auf to prepare for the raid on which he was sending him, and he came in the morning attired in a turban of black cotton material. The Messenger of Allah drew him near to him, took it off, bound it on, and released behind him four fingers or thereabouts. Then he said: "Thus shall you wear the turban for it is better and more recognisable". After that he ordered Bilāl to hand the banner over to him, which he did. He praised Allah, asked a blessing for himself and said: "Take it, O Ibn 'Auf, go forth to battle all of you in the way of Allah; fight those who disbelieve in Allah; do not practise deceit, perfidy of mutilation; do not slay a child, for this is the covenant of Allah and the way of life of His prophet amongst you", and 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin 'Auf took the banner.

Ibn Hishām: He set out to Dumat al-Jandal.

The raid of Abū 'Ubaidah bin al-Jarrāh on the sea-coast.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Ubādah bin al-Walīd bin 'Ubādah bin as-Sāmīt related to me on the authority of his father from his grandfather 'Ubādah bin as-Sāmīt. He said: The Messenger of Allah sent a raiding party, of which Abū 'Ubaidah bin al-Jarrāh was in command, to the sea-coast. He provisioned them with a bag of dates which he supplied to them till he had to begin to count them out to them by number and in the end the dates were so exhausted that he was giving each man one date per day. One day he divided them out amongst us and they were one date short, and its absence was a grief to us that day. When

hunger assailed us Allah brought a beast out of the sea of whose flesh and fat we ate and there we stayed twenty nights till we waxed fat and had recovered from our hunger. Then our commander took one of its ribs, set it up on the road, ordered the biggest camel we had, mounted the biggest man amongst us on it, and he rode through below it without it touching his head. When we returned to the Messenger of Allah we told him about it, and asked him about what we done in eating of it. He said: "A provision which Allah made for you".

The sending of 'Amr bin Umayyah the Damrite to fight Abū Sufyān bin Harb.

Ibn Hishām: One of the missions and raiding parties of the Messenger of Allah which Ibn Ishāq does not mention is the sending of 'Amr bin Umayyah the Damrite. According to what one of the scholars in whom I have confidence related to me, the Messenger of Allah sent him to Mecca, after the killing of Khubaib bin 'Adi and his friends, and ordered him to slay Abū Sufyān bin Harb. He sent Jabbar bin Sakhr the Helper along with him and they set out and went to Mecca. They tied up their two camels in one of the concealed paths of Yājiǧ and entered Mecca by night. Jabbar said to 'Amr: "Suppose we circumambulate the House and perform two cycles of prayer". 'Amr said: "After the people have had their evening meal they sit in their courtyards". He said: "By all means, if Allah wills". 'Amr said: "So we circumambulated the House and prayed and then set out to look for Abū Sufyān and we were walking through Mecca when one of the inhabitants of Mecca looked closely at me and recognised me and said: 'Amr bin Umayyah; he has come here merely on evil bent'. I said to my friend: "Let us escape", and we set out at a run and climbed a hill. They set out in search of us but when we got up the mountain they gave up hope of finding us and we returned and went into a cave in the mountain where we passed the night, having taken stones which we piled up as a barrier before us. When morning came a man of Quraish went out leading his mare and collecting herbage for her and he came upon us in the cave. I said: 'If he sees us he will give the alarm about us and we shall be taken and slain'. I had a

poniard which I had prepared for Abū Sufyān, so I went out to him, smote him in the breast but once, and he gave a cry which the people of Mecca heard so I returned and went into my (hiding) place. The people came running to him when he was at the last gasp and said: 'Who smote you?'. He said: "'Amr bin Umayyah", and death overcame him and he died there and then without having shown them our (hiding) place, and they carried him away. When evening was come I said to my friend: 'Let us make our escape', and we set out by night from Mecca to go to Medina. We passed the guards who were guarding the corpse of Khubaib bin 'Adi and one of them said: "What I saw to-night was very like the walk of 'Amr bin Umayyah; were it not that he is in Medina I would have said it was 'Amr bin Umayyah'. He said: 'When he came up to the piece of wood he pulled it and carried it away and the pair of them went away at a run and they set out in pursuit of them but when he came to a bank in the declivity of the water-course of Yājij he cast the wood into it and Allah hid him from their eyes so that they were not able to overtake him'. I said to my friend: 'Make your getaway, go to your camel and mount it and I will draw the people away from you'. The Helper had no strength for walking and I went on till I emerged at Dajnan where I sought refuge on a mountain and entered a cave. While I was there an old one-eyed man of the Beni 'd-Dil came in to me with some little spoil of his, and said: 'Who is the man?'. I said: 'From the Beni Bakr, who are you?'. He said: 'From the Beni Bakr'. I said: 'Welcome! and he reclined. Then he raised his voice in song and said:-

I will not be a Muslim as long as I live
Nor will I profess the faith of the Muslims

I said to myself: 'You shall find out'. I left him alone till he fell asleep when I took my bow, put its end in his whole eye, pressed heavily upon it till I touched the bone, set out to make my escape and came to al-'Arj. Then I passed through Rakūbah and when I came down into an-Naqī there were two men of the polytheists from Quraish had sent as spies to Medina were looking around searching for information. I said: 'Give yourselves up'. They refused, so I shot one of them with an arrow killing him, and the other gave himself up, so I bound him securely and brought him to Medina.

The raiding party of Zaid bin Hārithah against Midian.

The raiding part of Zaid bin Hārithah against Midian. 'Abdallah bin Husain bin Hasan mentioned it on the authority of his mother Fātimah bint al-Hasain bin 'Ali, (saying) that the Messenger of Allah sent Zaid bin Hārithah to Midian accompanied by Dumairah, client of 'Ali bin Abū Tālib and a brother of his. She said: He captured some prisoners of the inhabitants of the sea-shore which is the coast, amongst whom were communities of people who were sold and separated. So the Messenger of Allah went out to them as they were weeping and said: "What is the matter with them?", and someone said to him: "O Messenger of Allah, they have been separated". The Messenger of Allah said: "Do not sell them unless it be together".

Ibn Hishām: He meant the mothers and children.

The raiding party of Sālim bin 'Umair to slay Abū 'Afak.

Ibn Ishāq: The raiding party of Sālim bin 'Umair who was one of the Weepers to slay Abū 'Afak, one of the Beni 'Amr bin 'Auf, and from the sub-division of the Beni 'Ubaidah. His hypocrisy appeared when the Messenger of Allah slew al-Hārith bin Suwaid bin Sāmit and he said:-

I have lived a life-time and yet I have not seen a
household or assembly of people
Who keep covenants and fulfil engagements to those to
whom they are bound when the call comes
Some of the descendants of Qailah are amongst their number
He will overthrow the mountains and will not submit
A stranger who came to them divided them asunder
Things allowable and things forbidden are all massed
together
If you believed in power or might you should have
followed Tubba'.

So the Messenger of Allah said: "Who will help me against this pernicious fellow?", and Sālim bin 'Umair, brother of the Beni 'Amr bin 'Auf, who was one of the Weepers, went out and killed him, and Umamah of Muzairah said about that:-

You call the religion of Allah and the man Ahmad false
By the life of him who made you forget; bad is that which
he makes you forget
A sincere Muslim gave you a thrust in the latter part of
the night
Take it, Abū 'Afak in spite of your advanced age.

The raid of 'Umaisr ibn 'Adi to slay 'Asmā' bint Marwān.

The raid of 'Umaisr ibn 'Adi the Khatmite to (slay) 'Asmā' bint Marwān, who was one of the Beni Umayyah ibn Zaid. When Abū 'Afak was slain she turned hypocrite. 'Abdallah ibn al-Hārith ibn al-Fudail mentioned on the authority of his father. He said: She was the wife of a man of the Beni Khatmah called Yazīd ibn Zaid and she said, stigmatising Islam and its people:-

Evil are ye, Beni Mālik and an-Nabīṭ
And 'Auf; and evil are ye Beni 'l-Khazraj
Ye obeyed an outsider who was no one of yourselves
Nor was he from Murād or Mudhiḡ
After the slaying of the chieftains you waited for him
As the gravy of well-cooked meat is awaited
Is he not self-conceited, wishing to get you off your guard
So that he may cut off the hope of him who expects
(something).

Hassān ibn Thābit answered her and said

The Beni Wā'il, the Beni Wāqif
And Khatmah are inferior to the Beni 'l-Khazraj
Woe to her when she calls in levity
She brings only her shrill voice and death
She threatened a glorious young man whose origins
Were noble from beginning to end
So he smeared her with much blood
In the quietness of the night and (therein) committed no
crime.

When the Messenger of Allah heard that, he said: "Is there no one to help me against the daughter of Marwān?". 'Umaisr ibn 'Adi the Khatmite heard what the Messenger of Allah said for he was beside him. When the evening of that night came he attacked and slew her in her house. In the morning he came to the Messenger of Allah and said: "O Messenger of Allah, I have slain her". He said: "You have helped Allah and His messenger", O 'Umaisr". He said: "Have I anything to fear on her account?". He said: "Two goats would not butt each other over her". 'Umaisr went back to his people and the Beni Khatmah were considerably agitated that day over the business of Marwān's daughter. She had five grown sons, and when 'Umaisr came to them from the Messenger of Allah, he said: "O Beni Khatmah, I slew Marwan's daughter; strive against me all of you and do not grant me respite. That day was the first occasion on which Islam established itself among the Beni Khatmah. Those who had accepted Islam amongst them had

been keeping it a secret. The first of the Beni Khatmah to islamize was 'Umair bin 'Adi, and it was he who called al-Qāri', 'Abdallah bin Aus and Khuzaimah bin Thābit. Some men of the Beni Khatmah islamized the day Marwan's daughter was slain when they realised the strength of Islam.

The imprisonment of Thumamah bin Uthāl the Hanafite and his islamization.

The raiding party which took Thumamah bin Uthāl prisoner. I heard on the authority of Abu Sa'īd al-Maqburī from Abū Hurairah that he said: Some cavalry of the Messenger of Allah went out and captured a man of the Beni Hanīfah, not knowing who he was, till they brought him to the Messenger of Allah and he said: "Do you know whom you have captured?" This is Thumamah bin Uthāl the Hanafite, treat him well in captivity". The Messenger of Allah returned to his family and said; "Collect what food you have and send it to him", and he ordered that his milch camel should be taken to him morning and evening. In whatever place Thumamah happened to be, the Messenger of Allah would come to him and say: "Islamize, O Thumamah". He would say: "Enough, O Muhammad, if you kill, you kill a man of blood, and if you wish the ransom, ask what you will". So he remained as long as Allah willed he should remain, and the prophet said one day: "Release Thumamah". When they released him, he set out and went to al-Baqī', purified himself and made good his purification. Then he came and gave his pledge to the Prophet regarding Islam and when evening came, they brought him the food they had been wont to bring him, but he took only a little of it. They brought also the milch-camel but he took only a little of her milk at which the Muslims were amazed. When the Messenger of Allah heard that, he said: "What are you amazed at? Are you amazed at man who in the early part of the day eats with the capacity of an unbeliever, and at the end of the day with the capacity of a Muslim? The unbeliever eats (to satisfy) seven stomachs; the believer eats (to satisfy) one".

Ibn Hishām: I heard that he set out on the Lesser Pilgrimage and when he was in the heart of Mecca he gave the call: "Here I come", and he was the first to enter Mecca giving this call. Quraish seized him and said: "You are challenging us", and when they brought him

forward to behead him, one of them said: "Leave him alone for you stand in need of al-Yamāmah for your food supplies, and they set him free. The Hanafite said:-

Among us is he who has given the call: "Here I come" in Mecca, declaring himself in the sacred months in spite of Abū Sufyān.

It was related to me that he said to the Messenger of Allah when he islamized: "Your face was the most hateful to me of all faces, but it has become the best loved of all faces to me". He said much the same thing about religion and country. Then he set out on the Lesser Pilgrimage and when he reached Mecca they said: "O Thumām, you have become a Sābian!". He said: "Nay, I am a follower of the best religion, the religion of Muhammad, and verily a single grain cannot come to you from al-Yamāmah till the Messenger of Allah gives his permission". Then he went to al-Yamāmah and forbade them to transport anything to Mecca, and they wrote to the Messenger of Allah (saying):

You command us not to break with our kinsmen, and now you have severed the relationship.

So the Messenger of Allah wrote (saying) that transport between them would remain unhindered.

The raiding party of 'Alqamah bin Mujazziz who encountered no opposition.

He sent out 'Alqamah bin Mujazziz when Waqqās bin Mujazziz the Mudlijite was slain on the day of Dhū Qard. 'Alqamah bin Mujazziz asked the Messenger of Allah to send him out in pursuit of the party to take his revenge on them. 'Abd al-'Azīz bin Muhammad stated on the authority of Muhammad bin 'Amr bin 'Alqamah from 'Amr bin al-Hakm bin Thaūbān from Abu Sa'īd the Khudrite: He said: The Messenger of Allah sent out 'Alqamah bin Mujazziz (Abu Sa'īd the Khudrite said: I was one of them), and when we reached the object of our raid or were in a certain part of the way, he granted leave to a section of the army and placed 'Abdallah bin Hudhāfah the Sahmite in command of them. He was one of the friends of the Messenger of Allah and was fond of a joke. When they were in a certain part of the way he kindled a fire, and said to the party: "Is it not mine to

be heard and obeyed by you?". They said: "Without doubt". He said: "So then, I have only to order a certain thing and you will carry it out". They said: "Yes". He said: "Then I command you in virtue of my right to be obeyed to leap into this fire". So some of the party started to tighten their waist-bands so that he imagined they would jump into it. He said to them: "Squat down, I was only having a joke with you". That was told to the Messenger of Allah after we returned to him and the Messenger of Allah said: "Whoever of them orders you to rebel, do not obey him. Muhammad bin Talhah mentioned that 'Alqamah bin Mujazziz and his friends returned without encountering opposition.

The raiding party of Kurz bin Jābir to slay the men of Bajīlah who slew Yasār.

One of the scholars related to me on the authority of whoever related it to him from Muhammad bin Talhah from 'Uthmān bin 'Abd ar-Rahmān. He said: The Messenger of Allah captured a slave called Yasār in a raid on Muhārib and the Beni Tha'labah, and the Messenger of Allah placed him in charge of some milch camels belonging to him, which he was herding in the vicinity of al-Jammā'. A party of Qais Kubbah of Bajīlah came to the Messenger of Allah and they were smitten with plague and had enlarged spleens and the Messenger of Allah said to them: "If you go out to my milch camels you may drink of their milk and urine!" So they went out to them but when they were healed and their stomachs had gone down they attacked the shepherd of the Messenger of Allah - Yasār and massacred him, jabbing thorns into his eyes, and drove away the milch camels. The Messenger of Allah sent Kurz bin Jābir in pursuit of them, and he overtook them and brought them to the Messenger of Allah when he returned from the raid of Dhū Qarad, so he cut off their hands and feet and put out their eyes.

The raid of 'Ali bin Abū Tālib on the Yemen.

The raid of 'Ali bin Abū Tālib on the Yemen, he made a raid on it twice. Abū 'Amr of Medina said: The Messenger of Allah sent 'Ali bin Abū Tālib to the Yemen and he sent out Khālid bin al-Walīd with another army, and said: "If you meet, the commander is to be 'Ali bin Abū Tālib. Ibn Ishāq has mentioned the despatch of Khālid bin al-Walīd in his account but has not mentioned it among the number of excursions and

raiding parties , so the number in his statement must be thirty-nine.

The sending of Usamah bin Zaid to the country of Palestine which was the last of the missions.

Ibn Ishāq: The Messenger of Allah sent Usamah bin Zaid bin Hārithah to Syria and commanded him to make his cavalry march through the borders of al-Balqā' and ad-Darūm in the country of Palestine. So the people made preparations and the original Emigres set out with Usamah.

Ibn Hishām: It was the last mission the Messenger of Allah sent out.

The beginning of the sickness of the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: While the people were thus occupied, the Messenger of Allah's illness, in which Allah took him away to the mercy and honour He willed for him, commenced in the last nights of Safar or in the beginning of Rabī' I. According to what was told me, the first time it came over him was when he went out to Baqī' al-Gharqad in the middle of the night, asked forgiveness for them and then returned to his family. When the morning of that day came his pain started.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin 'Amr related to me on the authority of 'Ubaid bin Jubair, client of al-Hakm bin Abu 'l-'Ās, from 'Abdallah bin 'Amr bin al-'Ās from Abū Muwaihibah, client of the Messenger of Allah. He said: The Messenger of Allah sent (for) me in the middle of the night and said: "O Abū Muwaihibah, I have been commanded to ask forgiveness for the people of Baqī' here, so go with me", and I went with him. When he stood in their midst he said: "Peace be upon you, O people of the graves; may that to which you have come be more enjoyable for you than that to which the people have come; trials come like portions of a dark night which follow each other, and the last of them is more evil than those that went before". Then he came to me and said: "O Abū Muwaihibah, I have been given the keys of the treasures of this world with eternity in it, and Paradise; I have been given the choice between that and meeting my Lord". I said: "May my father and mother be your ransom, take the keys of the treasures of this world with eternity in it and Paradise". He said: "Nay, O Abū Muwaihibah, I have chosen the meeting with my Lord and Paradise". Then he asked forgiveness for the people of al-Baqī' and took his departure. Then the illness with which Allah took him away

began with him.

Ibn Ishāq: Ya'qūb bin 'Utbah related to me on the authority of Muhammad bin Muslim the Zuhrite from 'Ubaid Allah bin 'Abdallah bin 'Utbah bin Mas'ūd from 'Ā'ishah, wife of the Prophet. She said: The Messenger of Allah returned from al-Baqī' and found me when I was suffering from a headache and I was saying: "Oh, my head!". He said: "Nay indeed, O 'Ā'ishah, O my head". Then he said: "It would do you no injury if you died before me, and I looked after you, shrouded you, prayed over you, and buried you". I said: "It seems to me that if you did that, you would go back to my apartment and there marry one of your women". The Messenger of Allah smiled. Then his pain came to a head when he was making the rounds of his wives till it overpowered him when he was in the apartment of Maimūnah, so he called his wives and asked leave to be nursed in my apartment, which they granted him.

Mention of the wives of the Messenger of Allah, the mothers of the believers.

Ibn Hishām: They were nine in number: 'Ā'ishah, bint Abu Bakr; Hafṣah bint 'Umar bin al-Khattāb, Umm Habibah bint Abu Sufyān bin Harb, Umm Salamah bint Abu Umayyah bin al-Mughīrah, Saudah bint Zam'ah bin Qais, Zainab bint Jahsh bin Ri'āb, Maimūnah bint al-Hārithah bin Hazn, Juwairiyah bint al-Hārith bin Abū Dirār, and Saffiyyah bin Huayy bin Akhtab, according to what more than one scholar related to me. All the women whom the Messenger of Allah married were thirteen in number. Khadījah bint Khuwailid, who was the first woman he married, her father Khuwailid bin Asad giving her in marriage to him, but it is said it was her brother, 'Amr bin Khuwailid, and the Messenger of Allah gave her a dowry of twenty camels. She bore to the Messenger of Allah his children except Ibrahim. Before that she was the wife of Abū Hālah bin Malik, one of the Beni Usaid bin 'Amr bin Tamīm, ally of the Beni 'Abd ad-Dār, and she bore to him Hind bin Abū Hālah, and Zainab bint Abū Hālah. Before Abū Hālah she was the wife of 'Utayyiq bin 'Ābid bin 'Abdallah bin 'Amr bin Makhzūm and she bore to him 'Abdallah and Jariyah.

The Messenger of Allah also married 'Ā'ishah bint Abū Bakr the

Faithful in Mecca when she was a girl of seven years and he went in to her in Medina when she was a girl of nine or ten years. The Messenger of Allah married no other virgin. Her father Abū Bakr gave her away and the Messenger of Allah gave her a dowry of four hundred dirhems.

The Messenger of Allah also married Saudah bint Zam'ah bin Qais bin 'Abd Shams bin 'Abd Wudd bin Nasr bin Mālik bin Hishl bin 'Amir bin Lu'ai. Salit bin 'Amr gave her in marriage to him, and it is said it was Abū Hātib bin 'Amr bin 'Abd Shams bin 'Abd Wudd bin Nasr bin Mālik bin Hishl, and the Messenger of Allah gave her a dowry of four hundred dirhems.

Ibn Hishām: Ibn Ishāq disagrees with this account. He says that Salit and Abū Hātib were away in Ethiopia at that time. Before him she was the wife of as-Sakrān bin 'Amr bin 'Abd Shams bin 'Abd Wudd bin Nasr bin Mālik bin Hishl.

The Messenger of Allah also married Zainab bint Jahsh bin Ri'ab of Asad, her brother Abū Ahmad bin Jahsh giving her in marriage to him, and the Messenger of Allah gave her a dowry of four hundred dirhems. Before him she was the wife of Zaid bin Hārithah, client of the Messenger of Allah. Allah the Blessed the Exalted sent down in connection with her:-

So when Zaid had had all that he wanted of her, We married her to thee. (Sūrah 33: 37).

The Messenger of Allah also married Umm Salamah bint Abū Umayyah bin al-Mughīrah, a woman of Makhzūm, whose name was Hind. Salamah bin Abū Salamah her son gave her to him in marriage and the Messenger of Allah gave her as dowry a mattress stuffed with palm-fibre, a drinking bowl, a large dish, and a hand-mill. Before him she was the wife of Abū Salamah bin 'Abd al-Asad, whose name was 'Abdallah. She bore to him Salamah, 'Umar, Zainab, and Ruqayyah.

The Messenger of Allah also married Hafsa bint 'Umar bin al-Khattāb. Her father 'Umar bin al-Khattāb gave her to him in marriage, and the Messenger of Allah gave her a dowry of four hundred dirhems. Before him she was the wife of Khunais bin Hudhāfah the Sahmite.

The Messenger of Allah also married Umm Habībah, whose name was Ramlah bint Abū Sufyān bin Harb. Khālid bin Sa'id bin al-'Ās gave

her to him in marriage when they were in Ethiopia, and the Negus, on behalf of the Messenger of Allah, gave her a dowry of four hundred dinars, and it was he who betrothed her to the Messenger of Allah. Before him she was the wife of 'Ubaid Allah bin Jahsh the Asadite.

The Messenger of Allah also married Juwairiyah bint al-Hārith bin Abū Dirār of Khuzā'ah, who was amongst the captives of the Beni 'l-Mustaliq of Khuzā'ah. She fell by lot to Thābit bin Qais bin ash Shammās the Helper, who made out a bond for her. She came to the Messenger of Allah to seek his help in the matter of her bond and he said: "Have you any desire for something better than this?". She said: "What is it?". He said: "I will fulfil your bond for you and marry you". He said: "Yes", and he married her. Ziyād bin 'Abdallah related this story to us on the authority of Muhammad bin Ishāq from Muhammad bin Ja'far bin az-Zubair from 'Urwah from 'Ā'ishah.

Ibn Hishām: It is said: When the Messenger of Allah went away after the raid on the Beni 'l-Mustaliq, Juwairiyah bint al-Hārith being with him and he with the army, he handed her over in trust to one of the Helpers and commanded him to keep her safe. When the Messenger of Allah returned to Medina, her father, al-Hārith bin Abū Dirār brought the ransom for his daughter. When he was in al-'Aqīq he examined the camels he had brought for the ransom, and he wished to retain two of them so he hid them in one of the ravines of al-'Aqīq. Then he came to the Prophet and said: "O Muhammad, you have captured my daughter and here is her ransom". The Messenger of Allah said: "But where are the two camels you have hidden in al-'Aqīq in such and such a pathway". Al-Hārith said: "I testify that there is no god but Allah, and that thou art the Messenger of Allah, for no one knows of that but Allah". So al-Hārith islamized and two sons of his islamized along with him and some of his people. Then he sent for the two camels, brought them, handed them over to the Messenger of Allah, and his daughter Juwairiyah was handed over to him, and she islamized, and her islamization was genuine. The Messenger of Allah asked her father for her in marriage, and he gave her to him, and he gave her a dowry of four hundred dirhems. Before the Messenger of Allah she was the wife of a cousin of hers called 'Abdallah.

Ibn Hishām: It is also said that the Messenger of Allah purchased her from Thābit bin Qais, granted her her freedom, married her, and gave her a dowry of four hundred dirhems.

The Messenger of Allah also married Safiyyah bint Huayy bin Akhtab whom he captured at Khaibar and chose for himself, and the Messenger of Allah gave a banquet at which there was neither fat nor meat, only meal and dates. Before him she was the wife of Kinānah bin ar-Rabi' bin Abu 'l-Huqaiq.

The Messenger of Allah also married Maimūnah bint al-Hārith bin Hazn bin Bahīr bin Huzam bin Ruwaibah bin 'Abdallah bin Hilāl bin 'Āmir bin Sa'sa'ah. Al-'Abbās bin 'Abd al-Muttalib gave her to him in marriage, and al-'Abbas gave her a dowry of four hundred dirhems on behalf of the Messenger of Allah. Before him she was the wife of Abū Ruhm bin 'Abd al-'Uzza bin Abū Qais bin 'Abd Wudd bin Nasr bin Malik bin Hishl bin 'Āmir bin Lu'ai. It is said that she gave herself to the Prophet and that was because (news of) her betrothal reached her when she was on her camel and she said: "The camel and what is on it belongs to Allah and His messenger". So Allah, the Blessed, the Exalted sent down:-

and any believing woman, if she offer herself to the prophet.....(Sūrah 33: 50).

It is said that the one who gave herself to the Prophet was Zainab bint Jahsh, and it is also said it was Umm Sharīk, Ghaziyyah bint Jābir bin Wahb of the Beni Munqidh bin 'Amr bin Ma'īs bin 'Āmir bin Lu'ai, and it is also said that she was a woman of the Beni Sāmāh bin Lu'ai and the Messenger of Allah put her off.

The Messenger of Allah also married Zainab bint Khuzaimah bin al-Hārith bin 'Abdallah bin 'Amr bin 'Abd Manāf bin Hilāl bin 'Āmir bin Sa'sa'ah. She was called 'The Mother of the Poor' because of her sympathy with and pity for them. Qabīṣah bin 'Amr of Hilāl gave her to him in marriage, and the Messenger of Allah gave her a dowry of four hundred dirhems. Before him she was the wife of 'Upaidah bin al-Hārith bin al-Muttalib bin 'Abd Manāf, and before 'Upaidah she was the wife of Jahm bin 'Amr bin al-Hārith who was her cousin.

These are the ones to whom the Messenger of Allah went in -eleven in

number. Two of them died before him - Khadijah bint Khuwailid and Zainab bint Khuzaimah, and he died leaving nine (widows) whom we mentioned in the former part of this account. There were also two to whom he did not go in - Asma' bint an-Nu'man of Kindah, whom he married but found leprosy in her so he gave her something useful and returned her to her people; and 'Amrah bint Yazid of Kilab, who had been lately in unbelief, and when she came to the Messenger of Allah she sought protection from him, and the Messenger of Allah said: "Unapproachable is the one who takes refuge in Allah", and he returned her to her people. It is said that the one who sought protection from the Messenger of Allah was a woman of Kindah, a cousin of Asma' bint an-Nu'man. It is said that the Messenger of Allah called her she said: "We are a people who are brought; we do not come", and the Messenger of Allah returned her to her people.

The Quraishite women amongst them were six in number: Khadijah bint Khuwailid, 'A'ishah bint Abu Bakr, Hafsa bint 'Umar bin al-Khattab, Umm Habibah bint Abu Sufyan bin Harb, Umm Salamah bint Abu Umayyah, and Saudah bint Zam'ah bin Qais.

The Arab women and the others were seven in number: Zainab bint Jahsh, Maimunah bin al-Harithah, Zainab bint Khuzaimah, Juwairiyah bint al-Harith, Asma bint an-Nu'man, and 'Amrah bint Yazid. Besides the Arab women there was Safiyyah bint Huayy bin Akhtab of the Beni an-Nadir.

The nursing of the Messenger of Allah in the apartment of 'A'ishah.
Ibn Ishaq: Ya'qub bin 'Utbah related to me on the authority of Muhammad bin Muslim the Zuhrite, from 'Ubaid Allah bin 'Abdallah bin 'Utbah from 'A'ishah, wife of the Prophet. She said: The Messenger of Allah went out walking between two of his people, one of whom was al-Fadl bin al-'Abbās and one other, with turbaned head and dragging his feet till he entered my apartment. 'Ubaid Allah said: I related this story to 'Abdallah bin al-'Abbās and he said: "Do you know who the other man was?". I said: "No". He said: "'Ali bin Abū Tālib". Then the Messenger of Allah was overcome, his illness grew severe and he said: "Pour out over me seven skins of water (drawn) from various wells, and of all that is in them, that I may go out to the people and lay a charge upon them. So we seated him in a

washing-trough belonging to Hafṣah bint 'Umar and poured water over him till he said: "Hold, enough".

Ibn Ishāq: Az-Zuhrī said: Ayūb ibn Bashīr related to me that the Messenger of Allah went out with his turban on his head, seated himself in the pulpit, and the first utterance he made was to pray for the men of Uhud and to ask forgiveness for them. He prayed much for them and then said: "Verily one of the servants of Allah to whom Allah has given the choice between this world and what He has, has chosen what Allah has". Abū Bakr understood him and realised that he meant himself, so he wept and said: "Nay, we will ransom thee with our lives and our sons". He said: "Gently, O Abū Bakr". Then he said: "See these doors which open into the mosque. Wall them all up except the house of Abū Bakr, for I know not any who was more generous with me in friendship than him".

Ibn Hishām: It is also given as 'except the door of Abū Bakr'.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Abdallah related to me on the authority of one of the people of Abū Sa'īd ibn al-Mu'alla that the Messenger of Allah said that day in the course of his words: "If I were choosing a friend from amongst them I would choose Abū Bakr as my friend, but there is the friendship and brotherhood of the faith till Allah shall unite us in His presence".

His command to carry out the despatch of Usāmah.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad ibn Ja'far ibn az-Zubair related to me on the authority of 'Urwah ibn az-Zubair and other scholars that the Messenger of Allah thought the people dilatory in sending Usāmah ibn Zaid while he was ill, so he went out with his turban on his head and seated himself in the pulpit. Now the people had been saying about the command of Usāmah: "He has appointed a mere youth to command the great men of the Emigres and the Helpers". He praised and blessed Allah as he is worthy to be praised and said: "O people, proceed with the despatch of Usāmah, for verily if you speak against his command you spoke against his father's command before him; if his father was worthy to receive the command so is he". Then the Messenger of Allah descended and the people were quick to fit themselves out, but his illness overcame the Messenger of Allah. So Usamah set out taking his army with him and encamped in al-Jurf, a league outside Medina, and the people all came to him. The

Messenger of Allah was seriously ill so Usāmah and the people waited to see what Allah had decreed with regard to His messenger.

The Messenger of Allah's injunction with regard to the Helpers.

Ibn Ishāq: Az-Zuhri said: 'Abdallah bin Ka'b bin Mālik related to me that the Messenger of Allah said on the day he prayed and asked forgiveness for the men of Uhud, mentioning what he mentioned of their affair along with what he said that day: "O people of the Emigres, deal kindly with the Helpers, for the people are increasing, while the Helpers are as they were; they are not increasing, for they were my confidants to whom I had recourse. Treat well him who treats them well, and forgive him who works them ill!" Then the Messenger of Allah descended, entered his house, and his illness came to a head with him so that he fainted away with it.

The affair of the draught.

'Abdallah said: Some of his wives - Umm Salamah and Maimūnah- and some of the Muslim women amongst whom was Asmā' bint 'Umays came to him. His uncle al-'Abbās was with him and they decided to administer a draught through the corner of his mouth. Al-'Abbās said: "I will certainly give him the draught". They gave it to him and when the Messenger of Allah came round he said: "Who did this to me?". They said: "Your uncle, O Messenger of Allah". He said: "This is medicine which certain women have brought who came from the direction of this country" - and he pointed in the direction of Ethiopia. He said: "Why did you do it?". His uncle al-'Abbās said: "O Messenger of Allah, we were afraid that you had pleurisy". He said: "That is a disease which Allah, to whom belong power and glory, will not lay upon me. No one shall be left in the apartment who has not been given the draught except my uncle". Maimūnah, who was fasting because of an oath of the Messenger of Allah, was given the draught as a punishment for them for what they did.

His blessing of Usāmah bin Zaid by signs.

Ibn Ishāq: Sa'īd bin 'Ubaid bin as-Sabbāq related to me on the authority of Muhammad bin Usāmah, from his father Usāmah bin Zaid. He said: When the Messenger of Allah became seriously ill, I, and the people along with me, went down into Medina, and went in to the Messenger of Allah but he was silent and did not speak. Then he

took to lifting his hand towards heaven and placing it on me whereby I knew he was blessing me.

Ibn Ishāq: Ibn Shihāb the Zuhrite said: 'Ubaid Allah bin 'Abdallah bin 'Utbah related to me on the authority of 'Ā'ishah. She said: I often heard the Messenger of Allah say that Allah did not take a prophet away till He had given him a choice. When the Messenger of Allah was near his end, the last word I heard from him was as he was saying: "Nay, the most exalted companion of Paradise". I said: "Then he does not choose us", and I realised that it was he who had said to us: "A prophet is not taken till he is given a choice".

Abū Bakr leads the people in the Prayer.

Az-Zuhri said: Hamzah bin 'Abdallah related to me that 'Ā'ishah said: When illness overcame the Messenger of Allah, he said: "Command Abū Bakr to lead the people in the Prayer". I said: "O Messenger of Allah, Abu Bakr is slight, weak of voice, and much given to weeping when he recites the Qur'ān". He said: "Command him to lead the people in the Prayer". I repeated much the same as I had already said and he said: "Verily you are the female companions of Joseph; command him to lead the people in the Prayer". I only said that because I would have liked to divert that from Abū Bakr, and I knew that the people did not like anyone to take his place and that they would augur ill of him in every deed he did, so I would have liked him to turn that away from Abū Bakr.

Ibn Ishāq: Ibn Shihāb also said: 'Abd al-Malik bin Abū Bakr bin 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin al-Hārith bin Hishām related to me on the authority of his father from 'Abdallah bin Zam'ah bin al-Aswad bin al-Muttalib bin Asad. He said: When the illness overcame the Messenger of Allah I was with him with a group of the Muslims when Bilāl called him to Prayer and he said: "Command someone to lead the people in the Prayer". I went out and there was 'Umar with the people but Abū Bakr was absent and I said: "Rise O 'Umar and lead the people in the Prayer". He arose and when he uttered the Takbīr, the Messenger of Allah heard his voice, for 'Umar spoke with a high voice, and said: "Where is Abū Bakr? Allah and the Muslims reject this. Allah and the Muslims reject this". So word was sent to Abū Bakr, and he came and led the people in the Prayer after 'Umar had led in that Prayer.

He said: 'Abdallah bin Zam'ah said: 'Umar said to me: "Out upon you! What have you done to me O Ibn Zam'ah?" When you gave me the order I did not suppose otherwise than that the Messenger of Allah had commanded you to do that. Had it not been for that I would not have led the people in the Prayer". I said: "The Messenger of Allah did not command me to do it, but when I did not see Abū Bakr I thought you were the best entitled of those present to lead the people in the Prayer.

The day on which Allah took His Prophet.

Ibn Ishāq: Az-Zuhri said: Anas bin Malik related to me that when the Monday came on which Allah took His Messenger, he went out to the people whilst they were praying the morning prayer. The curtain was lifted, the door opened, and the Messenger of Allah came out and stood at the door of 'Ā'ishah, and the Muslims were almost distracted in their prayers by the Messenger of Allah when they saw him for joy., and their grief was dispelled, but he signed to them to remain at their prayers. The Messenger of Allah smiled with pleasure at their attitudes as he observed them in prayer, and I have not seen the Messenger of Allah in better case than he was in that hour. Then he returned and the people departed thinking that the Messenger of Allah had cleared himself of his sickness, and Abū Bakr returned to his family in as-Sunh.

Ibn Ishāq: Muhammad bin Ibrahim bin al-Hārith related to me on the authority of al-Qāsim bin Muhammad that the Messenger of Allah said when he heard the Takbīr of 'Umar in the Prayer: "Where is Abū Bakr? Allah and the Muslims reject this". Had it not been for a statement that 'Umar made at the time of his death, the Muslims had never doubted that the Messenger of Allah had appointed Abu Bakr as his successor; but he said at the time of his death: "If I appoint my successor one who is better than me appointed his successor, and if I leave them, one who is better than me left them". So the people realised that the Messenger of Allah did not appoint anyone as his successor, and 'Umar was not bringing an accusation against Abū Bakr.

Ibn Ishāq: Abū Bakr bin 'Abdallah bin Abū Mulaikah related to me. He said: When Monday came he went out with his turban on his head to the morning prayer when Abu Bakr was leading the people in the Prayer.

When the Messenger of Allah came out, the people made way for him, and Abu Bakr realised that the people did not do that except for the Messenger of Allah, so he withdrew from his prayer-stance, but the Messenger of Allah nudged him in the back and said: "Lead the people in the Prayer", and the Messenger of Allah squatted down beside him and prayed squatting to the right of Abū Bakr. When he finished the Prayer, he came towards the people and spoke to them, lifting up his voice so that it emerged at the door of the mosque, saying: "O people, the fire has been kindled and trials have come like pieces of a dark night. Verily you cannot lay hold of me in anything; I have not made lawful anything but what the Qur'ān has made lawful, nor have I forbidden anything but what the Qur'ān has forbidden". When the Messenger of Allah had finished speaking Abū Bakr said to him: "O Prophet of Allah, I perceive that by the grace and bounty of Allah you have recovered as we would wish; to-day is the day of hint Khārijah, shall I go to her?". He said: "Yes". Then the Messenger of Allah went inside and Abū Bakr went out to his family in as-Sunh.

The affair of al-'Abbās and 'Ali.

Ibn Ishāq: Az-Zuhri said: 'Abdallah bin Ka'b bin Malik related to me on the authority of 'Abdallah bin 'Abbās. He said: 'Ali bin Abū Tālib went out that day from the Messenger of Allah to the people and they said to him: "O Abū Hasan, how is the Messenger of Allah?". He said: "Praise be to Allah, he has recovered". Al-'Abbās took him by the hand and said: "O 'Ali, you will be the servant of the sceptre after three days. I swear by Allah I recognised death in the face of the Messenger of Allah as I have recognised it in the faces of the Beni 'Abd al-Muttalib. Let us betake ourselves then to the Messenger of Allah; if this affair concerns us, we will recognise it, if it concerns another we will enjoin that he may commit the people to our charge". 'Ali said to him: "I will not do it, for if he denies it to us, no one will give it to us after him".

The Messenger of Allah died when the forenoon of that day was well advanced.

The toothpick of the Messenger of Allah a little while before his death.

Ibn Ishāq: Ya'qūb bin 'Utbah related to me on the authority of az-Zuhri from 'Urwah from 'Ā'ishah. She said: The Messenger of

Allah returned to me that day when he came in from the mosque and lay down in my bosom, and one of the family of Abū Bakr came in to me with a green toothpick in his hand. The Messenger of Allah looked at it in his hand in such a way that I realised he wanted it, and I said: "O Messenger of Allah, would you like me to give you this toothpick?". He said: "Yes". So I took it, chewed it till I had softened it, and gave it to him. So he picked his teeth with it as vigorously as I had ever seen him use a toothpick. Then he laid it aside, and I found the Messenger of Allah growing seriously ill in my bosom, and I went to look at his face, and his eyes were fixed and he was saying: "Nay, the most exalted companion of Paradise". I said: "You have been given the choice and you have made it by Him who sent you with the truth", and the Messenger of Allah was gone.

Ibn Ishāq: Yahya bin 'Abbād bin 'Abdallah bin az-Zubair related to me on the authority of his father 'Abbād. He said: I heard 'Ā'ishah say: The Messenger of Allah died on my breast. In my time with him he had wronged no one. It was because of my lack of judgment and my youth that the Messenger of Allah was taken while he was in my apartment. Then I laid his head on a cushion and started to beat my breast and also my face along with the women.

The statement of 'Umar after the death of the Messenger of Allah.

Ibn Ishāq: Az-Zuhrī said: Sa'īd bin al Musayyab related to me on the authority of Abū Hurairah. He said: When the Messenger of Allah died, 'Umar bin al-Khattāb arose and said: "Some of the Hypocrites assert that the Messenger of Allah has died; the Messenger of Allah is not dead; he has but gone to his Lord, even as Moses bin 'Imrān went away and was absent from his people forty nights, and then returned to them, after it had been said that he was dead. The Messenger shall indeed return, as Moses returned, and will cut off the hands and feet of the men who assert he is dead".

Then Abū Bakr came up and dismounted at the door of the mosque -when he heard the news - while 'Umar was speaking to the people. He did not turn aside to anything but went in to the Messenger of Allah in the house of 'Ā'ishah, and the Messenger of Allah was lying in a corner of the house covered with a striped Yemenite cloth. He came up, uncovered the face of the Messenger of Allah, bent down over him and kissed him. Then he said: "May I ransom you with my father

and mother, you have tasted the death which Allah ordained for you, but no death shall ever befall you after it". Then he put the cloth back over the face of the Messenger of Allah and went out as 'Umar was speaking to the people and said: "Gently O 'Umar, keep silence", but he refused to do anything but speak. When Abū Bakr saw that he would not keep silence, he went forward to the people and when the people heard his words they came towards him and left 'Umar. He praised and blessed Allah and then said: "O people, whoever worships Muhammad (let him know that) Muhammad is dead, but whoever worships Allah (let him know that) Allah liveth and dieth not". Then he recited this verse:-

Muhammad is only a messenger; before him the messengers have passed away. If then he dies or is killed will ye turn back upon your heels. If anyone turns back upon his heels he will not injure Allah at all; Allah will reward those who show gratitude. (Sūrah 3: 144).

It seemed that the people did not know that this verse had come down till Abū Bakr recited it that day, and the people took it up from Abū Bakr so that it alone was on their tongues. Abū Hurairah said: 'Umar said: "It was so that when I heard Abū Bakr reciting it, I was stupefied with fear, and fell to the ground, my legs not being able to support me, and I realised that the Messenger of Allah was indeed dead.

The affair of the covered street of the Beni Sā'idah.

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah was taken, the tribe of the Helpers turned to Sa'd ibn 'Ubadah (and had assembled) in a covered street of the Beni Sā'idah. 'Ali ibn Abū Tālib, Az-Zubair ibn al-'Awwām, and Talhah ibn 'Ubadah kept aloof in the house of Fātimah while the rest of the Emigres, in company with Usaid ibn Hudair and the Beni 'Abd al-Ashhal, turned to Abū Bakr. Then someone came to Abū Bakr and 'Umar and said: "The tribe of the Helpers is with Sa'd ibn 'Ubadah in a covered street of the Beni Sā'idah; they have turned to him, so if you want to have command of the people go to them before their affair becomes serious". The Messenger of Allah was in his house his affair had not been finished, and his people locked the door on him. 'Umar said: "I said to Abū Bakr: 'Come with us to these brethren of ours, the Helpers, and let us see what they are about".

Ibn Ishāq: The account of the covered street when the Helpers gathered in it was related to me by 'Abdallah ibn Abū Bakr on the authority of Ibn Shihāb az-Zuhri from 'Ubaid Allah ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Utbah ibn Mas'ūd from 'Abdallah ibn 'Abbās. He said: 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Auf told me. He said: I was in his house in Mina awaiting him while he was with 'Umar on the last pilgrimage 'Umar made, and 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Auf returned from 'Umar and found me awaiting him in his house in Mina for I was teaching him to recite the Qur'ān. Ibn 'Abbās said: 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Auf said to me: "Had you seen a man who came to the commander of the believers and said: 'O commander of the believers, what do you think of So-and-so who says: +If 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb were dead, I would swear fealty to So-and-so, for the oath of fealty to Abū Bakr was only an inconsidered action which was carried into effect+'? 'Umar was annoyed and said: 'Verily if Allah wills, I will stand up before the people at the evening prayer and warn them against those who wish to snatch their affair out of their hands by force'". 'Abd ar-Rahmān said: "I said: 'O commander of the believers, don't do it for this season brings together the lowest elements of the people and the rabble, and they are the majority around you when you stand up before the people, and I am afraid you will get up and say something which will have the effect of making them flee away from you with all speed, for they will neither understand it nor put it in its true perspective. Let it alone then till you return to Medina for it is the home of religious law; there you will be in contact with the masters of jurisprudence and the nobility of the people. You can say what you want to say in Medina on secure ground, and the masters of jurisprudence will understand what you say and give it due consideration'". 'Umar said: "If Allah wills I shall do that on the first occasion I stand up (to speak) in Medina".

Ibn 'Abbās said: We returned to Medina at the end of Dhū 'l-Hijjah and when Friday came, I hurried out in the evening when the sun was declining and found Sa'īd ibn Zaid ibn 'Amr ibn Naufal squatting against the column of the pulpit, and I squatted down opposite to him with my knee touching his. I had not long to wait till 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb came out, and when I saw him coming I said to Sa'īd: "He will make from the pulpit this evening a statement he has not made since his appointment". Sa'īd ibn Zaid found fault with me for that

that and said: "It is not possible that he should say anything he has not said before". 'Umar took his seat in the pulpit and when the Muezzins were silent, he rose, praised Allah as He is worthy to be praised, and said: "Now I am saying to you to-day something which I have been destined to say, and I do not know, it may be that my fate is near. Whoever understands and comprehends it let him take it wherever his beast takes him, and whoever fears that he does not comprehend it, let him not make it possible for anyone to lie about me. Verily Allah sent Muhammad, and sent down to him the Book, and part of what was sent down to him was the verse of stoning. We recited it, knew it, comprehended it. The Messenger of Allah practised stoning, and we practised it after his time, but I fear that after the lapse of a considerable period of time someone will say: 'We do not find stoning ordained in the Book of Allah', so that they may fall into error by abandoning an ordinance which Allah hath sent down. Verily the stoning in the Book of Allah is the right (punishment) for those who commit adultery after marriage, both men and women, if evidence be forthcoming, or there be pregnancy or confession. Then we read among the things we read in the Book of Allah: 'Do not turn away from your fathers, for it is unbelief for you to turn away from your fathers'. But the Messenger of Allah said: 'Do not lavish praise on me as they lavished praise on Jesus, Son of Mary, but say: +The servant of Allah and His messenger+'. Then I have heard that So-and-so has said: 'If 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb were dead I would swear fealty to So-and-so'. Such an one will deceive no one by saying: 'The oath of fealty to Abū Bakr was merely an ill-considered act which is of no further consequence'. And indeed it was so, but Allah repaired the evil of it, and there is not one amongst you to whom the people are devoted in the way they are devoted to Abū Bakr. Whoever then swears fealty to any man without consulting the Muslims it is not an oath of fealty at all to him nor for him who makes it, both of whom are risking death. It was the news we had when Allah caused His Prophet to die that the "helpers disagreed with us, and assembled with their noble men in the covered street of the Beni Sā'idah. 'Ali ibn Abū Tālib also, az-Zubair ibn al-'Awwām, and those who were with them remained aloof from us, while the Emigres agreed on Abū Bakr. I said to Abū Bakr: 'Let us go to

these brethren of ours, the Helpers', and we set out to go to them, when two good men of theirs met us and told us what the people were planning to do. They said: 'Where are you going, O people of the Emigres?'. We said: 'We are going to these brethren of ours the Helpers'. They said: 'There is no reason why you should not go to them, so make your decision'. I said: 'We will certainly go to them', and we went on till we came to them in the covered street of the Beni Sā'idah. In their midst was a man wrapped up in clothes and I said: 'Who is this'? They said: 'Sa'd ibn 'Ubadah'. I said: 'What is the matter with him?'. They said: 'He is ill'. When we settled down their orator uttered the Testimony, praised and blessed Allah as He is worthy to be praised, and said: 'Now we are the Helpers of Allah, the brigade of Islam; you are a small party belonging to us O people of the Emigres, a party of migrating nomads from your people has arrived, and now they want to separate us from our origin and take the affair out of our hands by force'. When he had finished I wanted to speak for I had prepared a statement which pleased me and which I wanted to place before Abū Bakr, while I tried to conceal my temper from him. Abū Bakr said: 'Gently, O 'Umar', and I hated to annoy him. So he spoke being more learned and graver than I was and he did not leave out a word of my prepared speech that pleased me that he did not give in his extempore one, or something like it or even better, till he had finished. He said: 'You are worthy of all you have said in your own praise, but the Arabs will never recognise this affair except in the tribe of Quraish who are the best of the Arabs in lineage and dwelling-place. I present for your approval one of these two men so swear fealty to whichever one of them you wish', and he took my hand and that of Abu 'Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrāh who was seated between us. I took no exception to anything he said except this. That I should be brought forward and beheaded, provided it did not bring me into sin would have been more to my liking than that I should rule over a people amongst whom was Abū Bakr. One of the Helpers said: 'I am their much-rubbed stem and their fruit-laden palm propped up. O people of Quraish, (let there be) a commander from amongst you and one from amongst us'. So the clamour increased and voices were raised till I was afraid there would be disagreement and I said: 'O Abū Bakr, stretch out your hand'. He stretched it out and I swore fealty to him, the Emigres

did likewise, and the Helpers also followed suit, and we leaped upon Sa'd bin 'Ubadah and one of them said: 'You have killed Sa'd bin 'Ubadah'. I said: 'Allah hath killed Sa'd bin 'Ubadah'.

Ibn Ishāq: Az-Zuhrī said: 'Urwah told me that one of the two men of the Helpers whom they met as they went to the covered street was 'Uwaim ibn Sā'idah and the other Ma'n bin 'Adi, brother of the Beni 'l-Aajlān. As for Uwaim bin Sā'idah, we heard that it was he concerning whom someone asked the Messenger of Allah: "Who are they about whom Allah, to whom belong power and glory, said:-

In it are men who love to purify themselves, and Allah loveth those who purify themselves? (Surah 9: 168).

The Messenger of Allah said: "How excellent was that man of them - 'Uwaim bin Sā'idah. As for Ma'n bin 'Adi, we heard that the people wept for the Messenger of Allah when Allah caused him to die, and said: "We would have liked to have died before him, we are afraid we shall be seduced after he is gone". Ma'n bin 'Adi said: "I, on the contrary, do not wish I had died before him, so that I may accept him as genuine when dead even as I did when he was alive". Ma'n was slain a martyr on the day of al-Yamamah in the Caliphate of Abū Bakr, the day of Musailamah the Liar.

The speech of 'Umar (delivered) before Abū Bakr (spoke) at the time of the general oath of fealty.

Ibn Ishāq: Az-Zuhrī related to me. He said: Anas bin Mālik related to me. He said: When Abū Bakr was given the oath of fealty in the hall, and the next day came, Abū Bakr was seated in the pulpit, and 'Umar arose and spoke before Abū Bakr, and praised and blessed Allah as He is worthy to be praised, and said: "O people, I said something to you yesterday which I did not find in the Book of Allah, nor was it the covenant which the Messenger of Allah made with me. But I thought that the Messenger of Allah would (continue) to) manage wisely our affair, saying he would be the last of us, but Allah hath left amongst you His Book by which He guided His messenger. If you hold fast by it Allah will guide you to that to which He has guided him. Now Allah has entrusted your affair to the best one amongst you, the Companion of the Messenger of Allah, the second of two when they were in the cave. Arise then, and

swear fealty to him! So the people swore a general oath of fealty to Abū Bakr after the oath of fealty in the covered street.

The speech of Abū Bakr after that.

Then Abū Bakr spoke. He praised and blessed Allah as He is worthy to be praised, and said: "Now, O people, I have become the ruler over you although I am not the best amongst you. If I do well, help me; if I do wrong, correct me. Sincerity is faithfulness and falsehood is perfidy. The weak amongst you shall be strong in my sight, till I restore his right to him, if Allah wills; the strong amongst you shall be weak in my sight, till I exact that which is right from him, if Allah wills. When a people leaves off to fight in the way of Allah, He surely inflicts humiliation upon them. Vice never becomes widespread in any nation but Allah visits them with calamity. Obey me as long as I obey Allah and His messenger; if I disobey Allah and His Messenger, obedience to me is no longer binding on you. Arise to prayers! and may Allah have mercy on you".

Ibn Ishāq: Husain bin 'Abdallah related to me on the authority of 'Ikrimah from Ibn 'Abbās. He said: I was walking with 'Umar in the time of his Caliphate as he was going to fulfil a necessity of his. He had a whip in his hand and there was no one with him but myself, and he was talking to himself, and switching the outside of his leg with the whip, when he turned to me and said: "O Ibn 'Abbās, do you know what induced me to say what I said when the Messenger of Allah died?". I said: O commander of the believers, I do not know, you know better". He said: "What made me make that statement was that I had been reciting this verse:-

And therefore We made you an intermediate nation that ye might be witnesses to the people, and that the Messenger of Allah might be a witness to you. (Sūrah 2: 143).

What I thought was that the Messenger of Allah would remain with his nation to be a witness to it of its last deeds. That is what induced me to say what I said.

The preparation of the Messenger of Allah (for burial) and his interment.

Ibn Ishāq: When the oath of fealty had been sworn to Abū Bakr the people came to the preparation of the Messenger of Allah on Tuesday. 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr, Husain bin 'Abdallah and other friends of

ours related to me that 'Ali bin Abū Tālib, al-'Abbās bin 'Abd al-Muttalib, al-Fadl bin al-'Abbās, Qutham bin al-'Abbās, Usamah bin Zaid, and Shuqrān, client of the Messenger of Allah were the ones who had charge of washing him, and Aus bin Khaula one of the Beni 'Auf bin al-Khazraj said to 'Ali bin Abū Tālib: "I adjure you by Allah and by our share in the Messenger of Allah". Aus was one of the friends of the Messenger of Allah and one of the men of Badr. He said: "Come in", and he came in, squatted down, and was present at the washing of the Messenger of Allah. 'Ali bin Abū Tālib propped him up against his chest; al-'Abbās, al-Fadl and Qutham turned him over along with him, while Usamah bin Zaid and Shuqrān his client poured the water over him, and 'Ali washed him. He propped him up against his chest with his vest on and rubbed him from behind without his hand touching the Messenger of Allah, saying the while: "May I ransom you with my father and mother! How good thou art both alive and dead". None of the things that usually appear in the dead were seen in the Messenger of Allah.

My father Ishāq said: Yahya bin 'Abdallah bin az-Zubair related to me on the authority of his father 'Abbās from 'A'ishah. She said: When they wanted to wash the Messenger of Allah they differed about it, saying: "We do not know whether we ought to strip the Messenger of Allah of his clothes as we usually do with our dead, or wash him with his clothes on". When they differed, Allah cast a sleep over them, so that there was no one of them whose chin did not sink upon his chest and then someone spoke to them from the direction of the House but they knew not who he was, (telling them) to wash the Prophet with his clothes on. So they arose and washed the Messenger of Allah with his vest on, pouring the water over the vest, and rubbing him with the vest under their hands.

Ibn Ishāq: When the washing of the Messenger of Allah was completed he was shrouded in three cloaks, two fawn-coloured ones and one of striped Yemenite material in which he was wrapped, according to what Ja'far bin Muhammad bin 'Ali bin al-Husain related to me on the authority of his father from his grandfather 'Ali bin al-Husain and az-Zuhri on the authority of 'Ali bin al-Husain.

Ibn Ishāq: Husain bin 'Abdallah related to me on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās. He said: When they wanted to dig the grave for the

Messenger of Allah (it was found that) Abū 'Uбайдah bin al-Jarrāh dug after the manner of the people of Mecca, and Abū Talḥah, Zaid bin Sahl was the one who dug graves for the people of Medina, and he was in the habit of making a niche in the side of the grave. Al-'Abbās called two men and said to one of them: "Go to Abū 'Uбайдah bin al-Jarrāh", and to the other: "Go to Abū Talḥah, O Allah, make the choice for the Messenger of Allah". So the friend of Abū Talḥah found him, brought him and he dug a grave with a niche in it for the Messenger of Allah. When they had finished preparing the Messenger of Allah on Tuesday, he was placed on his bed in his house. The Muslims differed about his interment: One of them said: "We will bury him in his mosque", and another said: "We will bury him with his friends". Abū Bakr said: "I heard the Messenger of Allah say: 'No prophet ever was taken who has not been buried where he was taken'", so the bed on which the Messenger of Allah died was lifted and a grave dug for him underneath. Then the people went in to the Messenger of Allah; the men prayed over him in groups and when they had done the women were brought in, and when the women had done the boys were brought in, and no one acted as guide to the people.

The affair of the interment of the Messenger of Allah.

Then the Messenger of Allah was interred in the middle of the night on Wednesday.

Ibn Ishāq: 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr related to me on the authority of his wife Fāṭimah bint 'Umārah from 'Amrah bint 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin Sa'd bin Zurārah from 'A'ishah. She said: We knew nothing of the interment of the Messenger of Allah till we heard the sound of the mattocks in the night - the night of Wednesday.

Muḥammad bin Ishāq: Fāṭimah related this story to me.

Muḥammad bin Ishāq: Those who went down into the grave of the Messenger of Allah were 'Ali bin Abū Tālib, al-Faḍl bin 'Abbās, Qutham bin 'Abbās, and Shuqrān, client of the Messenger of Allah. Aus bin Khawla said to 'Ali bin Abū Tālib: "O 'Ali, I adjure you by Allah and by our share in the Messenger of Allah", and he said to him: Come down", and he came down with the party. When the Messenger of Allah was laid in his grave, and it was built up over him, his client Shuqrān took a velvet coverlet which the Messenger of Allah had

worn and used on his bed, placed it in the grave with him and said: "None shall ever wear it after thee", and it was buried with the Messenger of Allah.

Al-Mughīrah bin Sha'bah claimed that he was the last of the people to be with the Messenger of Allah, saying: "I took off my ring and threw it into the grave and said: 'My ring has fallen in', but I threw it in on purpose in order to touch the Messenger of Allah, and be the last of the people with him.

Ibn Ishāq: My father Ishāq bin Yasār related to me on the authority of Miqdam, Abū 'l-Qāsim, client of 'Abdallah bin al-Hārith bin Naufal from his client 'Abdallah bin al-Hārith. He said: I made the Lesser Pilgrimage with 'Ali bin Abū Tālib either in the time of 'Umar or that of 'Uthmān, and 'Ali went to stay with his sister Umm Hanā', bint Abū Tālib. When he had completed the Pilgrimage, he returned, water was put out for him, and he washed himself. When he had finished washing, a number of the people of Iraq came in to him and said: "O Abū Hasan, we came to ask you about a matter concerning which we would like you to inform us". He said: "I suppose al-Mughīrah bin Sha'bah relates to you that he was the last of the people to be with the Messenger of Allah". They said: "That is so; we have come to ask you about that". He said: "He lies; the last of the people to be with the Messenger of Allah was Qutham bin 'Abbās.

Ibn Ishāq: Sālih bin Kaisān related to me on the authority of az-Zuhri from 'Ubaid Allah bin 'Abdallah bin 'Utbah that 'Ā'ishah related to him. She said: The Messenger of Allah was wearing a black robe when his sickness grew severe. At one time he covered his face with it, then took it off and said: "May Allah fight against a people who take the graves of their prophets as places of worship", warning his nation against that thing.

Ibn Ishāq: Sālih bin Kaisān related to me on the authority of az-Zuhri from 'Ubaid Allah bin 'Abdallah bin 'Utbah from 'Ā'ishah. She said: The last condition the Messenger of Allah laid down was when he said: "Two religions shall not be left in the Arabian peninsula".

Ibn Ishāq: When the Messenger of Allah died the blow to the Muslims

was great. According to what I heard 'Ā'ishah said: When the Messenger of Allah died, the Arabs apostatised, Judaism and Christianity stretched out their necks, hypocrisy reared its head, and the Muslims were like sheep stampeded on a winter night because of the loss of their Prophet, till Allah gathered them together to Abū Bakr.

Ibn Hishām: Abu 'Ubaidah and other scholars related to me that when the Messenger of Allah died, the majority of the people of Mecca were minded to secede from Islam. So much did they desire that that 'Attāb bin Asīd was afraid of them and hid himself. Then Suhail bin 'Amr arose, praised and blessed Allah, mentioned the death of the Messenger of Allah, and said: "It has merely increased Islam in power, so whoever disturbs us we will behead". So the people gradually returned, desisted from what they had intended doing, and 'Attāb bin Asīd came out of hiding. This was the position which the Messenger of Allah envisaged when he said to 'Umar bin al-Khattāb: "Verily it is about to occupy a position with which you will not find fault".

The following are the main works consulted in compiling the Notes:-

Ameer 'Ali: The Spirit of Islam
Asin: Islam and the Divine Comedy
Baidāwī: Commentary on Qur'ān
Baker: History of Christian Doctrine
Bell: Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment.
Bell: The Qur'ān
Blair: The Sources of Islam
Dictionary of Christian Biography Vol. ii
Encyclopaedia of Islam
Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics ix
Guillaume: Prophecy and Divination.
Gwatkin: Studies of Arianism
Gospel to Hebrews
Jeffrey: Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān
Jewish Encyclopaedia
Josephus: Antiquities
Lightfoot: Galatians
Margoliouth: Schweich Lectures
McDonald: Memorial Volume
Muir: Life of Muhammad, edited by Weir
Muhammad Muhyiddīn 'Abd al-Hamīd: The Sīra
Muslim World: Vol. xli: 4
Nicholson: Literary History of the Arabs
O'Leary: Arabia Before Muhammad
Philo: de Somn. 642 M
Sale: The Qur'ān
Smith: Religion of the Semites
Tatian: Diatessaron
Testament of Gad
Thaqafat al-Hind, March and September 1950; June 1951.
Torrey: Jewish Foundations of Islam
Wright: Christianity in Arabia.

NOTES.

1. The form 'Ibrāhīm' does not seem to have been used prior to the Qur'ān, and is probably due to Muhammad himself, being vocalized on the analogy of Ismā'īl and Isrā'īl. The name was doubtless well known in Jewish circles in pre-Islamic Arabia, but was utterly unfamiliar to the northern Arabs. The initial vowel of 'Ismā'īl' shows that it was taken from Greeks or Syrians; the Arabian inscriptions write it with an initial consonant Y. Having got the name 'Ismā'īl, Muhammad formed the name 'Ibrāhīm on the same model. (Margoliouth, Schweich Lectures p. 12; Jeffrey, Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān p. 45f.).

For the designation of Abraham as 'Khalīl ar-Rahmān there are the following parallels: Gen.xviii: 17 as given by Philo in SOLIMI p.401 reads: "Shall I hide from Abraham my friend that which I do?". Also ii Chron. xx: 7; Isa. xli: 8; James ii: 23; and Qur'ān iv: 124.

The Jaffa Gate at Jerusalem is still known as 'Bāb al-Khalīl'- 'The Gate of the Friend', meaning Abraham. This gate opens on the road that leads through Bethlehem to Hebron and the cave of Machpelah where the Patriarch is buried. The Muslim religion in its beginnings went behind Jesus Christ, as it went behind the Moses of the Jews, to Abraham. (The relevance of this fact for future missionary work amongst Muslims is emphasised in Dr Kenneth Cragg's thesis on "Islam in the Twentieth Century: the Relevance of Christian Theology and the Relation of the Christian Mission to its Problems". The thesis is as yet unpublished).

Muhammad, apparently, had considerable hesitation about adopting the name 'Allah' for the God he proclaimed because Allah was in a sense recognised as a supreme deity by the Meccans themselves, so he used for a time the designation 'Ar-Rahmān, to which the Meccans objected. The word evidently found its way into Arabic from the South Arabian inscriptions but it did not originate there. Its ultimate origin, however, is still uncertain. Sprenger (quoted by Jeffrey) favours a Christian origin, Hirschfield a Jewish, while Halevy cites instances

where the word occurs in inscriptions pagan in origin where any allusion to Israel or the Jews would be highly improbable. This view has not found acceptance amongst modern scholars. To do otherwise than to refer it to a Hebrew or Aramaic origin would be unsafe. (Schweich Lectures, p. 67; Bell, Origin of Islam pp.52,116; Jeffrey Foreign Vocabulary, pp. 140, 141).

2. Azar given here and in Qur'an vi: 74 as the name of Abraham's father may possibly be due to confusion by Muhammad of Abraham's father with his servant Eleazar. (Frankel, referred to by Jeffrey in Foreign Vocabulary p. 55).

3. It would have been exceedingly difficult for an author in Umayyad times to have written a biography of the Prophet without giving offence to the ruling house, if he told the truth about their ancestor, Abū Sufyān. This may be the reason why no biography of Muhammad is extant from those times. Two authors are mentioned by Muir (Introd.lxxvi) as having written biographies of Muhammad early in the second century neither of which is extant.

One is tempted to think that some of the things which would cause annoyance to certain people, which Ibn Hisham omits, may have been disparaging references to 'Abbās, the Prophet's uncle, who held aloof from him till success was certain. Perhaps Ibn Ishāq was able to write more freely than Ibn Hishām, and if so, is the more reliable of the two. One wonders if Ibn Ishāq's original work was 'suppressed' because it related facts unpleasant to 'Abbāsid ears.

Another matter which casts doubt on Ibn Hisham's veracity as a historian is his suppression of the account of the Prophet's lapse temporarily into paganism. At-Tabarī quotes the incident on the authority of Ibn Ishāq, and al-Wāqidī records the same incident from another source. Ibn Hishām doubtless omitted it because he regarded it as discreditable to the Prophet.

4. Nicholson (Literary History of the Arabs pp. 4,5, quotes Muller to show that Saba'derived its prosperity mainly from the Indian

trade, which from the tenth century B.C. had been relayed by the land route from Yemen to the Mediterranean because of the difficulty of navigating the Red Sea. When this trade was diverted along the coast by sea the power and wealth of Saba' declined, a great part of its population was forced to seek new homes in the north, so that its cities were deserted and its aqueducts crumbled to pieces. Arabian legend has gathered up this long process of decline and fall into a single fact - the bursting of the Dam of Ma'rib. That the Dam was in existence and working at a much later period is shown by the inscriptions on the existing ruins, some of which have been translated by Glaser. The first flood took place about the middle of the fifth century and on another occasion the Dam was partially restored by Abrahah, the Ethiopian viceroy of Yemen circa 543. The inscription recording the first repair work, while definitely monotheistic in tone cannot be Jewish monotheism because the expression Baal is used for the Deity - an expression which would not commend itself to a Jew. This name for the Deity argues a monotheism which "had developed out of paganism rather than out of Judaism". (Margoliouth Schweich Lectures p.63). The inscription recording the second work of repair is definitely Christian, beginning with the Trinitarian formula.

5. Most authorities are agreed in believing that the story of this dream is directly borrowed from the account of Nebuchadnezzar's dream with which there are many points of similarity. (Daniel ii).
6. Satih is reminiscent of the medicine man of primitive peoples. According to Guillaume he was "A monstrosity with a huge head and a feeble body; he used to lie for the greater part of the day prostrate on the ground and rose to his feet only when stirred by mantic frenzy. But whether these details were invented as an explanation of the name Satih, 'prostrate one', or whether the name was in fact given to him because of his affliction, it is difficult to say". (Prophecy and Divination p.246). Shiqq belonged to one of the minor orders of the Jinn who molested

travellers, according to al-Qazwīnī, quoted by Lane, Arabian Nights i:37 and referred to by Guillaume in footnote to p.246. Guillaume also mentions Montgomery's 'Aramaic Incantation Texts, 185 - 187 where a charm is given against Shiqqīn in the plural from which he infers that 'they were a well-known class of hobgoblins in (probably) pre-Islamic days'.

7. Saj' was the earliest form of poetry among the Arabs. It was the language of inspiration, curses, blessings, divination and sorcery. Its usual form was rhymed couplets. It would thus stick in the memory and be handed down practically as uttered. Recitation of this type of verse was supposed to indicate contact with the spirits. When the wizards of the Old Testament 'muttered' they were uttering their rhyming couplets (Isa. viii: 19). Guillaume? Prophecy and Divination p. 245).
8. Snakes and other noxious creeping things were connected with the Jinn. Ezek viii: 10 refers to the superstitions connected with 'creeping things' in vogue among the Israelites and other Semites. (Smith, Religion of Semites p. 130 n.).
9. Parallels to these asseverations are to be found at the commencement of Sūrah lxxxix which deals with the legends connected with former inhabitants of South Arabia. Similar asseverations occur in Sūrahs xci, xcii, cxiii. Swearing by the heavenly bodies was customary amongst the Arabs.
10. Arabian legend says Jewish settlers arrived in the country in the time of Moses (Aghānī xix: 94). That there were settlements of them there at the beginning of the Christian era is indicated by Acts ii: 11 and it has been suggested that the destructions of Jerusalem led many Jews to seek asylum in that area, thus increasing the strength of the communities already settled there. These communities must have had considerable influence on the life of the southern part of the country in the century immediately preceding Islam. Most accounts

tell of one Jewish king of Himyar although Ibn Hishām leaves one with the impression that there was a series of Jewish kings which began with Abū Karib. Hartmann states that these kings could not secure the despotic power at which they aimed without the support of a strong party in the state. The old religion was hostile, the adherents of Christianity were unworthy, and so the kings turned to the Jews, who controlled the finances, and even went so far as to embrace Judaism in order to secure the support of these financial magnates. Muslim writers do not support this view. According to Margoliouth (Schweich Lectures p.63) the monotheism of these kings was not of the Jewish but the pagan pattern and he bases his argument on the use of the word 'Baal' for the Deity in an inscription connected with the repair of the Dam of Ma'rib by the son of Abū Karib. He points out furthermore that if this king had become a Jewish proselyte we would have expected to find a change of name as happened in the case of Dhū Nuwās. Many of the Jews in Arabia had Arab names (exceptions being 'Uzair, Finhas, and Ashya' mentioned later by Ibn Ishāq), and were organised in tribes on the Arab model, circumstances which have led some to think that they were not real Jews but Arab proselytes.

(Margoliouth op.cit. 61). Jeffrey, however, in view of the uncompromising attitude of the Qur'ān towards them, considers they were Jews by race as well as religion, who possessed to the full the Jewish habit of assimilating themselves to the community in which they dwelt. (Foreign Vocabulary, Introd. p. 25). In passing, it is worth remarking with reference to Hartmann's theory that a financial crisis has been precipitated in the modern Yemen by the withdrawal of the Jews of the country to join the new State of Israel.

11. The story of Abū Karib and the Jewish Rabbis would seem to suggest that Abraham had been regarded as the patron saint of Mecca for a long time previous to Muhammad through the good offices of the Jews. This can hardly have been so since Muhammad coined the Arabic form of 'Abraham', and it was only when his hopes of the

Jews at Medina failed that he fell back upon Abraham because he was independent of both Jews and Christians, represents him as having been a Muslim, and associated him with the Ka'bah and the new faith. (Bell, Origin of Islam, 129 ff).

12. The clothing of the Ka'bah is probably a relic of the time when the holy place was a tent which would require periodical renewal.

13. Muhammad Muhiyiddin 'Abdul Hamid gives the following explanation of this rhymed prose in a footnote in his Edition (p.29).

"We have no doubt that these expressions have been 'corrupted' and that the correct text is as given in al-Aghānī where it is said:-
'When the young man came out from Lakhnī'ah after having disposed of him, they cut off the lips and tail of his she-camel and called out to him:-

Is he wet or dry?

When Dhū Nuwās came out from him and mounted a she-camel of his called as-Sarāb, they said:-

Dhu Nuwas, is he wet or dry?

He said:-

Time will tell
Whether the hindquarters of Dhū Nuwās
Are wet or dry.

It is merely corruption of the manuscripts".

For a similar use of the words 'Ratb' and 'Yābis' cf. Luke xxlii: 31. Arab authors say that Dhū Nuwās on his conversion to Judaism assumed the name Yūsuf (Joseph), but Ethiopic sources call him Phineas.

14. Accounts of the introduction of Christianity into Arabia vary. Much of the uncertainty is caused by the sense which Greek and Latin writers attach to the name India. Bartholomew is said to have preached the gospel in India, and left there the Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew, but this India may have been South Arabia. Philostorgus (H.E. 3, 4) says Christianity was introduced into Arabia in the time of Constantine II (334 - 361). He may mean

that a Christian teacher went to Arabia such as Phaimiūn who appears to have been a Syriān ascetic. The story is also given by at-Tabarī Annales i: 923 - 929.

Wright (Early Christianity in Arabia p. 28 ff.) argues, mainly on the authority of Nicephorous that Frumentius was largely instrumental in establishing Christianity among the Himyarites. Other ecclesiastical historians such as Pagi, Ludolf and Bruce assert that Frumentius laboured in Ethiopia. It was 'Apud Indos' that Frumentius was first shipwrecked and later consecrated Bishop by Athanasius, and the name India was given both to Ethiopia and South Arabia, perhaps being applied more frequently to Arabia. Sophronius states that the Indians to whom Bartholomew preached were the people of Arabia Felix. According to what Rufinus says the India visited by Frumentius was the same as that in which Bartholomew preached the Gospel (Hist. Eccl. Lib i) Also Bell: The Origin of Islam p. 29ff; O'Leary Arabia before Muhammad 141 ff).

15. Tree worship amongst the Semites was older than idol worship. Certain trees were regarded as the abode of spirits. Such was the sacred date-palm at Najrān. A similar tree to which the people of Mecca resorted annually is spoken of as 'Dhāt Anwāt', or 'tree to hang things on' which would seem to be identical with the sacred acacia at Nakhlah identified with al-'Uzza. Such too was the tree at Hudaibiyah mentioned in Qur'ān xlviii: 18, which was visited by pilgrims till it was cut down by the Khalif 'Umar. Tree worship survives to the present in spite of Islam. The story of the tree at Najrān is given by Wahb bin Munabbih, and authority not generally regarded as reliable. (Smith, Religion of Semites 185 ff. O'Leary, Arabia before Muhammad 195).

16. The strange thing is that although Phaimiūn was a Christian he converted 'Abdallah bin ath-Thāmir to Islam! The distinction was not as yet clear-cut and precise. In the Qur'ān there is a statement which shows that at one stage of his development, Muhammad regarded Christianity as Islam: "The Apostles replied: 'We are the helpers of Allah, we have believed in Allah, do thou

testify that we are Muslims. (Surah 3: 45).

17. Rossini, quoted by Jeffrey, (Foreign Vocabulary p. 231) thinks that oral tradition among the Arabs confused the expedition under Abrahah with an earlier one under Afilas, whose name occurs on coins as an Ethiopian conqueror of South Arabia. This is extremely doubtful, however, as he was third century.
18. Abrahah's real aim in his expedition against Mecca was not merely to revenge an act of desecration committed in his church, but to conquer Mecca and gain control of her pilgrim^{trade}, which greatly contributed to her commercial prosperity. Some authorities have thought that the expedition was directed against Persia (Procopius). The Romans were anxious to bring Arabia into their sphere of influence against Persia. Later, Persia was to lend her aid to the native leaders to drive out the hated blacks.
19. The word Nasi' does not mean the intercalation of a month as required to keep the months in accord with the seasons. It means the transference of the observation of a sacred month to a profane month. Sometimes the Arabs grew weary of being at peace for three months together so they put off the observance of Muharram to the following month Safar. In addition to this, the Arabs had learned from the Jews to intercalate a month every second or third^{year}, thereby reducing their lunar years to solar years. Both practices are condemned in the Qur'ān.
20. The word means 'a measure for grain'.
21. A careful distinction is made between 'wathan', the stone which was the abode of the deity worshipped and sanam or carved image. Both these traditions agree in representing idolatry - the worship of carved images as distinct from nusub as of recent introduction into and of Syrian origin. The word 'sanam' itself is borrowed from Aramaic tselem 'idol'. (O'Leary, Arabia before Muhammad: Jeffrey Foreign Vocabulary p. 199).

22. Wadd was supposed to be the heaven and was worshipped under the form of a man by Kalb in Dūmat al-ǧandal. Wadd also means friendship.
Suwa' was worshipped in the guise of a woman by Hudhail.
Yagūth was in the form of a lion, a deity of some of the Yemenites. Its name seems to be derived from 'ghatha' which means 'to help'.
Ya'ūq was worshipped under the figure of a horse. The name probably comes from a word meaning 'to avert'.
Nasr was worshipped under the image of an eagle as the name suggests. (Sale, Prelim. Disc. p. 15).
The task of the worshipper was to nullify or avert the baleful influence of the deity, hence perhaps the kindly names. Cf. Greek Eumenides. The Arab did not so much worship his gods as stand on guard against them. (O'Leary, Arabia before Muhammad p. 195).
There were numerous household gods besides.
23. Caves and pits were primitive storehouses for the Semites and attached to the sanctuary was a pit called the ḡhabghab'. That the Arabian 'ghabghab' was not a mere treasure house is shown by the fact that the victim is said to be brought to it and the blood flows into the pit. (Smith, Rel. of Semites p. 198)
24. Accounts of these camels and sheep do not agree in certain unimportant details. A full account of them is given in Ency. Islam s.v. "bahīra", also in Sale's Prelim. Disc. 100 - 161.
25. This is a word of opposite meanings depending on the context and can mean either 'what is allowable' or 'what is forbidden'.
26. Since Bakkaḥ is mentioned in the Qur'ān it was probably the original name for Mecca. The passage in the Qur'ān (iii: 90) was 'sent down' when the Jews said that their Temple at Jerusalem was more ancient than the Ka'bah. Baidawī observes that the Arabs use the 'M' and the 'B' promiscuously in several words.

27. Remiⁿⁱscence of Hannah (i Sam. i).
28. The Ijāzah was the right to give the signal for dismissal of the worshippers and was vested in one tribe; it was the right to start first. In the Meccan pilgrimage the standing at 'Arafah was terminated by the Ijāzah and was the signal for a wild rush to the neighbouring sanctuary of Muzdalifah. Arafah was the point of assemblage and that station here was a preparation for the vigil at Muzdalifah. This rush was called Ifādah and may refer either to the dispersion of the people or to the distribution of the sacrificial victim. If the latter it helps to explain their hurry! The 'standing', according to Wellhausen may be a relic of the time when the worshippers stood around the altar idol, at a respectful distance, gazing with rapt attention, while the slaughtered victims lie stretched on the ground. Perhaps the most solemn moment in the ritual was when the blood of the victims was applied to the head of the idol, or smeared over it. (Smith, Rel. of Semites 340 ff.). Abū Dharr says that al-Ghauth was called Sūfah because his mother, when she devoted him to the service of the Ka'bah, either bound a tuft of wool on some part of his clothing as a badge of his office, or clothed him in a woollen garment. The former is the more likely.
29. The words Hijābah, Saqāyah, Rifadah, Nidwa, and Liwā' denote the offices which Qusai concentrated in his own person being the custody of the keys of the Ka'bah, the administration of the water of the wells of Mecca, and the supply of water to the pilgrims (this water was sometimes mixed with honey, milk, or wine), the supply of food to the pilgrims, convoking and presiding at the council of the nation, bestowing the standard - the symbol of military command.
30. 'Abd al-Muttalib has been described earlier to Abrahah as 'The Feeder of the Wild Beasts'. Among the Arabs one way of disposing of sacrificial flesh was to leave it to be eaten by the animals. In this case 'Abd al-Muttalib offered the hundred camels to redeem his vow, and so it is intelligible that he reserves no part of the flesh for his own use, but leaves it to anyone who chooses to

help himself; or even (according to Ibn Hisham's reading) leaves it free to man and beast. Usually however, the principle that worshippers must eat of the victim's flesh was strictly adhered to

31. The name 'Yathrib' is found in two Minaean inscriptions which shows that it was a pagan settlement sometime before Christ. Yaḡūt says the Jews of Yathrib were Arabs who had turned Jews. Some of them were settled on the land and others worked as smiths and jewellers. As cultivators of the soil their presence would no doubt be resented for agriculture necessarily encroached on the pasture lands of the Arabs. (Schweich Lectures p.60) O'Leary, Arabia p.174)
Since the prophecy concerning Ahmad is supposed to occur in the message of Jesus to the Jews (Qur'ān lxi: 6) which they rejected it is rather strange to find a Jew making this announcement. The reference to the star no doubt comes from Christian sources.
32. Muhammad's first recorded contact with Christians, probably a contact between him and a Nestorian missionary. At any rate the Nestorian hermits were familiar figures with the Arabs as their early poetry shows. (O'Leary, op. cit. 142). Some give the hermit's name as Nestor while Mas'ūdī calls him Sergius. (Cf. Qur'ān v: 85: "Some of them are priests and monks"). The story as given by Ibn Hishām may be rejected.
33. The reference to the Coptic carpenter suggests that there was an Egyptian colony in Mecca at this time. It is believed that there was one of these colonies on the spot where Yathrib afterwards arose
34. A Jew is again introduced to read an inscription in Syriac!
35. Parallels are: Job iv: 8; Prov.xxii: 8; Jeremiah xii: 13; Matt. vii: 16; Luke vi: 44; ii Cor. ix: 6. It is noteworthy that the word 'Ijtana' occurs in Matthew and Luke.
36. There is a definite similarity between the conduct of this religious community at Mecca and that of the priesthood in Jerusalem in the

time of our Lord when people who came to worship were plundered for the enrichment of a luxurious and irreligious priesthood. It sometimes happened that a poor man's garment was arrested (Lightfoot on Matt. xxi: 12). In Mecca, pilgrims either had to borrow the clothes in which to circumambulate the Ka'bah or else perform the ceremony naked. This usage was not peculiar to Mecca for the custom appears in the worship of the Tyrian Baal (ii Kings x: 22). A man was not prevented from making the circuit of the house in his own clothes, but if he did so he could not wear them again; they became taboo through contact with the holy place. (Smith op.cit. 451).

37. The Arabian Kāhin was the equivalent of the Greek *μάντις* or the Latin 'vates' which give the meaning 'Seer' rather than 'Prophet'. While scholars are not agreed on the origin of the word, the most likely explanation is that it came into use in North Arabia from some Aramaic source long before Islam. (Jeffrey, For. Voc. p. 247). The word is the Semitic term for 'Priest', (cf. Heb. Kōhen), and this seems to have been its primitive sense in Arabia, the idea of 'soothsayer' being a later development. They derive their origin from the medicine man. They gave their oracles under the inspiration of a daimonion who was called the Tābi' (follower), Sāhib (companion) or Ra'i (seer), and expressed them in the rhyming prose called Saj'. They were wont to give emphasis to their utterances by swearing by the earth and sky, sun and moon, and stars, light and darkness.

The early appearance of Muhammad was strongly ⁱⁿremiscent of the soothsayer. His Sāhib was Gabriel, his earlier revelations were couched in rhyming prose, and his utterances sometimes begin with obscure oaths (Note 9) so it was not altogether surprising that the Meccans regarded him as a Kāhin. Muhammad however, declared their knowledge to be stolen from heaven, falsified and confused, and so brought them into disrepute. (Ency. Islam in loco.).

38. In order to gain the Jews over to his cause Muhammad was willing to make any concession that did not involve abandonment of the claim

to the prophetic office. His feasts, fasts, and ceremonies were up to a certain time, all on the Jewish model, and his Qiblah was Jerusalem. His claims to be a prophet were based on the Jewish Scriptures and it was here that antagonism developed between Muhammad and the Jews. They recognised in him the promised prophet 'even as they recognised their own sons', yet out of wilful blindness they rejected him as they had rejected their own Messiah. The Jews expected to find in Muhammad a supporter of their faith; he expected recognition from them as the Prophet foretold in their Book (Deut. xviii: 15). In their eyes all his protestations of allegiance to their Scriptures were of no ^{use} since he denied what to them was the most essential thing.

39. Salṃān is one of the most popular figures of Muslim legend. His name is connected with the siege of Medina for he is said to have advised the digging of the trench which seems to have been a departure from customary methods of warfare in the Arabian peninsula. The earlier accounts we have of him make no mention of this, however. His fame is due to the fact that he was taken as the prototype of Persian Islam just as the Ethiopians are represented by Bilāl and the Byzantines by Suhaib. Tradition asserts he was the Prophet's barber and is regarded as the patron of barbers. The Shi'ites place him immediately after 'Alī in the series of divine emanations. The Nusairiyah make him the third member of their Trinity which is formed by the three mystic letters A ('Alī); M (Muhammad); and S (Salṃān) of which he forms the Gate (Bāb). (Ency. Islam in loco).
40. The meaning of the word 'Hanīf' is very difficult to determine. Bell takes it as a genuine Arabic word meaning 'to decline, to turn from'. But as the suggestion here would be that of turning away from what is right to what is crooked it gives no help. According to Jeffrey, the pre-islamic use of the word means 'heathen', while as used by Muhammad it is equivalent to 'Muslim'. (For. Voc. 112 ff). Buhl (Ency. Islam ii: 258 - 260) says that Muhammad simply took over a word which was well known in his day to denote "those people, who,

although influenced by Christianity, had refused both Christianity and Judaism in favour of a more simple and primitive religion". It is used in the Qur'ān in some instances to refer to the faith of Abraham, and in other cases a phrase is added to explain that being a Hanīf means not being a polytheist. This need for explanation would seem to indicate that Muhammad was adapting to his own purposes a word already in use and giving it a new meaning.

Opinions are also varied as to the identity of the Hanīfs. Wellhausen, followed by Sell in his pamphlet 'The Hanīfs') thought the term referred to the Christian ascetics of Muhammad's day and one of the Hanīfs, Abū 'Amr is referred to in Ibn Hishām (p.411) as 'The Monk'. Nicholson, (Lit. Hist. p.149) thinks the word means 'Muslim'. Bell, (Origin of Islam, p.58) thinks the term was used to denote a class of religious men, of which there were several. The more modern view however, is that the Hanīfs were not a sect, but merely a few isolated individuals. Nicholson thinks Muhammad may have received his first stimulus from this quarter since he was associated with Waraqah bin Naufal, cousin of Khadījah. (Lit. Hist. p.150). Three of the four men mentioned by Ibn Hishām became Christians, according to him, which may suggest a Christian origin. Their emergence was no doubt due to the interplay of monotheistic ideas on the old Arabian paganism but the traditions given about these historical personages mentioned by name are considered unreliable by modern scholarship. Jeffrey e.g. says (For. Voc. in loco) ".....yet the tradition that has come down to us has been so obviously worked over in Islamic times, that so far from their stories helping to explain the Qur'ān, the Qur'ān is necessary to explain them".

41. This is reminiscent of heathen practices in early New Testament days from which Christians with a Gentile background were asked to abstain. Cf. Acts xv: 20, 29. (A full discussion of the variant readings in these passages is given by Professor P.H. Menoud in "Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas", Bulletin ii; page 22). The abandonment of idols would carry with it the abandonment of the sacrifices offered thereat and this could have been brought about by

non-Christian monotheistic influences. Professor Robson utters a caveat against deciding too readily that a tradition has a New Testament source because its language sounds like that of the New Testament. (Muslim World, Vol. xli: No 4, p.260).

42. Apparently Zaid consulted both Rabbis and Monks, a further indication that Jews and Christians were considered to have one religion.
43. Al-Munhamanna is a Syriac word so that Ibn Hishām must have been in touch with some Syriac Gospel source, possibly the Palestinian Syrian version, which, according to Professor Burkitt, is the only Syriac Ms where the word occurs. It would seem that neither Ibn Ishāq nor Ibn Hishām knew anything about the reading 'Periklutos' for 'Paraklētōs' and its possible rendering as Ahmad; they content themselves with the bare statement that al-Munhamanna means Muhammad which is out of the question. There is no mention of Ahmad which would seem to have been an interpolation after the death of Muhammad. (Muslim World xli: 4: The Paraclete, al-Muhamanna and Ahmad by E.F.F. Bishop and A. Guthrie).
44. It seems that on a certain month every year, which later became the month of Ramadān, the Meccans practised certain religious austerities called Tahannuth. It was in pursuance of this practice that Muhammad retired to the cave on Mount Hira. Some authorities regard the word as the Hebrew plural Tahannōth 'prayers' and thus see in it another proof of the influence of Judaism. Muhammad Muhyiddin 'Abdul Hamid says (in a footnote, page 253): "Abu Dharr says: 'Ibn Hishām explains it as if they meant by it the Hanefite religion, and changed the Thā to Fā. The better explanation is that 'Tahannuth' means avoidance of sin, just like at-ta'aththum; this form may be used for the withdrawal from a thing, and there is no need for the substitution which Ibn Hishām mentions". This was probably what guided Muhammad in his choice of the month of fasting.

45. For the employment of intermediate beings for the conveyance of Divine relations cf Deut. xxxii: 2 - the first mention of angels in connection with the giving of the law. Other allusions in the New Testament to the angels administering the law are Acts vi: 53; Gal iii: 19; Heb. ii: 2. Also Josephus, Antiquities xv: 5, 3; Philo de Somn. p.642 M and the Book of Jubilees c. 1. The original meaning of Nāmūs is 'confidant'.
46. In all cases where the word Furqān occurs in the Qur'ān it seems to mean illumination or revelation except in viii: 42 where the reference is obviously to the battle of Badr. One explanation of the meaning of the word is that Scripture is called Furqan because by means of it God divided between the true and the false, and as referring to Badr it means the day when God discriminated between the good and the evil men. It seems to be a word which Muhammad borrowed to whose meaning he gave his own interpretation. (Jeffrey For. Voc p.225 ff). Bell, (Qur'ān viii: 29) derives the word from the Syriac 'purqana', meaning salvation. In His 'Origin 118 ff., he links up the Qura'nic use of the word with the story of Moses. In the case of Moses deliverance was accompanied by a revelation. Calamity would come to the Meccans as it came to Pharaoh. The battle of Badr was the Calamity for the Meccans."It was the Furqān the deliverance out of that Calamity for the believers".
47. There is at least a parallel between the accusation of madness here and that in reference to our Lord in Jno. viii: 48; vii: 20; x: 20; Mk. iii: 23; Matt. 9: 34.
48. For the change that Islam was breaking up the old ties of kindred cf. Matt. x: 35; Luke xiii: 53.
49. The Jews of Medina are here represented as having prepared the minds of the Aus and Khazraj to receive the Prophet. They had considerable influence in this place prior to the Hijrah but do not seem to have been disposed at any time to accept the claims of Muhammad.

50. Commentators are by no means agreed as to the meaning of ar-Raqim . Most of them take it as a place -name, whether of a village, a valley or a mountain. Ibn Hishām says it was a tablet. Still others think it was the name of the dog who was with them. Torrey, (Jewish Foundations of Islam p. 120 ff) takes it to be a misreading of the name Decius in Hebrew characters. Decius is prominent in Oriental legends of the Seven Sleepers. Horovitz points out that this does not explain the article of the Arabic word, and notes also that all names except place-names are carefully avoided in the Qur'ānic story. (Jeffrey For. Voc. p. 144).
51. Dhū 'l-Qarnain has very often been identified with Alexander the Great. A new theory has been put forward by an ^{Indian Muslim} Pakistani scholar, Maulana Azād (Thaqafat al-Hind, March, September 1950, June 1951) regarding the personality of Dhū 'l-Qarnain in the Qur'an, in which he identifies him with Cyrus the Persian. Cyrus was highly esteemed by the Jews and the mention of Cyrus in an early Medinan Sūrah would be designed to win over the Jewish tribes who had settled there. The appellation is considered by this scholar to refer to Daniel's vision of the ram with two horns (Dan viii).
52. The use of ar-Rahmān in connection with Musailamah of Yamāmah would, according to Jeffrey (For. Voc. p. 141) "seem to point to Christian rather than a Jewish origin, though the matter is uncertain".
53. The Zabāniyyah were the guardians of Hell. The word is usually derived from 'zabana' 'to push, thrust'. Scholars connect it with a Syriac word which means the guides who conduct departed souls to judgment. (Jeffrey, For. Voc. p. 148).
54. The statement of the Negus about Jesus Son of Mary indicates Arian tendencies. Arianism declared that Jesus was not the essence of the Father but essentially a creature like other creatures albeit unique among them. Not only did this system take away all traces of deity from our Lord, but in its later stages, it found a human spirit unnecessary, thus doing violence to his manhood. (Gwatkin,

Studies of Arianism, pp. 24, 25). It would seem that Frumentius was bishop in 356 A.D, for Constantius is moving to have him recalled and Athanasius is protesting. The Emperor favoured the Arians and wished to extend their influence in those regions and Frumentius was on the side of Athanasius. This circumstance would help to explain the fact that for the next hundred years the history of Christianity in Ethiopia is obscure. The real Christianising of the country took place about the year 480, and it was brought about by Monophysite Christians so that this must have been the type of Christianity in the country at the rise of Islam. This reference may indicate (a) that the Negus of the day still held Arian sentiments which apparently were repudiated by his bishops, or (b) Ibn Hishām writing with some knowledge of Arianism, which was introduced into the Arabian peninsula circa 354 or 355, makes the Axumite king utter Arian sentiments. Arianism had ~~not~~ been propagated in Arabia before Muhammad's time, and Beryllus the Bishop of Bostra denied the Godhead of Jesus. Arian influence can be detected in such passages as iv: 169; v. 77, 79, 116; xliii: 59.

55. It is said that this Surah (cxi) came down on the day Allah commanded the Prophet to warn his people. Others say it came down when he was commanded to proclaim the Qur'ān openly. When he gathered Quraish together and told them that, Abū Lahab said: "Mayst thou perish! Hast thou brought us together for this?". (Muhammad Muhyiddīn 'Abdul Hamīd p.373 n).
56. Bell refers this passage to the early days in Medina. (Qur'an p.493)
57. Bell thinks this passage is probably Medinan but does not exclude the possibility of a Meccan origin (Qur'an p.345).
58. "Usually said to be Muhammad himself; but that is hardly possible. It is probably one of the rich Meccans, whose conduct towards the blind man brings home to Muhammad how ineffective his methods hitherto have been". (Bell, Qur'an p.635 n).

59. These Christians who islamized were probably Abyssinians who had come to Mecca with the returning exiles.
60. A similar description of Jesus is given in Tradition by Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāūd, and Ibn Māja. Cf. Prof. Robson, Muslim World, xli: 4; p. 257, 258.
61. Muhammad's visit to heaven is strangely reminiscent of the visit of Aeneas to the underworld in those parts which describe the torments of the wicked. Cf Aeneid vi: ll. 548 - 627. Prof. Asin in 'Islam and the Divine Comedy' attempts to show that Dante was influenced by Islamic ideas.
62. The story of Moses sending Muhammad back to get the number of prayers reduced is reminiscent of Abraham praying for Sodom. (Gen xviii: 23 - 33).
63. There seems a certain parallel between Jonah sitting outside Nineveh 'till he might see what would become of the city', and Muhammad sitting outside at Taif in his dejection, which working on the mind of Muhammad, led him, when he afterwards told the story, to state that 'Addās, the Christian slave, was a native of Nineveh, and also that Jonah was 'His brother prophet'.
64. As the Jews expected the Messiah to be a deliverer and wonder-worker it is not outside the bounds of possibility that some such threat was made against the Arabs of Medina. These threats are represented as having had the effect of making the people of Medina hasten to recognise the new Prophet.
65. The terms of the First Pledge of al-'Aqabah reminds one of Commandments vi, vii, viii, ix as well as i.
66. Ibn Qutaibah says that the Arabs made a similar oath when entering into a treaty of protection.

67. An interesting Old Testament parallel to this story is in Judges vi: 31. In ancient societies the penalty for violating the sanctity of holy things was outlawry or death; they did not wait for the god to vindicate himself. Since this deity was thus put to the proof, faith in his power must have been doubted. Monotheistic influences had already, to some extent, undermined belief in the idols, and thus prepared the way for Islam.
68. Intimation of Muhammad's arrival is made by a Jew. Qailah was the name of the mother of the progenitors of the Beni Aus and Khazraj.
69. Scriptural references to the shepherd and his sheep are: Num.xxvii: 7; i Kings xxii: 17; i Chron. xviii: 16; Ezek. 34: 6; Psalm xcv: 7; Matt. ix: 36; Mark vi: 34.
70. Muhammad, who had made every concession to Jewish sentiment short of abandoning his prophethood, now desires to enter into a close and binding union with them, according to the terms of which they were confirmed in the practice of their religion and the secure possession of their property. No date is given for the treaty but it must have been shortly after his arrival in Medina. Cordial relations were for a time sustained between Muhammad and the three Jewish tribes.
71. Apparently Muhammad hesitated some time as to whether to adopt the Jewish or Christian method of calling to worship. This does not argue that the breach with the Jews had already taken place. No religious antagonism is intended. He made a distinction between the Jewish Sabbath and the sacred day of Islam, and probably followed it up with the initiation of the call to prayer perhaps because he hoped that by the choice of another day some of the Jews would attend his services. It is not at all improbable that Jews did attend the mosque at first. The contrary opinion has been maintained (e.g. by Wellhausen) that the institution of Friday instead of Sabbath and Sunday, the call to prayer instead of trumpets and sounding-boards, Ramadan instead of Lent, were all intended to cut Islam off from Judaism and Christianity.

72. The mention of individual Christians for the most part would lead one to suppose that Muslim contacts were confined to solitary ascetics. No mention is made of any Christian community except that of Najrān which was destroyed by Dhū Nuwās, so that the faith seems to have expressed itself through individuals rather than through a community. Jewish communities, on the other hand, were fairly strong and well organised. Pre-Islamic poetry shows the Christian hermit as a familiar figure (Imru 'l-Qais, Mu'allaqāt, 71, 72). They are also mentioned in the Qur'ān (v: 85). The 'masūh was the black hairy garment worn by ascetics.
73. The 'description' of the Prophet in the Torah is doubtless Deut. xviii: 15. Peter (Acts iii: 22) and Stephen (Acts 7: 37) find the fulfilment of this prophecy in Jesus. Muhammad is still hoping to win over the Jews but the time is now not far distant when he will discard Moses for Abraham.
74. The bottom of the grave was often strewn with Harmal, so the implication would seem to be that all the reward he got for his pains was death.
75. Muhammad seems to have difficulty in getting access to knowledge. This withholding of knowledge of which he accuses the Jews, formed the basis of the charge that the Jews concealed and perverted their Scriptures. The charge was originally directed against the Jews, though Muhammad may not then have recognised that there was a distinction between them and Christians. (Bell, Origin of Islam, p. 126).
76. The Qur'ān does not speak very highly of the intellectual attainments of the Jews although we gather that they had copies of their Scriptures and could write (Surah ii: 80, 73, 169). The Bait Midrās was probably the school in which the Rabbis met for discussion, and would either be the synagogue building itself or a building adjacent to it. Paul disputed with the Jews in the synagogue at Ephesus till matters became impossible when he withdrew to the 'school' of Tyrannus with his followers. (Acts xix: 8, 9).

77. Distinct refutation of Christian claim that Jesus was more than man. Bell (Qur'ān) thinks this passage refers to the Jewish oral law. Baidawi places the saying in the same historical context as Ibn Hishām.
78. By claiming to be last of a long line of prophets Muhammad doubtless hoped to win over the Jews before he made his final break with them. No special superiority is ascribed to Abraham at this stage. Another list of prophets is given in Surah vi: 84 ff.
79. Muhammad hoped to appeal to Christians by accepting the prophethood of Jesus, which the Jews denied. There is favourable mention of the Christians about this time: "...thou wilt find those of them who are nearest in love to those who have believed to be those who say 'We are Christians'". (Surah v: 85). Later however, Muhammad's attitude to the Christians began to cool as he came to realise that the Christians, in spite of his recognition of Jesus as a prophet, could not accept of him as the spokesman of God on earth, and render him obedience as such. He complains that neither Jews nor Christians will be satisfied till he accepts their type of religion. (ii: 114). Muhammad's idea in giving the list of prophets was not to establish the prophethood of Jesus but to answer the Jewish objection that there had been nothing sent down to men after the time of Moses.
80. Najrān seems to have had a more highly developed organisation than other Arabian towns. It was ruled by three men called Sayyid, 'Āqib and Bishop. The sayyid was the equivalent of the Arab tribal chief, dealing with external affairs, making treaties, commanding the army, and acting as host at fairs. The 'Āqib's dealt only with internal matters of administration while the Bishop was the supreme ecclesiastical authority. "But the supreme government was in the hands of these three acting together". (O'Learyy, Arabia p. 144). They were envied for their great wealth and their cathedral was a magnificent edifice adorned with marbles and mosaics given by the Byzantine emperor. They were regarded as the noblest of the Arabs

at a date much earlier than the pretensions of Quraish whose claim to nobility rested mainly on kinship with the Prophet. Najrān remained a Christian city till its inhabitants were expelled by 'Umar.

81. After an apochryphal account of the birth of Jesus Muhammad proceeds to give an equally apochryphal account of His death, which is further elaborated in Surah iv: 156 ff. There may be behind the assertion that Jesus was not crucified the influence of Ebionite or Gnostic sects who asserted that only a simulacrum of Jesus was crucified. Had Jesus been crucified He would have been the only Prophet who had not been delivered in crisis - Muhammad's prophets were always delivered before matters became too dangerous. He would also know no doubt, that Christians believed in a living Christ. These two ideas may be sufficient to account for the Qur'ānic references to Jesus and especially to His crucifixion.
82. The vision of 'Ātikah bears comparison with that of the Midianite who dreamt of a great load which came hurtling into the camp and knocked down the principal tent. A companion told him that his dream meant that God would deliver Midian into the hand of Israel. (Judges vii: 13 - 15). Both prophesied disaster and both were fulfilled. Muir dismisses this dream as fictitious. Guillaume, on the other hand says: "Recent study and experiment have shown that it is impossible to ignore the evidence that prophetic dreams are of common occurrence". A full discussion of the whole subject is given in his Prophecy and Divination pp. 185 - 232. There are also articles bearing on the subject in the 'Jewish Encyclopaedia' and the 'Encyclopaedia of Islam'. The progress of psychological research has demonstrated that dreams and visions cannot be dismissed as fictitious.
83. Single combats were the customary method of beginning battles not only amongst Arabs and Jews (cf. i Sam xvii: 4ff) but also amongst the ancient Greeks, e.g. Hector and Achilles, (Iliad xxii).

84. The action of Muhammad in casting gravel at his enemies was intended to be something more than mere symbol. It is regarded by Muslim historians, at any rate, as being full of portent and determining the future course of events. In the imagination of his followers he was using a power which Allah had put into his hands. Old Testament parallels of this action are to be found in similar acts of Moses prior to some of the Plagues. He throws ashes in the air and a plague of boils follows soon after (Exod. ix: 8 ff). He stretches out his rod toward heaven and Yahweh send thunder and hail and fire runs along upon the ground (Exod ix: 23). A similar action brings darkness from the heavens (Exod. x: 22). The Plagues were thus brought down by proclamation accompanied by energetic action. In ii Kings xiii: 18, 19, Israel's failure to achieve a decisive victory is attributed to the feebleness of the acted sign. The king of Isarel smote the ground with the arrows only three times thereby showing a lack of determination which incurred the prophet's displeasure. The act was regarded as an omen which determined the future course of events.

A further illustration of the belief in the power of symbolic acts is provided by Moses at the battle of Rephidim. Victory apparently, depended on Moses' hands being raised towards heaven as well as his supplication. It is not necessary to assume that Muhammad acted in conscious imitation of Moses or indeed that he was acquainted with the details of any of these stories. The Semitic belief in the potency of mimetic magic is the background against which we must view it.

85. The Meccans dislike the use of 'arṣ-Rahmān' for God. Umayyah islamized apparently in the early days of Muhammad's preaching becoming a convert to 'Rahmānism'. The change of name contains perhaps an illusion to Muhammad's adoption of the term 'Allah'.
86. Bell thinks the meaning of the word 'Furqān' in this context is 'salvation'. (Qur'ān, p. 164, n. i).

87. The Jewish colonists of Medina were grouped together in three tribes all of which bore Arabic names; the Beni Qainuqā', the Beni an-Nadīr, and the Beni Quraithah. The two latter called themselves 'Kahinān', presumably because they claimed descent from the family of Aaron. The power and prestige which Muhammad gained at Badr enabled him to take a strong line with the Jews. In each case he found a very good reason for attacking them. In the case of the Beni Qainuqā', he found an excuse to attack the whole tribe when an insult was proffered to a Muslim maiden in their quarter. That they were spared was not due to clemency on his part but simply because he was not yet strong enough to neglect 'Abdallah's appeal for his clients.
88. Saliva was supposed to contain medicinal properties. The New Testament records that it was used by our Lord to cure dumbness on one occasion. On another it was mixed with earth and used to anoint the eyes of a blind man. (Mark vii: 33; viii: 23; John ix: 6).
89. The reason for attacking and expelling the Beni an-Nadīr was a supposed plot on the life of Muhammad. However that may be, their lands were a great boon to Muhammad for he was able to settle the Emigré Meccans thereon so that they were no longer dependent on the people of Medina. The expulsion of this Jewish tribe was probably an economic necessity.
90. The Jews had no reason to trust Muhammad. The assassination of individuals like Ka'b must have made them realise the insecurity of their position. It is not surprising that the Beni Quraithah helped Quraish in the attack on Medina, as they naturally considered their treaty obligations to him to be lessened by these acts of violence. The Prophet chose to regard them as traitors and this largely accounts for his savage treatment of them. By removing the Jews he was removing the danger of another attack on Medina, which at that time was not at all improbable; their extirpation was considered a political necessity. Modern apologists of Muhammad treat the matter as 'a strict application of admitted customs of war in those days'. (Sayed Ameer Ali, The Spirit of Islam p. 81)

91. Muhammad's inability to enter Mecca may have suggested to his mind the failure of the Children of Israel to enter the Promised Land. In the passages of the Qur'ān where the word *Hittah* occurs (ii: 55, vii: 161) the context suggests a reminiscence of the attempt to enter the Promised Land at Kadesh. The exegetes are agreed that the meaning of the word is 'forgiveness'. No satisfactory explanation of its origin has yet been given. Some authorities would derive it from the Hebrew *Het* meaning sin. (Jeffrey, For. Voc. p. 110).
92. The Meccan aversion to the use of 'ar-Rahmān' again displays itself.
93. The first time Muhammad uses the word *Sakīnah* in the Qur'ān (ii: 249), it obviously refers to the Hebrew *Shekinah* whereby the Israelites were to recognise Saul as their king. In the other passages it means assistance from heaven. (Jeffrey, For. Voc. p. 174).
94. In connection with the declamation that Muhammad is only a 'creature' it is interesting to compare the Nusairiyah conception of 'Ali.

'Ali bin Abū Tālib was not begotten; he is unique, immortal, and has existed before all time; his essence is the light; from him the stars shine; he is the light of lights.....He is hidden not enveloped. That is to say, he is hidden by the nature of his divine essence, not by a covering. He is mind (Ma'na). (Kitāb al-Majnu, translated by Dassaūd p. 162).

Their formula is copied from that of the Muslims: "I testify that there is no god but 'Ali bin Abū Tālib". 'Ali created Muhammad whom he called his name (ism) and who is also his 'veil' and 'dwelling-place'. Muhammad in his turn created Salmān al-Fārisī. This triad goes back to the divine triads of the Syro-Phoenician cults. (The chief work on this sect is that of R. Dassaūd: *Histoire et Religion des Nusairis*, Paris 1900).

One would have expected the reference to Muhammad's creaturehood to have occurred in a Christian context.

95. Some of the Beni an-Nasīr settled at Khaibar and played a considerable part in instigating the Bedawi tribes to harass the Muslims. On the return from al-Hudaibiyah Muhammad promised 'a

speedy victory and sp^oils in abundance elsewhere' by which no doubt Khaibar was intended. The attack took place about six months later.

96. Muhammad again resorts to use of saliva as a cure for bad eyesight.
97. This injunction may mean simply that Muhammad's followers were expected to see to it that Islam became the only religion in the Arabian Peninsula, or it might contain a reference to the Jewish faith which had proved his most inveterate opponent. It could also be inferred that the Christians were of little account politically,
98. According to the testimony of both our authors the Arabs had the idea of Allah as The Supreme Being, exalted above their minor deities but this belief seems to have had little moral or religious significance. Muhammad would be acquainted with the Jewish Shema' recited morning and evening which begins with the declaration of God's unity, and his original declaration is very similar to it. This would in all probability be the original form of the Muslim Creed. New Testament parallels are Luke v: 21; Mark 2: 7; Mk. 10:18 Luke 18: 19 and Mark 12: 29 & 32 in quotation from the Shema'. In Mark 2: 7 the expression seems to mean 'God the One'. The
99. Palestinian Syriac Version supports Luke.
99. Or 'the three whose cases were deferred', for further consideration. (Bell (Qur'an 188 note 2).
100. In Arabia there were great tracts of sacred land one of which was the forest of Wajj at at-Tā'if. In these lands it was forbidden to cut fodder, fell trees, or hunt game. This did not however, apply to noxious creatures. Certain plants also might be cut for purposes of a religious or quasi-religious character. (Smith Rel. of Semites, p. 142, 143).
101. Cf. Mattixix: 24 in Tatian's Diatessaron; Gospel to Hebrews; James, Apochryphal New Testament p. 6

102. Similar charges were brought by our Lord against the Scribes, Pharisees, and Lawyers of His day. Mark xii: 40; Luke xi: 47.
103. Cf. Mark xviii: 21; Testament of God Chap vi, v. 3.
104. Al-Ya'qūbi's list of the Twelve Apostles as given in the MacDonald Presentation Volume p. 91, is as follows:-

There were twelve apostles from the tribes of Ya'qūb . Shim'un bin Kin'an was from the tribe of - and Ya'qūb bin Zabda - - - and Yahya bin Habir bin Fali from the tribe of Zablon, and Filifus from the tribe of Ashar, and Matta from the tribe of Ashgar bin Ya'qūb, and Sam'a from the tribe of Haram bin Ya'qūb, and Yahuda from the tribe of Yahida bin Ya'qūb, and Ya'qub from the tribe of Yusuf bin Ya'qub and Manasa of the tribe of Rubil bin Ya'qub. In addition to these there were seventy men. The four who wrote the Injīl were Matta, Marqus, Luqa, and Yuhana - two of whom were from the twelve and two others.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Below is a list of the most important traditions recounted by Ibn Ishāq and Ibn Hishām with the name of the ultimate authority from whom each tradition is derived, where such is mentioned. In many cases, however, especially in his accounts of pre-Islamic history, no chain of authorities is given; they merely commence with the phrase "Qāl Ibn Ishāq". Others are attributed to an anonymous character described as "One in whom I have confidence", or "One who is above suspicion".

| | | |
|---|-------|---|
| Genealogies, with some omissions | - | Ibn Ishāq |
| Dam of Ma'rib | - - - | Abū Zaid |
| Rabī' bin Naṣr | - - - | Ibn Ishāq |
| Abū Karib Tibān Asad | - - - | Ibn Ishāq |
| Hassān, his son | - - - | Ibn Ishāq |
| Lakhnī'ah | - - - | Ibn Ishāq |
| Dhū Nuwās | - - - | Ibn Ishāq |
| Christianity in Najrān | - - - | Wahb bin Munabbih |
| 'Abdallah bin ath-Thāmir | - - - | Muhammad bin Ka'b al-Qurathī |
| The Trench (in Najrān) | - - - | Ibn Ishāq |
| Excavation of ath-Thāmir's tomb | - - - | 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr quoting unnamed authority |
| Daus and the beginning of Ethiopian rule | - - - | Ibn Ishāq |
| Abraham, the Posponers of the months, and the Elephant | - - - | Ibn Ishāq |
| The driver and groom begging in Mecca | - - - | 'A'ishah |
| Saif Dhū Yazan, Kosroes, and Wahriz | - - - | Ibn Ishāq, and Ibn Hishām on authority of Abū 'Ubaidah |
| End of Persian rule in Yemen | - - - | Ibn Ishāq |
| Badhān | - - - | az-Zuhri |
| Al-Hadr | - - - | Ibn Hishām |
| 'Amr bin Luhai (saying of Prophet) | - - - | Abū Bakr and Abū Hurairah |
| His journey to Syria | - - - | Ibn Hishām from "one of the scholars" |
| Stone worship | - - - | Ibn Ishāq, introduced by "According to what they say" |
| Isāf and Nā'ilah | - - - | 'A'ishah |
| Bahīrah, Sā'ibah, etc. | - - - | Ibn Ishāq and Ibn Hishām. |
| Sāmah, Lu'ai and the Basl | - - - | Ibn Ishāq |
| Digging of Zamzam, Jurhum, etc | - - - | Ibn Hishām via al-Bakkā'i from Ibn Ishāq. |
| Marriage of Qusai | - - - | Ibn Ishāq |
| Al-Ghauth bin Murr | - - - | Ibn Ishāq |
| Qusai master of Mecca | - - - | Ibn Ishāq |
| Quraish and the League of the Perfumed Ones | - - - | Ibn Ishāq |
| THE FUDŪA | - - - | Ibn Hishām via al-Bakkā'i from Ibn Ishāq. |
| Digging of Zamzam | - - - | 'Ali. |
| Wells of Quraish | - - - | Ibn Hishām via al-Bakkā'i from Ibn Ishāq |

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| 'Abd al-Muttalib's vow | - | - Ibn Ishāq introduced by "according to what they say" |
| The woman who offered herself to 'Abdallah | - | - Ibn Ishāq with a second version from his father. |
| Birth of Muhammad | - | - Qais bin Makhramah and Yahya bin 'Abdallah |
| His upbringing | - | - 'Abdallah bin Ja'far |
| Death of Aminah | - | - 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr |
| Abū Tālib's guardianship and Bahīrah the monk | - | - Ibn Ishāq. |
| Sacriligious War | - | - Abū 'Amr bin al-'Alā' |
| Muhammad's marriage | - | - Abū 'Amr of Medina and Ibn Ishāq. |
| Mary the Copt | - | - Ibn Lakhī'āh |
| Muhammad as arbitrator in the matter of the stone | - | - Ibn Ishāq |
| The Hums | - | - Ibn Ishāq |
| The Soothsayers etc | - | - Ibn Ishāq |
| Pagan ideas re shooting stars | - | - Az-Zuhri |
| Jewish notices about Muhammad | - | - 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah from unnamed authority, Salamah and a shaikh of the Beni Quraithah |
| Salmān the Persian | - | - Mahmūd bin Labīd with additions by Yazīd bin Habīb and 'Āsim bin 'Umar. |
| The four who abandoned idols | - | - Ibn Ishāq, with details by Muḥammad bin Ja'far, Muḥammad bin 'Alī and Asmā' bint 'Abū Bakr. |
| Description of Muhammad | - | - Ibn Ishāq, introduced by "according to what I heard". |
| Descent of Gabriel | - | - 'Ubaid bin 'Umair |
| The Fatrah | - | - Ibn Ishāq |
| Ordinance of Prayer | - | - 'Ā'ishah and Nāfi' bin Jubair |
| Islamization of 'Alī | - | - Mujāhid bin Jabr |
| Islamization of Zaid bin Hārithah | - | - Ibn Ishāq with additions by Ibn Hishām |
| Islamization of Abū Bakr | - | - Ibn Ishāq |
| Persecution of Muslims by Quraish | - | - Ibn Ishāq |
| Islamization of Ḥanzah | - | - Ibn Ishāq |
| Happenings between Muhammad and Quraishite leaders | - | - All Ibn Ishāq |
| Quraish listen to recitations by Muhammad | - | - Az-Zuhri from unnamed authority. |
| Ill-treatment of converts by Quraish | - | - 'Urwah, 'Abdallah bin 'Abbās az-Zubair bin Ukkāshah. |
| Emigration to Ethippia | - | - Ibn Ishāq |
| Mission to Ethiopia | - | - Az-Zuhri from Umm Salamah |
| Ethiopian history- | - | - 'A'ishah |
| Boycott of Beni Hashim | - | - Ibn Ishāq |

Encounters with Abu Jahl, al-'Ās
bin Wa'il, etc.
Abū Bakr's acceptance of protection
Annulment of document
Abū Jahl and the camel
The Christian delegation which
Islamized
The Night Journey

Further persecution by Quraish after
death of Abū Tālib

Journey to at-Tā'if
Meeting with Helpers

First Prayer in Medina
Islamization of Sa'd bin Mu'ādh

Second 'Aqabah

Emigres to Medina
Migration of 'Umar
The consultations of Quraish
Gathering at Prophet's house

Migration of Muhammad
With Abū Bakr in cave
Surāqah's pursuit
The call to Prayer
Accounts of various Jewish
individuals
The Question about Stoning

The Najrani Deputation
Accounts of the Hypocrites

The Muslims who fell ill
Muhammad calls 'Alī 'Father of Earth'
The raids
Badr
War between Quraish and Kinānah
News of Badr reaches Mecca
Siege of Beni Qainuqa'

Murder of Ka'b bin al-Ashraf.

Ibn Ishāq
'Ā'ishah
Ibn Ishāq
'Abd al-Malik bin 'Abdallah

Ibn Ishāq
'Abdallah bin Mas'ūd, Abu
Sa'īd, Qatādah, 'Ā'ishah,
Mu'āwiyah bin Abū Sufyān,
az-Zuhrī and Umm Hanī all
related parts of it to Ibn
Ishāq.

Al-'Abbās from unnamed
authority
Muhammad bin Ka'b
'Āsim bin 'Umar from unnamed
authority and 'Ubadah bin
as-Sāmit.
'Abd ar-Rahmān bin Ka'b
'Ubaid Allāh bin al-Mughīrah
and 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr
Ka'b and 'Abdallah bin Abū
Bakr

Umm Salamah
'Umar
'Abdallah bin 'Abbās
Muhammad bin Ka'b
'Ā'ishah
Al-Hasan bin Abū 'l-Hasan
Surāqah
'Abdallah bin Zaid

Ibn Ishāq.
Abū Hurairah, Ibn 'Abbās,
'Abdallah bin 'Umar
Muhammad bin Ja'far
'Āsim bin 'Umar, Ja'far bin
'Abdallah, Usāmah bin Zaid
'Ā'ishah
'Ammār bin Yāsar
Ibn Ishāq
Ibn 'Abbās
Muhammad bin Sa'īd
'Ikrimah, client of al-'Abbās
'Āsim bin 'Umar, Abū 'Aun
'Ubadah bin al-Walīd
'Abdallah bin al-Mughīth, Ibn
'Abbās, az-Zuhrī, Muhammad
bin Yahyā, 'Āsim bin 'Umar
al-Husāin bin 'Abd ar-Rahmān
Abū Hurairah and others..

Ar-Rajī'

Bi'r Ma'ūnah

Beni an-Nadīr

Dhāt ar-Riqā' and the Prayer
of Fear

The Trench (Medina)

Beni Quraithah

Sallām bin 'Abū 'l-Huqaiq

Beni 'l-Mustaliq

Juwāiriyah

Affair of 'Ā'ishah

Al-Hudaibiyah

Khaibar

Mu'tah

Conquest of Mecca

Hatib's letter

Story of Abū Quhāfah

Entry by army

Muhammad circumambulates the

'Ka'bah

Safwān bin Umayyah

Khālid and the Beni Jādhimah

Hunain

At-Tā'if

The property of Hawāzin

Tabūk

The Renunciation

Deputation of the Beni Sa'd

Pilgrimage of Farewell

Sickness of Prophet

Day of death

'Umar's statement

'Umar's speech

Abū Bakr's speech

Burial of Prophet

State of Islam following on

Prophet's death

'Āsim bin 'Umar

Al-Mughīrah bin 'Abd ar-Rahmān

and 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr:

Ibn Ishāq, 'Abdallah bin Abū Bakr

Jābir bin 'Abdallah

'Abdallah bin Ka'b, az-Zuhrī,

Muhammad bin Ka'b, 'Āsim bin 'Umar

Ibn Ishāq

Az-Zuhrī

'Asim bin 'Umar, 'Abdallah bin Abū

Bakr, Muhammad bin Yahya

'Ā'ishah

'Ā'ishah

Miswar bin Makhramah, Marwān bin al-

Hakm, Az-Zuhrī, 'Abdallah bin Abū

Bakr, 'Abdallah bin Abū Najīh.

Anas bin Mālik

'Urwah bin az-Zubair

Ibn Ishāq

'Urwah bin az-Zubair

Asmā'

'Abdallah bin Abū Najīh, 'Abdallah bin

Abū Bakr

Safiyyah

'Urwah bin az-Zubair

Muhammad bin 'Ali

Jābir bin 'Abdallah, al-'Abbās

Ibn Ishāq

'Abdallah bin 'Amr

Az-Zuhrī, Yazīd bin Rūmān, 'Abdallah

bin Abū Bakr, 'Āsim bin 'Umar, and

others

Muhammad bin 'Ali

Ibn 'Abbās, 'Abd Qais, al-Hasan

'Ā'ishah

'Ā'ishah

Anas bin Mālik

Abū Hurairah

Anas bin Mālik

Anas bin Mālik

'Ā'ishah

'Ā'ishah.

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