The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME IX

The Last Years of the Prophet



TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED BY ISMAIL K. POONAWALA

The Last Years of the Prophet
Volume IX
Translated and Annotated by Ismail K. Poonawala

This volume deals with the last two and a half years of the Prophet's life. In addition to the three major expeditions to Ḥunayn, Ṭa'if, and Tabūk, it describes in detail the circumstances surrounding the illness from which he died and the subsequent crisis of leadership faced by the nascent Muslim community. The author depicts with admirable fairness all the various opinions and divisions that existed within the community. He also presents a vivid picture of the Prophet's physical appearance, his personal life, and his marriages. Among other topics discussed in this volume are all the deputations that came to Medina; a summary of all the expeditions and raiding parties; and his scribes, freedmen, horses, camels, goats, swords, coats of mail, and so on. It also covers the apostasy of Musaylimah, Aswad, and Ṭulayḥah and the Prophet's attempts to deal with them.

The translation not only preserves the original lively flavor of al-Ṭabarī but also, in its annotations, draws extensively on both parallel Arabic sources and the intensive research of recent years. Readers who seek a deeper understanding of the Prophet's personality and of the reasons for antagonisms engendered among various factions will find this volume most informative.

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THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME IX

The Last Years of the Prophet

THE FORMATION OF THE STATE

A.D. 630–632/A.H. 8–11

The History of al-Ṭabarī

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME IX

The Last Years of the Prophet

translated and annotated
by

Ismail K. Poonawala

University of California, Los Angeles

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Al-Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of

transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others which cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Translator's Foreword

This volume covers approximately the last two and a half years of the Prophet's life. Al-Ṭabarī's account is full of graphic details and vivid descriptions which makes it delightful to read. In many instances, the narrative seems as though it must have been experienced directly. The animated dialogues, turns of phrases in reported speech, moments of humor—all these seem redolent of his literary talent. An effort has been made in the translation to preserve the original flavor without sacrificing the English idiom.

Al-Ṭabarī's account of this period is derived mainly from Ibn Isḥāq's (d. ca. 150/767) *Sīrah*, one of the main sources for the subject. The original version of the *Sīrah*, which was transmitted through several *riwāyahs*, did not survive.* What we have is an abbreviated, annotated version edited by Ibn Hishām (d. ca. 218/833) based on the *riwāyah* of Ziyād al-Bakkā'ī (d. 183/799), who lived in al-Kūfah. The *Sīrah* version used by al-Ṭabarī, on the other hand, is based on the *riwāyah* of Salamah b. Faḍl al-Abrash al-Anṣārī (d. 191/806), who lived in al-Rayy. This explains the variants, as al-Ṭabarī's text is carefully collated with Ibn Hishām's *Sīrah*. Despite a number of variants and some minor additions and omissions, it is worth noting that, on the whole, there is remarkable agreement between the two *riwāyahs*. The stories of

*Segments of this original work found in the Qarawiyyīn library of Fez (transmitted through the *riwāyah* of Yūnus b. Bukayr), and the Ẓāhiriyyah library of Damascus (transmitted through the *riwāyah* of Muḥammad b. Salamah al-Ḥarrānī), edited by Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, have been consulted and collated.

Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī and 'Adī b. Ḥātim al-Ṭayyi', the account of the Tamīm deputation, and the Prophet's letter to the kings of Ḥimyar, are just a few cases in point.

Al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823) is another authority very frequently quoted by al-Ṭabarī. All these references are collated with his *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*. The latter provides more details, especially about the expeditions. The story of 'Urwah b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī, who came to the Prophet and accepted Islam after the siege of al-Ṭā'if, is also more graphically depicted. It is from al-Wāqidī that we learn that the people were not happy when the Prophet decided to end the siege of al-Ṭā'if and depart without the victory. He further states that they had to be persuaded by Abū Bakr and 'Umar that the Prophet in so doing was merely acting under divine instructions. All the verses revealed about the expedition of Tabūk are likewise listed separately.

In addition to Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīrah* and al-Wāqidī's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, the translation is collated with Ibn Sa'd's (d. 230/845) *al-Ṭabaqāt*, especially the biography of the Prophet in the first two volumes, and with the first volume of al-Balādhurī's (d. ca. 279/892) *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, dealing with the Prophet's life. A number of other sources, such as Ibn Shabbah's (d. 262/875) *Ta'rīkh al-Madīnah al-munawwarah*, al-Ya'qūbī's (d. 284/897) *Ta'rīkh*, al-Mas'ūdī's (d. 345/956) *Murūj al-dhahab* and *al-Tanbīh wa'l-ishrāf*, Ibn al-Athīr's (d. 630/1233) *al-Kāmil*, and Ibn Kathīr's (d. 774/1373) *al-Sīrah* have been consulted. All the major variants as well as additions in the above sources have been noted in the footnotes. Minor variants of verbal forms, prepositions, and differences of words of nearly the same meaning, which do not radically affect the translation, have been ignored. Full references to Ibn Isḥāq, al-Wāqidī, Ibn Sa'd, and al-Balādhurī are given at the first citation in each context. Although I have benefitted greatly by A. Guillaume's translation of the *Sīrah*, it is not referred to in the footnotes simply to save space, except where the comments are made expressly by him.

Most of the authorities listed in the *isnāds* are identified from the standard biographical dictionaries, such as Ibn Sa'd's *al-Ṭabaqāt*; Dhahabī's (d. 748/1347) *al-'Ibar*, *Mīzān*, and *Tadhkirah*; and Ibn Ḥajar's (d. 852/1449) *al-Iṣābah*, *Tahdhīb*, and *Lisān*. All the geographical areas and place names have likewise been identified

from the works of al-Hamdānī (d. 334/945), al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094), and Yāqūt (d. 626/1229). Genealogies of the tribes and clans have been verified from the works of Hishām al-Kalbī (d. ca. 204/819) and Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064). For historical geography and topography, recent works of A. Musil, H. Sr. J. B. Philby, Ḥ. al-Jāsir, and A. al-Wohaibi have been consulted. For the life of the Prophet, the biographies of F. Buhl, T. Andrae, W. M. Watt, M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, and M. Rodinson have been referred to. On disputed questions, every effort has been made to cite the latest opinion or interpretation.

Finally, I would like to thank Vincent Cornell for reading a major part of the translation, and for giving his thoughtful suggestions, amendations, and criticisms. I also wish to thank Hasanuddin Hashmi for elucidating some difficult and obscure passages. For any inadequacies, I alone am responsible.

I would like to thank Ahmed Nassef and Mohammad Atho Mudzhar for their help in proofreading.

February 20, 1987
Los Angeles, California

Ismail K. Poonawala

The Events of the Year 8 (cont'd)

(May 1, 629–April 19, 630)

An Account of the Messenger of God's Expedition against the Hawāzin[1] *and the Battle of Ḥunayn*[2]

[1654]

Concerning the affairs of the Messenger of God, the Muslims, and the [clans of] Hawāzin, we have received an account on the authority of both ʿAlī b. Naṣr b. ʿAlī al-Jahḍamī[3] and ʿAbd al-Wārith b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith[4]—ʿAbd al-Ṣamad [b. ʿAbd al-

1. A large North Arabian tribe or a group of tribes. They were bitterly hostile to Quraysh because of the trade rivalry between Mecca and al-Ṭā'if, since they were either the inhabitants of the latter city or in close alliance with its people. *EI*², s.v. Hawāzin; Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 115. See below n. 11.

2. A deep and irregular valley where the great battle took place. It is situated at a day's journey from Mecca on the road to al-Ṭā'if. *EI*², s.v. Ḥunayn; Ḥamīdullāh, *Battlefields*, 42–43. Watt's remarks in his *Muhammad at Medina*, 70–72, give proper perspective to this expedition, as both Hawāzin and Thaqīf were old enemies of Quraysh due to the trade rivalry. Lings, *Muhammad*, 304–6, gives a vivid description of the battle.

3. ʿAlī b. Naṣr b. ʿAlī b. Ṣahbān b. Abī al-Jahḍamī al-Baṣrī died in 187/802–3. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 390.

4. Died in 252/866–67. Ibid., VI, 443–44.

Wārith][5]—Abān al-ʿAṭṭār[6]—Hishām b. ʿUrwah[7]—ʿUrwah:[8] The Prophet had been staying in Mecca[9] during the year of its conquest for only a fortnight[10] when [he received the news that the clans of] Hawāzin and Thaqīf[11] [were marching against Mecca and] had already encamped at Ḥunayn intending to fight him. Ḥunayn is a valley next to Dhū al-Majāz.[12] Both the aforementioned tribes had assembled before [their march] after hearing about the Messenger of God's departure from Medina,[13] thinking that he was intending [to invade] them. When they learned that he had occupied Mecca, Hawāzin marched against him [to Mecca] with their women, children, and possessions. Their leader was Mālik b. ʿAwf[14] from the Banū Naṣr.[15] [The clans of] Thaqīf joined forces with them and encamped at Ḥunayn intending to fight the Prophet. When the Prophet, still in Mecca, was informed about them he decided to march against them.[16] He met them at Ḥunayn, and God, the Great and Mighty, inflicted defeat on

5. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith b. Saʿīd al-ʿAnbarī al-Baṣrī died ca. 206/821–22. Ibid., VI, 327–28; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah*, I, 344.

6. Abān b. Yazīd al-ʿAṭṭār al-Baṣrī. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 101–2.

7. Hishām b. ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr died ca. 164/780–81. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 133; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 48–51; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah*, I, 144–45 (died in 146/763); Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 88; Duri, *Rise*, 46, 78, 143, 147.

8. ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr, whose mother was Asmāʾ bt. Abī Bakr, died in 94/712–13. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 31–35; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah*, I, 62–63; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 278–79; Duri, *Rise*, passim.

9. See *EI*[2], s.v. Makka; Fahd, *Panthéon*, 203 ff.

10. Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 364): Twelve days.

11. A tribe settled in the district of al-Ṭāʾif which was their urban center. Most of the Thaqīf consider themselves descendants of Hawāzin, probably due to their common interests and geographical proximity. *EI*[1], s.v. Thaḳīf; Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 118.

12. A marketplace of Hudhayl about 6 km from ʿArafah. Hamdānī, *Ṣifat*, I, 180; Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, IV, 1185; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 55.

13. See *EI*[2], s.v. al-Madīna; Philby, *Pilgrim*, 50–92, gives a good description of its surroundings.

According to Wāqidī, Ibn Saʿd, and Ibn al-Athīr, Hawāzın and Thaqīf decided to march against Mecca because they feared that after the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet might confront them. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 364.

14. A Bedouin chief of the powerful Qaysī tribes of Hawāzin who owed his fame to the battle of Ḥunayn. He was thirty years old when he commanded the forces of Hawāzin and Thaqīf. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 885; *EI*[2], s.v. Mālik. b. ʿAwf; Sezgın, *GAS*, II, 268.

15. A Group of Hawāzin tribes. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 115.

16. The Prophet left Mecca on Saturday, the seventh of Shawwāl and reached Ḥunayn on Tuesday evening, the tenth of Shawwāl. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 108.

them. God has mentioned this battle in the Qur'ān.[17] Since they had marched with their women, children, and flocks, God granted [1655] them as booty to His Messenger, who divided the spoils among those Quraysh who had [recently] embraced Islam.

Ibn Ḥumayd[18]—Salamah[19]—Ibn Isḥāq:[20] When Hawāzin heard about the Messenger of God and that God had given him victory over Mecca, Mālik b. 'Awf al-Naṣrī gathered [his people] together. With Hawāzin, all of Thaqīf joined him, followed by all Naṣr and Jusham,[21] Sa'd b. Bakr,[22] and a few people from the Banū Hilāl.[23] These [clans] were the only ones from Qays 'Aylān[24] who participated [in Ḥunayn]. Neither Ka'b[25] nor Kilāb[26] from Hawāzin participated, and no one of any importance from [these tribes] took part in the battle. Among Jusham was Durayd b. al-Ṣimmah,[27] a very old chieftain whose only use [for the others] was to derive blessing from his counsel and his knowledge of war because he was an experienced old chieftain. Thaqīf had two leaders: Qārib b. al-Aswad b. Mas'ūd [b. Mu'attib][28] over the Aḥlāf

17. Because of their great number, the Muslims were elated, and one of the companions remarked, "Today we will not be overpowered on account of small numbers." Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 889; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 108 (it was Abū Bakr who made the above remark); Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 365 (it was either Abū Bakr or someone else); Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, II, 263 (it was the Prophet himself who made the above remark).

After the initial setback, the Muslims rallied around the Prophet and won the battle. Qur'ān 9:25–26, stating that the Muslims were elated with joy at their great numbers, was revealed after the victory. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte*, I, 224.

18. Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd b. Ḥayyān al-Rāzī al-Tamīmī died in al-Rayy in 248/862. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 127–31; Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 259–64.

19. Salamah b. al-Faḍl al-Anṣārī died in 191/806. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 153–54.

20. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār, one of the main authorities on the life of the Prophet, died in Baghdād ca. 150/767. *EI*², s.v. Ibn Isḥāk; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 288–90; Duri, *Rise*, passim.

21. A group of Hawāzin tribes. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 116; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 270.

22. A group of Hawāzin tribes. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 265.

23. A group of Hawāzin tribes. Ibid., 273.

24. One of the two subdivisions of Muḍar reckoned as constituting the sons of 'Adnān, the so-called Northern Arabs. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 92; *EI*², s.v. Ḳays 'Aylān.

25. A clan of Hawāzin. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 288–92.

26. A clan of Hawāzin. Ibid., 282–88.

27. A leader of the Banū Jusham, and one of the most powerful Bedouin opponents of Muḥammad, was considered as the greatest *fāris* poet. *EI*², s.v. Durayd b. al-Ṣimma; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 267–68.

28. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

(confederates),[29] and Dhū al-Khimār Subay' b. al-Ḥārith [b. Mālik][30] called al-Aḥmar b. al-Ḥārith, over the Banū Mālik.[31] The general command was in the hands of Mālik b. 'Awf al-Naṣrī.

When Mālik [b. 'Awf] decided to march against the Messenger of God, he took with his men their possessions, wives, and children. After making camp at Awṭās,[32] the men gathered around him. Among them was Durayd b. al-Ṣimmah, who was carried in
[1656] a howdah (*shijār*).[33] As soon as he had encamped he inquired what valley they were in. When he was told that it was Awṭās, he said: "What a wonderful place for cavalry! Neither a rugged hill, nor a soft lowland full of dust. But why do I hear the groaning of camels, the braying of asses, the bleating of sheep, and the crying of children?" They told him that Mālik b. 'Awf had brought his men's children, wives, and possessions. He inquired where Mālik was and summoned him.[34] Then he said, "O Mālik, you have become the leader of your people. Indeed, this is a battle which will have great consequences. Yet why do I hear the groaning of camels, the braying of asses, the bleating of sheep, and the crying of children?" When Mālik replied that he had brought them with the men, Durayd inquired the reason. Mālik explained [that his purpose in bringing them] was to put every man's family and possessions behind him, so that he would fight [to the death] in their defense. Durayd made a sound[35] [indicating his dismay] and said, "By God, [you are] a sheep-tender. [Do you think] that anything will turn back a fleeing man? If everything goes in your favor, nothing will help you except a man with his sword and lance; if it goes against you, then you will be disgraced with your family and possessions." [Then Durayd inquired][36] what had hap-

29. Thaqīf is subdivided into two branches: al-Aḥlāf and Banū Mālik. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 374; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. ḥ-l-f.

30. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

31. Corrected from Wāqidī. Text: Dhū al-Khimār Subay' b. al-Ḥārith over the Banū Mālik, and his brother al-Aḥmar b. al-Ḥārith over the Banū Hilāl.

32. A valley in the Hawāzin territory where the battle of Ḥunayn took place. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, I, 212: Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 281.

33. It signifies the wooden frame of the howdah which when covered becomes a howdah. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. sh-j-r.

34. As in S. Text: He was summoned.

35. Wāqidī: Durayd clasped his hands. I prefer this reading.

36. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

pened to Ka'b and Kilāb. When he was told that not a single person from those two clans were present, he said, "Bravery and ardor are missing. Were it a day of noble and lofty deeds, Ka'b and Kilāb would not have stayed away. I wish that you had done what they have done!" Then he asked what clans were with them. When told [that they were] 'Amr b. 'Āmir and 'Awf b. 'Āmir, he replied, "Those two clans are recently formed branches of the Banū 'Āmir[37] and can neither be useful nor harmful. O Mālik, you have done no good by sending forward the best troops of Hawāzin [1657] [to meet] the main body of the cavalry. Dispatch them to the high and inaccessible parts of their land and meet the apostates (*al-ṣubbā'*)[38] on horseback. If the battle goes in your favor, those in the rear can join you, and if it goes against you, you will have saved your families and possessions."[39] Mālik replied, "By God, I won't do [it].[40] You are an old, senile man, and your senility has affected your judgment. O people of Hawāzin, you will either obey me, or I will lean on this sword until it comes out of my back." He detested giving Durayd any say or credit in the matter. [The people responded by saying that they would obey him.][41]

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37. A clan of Hawāzin. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 272, 281.

38. *Al-Ṣābi'ūn*, pl. of *al-Ṣābi'*, is used in the Qur'ān 2:62; 5:69, 22:17, but not the pl. *al-Ṣubbā'*. Various explanations have been given as to who they were. The Sabaeans mentioned in the Qur'ān, and placed along with the Jews and Christians, are apparently the Mandaeans, a Judaeo-Christian sect practicing the rite of baptism in Mesopotamia. They were also called Christians of John the Baptist. The pagan Sabaeans of Ḥarrān may have adopted this name to secure toleration accorded by the Qur'ān. *EI*[1], s.v. al-Ṣābi'a; Andrae, *Mohammed*, 108–9; Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 146; Blachère, *Coran* (the above verses). For *al-Ṣābi'ah* today see *al-Majallah: The International News Magazine of the Arabs*, no. 354, Nov. 19–25, 1986, 49–53.

The lexicographers and some commentators of the Qur'ān, on the other hand, explain that the term means one who departs from his religion to another. They further state that this appelation was first given to Muḥammad because he departed from the religion of Quraysh, and that it was applied later to those who embraced Islam. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, II, 145–47; Ṭabarsī, *Majma'*, I, 126; Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. ṣ-b-'; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ṣ-b-'; Shahrastānī, *Milal*, II, 61–63 (gives slightly different explanation).

39. Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 886–89) states that Durayd was very old and had almost lost his eyesight. Despite his warning, the Hawāzin stayed with Mālik because they feared that if they disobeyed him, Mālik, being a young man, might kill himself, and then they would be left with an old man, Durayd, who might not fight.

40. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

41. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

Durayd, therefore, retorted by saying that the [coming] battle was one he would not witness [as a warrior] and would not miss, [and recited]:

Would that I were young!
I would ride gently and advance
Leading long and bushy-haired steeds
As if they were young ewes.

Durayd was the chief of the Banū Jusham, their leader and the noblest of them, but old age had overtaken him to the point that he had become feeble. His full lineage was Durayd b. al-Ṣimmah b. Bakr b. ʿAlqamah b. Judāʿah b. Ghaziyyah b. Jusham b.
[1658] Muʿāwiyah b. Bakr b. Hawāzin. Then Mālik told his men that when they saw the foe they should break their scabbards and charge them as one man.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Umayyah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān: [I was told] that Mālik b. ʿAwf sent out spies to keep watch and to obtain intelligence of the enemy, but that they came back with their joints dislocated. When Mālik, expressing his distress, asked what had happened to them, they said, "We saw white men on black and white horses, and, by God, before we could resist we were struck as you see."[42] [This news], however, did not deter Mālik from pursuing the course he intended.

Ibn Isḥāq states: When the Messenger of God heard about Hawāzin and Thaqīf, he sent ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Ḥadrad al-Aslamī[43] to them and ordered him to mingle with the crowds and to stay there until he could gather information about them and bring back news of them. Ibn Abī Ḥadrad, therefore, went and mingled with them and stayed with them until he learned that they had decided to fight the Messenger of God. He also learned about the dispositions of Mālik and Hawāzin and what they had decided. He then returned and informed the Messenger of God. The Mes-

42. They were three men. Mālik detained them on their return, fearing that his men might be scared at the news. He then sent another person to gather intelligence and he too met with the same fate. Wāqidī, *Maghāzi*, III, 892; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 108.

43. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 108.

senger of God called for 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb[44] and informed him about what Ibn Abī Ḥadrad had told him. Thereupon 'Umar said that he was lying. Ibn Abī Ḥadrad replied, "O 'Umar, you may accuse me of lying, but you denied the truth for a long time."[45] 'Umar said, "O Messenger of God, do you not hear[46] what Ibn Abī Ḥadrad says?" The Messenger of God answered, "You were in error and God guided you, O 'Umar."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn:[47] When the Messenger of God [1659] decided to march against Hawāzin, he was told that Ṣafwān b. Umayyah[48] had armor and weapons. Therefore, he sent to him, although he was at that time a polytheist, saying, "Lend us these weapons of yours so that we may fight our enemy tomorrow." Ṣafwān said to the messenger, "[Are you demanding them] by force, O Muḥammad?" The Messenger of God replied, "[No,] just [lend them] to us as a loan and a trust until such time as we return them to you." Ṣafwān said that in that case he did not have any objection and gave one hundred coats of mail with an adequate supply of arms. They allege that the Messenger of God asked him to provide for its transport and that he complied with the request.

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī states: Thus it became a *sunnah*[49] that a loan with a guarantee [of its return] must be returned [or paid back].[50]

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44. He was the second caliph and is considered the second founder of Islam. He was assassinated in 23/644. See *EI*[1], s.v. 'Omar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

45. Ibn Isḥāq: O 'Umar, if you accuse me of lying, then many a time you have denied the truth. You have accused the one who is better than me [i.e., the Prophet] of lying. Wāqidī: You accuse me of lying, then many a time you have denied the truth.

46. Wāqidī: Do you hear?

47. The fifth Shī'ī imām, and a recognized authority on tradition, was the grandson of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. On account of his learning he was given the honorific title *al-Bāqir* (one who goes deep into things). See *EI*[1], s.v. Muḥammad b. 'Alī.

48. He fought the Muslim army entering Mecca, then surrendered. He died during 'Uthmān's caliphate (23–35/644–56). Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 25–110 passim, III/1, 167; III/2, 79, 95; IV/1, 15, 146, 147; V, 16, 338.

49. Usually, it means exemplary behavior, custom, or practice. Generally, it is used as *sunnah* of the Prophet, meaning his deeds, utterances, and unspoken approval of something. These actions and sayings of the Prophet were later established as legally binding precedents. See *EI*[1], s.v. Sunna.

50. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, II, 122; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), I, 632.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr:[51] The Messenger of God marched with two thousand Meccans and ten thousand of his companions [who had marched with him and][52] with whose support God had facilitated the conquest of Mecca. Thus they were twelve thousand in all. The Messenger of God placed 'Attāb b. Asīd b. Abī al-'Īṣ b. Umayyah b. 'Abd Shams[53] in charge of Mecca [to look after] the men who stayed behind while he proceeded to confront Hawāzin.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah[54]—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir[55]—his father [Jābir b. 'Abdallāh]:[56] When we approached the valley of Ḥunayn, we descended through a valley of the Tihāmah[57] [which was] wide and sloping. We descended gradually in the twilight of daybreak after the enemy had preceded [us].[58] We were waylaid by them in its bypaths, sidetracks, and narrow passes. They had collected [themselves] and were fully prepared. By God, were we frightened! As we were descending, the squadrons made their assault upon us like one man. [Our] people were routed and fled, no one turning around to look back at the other. The Messenger of God withdrew to the right [of the valley] and cried, "Where are you, O men? Come to me! I am the Messenger of God! I am Muḥammad the son of 'Abdallāh!" [It was of] no avail. The camels bumped

[1660]

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51. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī died in 130/747–48, or 135/752–53. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 164–65; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 284; Duri, *Rise*, 27, 34.

52. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

53. He was a young man from the clan of Umayyah and had accepted Islam after the Meccans surrendered. He kept his position until his death in 13/634 [according to Wāqidī], or in 22/642–43 [according to Ṭabarī]. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/1, 105; V, 330; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 89–90.

54. 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah al-Anṣārī, who transmitted the traditions from Jābir b. 'Abdallāh and Anas b. Mālik, was one of the early scholars of the *sīrah* and died ca. 120/738. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/2, 26; V, 257; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 53–54; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 279–80; Duri, *Rise*, 27, 34.

55. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 153.

56. A companion of the Prophet, and one of the main transmitters of traditions, who swore allegiance to the Prophet at the first 'Aqabah meeting. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/2, 114, states that he did not leave behind any progeny; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 433–34.

57. The narrow strip of lowland along the southwestern coast of Arabia is called the Tihāmah, and its greatest breadth is in the hinterland of Jiddah. *EI*[1], s.v. Tihāma.

58. Addition from Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

into one another and the men ran away except a few from among the *Muhājirūn*,[59] the *Anṣār*,[60] and [the Prophet's] own family, who remained with the Messenger of God. Among the *Muhājirūn* who stood firm with him were Abū Bakr[61] and 'Umar; from his family were 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,[62] al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib[63] and his son al-Faḍl,[64] Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith,[65] Rabī'ah b. al-Ḥārith,[66] Ayman b. 'Ubayd [who is Ayman b. Umm Ayman],[67] and Usāmah b. Zayd b. Ḥārithah.[68]

A man of Hawāzin on a red camel [who was carrying] in his hand a black banner mounted on the head of a long lance was leading his men. When he overtook someone, he pushed him

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59. The Emigrants, an appellation applied in the Qur'ān to those followers of Muḥammad who had migrated from Mecca to Medina with him. *EI*[1], s.v. Muhādjirūn.

60. The Helpers, the designation of those who supported Muḥammad in Medina. *EI*[2], s.v. Anṣār.

61. He was the first caliph and died in 13/634. See *EI*[2], s.v. Abū Bakr.

62. Cousin and son-in-law of Muḥammad, first Shī'ī imām and fourth caliph, was assassinated in al-Kūfah in 40/661. See *EI*[2], s.v. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; *EIr*, s.v. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭāleb.

63. An uncle of the Prophet who had participated in warfare against the Muslims at Badr. He joined Muḥammad as he was marching on Mecca and died ca. 32/653. *EI*[2], s.v. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

64. He took part in washing of the Prophet (see Ṭabarī below, I, 1830). The authorities differ as to when he died; some state that he died during the caliphate of Abū Bakr, while others state that he died during the caliphate of 'Umar. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, V, 375–76; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 280.

65. He was the Prophet's cousin. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 109, 112; IV/1, 11; VIII, 32, 34. Ibn Isḥāq adds the name of his son [Ja'far] to the above list, but Ibn Hishām comments that according to some authorities it was Qutham, the son of al-'Abbās. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 85–86.

66. He was the Prophet's cousin and died at the beginning of 'Umar's caliphate. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 109; IV/1, 10, 31, 32–33; VIII, 31; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 253–54.

Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 365, adds the following names to this list: 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib, al-Zubayr, and 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr.

67. He is Ayman b. 'Ubayd b. Zayd al-Khazrajī (from Balḥārith of Khazraj), hence Wāqidī lists him with the *Anṣār*. His mother Umm Ayman used to look after Muḥammad as a child. She had accompanied Āminah, Muḥammad's mother, to Medina when she visited her family. She died shortly after the Prophet's death. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 922; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/1, 73; II/1, 109; Dhahabī, *'Ibar*, I, 13.

68. The son of Zayd b. al-Ḥārithah, the Prophet's freedman, was born in the fourth year of the mission. Just before his death, the Prophet put him in command of an expedition to avenge his fallen father at Mu'tah (see Ṭabarī below, I, 1794). *EI*[1], s.v. Usāma b. Zayd; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 473–76.

with his lance. When the people escaped from his lance he lifted it to those behind him so that they would follow him. When [the Muslims] were put to flight and the uncouth fellows from Mecca who were with the Messenger of God saw [the Muslims] in total disarray, some of them spoke [in such a way as to disclose] the hatred they had harbored [against one another]. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb[69] said, "Their stampede will not stop until they reach the ocean!" He had the divining arrows with him in his quiver. Kaladah b. al-Ḥanbal,[70] who was present with his half-brother Ṣafwān b. Umayyah b. Khalaf, shouted, "Indeed, sorcery is useless today." Ṣafwān, who was at that time [still] a polytheist during a
[1661] grace period granted him by the Messenger of God, said to him, "Shut up! May God smash your mouth! By God, I would prefer to be ruled by a man from Quraysh rather than a man from Hawāzin!"

Shaybah b. 'Uthmān b. Abī Talḥah,[71] a brother of the Banū 'Abd al-Dār,[72] said, "Today I will avenge my father's death [from Muḥammad][73] (for his father was killed at Uḥud).[74] Today I will kill Muhammad. I made for the Messenger of God in order to kill him,[75] but something happened. I was overcome by a state of

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69. He was a prominent Meccan merchant and an arch opponent of Muḥammad. When the Prophet marched on Mecca, he came out and submitted, and the Prophet guaranteed safety to those who took refuge with him. He died ca. 32/653. *EI*[2], s.v. Abū Sufyān.

70. His mother was a black woman. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 910; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 338.

71. He had taken a vow with Ṣafwān, after they had joined the Muslims marching to Ḥunayn, that they would avenge themselves upon Muḥammad. The reason for that was that Ṣafwān's father Umayyah b. Khalaf was killed at Badr, while Shaybah's father 'Uthmān b. Abī Ṭalḥah was killed at Uḥud. Wāqidī describes vividly how Shaybah made for the Prophet in order to kill him, but he was protected by his uncle 'Abbās from the right and by his cousin Abū Sufyān from the left. See Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 909–10; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 28.

72. A clan of Quraysh and the descendants of 'Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 4, 17; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 125–28; see below (n. 1370 to Ṭabarī, I, 1827).

73. Addition from Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

74. A mountain about three miles north of Medina, celebrated for the battle fought there in 3/624–25 which ended unfavorably for the Muslims, *EI*[1], s.v. Oḥod; Ḥamīdullāh, *Battlefields*, 22–28 (gives its topography and a map of the battlefield).

75. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Ibn al-Athīr: I went around him to kill him.

inertness and was unable to do it. I then realized that he was protected from me."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī[76]—Kathīr b. al-'Abbās[77]—his father al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib: I was with the Messenger of God, holding the bit of his white mule which I myself had inserted into the mule's mouth. I was a big man with a strong voice. The Messenger of God was saying when he saw his men in disarray, "Where are you, O men?" When he saw that they did not pay heed [to him] he said, "O 'Abbās, cry loudly, 'O community of the *Anṣār*, O comrades of the Acacia Tree (*al-samurah*)!'"[78] 'Abbās did as requested and they answered, "Here we are, here we are!"[79] Each man would try to turn his camel but could not do so; then he would take his armor and throw it on [his camel's] neck, take his sword and shield, and leap from his mount, letting it go its own way. Then he would follow the voice until he came to the Messenger of God. Finally, a hundred men gathered around [the Prophet]; they confronted the enemy, and fought.[80] At first the cry was "O for the *Anṣār*! [i.e., help the *Anṣār*]" and finally "O for Khazraj!"[81] They were steadfast in the battle, and the Messenger of God, standing in his [1662] stirups, looked down at the brave warriors as they were fighting and said, "Now, the fighting is fierce (*ḥamiya al-waṭīs*)."[82]

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76. Muḥammad b. Muslim b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī, a celebrated traditionist and a historian, died in 124/742. *EI*[1], s.v. al-Zuhrī; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 280–83; Duri, *Rise*, passim.

77. He was a traditionist and a skilled *faqīh*. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/1, 2.

78. Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 109) adds: O people of *Sūrat al-Baqarah*.

Al-Samurah, considered as an abode of a deity, was a sacred tree. The sanctuary of *al-'Uzzā*, an old Arabian goddess, in the valley of Nakhlah (on the road from al-Ṭā'if to Mecca), consisted of three *samurah* trees, in one of which she had revealed herself. It was also a tree under which the pledge of *al-Riḍwān* took place at the time of al-Ḥudaybiyah. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, III, 330; *EI*[1], s.v. al-'Uzzā; Ryckmans, *Religions*, 8, 15; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 33, 35, 46, 51.

79. Wāqidī, and Ibn Sa'd: They turned back as if they were camels yearning for their young ones, saying, "Here we are, here we are!"

80. The group consisting of thirty-three *Muhājirūn* and sixty-seven *Anṣār* was proclaimed by Gabriel as "The Hundred Steadfast People." Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 900–902.

81. One of the two main Arab tribes in Medina, who were more enthusiastic Muslims than the other tribe of al-Aws. *EI*[1], s.v. Khazradj.

82. Literally, it means the oven became vehemently hot. It is used as a proverb for a fierce fighting. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ḥ-m-y.

Hārūn b. Isḥāq[83]—Muṣ'ab b. al-Miqdām[84]—Isrā'īl[85]—Abū Isḥāq[86]—al-Barā':[87] Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith was leading the Prophet's mule [by its halter] on the day of Ḥunayn. When the polytheists overwhelmed [the Muslims], the Prophet got off his mount and started reciting verses (in the *rajaz* meter):

I am the Prophet, it is no lie,
I am the son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib!

No man stronger than him was ever seen.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir—his father Jābir b. 'Abdallāh: While that man from Hawāzin, the banner-holder on his camel, was doing what he did, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and a man from the *Anṣār*[88] came down making for him. 'Alī came upon him from behind and hamstrung his camel so that it fell on its backside; the *Anṣārī* jumped on the man and struck him a blow which cut off his foot[89] and half of his shank, and he was thrown from his saddle.[90] The men fought and, by God, when those who had fled returned they found captives [already] bound. The Messenger of God turned to Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who was one of those who stood fast with him that day and who became an excellent Muslim when he embraced Islam, as he was holding the

83. Hārūn b. Isḥāq b. Muḥammad al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī died in 285/898. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 2–3.

84. Muṣ'ab b. al-Miqdām al-Khath'amī al-Kūfī died in 203/818–19. Ibid., X, 165–66.

85. Isrā'īl b. Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq al-Sabī'ī al-Kūfī died in 162/778. Ibid., I, 261–63; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah*, I, 214–15; idem, *Mīzān*, I, 208–10.

86. Abū Isḥāq 'Amr b. 'Abdallāh al-Sabī'ī al-Kūfī died in 127/745. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 63–67; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah*, I, 114–16; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 283.

87. Al-Barā' b. 'Āzib b. al-Ḥārith al-Awsī al-Anṣārī was a companion of the Prophet. He espoused the cause of 'Alī and fought with him at the Battle of the Camel, Ṣiffīn, and Nahrawān, and died in al-Kūfah ca. 72/691–92. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/2, 80–83; VI, 10; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 425–26; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 63; *EI*², s.v. al-Barā' b. 'Āzib.

88. He was Abū Dujānah. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 902.

89. S: Which sent his foot flying.

90. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 902, adds that another man from the Hawāzin came to his rescue, but he too was killed. 'Alī, Abū Dujānah, Ayman, and 'Uthmān were fighting in front of the Prophet.

crupper of the [Messenger of God's] saddle and asked who it was. He replied, "Your mother's son,[91] O Messenger of God."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: [1663] The Messenger of God turned and saw Umm Sulaym bt. Milḥān[92] who was with her husband Abū Ṭalḥah.[93] She had wrapped her waist with a garment and was pregnant with [her son] 'Abdallāh b. Abī Ṭalḥah. She had her husband's camel with her and was afraid that it would overpower her, so she drew its head close to her and put her hand in its halter with the nose-ring. The Messenger of God cried, "[Are you] Umm Sulaym?" She replied, "Yes, may you be ransomed with my father and with my mother, O Messenger of God! Kill those who flee from you as you kill those who fight you, for they deserve it." The Messenger of God replied, "Rather, God will suffice, O Umm Sulaym." She had a dagger in her hand. Her husband [was amazed and] asked her what it was, and she replied, "A dagger. I took it with me. If a polytheist had come close to me I would have slit open [his belly] with it!" He said, "O Messenger of God, do you hear what Umm Sulaym says?"

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Ḥammād b. Salamah[94]—Isḥāq b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Ṭalḥah[95]—Anas b. Mālik:[96] On the day of Ḥunayn, Abū Ṭalḥah alone took the spoils of twenty men whom he had killed.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—his father [Isḥāq b. Yasār][97]—Jubayr b. Muṭ'im:[98] Before the people fled and

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91. "Mother" is used here in the sense of a grandmother. It is also said that he answered, "Your brother, may my father and mother be your ransom, Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith." Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 900.

92. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 902–4; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/1, 86; V, 53–54.

93. He was an archer and fought with the Prophet at Badr, Uḥud, and other battles. He died in 34/654–55. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/2, 64–66.

94. Ḥammād b. Salamah b. Dīnār al-Baṣrī died in 167/783–84. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 11–16.

95. He was an *Anṣārī* and died ca. 132/749–50. Ibid., I, 239–40.

96. A companion of the Prophet and one of the most prolific traditionists died in al-Baṣrah between 91/709 and 93/711. He was given by his mother to the Prophet as a servant after the *hijrah* when he was ten years old. *EI*[2], s.v. Anas b. Mālik.

97. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 257.

98. Jubayr b. Muṭ'im b. 'Adī b. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf accepted Islam after the conquest of Mecca and died between 56/675–76 and 59/678–79. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 360; VIII, 39–40; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 63–64.

men were [still] fighting one another I saw something like a black striped garment descending from the sky until it dropped between us and the enemy. I gazed, and lo, it was [a mass of] black ants strewn [everywhere], which filled the valley. I had no doubt that they were angels and that the enemy would be routed.[99]

[1664] Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: After Hawāzin were routed, the killing of the Banū Mālik from among Thaqīf was heavy and seventy of them were killed beneath their banner.[100] Among those [killed] were ʿUthmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Rabīʿah b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥubayyib, grandfather of Ibn Umm Ḥakam b. Abī Sufyān.[101] Their banner was with Dhū al-Khimār. When he was killed, ʿUthmān b. ʿAbdallāh took it and fought by it until he was killed too.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿĀmir b. Wahb b. al-Aswad b. Masʿūd: When [the news of] ʿUthmān's death reached the Messenger of God he said, "May God deprive him of His mercy! He used to hate the Quraysh."

ʿAlī b. Sahl[102]—Muʾammil[103]—ʿUmārah b. Zādān[104]—Thābit[105]—Anas [b. Mālik]: On the day of Ḥunayn, the Prophet was riding a white mule called Duldul.[106] When the Muslims fled, the Prophet said to his mule, "Duldul, cling [to this place]!" The mule laid its belly on the ground. The Prophet took a handful of dust and tossed it in the faces of the enemy, saying, "*Ḥā Mīm*,[107]

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99. The angels fought with the Muslims at Badr and their sign was white turbans flowing behind them. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 285–86; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 905–6.

100. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 907, states that a hundred of them were killed.

101. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 380.

102. ʿAlī b. Sahl b. Qādim, also called Ibn Mūsā al-Ḥarashī, died in 261/874–75. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 329.

103. Muʾammil b. Ismāʿīl al-ʿAdawī died in 206/821–22. Ibid., X, 380–81.

104. ʿUmārah b. Zādān al-Ṣaydalānī al-Baṣrī. Ibid., VII, 416–17.

105. Thābit b. Aslam al-Banānī al-Baṣrī died in 123/740–41 or 127/744–45. Ibid., II, 2–4.

106. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 897; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 109; see Ṭabarī below, I, 1783.

107. At the battle of Badr, the Prophet took a handful of small pebbles, turned toward Quraysh, and threw at them, saying, "May God render their faces ugly!" Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 280.

Ḥā Mīm are the beginning letters of *sūrah* 46. Scholars differ widely in their interpretation of these mysterious letters at the beginning of certain *sūrah*s. Some

they will not be victorious!"[108] The polytheists retreated; no sword was drawn, no arrow was shot, and no lance was thrust.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ya'qūb b. 'Utbah b. al-Mughīrah b. al-Akhnas:[109] With 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh, his young, uncircumcised Christian slave was [also] killed. While one of the *Anṣāris*[110] was plundering the slain of Thaqīf, he stripped the slave and found that he was uncircumcised. He yelled at the top of his voice, "[O you Arabs,][111] God knows that [1665] Thaqīf are uncircumcised!" Mughīrah b. Shu'bah[112] seized him by his hand, for he was afraid that [this news] about them would get out among the Arabs. He swore by his parents and begged him not to say it [to anyone], for the man concerned was only a Christian slave of theirs. He then started to uncover the slain and showed him that they were circumcised.

The Aḥlāf's banner was with Qārib b. al-Aswad b. Mas'ūd. When they were routed, he leaned it against a tree, and fled with his cousins and his people; hence only two men of the Aḥlāf were slain, one called Wahb from the Banū Ghiyarah,[113] the other

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see them as abbreviations of God's names, while others see them as abbreviations of the *basmalah*. Yet some others offer a variety of explanations ranging from mystical signs to numerical values.

Western scholars, beginning with Nöldeke, have also attempted various explanations, none satisfactory or convincing. Nöldeke (*Geschichte*, 215f.) suggested that they were the initials of the owners of the manuscripts used by Zayd when he first compiled the Qur'ān. Later he abandoned this hypothesis and adopted a view that they were meaningless symbols (Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte*, II, 68–78). Loth ("Korancommentar") advocated an abbreviation theory, that is, that the letters are cabalistic symbols standing for certain key words and phrases in the *sūrahs* and that they are part of the revelation. Bellamy ("Mysterious letters") proposed that those letters are abbreviations for the *basmalah*. Watt, *Bell's introduction*, 61–65; Blachère, *Introduction*, 140–49.

108. Wāqidī: They will be vanquished, by the Lord of the Ka'bah. Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 113) reports that when the Prophet tossed dust in the faces of the enemy, their eyes became full of dust and they heard a rattling sound.

109. He was a *faqīh* in Medina and died in 128/745–46. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 392.

110. According to Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 911, he was Abū Ṭalḥah.

111. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq. Wāqidī: O you the *Anṣār*, I swear by God . . . .

112. He is known as one of the chief *dāhiyyahs* (one who could get himself out of the most hopeless difficulty) of his time and died between 48/668 and 51/671. *EI*[1], s.v. al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba.

113. The Banū Ghiyarah b. 'Awf b. Thaqīf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 377; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 268.

called al-Julāḥ[114] from the Banū Kunnah.[115] When [the news] of al-Julāḥ's death reached the Messenger of God he said, "Today the leader of Thaqīf's youth has been slain except for Ibn Hunaydah." "Ibn Hunaydah" was al-Ḥārith b. Aws.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: After the polytheists were defeated, they came to al-Ṭā'if[116] while Mālik b. 'Awf was with them. Some of them encamped in Awṭās, while the Banū Ghiyarah[117] of Thaqīf went toward Nakhlah.[118] The Messenger of God's cavalry followed those who went to Nakhlah, but not those who took to the narrow passes. Rabī'ah b. Rufay' b. Uhbān b. Tha'labah b. Rabī'ah b. Yarbū' b. Sammāl[119] b. 'Awf b. Imr al-
[1666] Qays, who was called Ibn Ladh'ah after his mother, overtook Durayd b. al-Ṣimmah and seized his camel by its halter, thinking that he was a woman because he was in a howdah. But lo, it was a man. He made the camel kneel down beside him and [found that] the man was very old. He was Durayd b. al-Ṣimmah, [but] the young man did not know him. Durayd asked him what he wanted to do with him. The young man replied that he wanted to kill him. Durayd asked him who he was, and he replied that he was Rabī'ah b. Rufay' al-Sulamī. He then struck him with his sword, but to no effect. Thereupon Durayd said, "What a poor weapon your mother has armed you with! Take this sword of mine that is at the rear of the saddle in the howdah and strike me with it above the spine but below the brain, for I used to slay men in that way. Then when you go to your mother inform her that you have killed Durayd b. al-Ṣimmah. By God, how many times I have protected your women!" The Banū Sulaym allege that Rabī'ah said, "When I delivered him the blow, his clothes fell open, and lo, his perineum and the interior of his thighs were like paper from riding horses unsaddled." When Rabī'ah returned to his mother, he in-

114. Wāqidī: Al-Lajlāj.

115. Ibn Isḥāq: Banū Kubbah. The Banū Kunnah were from the Ghāmidī tribe of Yemen. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 907; Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. gh-m-d.

116. A town seventy-five miles southeast of Mecca about five thousand feet above sea level in the mountains of Sarāt. *EI*[1], s.v. Ṭā'if; Ḥamīdullāh, *Battlefields*, 43–45.

117. S and Wāqidī: Banū 'Anazah.

118. A valley about two nights' journey from Mecca. Hamdānī, *Ṣifat*, I, 127, 173; Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, IV, 1304; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 277.

119. S and Ibn Ḥazm (*Jamharah*, 262): Simāk.

formed her that he had killed [Durayd] and she said, "By God, he set free three mothers of yours."[120]

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: The Messenger of God sent [his men] in pursuit of those who went toward Awṭās. Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kindī[121]—Abū Usāmah[122]—Burayd b. 'Abdallāh[123]—Abū Burdah[124]—his father [Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī]:[125] When the Prophet came from Ḥunayn, he sent Abū 'Āmir [al-Ash'arī][126] with an army to Awṭās. He encountered Durayd b. al-Ṣimmah [1667] and killed him[127] and God routed Durayd's companions.

Abū Mūsā [al-Ash'arī]: The Messenger of God sent me with Abū 'Āmir. When Abū 'Āmir was hit by an arrow, which stuck in his knee, shot by a man from the Banū Jusham,[128] I came to him and said, "O uncle, who shot you?" Pointing to the man, he said, "That one is my killer! You see him, that one shot me!" Abū Mūsā went after him and overtook him, but when the man saw

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120. Wāqidī adds: "At one early morning and sheared off your father's forelock." The youth replied, "I was not aware of [it]."

121. Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'īd b. Masrūq al-Kindī al-Kūfī died in 258/871–72. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 355–56.

122. Ḥammād b. Usāmah b. Zayd al-Qurashī al-Kūfī died in 201/816–17. Ibid., III, 2–3.

123. Burayd b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Burdah b. Abī Mūsā al-Ash'arī. Ibid., I, 431–32.

124. Abū Burdah 'Āmir b. Abī Mūsā al-Ash'arī was one of the first *qāḍīs* of al-Kūfah and died in 103/721–22 or 104/722–23. *EI*², s.v. al-Ash'arī, Abū Burda.

125. He was from Yemen, and after accepting Islam migrated to Abyssinia and returned to Medina on the conquest of Khaybar. He is known as a lukewarm supporter of 'Alī, whom he represented as an arbiter after the battle of Ṣiffīn, but he was outwitted by 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. He died ca. 42/662–63. *EI*², s.v. al-Ash'arī, Abū Mūsā.

126. He had accepted Islam before the conquest of Mecca. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/2, 75; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 144.

127. It conflicts with the preceding report that Durayd was killed by Rabī'ah b. Rufay'. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 97, comments that the person who killed Durayd was 'Abdallāh b. Qunay' b. Uhbān b. Tha'labah b. Rabī'ah. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 366, reports that Abū 'Āmir was killed by Ibn Durayd b. al-Ṣimmah, who in turn was killed by al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ash'arī.

128. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 99–100, states that he was shot by two brothers, al-'Alā' and Awfā, sons of al-Ḥārith from the Banū Jusham b. Mu'āwiyah. One arrow hit his heart, while the other hit his knee. Abū Mūsā attacked and killed both of them. Ibn Hishām adds another note describing Abū 'Āmir's bravery and states that he was challenged to a duel by ten men, all of them brothers. Abū 'Āmir accepted the challenge, killed nine of them and allowed the tenth, who later became a Muslim, to escape. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 915–16, reports a similar story and states that Abū 'Āmir killed nine contestants but was killed by the tenth. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 109.

him he fled. Abū Mūsā pursued him, calling out [loudly], "Aren't you ashamed of [yourself]? Aren't you an Arab? Won't you make a stand?" So he turned back. They confronted each other and exchanged two blows. Abū Mūsā killed him with his sword and returned to Abū ʿĀmir telling him that God had killed his enemy. Abū ʿĀmir asked him to remove the arrow [from his knee], and when he removed it water flowed from [the wound]. So he said [to Abū Mūsā], "O my nephew, go to the Messenger of God, give him my salutation (*salām*), and ask him to seek (God's) forgiveness for me." He then appointed Abū Mūsā in charge of the army and died shortly thereafter.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: It is alleged that Salamah b. Durayd was the one who shot Abū ʿĀmir with an arrow that hit him in his knee and killed him. Salamah b. Durayd said in this regard:

If you ask about me I am Salamah,
The son of Samādīr[129] to one who observes closely.
I smite with the sword the heads of the Muslims.

Samādīr was his mother; hence he traced his descent to her.

[1668] After his defeat, Mālik b. ʿAwf fled and stopped with some of his horsemen at a narrow pass on the road, asking them to wait until the weak ones and the others had caught up with them. They stopped there until the men from the defeated army caught up with them.[130]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—one of the Banū Saʿd b. Bakr: That day, the Messenger of God said to the horsemen whom he sent [in pursuit] that if they could get hold of Bijād, a man from the Banū Saʿd b. Bakr, then they should not let him escape, for he had done something evil.[131] When the Muslims seized him they herded him with his family and his sister al-Shaymāʾ bt. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā,[132] foster-sister

129. The name of his mother. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 365. It means weakness of sight, or else it signifies an affliction resembling vertigo. Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. s-m-d-r; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. s-m-d-r.

130. For more details about Mālik's escape, see Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 916–17.

131. Ibid., III, 913, states that he had brutally dismembered a Muslim and then set the dead body on fire.

132. She used to carry and look after the Prophet as a child. Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtadaʾ*, 25; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/1, 69.

of the Messenger of God, [like cattle] and treated her roughly. She told the Muslims that she was the foster-sister of the Messenger of God, but they did not believe her until they brought her to the Messenger of God.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Abū Wajzah Yazīd b. 'Ubayd al-Sa'dī:[133] When Shaymā' was brought to the Messenger of God, she said, "O Messenger of God, I am your foster-sister."[134] He said, "What is the proof of that?" She replied, "The bite you gave me on my back when I carried you at my hip." The Messenger of God acknowledged the proof, spread out his robe for her and asked her to sit on it. He then gave her the choice either to live with him in affection and honor or to go back to her people with compensation. She replied that she would prefer to return to her folk and he complied with her wish. The Banū Sa'd b. Bakr [1669] allege that the Messenger of God gave her a slave called Makḥūl and a slave girl.[135] She married them off, one with the other, and their progeny survives to this day.

Ibn Isḥāq: The following men were martyred at Ḥunayn:

From the Banū Hāshim[136] of Quraysh: Ayman b. 'Ubayd, the son of Umm Ayman, the Messenger of God's freed bondmaid.

From the Banū Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā:[137] Yazīd b. Zama'ah b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad.[138] His horse, called al-Janāḥ, threw him and he was killed.

From the *Anṣār*: Surāqah b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Adī b. Bal'ajlān [or Banū al-'Ajlān].[139]

From the Ash'ariyyūn:[140] Abū 'Āmir al-Ash'arī.

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133. Died in 130/747–48. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 349.

134. As in S and Ibn Isḥāq. Text: Sister. Lings, *Muhammad*, 306–7, gives a lively description of the meeting.

135. Before she left, she embraced Islam and the Prophet gave her three slaves, a slave girl, and a number of animals. For details, see Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 913–14.

136. The Banū Hāshim are the descendants of Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf, the great-grandfather of the Prophet. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 4; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 14–17; *EI²*, s.v. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf. Wāqidī lists Ayman b. 'Ubayd among the *Anṣār*, which is more correct; see above, n. 67.

137. They are the Banū Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 19; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 117–25.

138. He is not listed by Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 922. Instead of him, he lists Ruqaym b. Thābit al-Anṣārī.

139. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 109; VIII, 310.

140. A South Arabian tribe, descendants of al-Ash'ar, whose name was Nabt b. Udad b. Zayd b. Yashjub. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 273; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 397–98.

The captives of Ḥunayn, along with their possessions, were brought to the Messenger of God, Mas'ūd b. 'Amr al-Qārī[141] overseeing the spoils. The Messenger of God then ordered that the captives and their possessions be taken to al-Ji'rānah[142] and held there in custody.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: When the defeated men of Thaqīf came to al-Ṭā'if, they shut the gates of the city and made preparations for war. Neither 'Urwah b. Mas'ūd[143] nor Ghaylān b. Salamah[144] witnessed Ḥunayn or the seige of al-Ṭā'if, [because] they were in Jurash[145] learning the use of the testudo (*al-dabbāb* and *al-ḍubūr*][146] and the catapult (*al-majānīq*).

[The Siege of al-Ṭā'if]

'Alī b. Naṣr b. 'Alī [al-Jahḍamī]—'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith—'Abd al-Wārith b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith—his
[1670] father—Abān al-'Aṭṭār—Hishām b. 'Urwah—'Urwah: When he had finished at Ḥunayn, the Messenger of God and his companions went directly to al-Ṭā'if and encamped there for a fortnight, waging war against Thaqīf.[147] Thaqīf fought the Muslims from behind the fort and none came out in the open. All of the surrounding people surrendered and sent their delegations to the Messenger of God. After besieging al-Ṭā'if for a fortnight, the

141. Ibn Isḥāq: Mas'ūd b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī; Wāqidī, and Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 266): Budayl b. Waraqā' al-Khuzā'ī.

142. A well about 24 km from Mecca on the way to al-Ṭā'if. Hamdānī, *Ṣifat*, I, 120; Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 384 (where it is said that the Iraqis pronounce it al-Ji'irānah); Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 142.

143. He was the uncle of al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah and was married to Abū Sufyān's daughter. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 52–53; II/1, 70; IV/1, 184; IV/2, 25; V, 369–70, 373; VIII, 175. See Ṭabarī below, I, 1687.

144. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 52, 53; V, 369.

145. A town about 40 km southeast of Abhā. Jāsir, *Sarāt*, 42–49. Both Bakrī (*Mu'jam*, II, 376) and Yāqūt (*Mu'jam*, II, 126) list it as being in Yemen; however demarcation of the borders between the Yemen and the Ḥijāz was a problem. Cf. Ḥamīdullāh, *Battlefields*, 45–46. See n. 603, Ṭabarī, below, I, 1730.

146. *Dabbāb* is a machine made of skins and wood. It is used in war, propelled to the lower part of the fortress in order to make a breach therein, while the *ḍubūr* is a part of the *dabbāb* (testudo) that defends the men entering into the *dabbāb* from what is thrown upon them from above. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. d-b-b, ḍ-b-r.

147. Khālid b. al-Walīd was sent as the vanguard with cavalry from Sulaym. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 923. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/I, 114, states that the Thaqīf had stored enough provisions to last them for a whole year.

Prophet left and halted at al-Jiʿrānah where the captives of Ḥunayn were held with their women and children. It is alleged that those captives taken from the Hawāzin numbered six thousand with women and children. When he reached al-Jiʿrānah, the delegations of Hawāzin came to the Prophet and embraced Islam. Therefore, he set all their women and children free and decided to make the lesser pilgrimage [directly] from al-Jiʿrānah. The month was Dhū al-Qaʿdah. After that, the Messenger of God returned to Medina, put [ʿAttāb b. Asīd][148] in charge of Mecca, and asked him to perform the greater pilgrimmage with the people and to ensure their safety. [He also left behind with him Muʿādh b. Jabal][149] to instruct [the people] in Islam. When he reached Medina, the delegations of Thaqīf arrived, brought the dispute (mentioned earlier) before him, and gave him the oath of allegiance, which consisted of a document that they wrote and signed with him.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb:[150] The Messenger of God journeyed from Ḥunayn to al-Ṭāʾif by the way of Nakhlat al-Yamāniyyah,[151] Qarn,[152] al-Mulayḥ,[153] and Baḥrat al-Rughāʾ[154] of Liyyah.[155] There he built [i.e., at Baḥrat al-Rughāʾ] a mosque and prayed in it. After he arrived that day, he permitted [1671] retaliation for homicide. That was the first time [this practice]

148. Corrected by me. Text: Abū Bakr. It conflicts with all other sources and with al-Ṭabarī's own statement that ʿAttāb b. Asīd was appointed by the Prophet over Mecca. See n. 53 above and Ṭabarī below, I, 1685. It was ʿAttāb who led the people for the greater pilgrimage also. Cf. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/I, 105; V, 330.

149. Addition from text in Ṭabarī, below, I, 1685. The text in this place seems to be badly corrupted. Muʿādh b. Jabal al-Anṣārī was a prominent companion of the Messenger of God. He died in the plague of ʿAmwās in Syria in 18/639–40 when he was thirty-eight. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 107–9; III/2, 120–26.

150. ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 180; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 48–55.

151. A valley about a night or two nights' journey from Mecca toward the Yemen. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, IV, 1304; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 277–78.

152. Qarn al-Thaʿālib, about twenty-four hours' journey from Mecca, was a meeting place for the people of Najd. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, III, 1067; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 332.

153. A valley near al-Ṭāʾif. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, III, 1167–68; IV, 1259; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 196.

154. A place in the district of al-Ṭāʾif. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, I, 229; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 346.

155. A valley about 13 km east of al-Ṭāʾif. Hamdānī, *Ṣifat*, I, 120–21; Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, III, 1167–68; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 30; Jāsir, *Sarāt*, 10–11.

was allowed in Islam. A man of the Banū Layth[156] had killed a man of Hudhayl,[157] so the Messenger of God killed him. While he was in Liyyah, the Messenger of God ordered that the fortress of Mālik b. 'Awf be demolished.[158] He then followed a road called al-Ḍayqah [i.e., the narrow, strait].[159] As he was passing through it he inquired about its name. When he was told that it was al-Ḍayqah, he said, "No, rather it is al-Yusrā [i.e., the easy]." Then he went by Nakhb[160] and halted under a lote tree called al-Ṣādirah near the property of a man of Thaqīf. The Messenger of God sent word to him either to come out or else his walled garden would be destroyed.[161] He refused to come out, so the Messenger of God ordered the walled garden to be destroyed.[162]

Then the Messenger of God went on until he halted near al-Ṭā'if and pitched his camp there. Some of his companions were killed by arrows, because the camp had been placed very close to the walls of al-Ṭā'if and the arrows were reaching them.[163] The Muslims were unable to get through its wall, for [the inhabitants] had shut the gate against them. When his comrades were killed by arrows, the Prophet moved to higher ground and pitched his camp near where his mosque stands today. He besieged them for some twenty days.[164] He had two of his wives with him, one of

156. The Banū Layth b. Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kinānah. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 36; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 180, 183, 465.

157. A tribe of northern Arab descent that occupied much of the territory west and east of Mecca and up into the mountains toward al-Ṭā'if. It was closely related to Kinānah and consequently to Quraysh. *EI*², s.v. Hudhayl. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 924, states that the man of Layth, who had killed a man from the Hudhayl, was apprehended and brought before the Prophet. The people gathered and quarrelled in the Prophet's presence, so he turned the man over to the men of Hudhayl who killed him.

158. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 925, states it was burnt.

159. It is often used for a narrow *wādī*, perhaps impassable when in flood. Serjeant, "Translation," 9.

160. A valley near al-Ṭā'if. Bakrī [*Mu'jam*, IV, 1301–2]; Nakhib; Yāqūt [*Mu'jam*, V, 275]: Nakhib or Nakhab.

161. Wāqidī: Burnt.

162. Wāqidī: Burnt.

163. Al-Ḥubāb b. al-Mundhir had pointed out to the Prophet that the camp was very close to the fortress. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 925–26.

164. Ibn Hishām: It is said for seventeen days. Wāqidī: Some state eighteen days, others nineteen days, and yet others fifteen days. Ibn Sa'd: eighteen days.

whom was Umm Salamah bt. Abī Umayyah.[165] Al-Wāqidī states that the other was Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh.[166] He pitched two tents for them and prayed between the tents as long as[167] he stayed there. After Thaqīf surrendered, ʿAmr b. Umayyah[168] b. Wahb b. Muʿattib b. Mālik built a mosque over the place where the Messenger of God had prayed. There was a column in that mosque about which [1672] it is alleged that the sun never rises over it any day without a creaking noise being heard from it.[169] The Messenger of God besieged Thaqīf and fought them bitterly. Both sides shot arrows at each other[170] until the day when the wall of al-Ṭāʾif was stormed (*shadkhah*).[171] [That day] a number of the Messenger of God's companions went under a testudo and advanced up to the wall [to make a breach in it].[172] Thaqīf showered them with scraps of hot iron, so they came out from under [the testudo], and Thaqīf shot them with arrows, killing some of them. The Messenger of God then ordered that the vineyards of Thaqīf be cut down, and the men fell upon them, cutting them down.[173]

Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah went up to al-Ṭāʾif and cried out to Thaqīf to assure their safety so that they could speak to them. When they guaranteed them safety, they called upon the women of Quraysh and Banū Kinānah[174] to come out to them, for they were afraid that they would be taken cap-

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165. See Ṭabarī, below, I, 1771.

166. See Ṭabarī, below, I, 1772–73.

167. Hisch and Ibn Isḥāq: Then; Wāqidī, Ibn Saʿd: As long as.

168. Corrected from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, Wāqidī, and Ibn Ḥazm (*Jamharah*, 268). Text: Abū Umayyah b. ʿAmr.

169. Wāqidī adds: More than ten times, hence the people considered that noise [a form of] glorification of God (*tasbīḥ*).

170. Ibn Hishām (*Sīrah*, IV, 126) adds: The Messenger of God shot at them with catapults. A person whom I trust related to me that the Messenger of God was the first to use the catapult in Islam, as he employed it against the people of al-Ṭāʾif.

171. Its literal meaning is to break or crush. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. sh-d-kh.

172. Addition from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Wāqidī. The testudo and the catapult were brought by the Muslims, cf. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 923, 927; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 366, 367.

173. For a different version, see Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 928–29.

174. A large Muḍarī tribe (Kinānah b. Khuzaymah b. Mudrikah b. al-Yās b. Muḍar b. Nizār b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān), which had its camping grounds in the territory around Mecca. Quraysh derived their origin from them. See *EI*², s.v. Kināna.

tive, but they refused [to come out]. Among them were Āminah bt. Abī Sufyān,[175] who was married to 'Urwah b. Mas'ūd, by whom she had [the son] Dāwūd b. 'Urwah.[176]

Al-Wāqidī[177]—Kathīr b. Zayd[178]—al-Walīd b. Rabāḥ[179]—Abū
[1673] Hurayrah:[180] When fifteen days of siege had passed at al-Ṭā'if, the Messenger of God consulted Nawfal b. Mu'āwiyah al-Dīlī[181] and asked his opinion about continuing [the siege]. He replied, "O Messenger of God, [they are like] a fox [hiding] in its den. If you persist [in your siege], you will capture it, and if you leave it, it will not harm you."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: It has been reported that the Messenger of God said to Abū Bakr b. Abī Quḥāfah while he was besieging Thaqīf in al-Ṭā'if, "O Abū Bakr, I saw [in a dream] that I was presented with a large bowl filled with butter and that a cock pecked at it and spilt it." Abū Bakr replied, "O Messenger of God, I don't think that you will attain what you desire from them today." The Messenger of God responded that he did not think so either.[182]

Then Khuwaylah[183] bt. Ḥakīm b. Umayyah b. Ḥārithah b. al-

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175. According to Ibn Hishām and Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 175), she was Maymūnah bt. Abī Sufyān. Āminah was married to someone else, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 129; VIII, 68.

176. Ibn Isḥāq adds two more names: And al-Firāsiyyah bt. Suwayd b. 'Amr b. Tha'labah, whose son was 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Qārib, and al-Fuqaymiyyah Umaymah, daughter of the intercalator Umayyah b. Qal'. Cf. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 929. When those women refused to come out, Ibn al-Aswad b. Mas'ūd spoke to Abū Sufyān and al-Mughīrah about saving his own property from destruction. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 126; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 926–27.

177. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī, an early Arab historian, died in 207/823 in Baghdād. *EI*[1], s.v. al-Wāḳidī; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 294–97; Duri, *Rise*, passim.

178. Kathīr b. Zayd al-Aslamī died during the caliphate of al-Manṣūr (136–58/754–75) Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 413–15.

179. Walīd b. Rabāḥ al-Dawsī died in 117/735. Ibid., XI, 133.

180. Although he embraced Islam less than four years before the Prophet's death, he is noted as a prolific narrator of traditions. He died between 57/676–77 and 59/678–79. *EI*[2], s.v. Abū Hurayra.

181. He had fought against the Muslims at Uḥud, and accepted Islam after the conquest of Mecca. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/1, 81; II/1, 114; III/2, 57, 85, 119.

182. Dreams and their interpretations play an important role in the biography of the Prophet; see Fahd, *Divination*, 247ff.

183. Both Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 935) and Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, III/1, 292; VIII, 113) give her name as Khawlah. Khuwaylah is a diminutive form. Her husband

Awqaṣ al-Sulamiyyah, wife of 'Uthmān b. Maẓ'ūn, requested the Messenger of God that if God granted him victory over al-Ṭā'if, he would give her the jewelry of Bādiyah bt. Ghaylān b. Salamah,[184] or that of al-Fāri'ah bt. 'Uqayl,[185] for they were the most bejeweled[186] women of Thaqīf.

Ibn Isḥāq: It has been reported that the Messenger of God told her, "And if [the victory] over Thaqīf is not granted to me, O Khuwaylah?" Khuwaylah left and told 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [what had happened], so he came to the Messenger of God and asked him whether what Khuwaylah had said was true. The Messenger of God replied, "Yes, I said it." [Thereupon 'Umar] said, "Is [victory] over them not to be granted, O Messenger of God?" On [1674]
hearing the Messenger of God's answer [in the affirmative], 'Umar asked if he should give the order to depart, and after receiving permission he announced the departure.[187]

When the people began to move out, Sa'īd[188] b. 'Ubayd b. Asīd[189] b. Abī 'Amr b. 'Ilāj al-Thaqafī cried out that [al-Ṭā'if] was holding out [against the siege]. 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn[190] responded, "Yes, admirably and nobly!" One of the Muslims[191] said to him, "May God smite you, O 'Uyaynah! Do you praise the polytheists for holding out against the Messenger of God while you [yourself] have come to assist him?" He replied, "By God, I did not come to fight Thaqīf with you, but I wished Muḥammad to be victorious over al-Ṭā'if, so that I might obtain a slave girl from Thaqīf whom

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'Uthmān b. Maẓ'ūn was one of the early converts and a very pious person. He died in 3/624–25 in Medina. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/1, 90, 114–15, 136; III/1, 286–92, 298.

184. She was later married to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 933, 935; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/1, 90.

185. As vocalized in the text. In other sources it is not vocalized and could be 'Aqīl.

186. Wāqidī: Prettiest.

187. Some people were not happy to depart without the victory. Both Abū Bakr and 'Umar had to convince them that the Prophet was acting according to revelation. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 936–37; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 115; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 73.

188. Wāqidī: Sa'd.

189. C: Asad; Wāqidī: Asīd b. 'Amr.

190. 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn al-Fazārī had fought several times against the Muslims. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 932–33 (story about his hypocrisy); Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180; II/1, 45, 47, 51–52, 58, 87, 110–11, 115–16; III/1, 65.

191. Wāqidī: 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ.

I might make pregnant[192] so that she might bear me a son, for Thaqīf are clever people (*manākīr*)."[193]

At al-Ṭā'if, twelve of the Messenger of God's companions were martyred, seven from Quraysh, one from Banū Layth, and four from the *Anṣār*.[194]

[The Division of the Booty Captured at Ḥunayn and Gifts of Conciliation]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: Then the Messenger of God left al-Ṭā'if and went [by way] of Daḥnā[195] until he halted at al-Ji'rānah with the Muslims who were with him. When he marched to al-Ṭā'if, he had sent the captives of Hawāzin to be detained in al-Ji'rānah. Thus the delegations of Hawāzin came to him there. The Messenger of God held six thousand captives from the children and women, and innumerable camels and sheep.[196]

[1675] Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Amr b. Shu'ayb—his father[197]—his grandfather 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b.

192. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Wāqidī: Whom I might tread.

193. This is a pun, a play on the word *manākīr*, because its singular *munkar* generally means an action disapproved by sound intellect, or deemed to be bad, or anything pronounced to be abominable by the law. Here it is not used in this general sense but as *rajul*^{un} *nakir*^{un}, meaning a man who possesses intelligence with cunning. Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. n-k-r; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. n-k-r.

Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 937): For Thaqīf are gifted with a blessing (*mubārakūn*). He further states that, when 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb informed the Prophet what 'Uyaynah had said, he smiled and said, "[The man exhibits] an acceptable foolishness." (He is an agreeable fool.)

Ibn Isḥāq (*Sīrah*, IV, 127–28) states that during the siege of al-Ṭā'if some of the slaves came out, embraced Islam, and were set free by the Prophet. Cf. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 931–32 (they numbered from thirteen to nineteen).

194. For their names, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 129; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 938.

195. Wāqidī adds: Then passed by Qarn al-Manāzil and Nakhlah. Daḥnā is a district of al-Ṭā'if. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 545–46; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 444.

196. According to Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq, and it concurs with what is stated earlier (see Ṭabarī, I, 1670). Text: Held a large number of captives from the women and children of Hawāzin, six thousand camels, and an immense number of sheep. According to Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 943–44), there were six thousand captives, twenty-four thousand camels, and about forty thousand sheep. In addition to that, the Muslims captured four thousand *ūqīyahs* [about 1/12 *raṭl* or forty dirhams to the *ūqīyah*; see n. 983 below] of silver. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 110.

197. Shu'ayb b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 356.

al-ʿĀṣ:[198] The deputation of Hawāzin came to the Messenger of God while he was in al-Jiʿrānah and embraced Islam. Then they said, "O Messenger of God, we are of noble origin and we are kinsfolk. The disaster which has befallen us is not hidden from you. Please show us favor, since God has granted you favor." Then a man of Hawāzin from [the clan of] the Banū Saʿd b. Bakr (it was this clan who nursed the Messenger of God) called Zuhayr b. Ṣurad[199] and nicknamed Abū Ṣurad, stood up and said, "O Messenger of God, among the detainees are your paternal and maternal aunts and the ones who suckled you and looked after you. Had we provided al-Ḥārith b. Abī Shimr[200] or al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir[201] with foster-parents[202] and then got into the situation in which you now hold us, we could hope for his favor and kindness. [We know that] you are the best of protectors."[203] Then he recited [the following] verses:

Have mercy on us, Messenger of God, out of generosity,
for you are the man [from whom] we hope and treasure
[as our own].
Grant favor to [your] kinfolk[204] whom fate has frustrated,
and whose fortunes are shattered by the
vicissitudes of fate.

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198. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ accepted Islam before his father and died ca. 65/684–85. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 125; III/1, 180, 181; V, 132; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 337–38; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah*, I, 41–42; Duri, *Rise*, 78, 93, 98n.

199. He headed the Hawāzin delegation which consisted of fourteen men. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/1, 72; II/1, 111.

200. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn [*Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, II, 221] suggests the reading "Shamir." Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 325.

He was a Ghassānid king to whom the Prophet sent a letter inviting him to accept Islam. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 17; III/1, 66. About the Prophet's correspondence with foreign rulers, see below Ṭabarī, I, 1741, n. 677. The Ghassānids, the clients and auxiliaries of Byzantium, were swept away by the Muslim conquest of Syria, see *EI*², s.v. Ghassān; Shahîd, "Pre-Islamic Arabia," 22.

201. He was the last king of the house of the Lakhmids, the Arab client-kingdom of the Persians. *EI*¹, s.v. Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir; *EI*², s.v. Lakhm.

202. Ibn Hishām: Another tradition states: Had we shared our salt with.

203. C: The best of hosts.

204. *Bayḍah* literally means an egg. It is used metaphorically to signify a woman, likening her thereto in color and in respect of her being protected. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. b-y-ḍ.

The Messenger of God said, "Are your sons and wives dearer to you or your possessions?" They replied, "O Messenger of God, you have given us the choice between our honor and our posses-
[1676] sions, so give us back our wives and sons, for they are dearer to us." He said, "As for what I and the Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib have [of your goods], they are yours. When I have prayed [the noon prayer][205] with the people, then [stand up and][206] say, 'We ask the Messenger of God's intercession with the Muslims, and the Muslims' intercession with the Messenger of God for our sons and wives.' I will then give them to you and will request [the Muslims] on your behalf." When the Messenger of God had prayed the noon prayer with the people, they stood up and spoke as he had asked them, and he did what he had promised to do. The *Muhājirūn* said that what was theirs was the Messenger of God's, and the *Anṣār* said the same. Al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis [al-Tamīmī],[207] however, said that as far as he and the Banū Tamīm[208] were concerned, [they would not agree to give up their share]. ʿUyaynah b. Ḥiṣn also refused on behalf of himself and the Banū Fazārah,[209] and so did ʿAbbās b. Mirdās [al-Sulamī][210] for himself and the Banū Sulaym.[211] The Banū Sulaym, however, said, "[Yes],[212] what is ours is the Messenger of God's." Therefore, ʿAbbās said to them that they had rendered him a coward. Then the Messenger of God said, "He who holds to his share of these captives shall have six camels for every captive from the first booty we take." So the Muslims returned the women and children to their kinsfolk.[213]

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205. Addition from Wāqidī.

206. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

207. Addition from S and Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 36, 40, 85, 145; II/1, 110–11, 116). He was a Bedouin chief.

208. For the Banū Tamīm, see Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 59; Ibn, Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 207, 466–67.

209. A branch of Qays. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 92, 130; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 255–59.

210. Addition from S. He was a leader of ʿAbs b. Rifāʿah of Sulaym, and was renowned as a warrior and as a poet. He died during the caliphate of ʿUthmān (23–35/644–56). *EI*², s.v. ʿAbbās b. Mirdās; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 242–43.

211. They are a branch of Qays. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 92, 122; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 261–64.

212. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

213. For further details, see Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 952; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 111–12.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Abū Wajzah Yazīd b. 'Ubayd al-Sa'dī: From the captives of Ḥunayn, the Messenger of God gave 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib a slave girl called Rayṭah bt. Hilāl b. Ḥayyān b. 'Umayrah b. Hilāl b. Nāṣirah b. Quṣayyah b. [1677]
Naṣr b. Sa'd b. Bakr; and he gave 'Uthmān b. 'Affān[214] a slave girl called Zaynab bt. Ḥayyān b. 'Amr b. Ḥayyān; and he gave 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb a girl whom 'Umar gave to [his son][215] 'Abdallāh.[216]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Nāfi'[217]—'Abdallāh b. 'Umar: The Messenger of God gave 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb a slave girl from the captives of Hawāzin and 'Umar gave her to me. I sent her to my maternal aunts from the Banū Jumaḥ[218] to prepare [and get her ready][219] for me until I had circumambulated the Ka'bah and returned to them, wanting to take her when I returned. When I had finished and came out of the mosque, the men were rushing away. When I asked the reason why, they told me that the Messenger of God had given them back their wives and children. I told them that that girl of theirs was with the Banū Jumaḥ and that they should go and get her, so they went and took her. As for 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn, he had taken an old widow of Hawāzin and said when he took her, "I see that she is an elderly lady of standing in the tribe. Perhaps her ransom might be high." When the Messenger of God returned the captives for six camels each, 'Uyaynah refused to return her. Zuhayr Abū Ṣurad told him to let her go, for her mouth was neither cold nor were her breasts swelling; she could not conceive, her milk was not rich, and her husband would not care. After Zuhayr had told him this, he returned her for six camels.[220] They allege that

214. The third caliph whose assassination in 35/656 led to the first civil strife in Islam. See *EI*[1], s.v. 'Othmān b. 'Affān.

215. Addition from Hisch and Ibn Isḥāq.

216. 'Abdallāh, son of the second caliph, was one of the prominent personalities of the first generation of Muslims and a frequently quoted authority for traditions. He died in 73/693. *EI*[2], s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar. Most of the companions received a slave girl. For details, see Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 943–44.

217. A freedman of 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/1, 109, 121, 123, 125–26, 133.

218. They are Jumaḥ (= Taym) b. 'Amr b. Huṣayṣ b. Ka'b b. 'Adī. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/1, 105; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 159.

219. Addition from Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

220. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 952–54, gives a different version and states that in the beginning her son offered to pay a ransom of a hundred camels, but 'Uyaynah,

[when] 'Uyaynah met al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis he complained to him
[1678] about it, so he said, "By God, you did not take her as virgin[221] in her prime nor even full-figured in her middle age!"

The Messenger of God asked the Hawāzin delegation about Mālik b. 'Awf and what he did. They told him that he was in al-Ṭā'if with Thaqīf. The Messenger of God told them to inform him that if he came to him embracing Islam, he would restore his family and possessions to him and give him a hundred camels.[222] When Mālik was informed about it, he left al-Ṭā'if. He was afraid that Thaqīf might imprison him if they knew what the Messenger of God had said about him, so he ordered that his mount be prepared for him and that a horse be brought to him in al-Ṭā'if. He slipped away at night, came [to the place] where his mount was tethered,[223] mounted his horse, and rode off until he overtook the Messenger of God in al-Ji'rānah or Mecca. The Messenger of God returned him his family and property and gave him a hundred camels. He embraced Islam and became a good Muslim. The Messenger of God put him in charge of his kinfolk and the tribes around al-Ṭā'if who had embraced Islam. [Those tribes were] Thumālah, Salimah, and Fahm.[224] Then he began to fight Thaqīf with them; their flocks could not come out [of al-Ṭā'if] without being raided by him and he tightened the noose around them.[225] Abū Miḥjan b. Ḥabīb[226] b. 'Amr b. 'Umayr al-Thaqafī said:

Enemies have dreaded our vicinity,
but now the Banū Salimah are engaged in warring and plundering us.
Mālik brought them on us,
breaking his covenant and solemn word.

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wanting a higher price, declined the offer. Finally, he had to release her without any ransom.

221. Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq: Of fair complexion.

222. Mālik's family were brought to Mecca and were lodged with their relatives. His possessions were also kept aside and were not divided with the other booty. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 954–55; Lings, *Muhammad*, 310.

223. It was in Daḥnā. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 955.

224. All the three were clans of Azd. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 210, 211; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 376–79.

225. From those raids, Mālik used to send the *khums* to the Prophet. Once he sent a hundred camels and then a thousand sheep. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 955.

226. Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 930, 932, 935): Ḥubayb. He was one of the leaders of Thaqīf.

They raided us in our settlements,
though we were men who retaliated.[227]

(This is the end of Abū Wajzah's report. To return to the report of 'Amr b. Shu'ayb:)[228] After the Messenger of God had completed the return of the captives of Ḥunayn to their families, he rode [1679] away and the people[229] followed him, saying, "O Messenger of God, divide our booty of camels and small cattle among us," until they forced him back against a tree and his mantle was pulled away from him.[230] He said, "O men, give me back[231] my mantle! By God, if I had as many sheep as the trees of the Tihāmah I would have divided them among you. You have not found me miserly or cowardly or a liar." Then he stood near his[232] camel and took a hair from its hump and holding it aloft in his fingers said, "O men, by God, I do not have anything of your booty, even to this hair, except the fifth, and that fifth will be returned to you. So bring back the needle and the thread, for dishonesty will be a shame, a flame,[233] and a disgrace on the Day of Judgment."[234] A man from the *Anṣār* came with a ball of hair thread, and said, "O Messenger of God, I took this ball to make a pad for my sore camel." He replied, "As for my share in that, you can keep it." The man said, "If it has come to that, I don't want it," and he threw it away.[235] (This is the end of 'Amr b. Shu'ayb's report.)

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: The Messenger of God gave [gifts] to those "whose hearts were to be reconciled (*al-mu'allafa qulūbuhum*),"[236] who were certain

227. For Mālik's reply, see Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 956.

228. See Ṭabarī, above, I, 1675.

229. Wāqidī: On the way the Bedouins kept on asking him.

230. Either it was caught by the tree or was pulled away by the Bedouins.

231. Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq: Bring back my mantle to me. Cf. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 140; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1246; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 183.

232. As in C. Text and Ibn Isḥāq: Near a camel.

233. It means a flame of hell-fire.

234. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 366.

235. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 135, relating another story, states that when the Prophet ordered his men to return whatever they might have taken, even to a needle, 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib returned the needle which he had taken.

236. It is used in the Qur'ān 9:60, where it states: "Charity is [meant] only for the poor, the needy, those working at [collecting and distributing] it, those [possible converts] whose hearts are being reconciled [to yours], for freeing captives and those who are in debt, and in the cause of God, and for the wayfarer, as a

men of eminence, in order to conciliate them and to win over their hearts.[237] He gave a hundred camels each to the following:[238] [1680] Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb; his son Mu'āwiyah;[239] Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām;[240] al-Nuḍayr[241] b. al-Ḥārith b. Kaladah b. 'Alqamah, a brother of the Banū 'Abd al-Dār; al-'Alā' b. Ḥārithah al-Thaqafī,[242] an ally of the Banū Zuhrah;[243] al-Ḥārith b. Hishām;[244] Ṣafwān b. Umayyah; Suhayl b. 'Amr;[245] Ḥuwayṭib b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Abī Qays;[246] 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn; al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis al-Tamīmī; Mālik b. 'Awf al-Naṣrī. These men [became known as] "Men of the Hundreds." He gave less than a hundred camels to the following men

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duty imposed by God." The term is applied here to certain tribal chiefs and influential men whose loyalty the Prophet endeavored to secure by lavish gifts given out of the *khums*. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 944, 948; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. a-l-f; Lings, *Muhammad*, 308–9.

Watt (*Muhammad at Medina*, 74, 348–52) argues that the above Qur'ānic term cannot be applied to the men who received gifts at al-Ji'rānah. Its application to the leading Meccans, who received fifty or a hundred camels, was probably the work of the "pious opposition" in Medina during the Umayyad period in the early part of the second/eighth century.

237. Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq: And to reconcile through them their people.

238. See the list compiled by Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 73–74.

239. He was the first Umayyad caliph. *EI*[1], s.v. Mu'āwiya. Abū Sufyān's son Yazīd also received a hundred camels. In addition to those camels, both the brothers and their father also received forty *ūqīyahs* each of silver. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 944–45; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 110. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 75, states that the mention of Abū Sufyān's sons is doubtless a device to conceal the favor shown to him by Muḥammad.

240. He was a nephew of the Prophet's wife Khadījah. He asked for more camels and so was given some. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 945 (he got three hundred); Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 179; II/1, 97, 110; III/1, 27; IV/1, 6, 45 (he got two hundred).

241. Ibn Isḥāq: Al-Ḥārith; Ibn Hishām: Nuṣayr, it is possible that his name was al-Ḥārith. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 331–32, 352, gives his name as al-Nuḍayr b. al-Ḥārith B. 'Alqamah b. Kaladah b. 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy.

242. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 110 (he got fifty).

243. A clan of Quraysh. The Prophet's mother was from this clan. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/1, 50–51, 82, 137; II/1, 8; Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 4, 20; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 128, 464.

244. Al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm b. Yaqaẓah b. Murrah died in 18/639. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 946; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 110; III/1, 167; V, 1.

245. He headed the Meccan delegation which negotiated the treaty of Ḥudaybiyah. His son 'Abdallāh had accepted Islam and had migrated to Abyssinia. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 946; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 42, 70, 71, 88, 98, 110; III/1, 295–96.

246. He was one of the witnesses for the treaty of Ḥudaybiyah. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 946; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 25, 71, 88, 97, 110.

of Quraysh: Makhramah b. Nawfal b. Uhayb al-Zuhrī;[247] 'Umayr b. Wahb al-Jumaḥī;[248] Hishām b. 'Amr,[249] a brother of the Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy.[250] The exact number [of camels] given to them is not preserved,[251] but it is known, as alleged, that it was less than a hundred. He gave fifty camels to Sa'īd b. Yarbū' b. 'Ankathah b. 'Āmir b. Makhzūm[252] and to al-Sahmī.[253] He gave 'Abbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī some camels,[254] but he was not pleased with them and reproved the Messenger of God saying:

It was pillage that I acquired, [1681]
by charging on my colt in the rugged plain.
And I kept the people awake lest they should sleep.[255]
When they slept I kept watch.
My pillage and that of al-'Ubayd[256]
is parceled out between 'Uyaynah[257] and al-Aqra'.[258]
In battle I repel the enemy,
leaving myself unprotected. Yet I was given nothing
except a few young camels,
to the number of their four legs!
Neither Ḥiṣn nor Ḥābis
excel Mirdās[259] in the assembly,
and I am not inferior to either of them.
He whom you demean today will not be exalted.

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247. His mother was a granddaughter of Hāshim. He was a genealogist, and the Prophet gave him fifty camels. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 946 (some authorities state that he did not get any); Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 110; III/1, 212; VIII, 35, 161–62, 180 (he got fifty).

248. He had fought against the Muslims at Badr. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 10 (not mentioned among those who received gifts); Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 161.

249. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 946; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 110 (he got fifty).

250. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 166.

251. Ibn Isḥāq: I do not remember [exactly] what was given to them, but I know that it was less than a hundred.

252. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 946; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 110.

253. Ibn Hishām: His name was 'Adī b. Qays.

254. Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 946–47) states that he was given four camels; Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 110) on the other hand, states that he got forty.

255. And I urged the warriors to journey in the night: Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 947); he also gives the Prophet's comment on this poem.

256. The name of his horse.

257. He is 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn. See above.

258. He is al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis. See above.

259. He is the poet's father.

The Messenger of God said [to them], "Go and cut off his tongue from me," so they gave him more [camels] until he was satisfied. This was what the Messenger of God meant by his order "to cut off his tongue."[260]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith:[261] One of the companions of the Messenger of God[262] said to him, "O Messenger of God, you have given ʿUyaynah b. Ḥiṣn and al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis a hundred camels each and left out Juʿayl b. Surāqah al-Ḍamrī."[263] He replied, "By Him in whose hand is my soul,[264] Juʿayl b. Surāqah is better than an entire world
[1682] full of men like ʿUyaynah b. Ḥiṣn and al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis; but I have treated them generously so that they may embrace Islam, and I have entrusted Juʿayl b. Surāqah to his Islam."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Abū ʿUbaydah b. Muḥammad[265]—Miqsam Abū al-Qāsim,[266] manumitted slave of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal:[267] I went with Talīd b. Kilāb al-Laythī to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ while he was circumambulating the Kaʿbah with his sandals in his hand, and we asked him whether he was present when the Tamīmī man spoke to the Messenger of God on the day of Ḥunayn. He replied affirmatively, saying that a man from the Banū Tamīm called Dhū al-Khuwayṣirah came and stood by the Messenger of God as he was giving gifts to the people and said, "O Muḥammad, I have seen what you have done today." The Messenger of God replied, "Well, what did you see?" He said, "I don't think you have been

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260. Cf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 184; other sources supporting this interpretation are indicated.

Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 137–38, states that the Prophet gave gifts to some people of Quraysh and other tribal chiefs because they had accepted Islam. His list, as well as that of Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 945–46, contains some additional names.

261. His grandfather was a *Muhājir* and he died ca. 120/738. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 5–7.

262. Wāqidī, Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaqāt*, IV/1, 180–81): Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ.

263. He was one of the early converts and a destitute one of the *Muhājirūn*. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/1, 180–81.

264. Ibn Isḥāq: Muḥammad's soul.

265. Abū ʿUbaydah b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār b. Yāsir. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhib*, XII, 160–61.

266. He died in 101/719–20. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 217, 346–47; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 288–89.

267. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib died in 79/698–99 or 84/703. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/1, 30; V, 217, 346–47; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 180–81.

fair." The Messenger of God became angry and said, "Woe to you! If justice is not to be found with me, then with whom is it to be found?" 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb asked the Messenger of God to allow him to kill the man, but he said, "No, leave him, for he will have a following that will penetrate so deeply into religion that they will come out of it as an arrow comes out of the target; one looks at the head and there is nothing on it; then one looks at its butt end and there is nothing on it; [then one looks at its notch and there is nothing on it].[268] It passed through [the target] before flesh and blood could stick to it."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī: A similar account is reported, and the man's name is Dhū al-Khuwayṣirah al-Tamīmī.[269]

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: It is reported on the authority of Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī[270] that the man who uttered the above words was speaking to the Messenger of God about the booty which 'Alī had sent to the Messenger of God from Yemen, which he distributed among a group consisting of 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn, al-Aqra' [b. Ḥābis], and Zayd al-Khayl.[271] Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī then affirmed that the man was Dhū al-Khuwayṣirah.[272] [1683]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: A companion of the Prophet[273] who was present at Ḥunayn with him said, "By God, I was wearing rough sandals and riding my mount by the side of the Messenger of God. When my camel crowded his, the toe of my sandal hit the Messenger of God's leg and hurt him. He hit my foot with the whip and said, 'You have hurt me, get behind me!' and so I went behind. The following day, the Messenger of God was looking for me, and I thought it was because I had hurt his leg the day before, so I went

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268. Addition from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq and Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 948–49; he gives a slightly different version).

269. Ibn Isḥāq adds another chain of authorities to the same account.

270. Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī al-Anṣārī used to give legal opinions in Medina and died in ca. 63/682–83. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 124, 127; V, 132; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 78–80.

271. Zayd al-Khayl b. Muhalhil, known as Zayd al-Khayr, was the head of the Ṭayyi' delegation. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 59–60. See Ṭabarī, below, I, 1747–48.

272. For a different version, see Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 540–41.

273. Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī: Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 939–40; he also gives additional stories. This incident happened while the Prophet was returning from al-Ṭā'if to al-Ji'rānah. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/1, 179–80.

expecting [a reprimand]; but he said, 'Yesterday you hit my leg and hurt me, and I hit your foot with the whip. Because of this I have called you to recompense you for it,' and he gave me eighty female sheep for the one blow he struck me."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah—Maḥmūd b. Labīd[274]—Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī: When the Messenger of God had distributed those gifts among Quraysh and the Bedouin tribes, and the *Anṣār* got nothing from it, this group of *Anṣār* took [the matter] to their hearts and talked volubly about it until one of them said, "By God, the Messenger of God has joined his kinsfolk!"[275] Sa'd b. 'Ubādah[276] went to the Messenger of God and said, "O Messenger of God, this group of *Anṣār* have a grudge against you for what you did with the booty and how you divided it among your own people, and by giving great
[1684] gifts to the Bedouin tribes while this group of *Anṣār* got nothing." He said, "Where do you stand in this matter, O Sa'd?" He said, "I stand with my kinsfolk." The Prophet said, "Then gather your people in [this][277] enclosure." Sa'd went out and did so, and when a number of the *Muhājirūn* came, he allowed some to come in and sent back the others. When all of them had assembled, he went and informed the Prophet, who came to them. After due praise and exaltation of God, he addressed them saying: "O community of *Anṣār*, what is this talk I hear about you? [What is] the grudge you have harbored in your hearts [against me]? Did I not come to you when you were erring and God guided you; [were you not] needy and then made rich by God; [were you not] enemies and [did not] God reconcile your hearts?" They answered, "Yes

274. Maḥmūd b. Labīd al-Awsī al-Anṣārī died ca. 96/714–15 in Medina. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 65–66.

275. Wāqidī [*Maghāzī*, III, 956 ff.] adds: At the time of war we are his companions, but at the time of distribution [of spoils] his clan and people. We would like to know whether this is from God or his personal view. If it is from God, we will be patient, but if it is his personal view, then we will censure him. When this news reached the Messenger of God, he became very angry.

276. Sa'd b. 'Ubādah al-Khazrajī, who was present at the second pledge of al-'Aqabah, was a champion of Islam and several times had acted as standard-bearer in the expeditions. After the death of 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy, he became undisputed head of the Khazraj and was proposed by the *Anṣār* as their head after the Prophet's death. When Abū Bakr was elected caliph, he refused to give him his oath of allegiance and left Medina for Ḥawrān, where he died ca. 15/636–37. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 250; *EI*[1], s.v. Sa'd b. 'Ubāda. See Ṭabarī, below, I, 1817f.

277. Addition from: Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Wāqidī.

indeed, God and His Messenger are gracious and kind." He said, "Why do you not answer me [directly], O *Anṣār*?" They said, "What shall we answer you, O Messenger of God? Kindness and graciousness belong to God and His Messenger." He said: "Now then, by God, had you wished you could have said—and you would have spoken the truth and have been accepted as truthful—'You came to us [when your message] was rejected [by the Quraysh] and we believed in you; [you were] forsaken and we assisted you; [you were] evicted and we sheltered you; [you were] needy and we comforted you.' O *Anṣār*, you harbor a grudge [against me] because of the worldly things by which I conciliate a people so that they may embrace Islam, while I entrust you to your Islam. Are you not pleased, O *Anṣār*, that people should take away sheep and camels while you go back to your homes with the Messenger of God?[278] By Him in whose hand is the soul of Muḥammad, were it not for the migration (*hijrah*),[279] I would have been one of the *Anṣār* myself. If all the people went one way and the *Anṣār* another, I would take the way of the *Anṣār*.[280] O [1685] God, have mercy on the *Anṣār*, their sons and their sons' sons!" The people wept until the tears ran down their beards and said that they were pleased with the Messenger of God as their lot and good fortune. Then the Messenger of God departed and they dispersed.[281]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: Then the Messenger of God left al-Ji'rānah to make a lesser pilgrimage,[282] and ordered

278. Some of the *Anṣār* said, "God forgive the Messenger of God! He is giving to Quraysh and leaving us out, yet our swords are dripping with their blood." Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 274; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1367–68; transmitted by both Bukhārī and Muslim.

279. The migration of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina in September 622. *EI*², s.v. Hidjra.

280. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 275; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1368; transmitted by Bukhārī and Muslim.

281. Lings, *Muhammad*, 311–12. Ibn Hishām (*Sīrah*, IV, 140–41) has reproduced a poem of Ḥassān b. Thābit reproaching the Prophet for giving away those gifts to the Quraysh while the *Anṣār* got nothing. Contrary to Ibn Hishām's view, some authorities state that the poem in question was composed on the occasion of the conquest of Mecca, expressing the *Anṣār*'s displeasure because the Prophet gave precedence to the Banū Sulaym and to Khālid b. al-Walīd over the *Anṣār* when the Muslims entered Mecca. See *Dīwān of Ḥassān*, I, 265–66.

282. He left al-Ji'rānah on Tuesday evening, the eighteenth of Dhū al-Qa'dah for the lesser pilgrimage, returned to al-Ji'rānah and then left on Thursday for Medina. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, III.

that the rest of the booty be held back in Majannah,[283] which is [located] near Marr al-Ẓahrān.[284] When the Messenger of God completed the lesser pilgrimage and returned to Medina, he appointed ʿAttāb b. Asīd in charge of Mecca.[285] He also left behind with him Muʿādh b. Jabal[286] to instruct the people in religion and to teach them the Qurʾān. He was followed by the remainder of the booty. The Messenger of God's lesser pilgrimage was in Dhū al-Qaʿdah, and he arrived in Medina in the same month or in Dhū al-Ḥijjah.[287] The people made the pilgrimage that year as the Arabs used to do. ʿAttāb b. Asīd made the pilgrimage with the Muslims that [same] year, which was 8/630. The people of al-Ṭāʾif persisted in their polytheism and obstinacy within their city from the time the Messenger of God departed from it in Dhū al-Qaʿdah [of the year 8/March 630] until the month of Ramaḍān of the following year/January 631.

Al-Wāqidī states that when the Messenger of God distributed the spoils among the Muslims in al-Jiʿrānah, every man got four camels and forty sheep, while each horseman received an additional share for his horse.[288] The Messenger of God arrived in Medina from this expedition toward the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah/April 630.

[1686] In this year, the Messenger of God sent ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ[289] to collect alms (*ṣadaqah*)[290] from Jayfar and ʿAmr,[291] the two clans

283. It was one of the marketplaces in pre-Islamic Arabia near a mountain, called al-Aṣghar, about 24 km from Mecca. Hamdānī, *Ṣifat*, I, 180; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 58–59.

284. A town on the route between Medina and Mecca about thirteen miles from the latter. It is now called Wādī Fāṭimah. Ḥarbī, *Manāsik*, 464—65; Al-Wohaibi, *Hijaz*, 151–56, 337ff.

285. Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, IV, 143, states that his allowance was a dirham a day.

286. Wāqidī adds: And Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī.

287. Ibn Hishām comments that the Prophet arrived in Medina on the twenty-fourth of Dhū al-Qaʿdah.

288. The horseman received 12 camels and 120 sheep. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 949.

289. He was known as the most wily politician of his time, but his real fame was due to his conquest of Egypt. He died ca. 42/663. *EI*², s.v. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ.

290. *Ṣadaqah* is used in two different senses: (1) as synonymous with *zakāt*, which is obligatory and its amount is fixed (it is used in this sense in the Qurʾān 9:58, 103); and (2) in the sense of voluntary almsgiving. Here it is used in the former sense. *EI*¹, s.v. Ṣadaḳa; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ṣ-d-q. See Watt's comments on *zakāt* and *ṣadaqah* in his *Muhammad at Medina*, 369–72.

291. Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 18); Ḥamīdullāh (*Majmūʿah*, 128): ʿAbd; Ibn Ḥazm (*Jamharah*, 384): ʿAbbād. Both the brothers were heads of the ruling group, the Julandā, in ʿUmān and had accepted Islam.

of al-Julandā from the Azd.[292] They allowed 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ to collect the alms [without interference], and so he collected it [only] from the rich and returned [what he took] to the poor. He collected the poll tax (*jizyah*)[293] from the Zoroastrians (*al-Majūs*)[294] who were indigenous to that region, while the Arabs lived in the surrounding countryside.

In the same year, the Messenger of God married al-Kilābiyyah who was called Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Sufyān.[295] When she was given the choice [to select between this world and the hereafter] she preferred this world. It is said that she asked the Messenger of God's protection, so he left her. Ibrāhīm b. Wathīmah b. Mālik b. Aws b. al-Ḥadathān[296] narrated on the authority of Abū Wajzah al-Sa'dī that the Prophet married her in Dhū al-Qa'dah.

In this year, in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, Māriyah[297] gave birth to Ibrāhīm, and the Messenger of God entrusted him to Umm Burdah bt. al-Mundhir b. Zayd b. Labīd b. Khidāsh b. 'Āmir b. Ghanm b. 'Adī b. al-Najjār (her husband was al-Barā' b. Aws b. Khālid b. al-Ja'd b. 'Awf b. Mabdhūl b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. 'Adī b. al-Najjār) for nursing.[298] Māriyah had received Salmā, freed bondmaid of the Messenger of God, who went to Abū Rāfi'[299] and informed him that Māriyah had given birth to a son. Abū Rāfi' then announced the good news to the Messenger of God, who gave him a gift of a slave. When Māriyah gave birth to a son, the Messenger of God's wives became very jealous.

(*Jamharah*, 384): 'Abbād. Both the brothers were heads of the ruling group, the Julandā, in 'Umān and had accepted Islam.

292. An ancient Arab tribe in the highlands of 'Asīr and in 'Umān. *EI*², s.v. Azd.

293. A tax levied on the *ahl al-dhimmah* (i.e., the possessors of a written scripture) in an Islamic state.

294. *EI*², s.v. Madjūs.

295. See below, n. 903 to Ṭabarī, I, 1774.

296. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 101–2.

297. She was a Coptic maiden sent by the Muqawqis to Muḥammad in 6/627–28 as a gift of honor, and the Prophet made her his concubine. *EI*², s.v. Māriya. See Ṭabarī, below, I, 1775, 1777.

298. For details see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/1, 86–93; Lings, *Muhammad*, 315; and below, n. 910 to Ṭabarī, I, 1775.

299. He was Salmā's husband. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/1, 86–93.

The Events of the Year

[1687]

9

(April 20, 630–April 8, 631)

In this year, the deputation of the Banū Asad[300] reportedly came to the Messenger of God. They said, "O Messenger of God, we came [to you] before you could send a messenger to us." Concerning their statement, God revealed: "They bestow a favor upon you [Muḥammad] that they have embraced Islam. Say: 'Do not count your embracing Islam as a favor to me; nay but rather God confers a favor upon you, in that He has guided you to the faith'."[301]

In this year, the deputation of Balī[302] came in the month of Rabīʿ I [June 18–July 17, 630] and stayed with Ruwayfiʿ b. Thābit al-Balawī.[303]

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300. A North Arabian tribe which occupied a spacious region extending right across Arabia from Medina to the Euphrates. *EI*², s.v. Asad.

301. Qur'ān 49: 17. It refers to the Bedouins who were offering their submission more from self-interest than from sincere belief in Islam. Some commentators state that those verses were revealed about the Bedouins of Banū Asad. Wāḥidī, *Asbāb*, 281; Ṭūsī, *Tafsīr*, IX, 355; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte*, I, 223; Blachère, *Coran*, 550.

302. A branch of Quḍāʿah. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 329; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 440–42; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, II, 323–25; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 287.

303. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 83; III/2, 35; IV/2, 73; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 287.

In this year, the delegation of the Dāriyyūn from Lakhm[304] came. There were ten of them.

According to al-Wāqidī, in this year, ʿUrwah b. Masʿūd al-Thaqafī came to the Messenger of God and accepted Islam.[305] I have received the following account about ʿUrwah on the authority of Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: When the Messenger of God departed from the people of al-Ṭāʾif, ʿUrwah b. Masʿūd b. Muʿattib followed in his wake until he caught up with the Prophet before he reached Medina. ʿUrwah then embraced Islam and asked the Prophet that he might return to his people as a Muslim. The Messenger of God said, so his[306] folk report, "They will fight you,"[307] for the Messenger of God knew the proud spirit of resistance that was in them. ʿUrwah responded: "O Messenger of God, I am dearer to them than their firstborn."[308] He was indeed loved and obeyed by his people, so he went out summoning his people to Islam and hoping that they would not oppose him because of his position among them. When he appeared above them from his upper balcony, after having already summoned them to Islam and announcing to them his [new] [1688]
religion, they shot arrows at him from every direction. One arrow struck [ʿUrwah] and killed him. The Banū Mālik allege that one of their men, whose name was Aws b. ʿAwf,[309] brother of the Banū Sālim b. Mālik, killed him. But the Aḥlāf allege that one of their men called Wahb b. Jābir from the Banū ʿAttāb b. Mālik killed him. ʿUrwah was asked, "What do you think about your blood [being shed]?"[310] He replied: "[It is] an honor which God has

304. A clan of Lakhm. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 442; *EI*², s.v. Lakhm. For the delegates' names, see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 75; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 287.

305. He returned from Jurash after the Prophet had left al-Ṭāʾif [see Ṭabarī, above, I, 1669]. It is said that he was inspired by God to embrace Islam, so he went to Medina and accepted Islam. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 960ff., narrates his story with graphic detials. See also Lings, *Muhammad*, 313.

306. As in Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq. Text: Their folk.

307. Ibn Shabbah (*Taʾrīkh*, II, 470): I am afraid that they might kill you.

308. Hisch., Ibn Hishām: Eyesight; Wāqidī, Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 52): Their firstborn children. Ibn Shabbah (in another version): If they find me asleep, they will not awaken me [i.e., disturb me].

309. Later on he came to the Prophet with the Thaqīf delegation and accepted Islam. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 373–74.

310. It means: Should it be avenged? ʿUrwah belonged to the Aḥlāf group (see Ṭabarī, above, I, 1655, n. 29), and his clan took up arms to avenge his blood, but he instructed them not to fight and gave up his blood for the sake of God. See Wāqidī for details.

bestowed on me and [an act of] martyrdom to which God has led me. I am only like the martyrs killed with the Messenger of God before he departed from you; so bury me with them." They did so and allege that the Messenger of God said about him that he was among his [own] folk like Yā Sīn[311] was among his.[312]

In this year, the deputation of the people of al-Ṭā'if came to the Messenger of God. It is said that they came in the month of Ramaḍān [December 12, 630–January 11, 631].

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: After killing 'Urwah, Thaqīf held out a few months. Then they deliberated among themselves [and determined][313] that they did not have the strength to fight the Arabs surrounding them who had given their oath of allegiance [to the Messenger of God], and who had accepted Islam.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ya'qūb b. 'Utbah b. al-Mughīrah b. al-Akhnas b. Sharīq al-Thaqafī: 'Amr b. Umayyah, brother[314] of the Banū 'Ilāj, had shunned 'Abd Yālīl b. 'Amr,[315] and there was ill feeling between the two. 'Amr b. Umayyah was one of the most cunning of the Arabs. He ambled over to 'Abd Yālīl b. 'Amr and entered his dwelling place. He then sent word to him that 'Amr b. Umayyah said, "Come out to me." 'Abd Yālīl said to the messenger: "Woe to you! Has 'Amr sent
[1689] you?" The messenger replied: "Indeed, he is standing here in your dwelling place." 'Abd Yālīl then retorted, "I would not have thought that of 'Amr. He knows how to protect himself better than that." [So he came out],[316] and when he saw 'Amr he welcomed him. 'Amr said: "We have been dealt a situation from which there is no escape (*hijrah*).[317] Indeed, you have seen what

311. These are the mysterious letters at the beginning of the Qur'ān *sūrah* 36, generally construed as a title of the Prophet. Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, XV, 4–5; Blachère, *Coran*, 469 (abbreviation of *yā insān*, i.e., O men!). See also above (Ṭabarī, I, 1664, n. 107).

312. Ibn Shabbah adds: Who called his people to God and they killed him.

313. Addition from Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

314. Wāqidī: One of.

315. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 371. *Yālīl* was a name of a divinity, cf. Fahd, *Panthéon*, 197–99.

316. Addition from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Wāqidī.

317. The author makes a pun on this word as it has different meanings. The common meaning is attached to the Prophet's emigration from Mecca to Medina, but it is not intended here.

has transpired as regards this man [i.e., the Messenger of God]. All the Arabs have embraced Islam and you do not have the strength to make war against them, so consider your situation." Thereupon, Thaqīf deliberated among themselves, some saying to one another, "Don't you see that your herd is not safe, and none of you can dare go out without being cut off [from the town]." They deliberated [further] and decided to send a man to the Prophet as they had [previously] sent 'Urwah. They spoke to 'Abd Yālīl b. 'Amr b. 'Umayr, who was of the same age as 'Urwah b. Mas'ūd, but he declined to undertake the task. Fearing that he would be dealt with as was 'Urwah on his return, he said, "I am not doing anything until you send someone with me." Thus they agreed to send two men from the Aḥlāf and three from the Banū Mālik. There were six [all told]: 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ b. Bishr b. 'Abd Duhmān, brother of the Banū Yasār; Aws b. 'Awf, brother of the Banū Sālim [b. 'Awf];[318] Numayr b. Kharashah b. Rabī'ah, brother of Balḥārith;[319] and from the Aḥlāf, al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr b. Wahb b. Mu'attib and Shuraḥbīl b. Ghaylān b. Salimah b. Mu'attib.[320] 'Abd Yālīl then departed with them as leader of his folk and in charge of their affairs. He took them [i.e., the other five] with him because he feared he would be dealt with as was 'Urwah b. Mas'ūd, and he hoped that each man among them would keep his [own] clan occupied on their return to al-Ṭā'if.

When they drew close to Medina and dismounted at Qanāt,[321] they met al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah taking his turn at pasturing the mounts of the Messenger of God's companions (the task of pasturing the mounts was taken up in turn by each of the companions). When he saw them, al-Mughīrah left the mounts [with the Thaqafīs][322] and dashed off to give the Messenger of God the good tidings that they were coming to him. Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq met him[323] before he reached the Messenger of God, so he informed [1690]

318. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

319. Ibn Isḥāq: Banū al-Ḥārith.

320. There were additional people in the delegation, see Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 963; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 53; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 283–84.

321. One of the three valleys of Medina. Ḥarbī, *Manāsik*, 411; Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, III, 1096; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 401.

322. Addition from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Wāqidī.

323. Wāqidī adds: At the door of the mosque.

Abū Bakr that a group of riders from Thaqīf had arrived with the intention of giving the oath of allegiance and embracing Islam, so that conditions might be set down for them and put in writing [in the presence of] the Messenger of God, guaranteeing [safety] to their folk, their land, and their possessions. Abū Bakr begged al-Mughīrah: "I swear by God on your behalf, don't beat me to the Messenger of God, so that I might be the first to break this news to him." Al-Mughīrah complied with this request, so Abū Bakr went to the Messenger of God and informed him that a group of riders from Thaqīf had arrived. Following that, al-Mughīrah[324] went back to his [Thaqafī] companions and brought the mounts back with them. He taught them how to greet the Messenger of God, as they were only used to the pagan salutation. [Narrators] allege that when they came to the Messenger of God, he erected a dome-shaped tent for them in the vicinity of his mosque (*fī nāḥiyat masjidihi*).[325] Khālid b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ[326] acted as intermediary between them and the Messenger of God until their treaty was written, and it was Khālid who drafted the treaty with his own hand. They would not eat the food sent to them from the Messenger of God until Khālid ate of it. [This behavior continued] until they embraced Islam, rendered their oath of allegiance and completed the drafting of their treaty.

Among the things which they had requested of the Messenger of God was that he should leave *al-Ṭāghiyyah* [i.e., the idol *al-Lāt*][327] alone, and not demolish it for three years. The Messenger of God refused that request of theirs, but they continued to ask

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324. Al-Mughīrah went to the Prophet after Abū Bakr. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 964.

325. That is, because the Prophet spent most of his time in the courtyard of his mosque; it was here that he received delegates, conducted business, and addressed his followers. The mosque was, in fact, the center for the secular as well as the religious life of the community.

Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 965, states that the delegates stayed with al-Mughīrah and three tents were erected in the mosque so that they would sit there and observe the Muslims while praying and reciting the Qur'ān. Cf. Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 502.

326. He was a rich member of the Umayyad clan. According to some traditions, he was the fourth convert to Islam and served the Prophet as one of his scribes. He refused to recognize Abū Bakr and offered his support to 'Alī. He died in 13/635. *EI²*, s.v. Khālid b. Sa'īd; Jafri, *Origins*, 53.

327. The terms *al-Ṭāghiyyah* (literally means insolent or tyrannical), *al-Ṭāghūt*, and *Rabbah* (sovereign) were used for the idol *al-Lāt*. It was an old Arabian god-

him to do it for a year or two, and he kept on refusing.[328] Finally, they asked if he could desist for a single month after their return [home], but the Messenger of God declined to allow the idol to remain for any specified time. [By persisting in their request] and showing their desire to leave [the idol alone], they were seeking to [1691] be safe from the fools among them [as well as from] their women and children. They did not wish to alarm their fellow tribesmen by destroying the idol until Islam had entered their [hearts]. The Messenger of God not only refused that request but sent Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah, who subsequently demolished it. In addition to leaving *al-Ṭāghiyyah*, they had asked that they be exempted from prayer and from smashing their idols with their own hands. The Messenger of God responded, "As for smashing your idols with your own hands, we shall let you off, but as for prayer there is no good in a religion which has no prayer." They said. "O Muḥammad, we will give in to you on this issue even though it is demeaning."[329]

When they had embraced Islam and the Messenger of God had drawn up their treaty for them, he appointed 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ[330] to be their leader, although he was the youngest among them. This was because he was the most zealous in his desire to study Islam and to learn the Qur'ān. Abū Bakr told the Messenger of God, "O Messenger of God, indeed I have seen this youth to be the most zealous among them in his desire to study Islam and to learn the Qur'ān."[331]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Ya'qūb b. 'Utbah: When they left the Messenger of God and turned toward their home-

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dess whose sanctuary was near al-Ṭā'if, where a white stone, hung with all sorts of decorations, was her symbol. *EI*², s.v. al-Lāt; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ṭ-gh-a; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, III, 25–29; Ryckmans, *Religions*, 15; Andrae, *Mohammed*, 17; Fahd, *Panthéon*, 111–20.

328. As in Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq. Text: And he refused.

329. The delegation asked that they be exempted from several other things, such as the interdictions on adultery, *ribā* (usury), and wine, which they considered troublesome obligations. Cf. Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 502–3; Buhl, *Leben*, 332; Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 306.

330. According to Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 966), Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, VII/1, 26–27), and Ibn Shabbah, he had secretly embraced Islam soon after his arrival in Medina, and used to visit the Prophet, Abū Bakr and Ubayy b. Ka'b to learn the Qur'ān.

331. After accepting Islam, they fasted the remainder of Ramaḍān. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 185–86; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 968.

land, the Messenger of God dispatched Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah to demolish *al-Ṭāghiyyah*. The two traveled with the deputation until they approached al-Ṭā'if, at which point al-Mughīrah asked Abū Sufyān to precede him. Abū Sufyān re-
[1692] fused, saying, "Go to your kinsfolk yourself,"[332] and stayed at his estate in Dhū al-Harm.[333] When al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah entered [al-Ṭā'if], he mounted the idol and struck it with a pickaxe while his folk, the Banū Mu'attib, stood by him, fearing that he might be shot at or struck as 'Urwah had been. The women of Thaqīf came out with their heads uncovered and said, lamenting the [loss of the] idol [i.e., the goddess]:

Oh, shed tears for the protector![334]
Ignoble ones have forsaken her,
those not competent in wielding swords.

He said: While al-Mughīrah was striking the idol with the axe, Abū Sufyān was saying, "Alas for you, alas!"[335] When al-Mughīrah had demolished it, he took its treasure and ornamentation and sent [it] to Abū Sufyān. Its ornamentation was made up of various items, while its treasure consisted of gold and onyx. The Messenger of God had previously instructed Abū Sufyān to pay the debts of 'Urwah and al-Aswad, the sons of Mas'ūd,[336] from the property of *al-Lāt*, so he discharged their debts.[337]

In this year, the Messenger of God carried out the military expedition to Tabūk.[338]

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332. That is, because al-Mughīrah was a Thaqafī from al-Ṭā'if.

333. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, IV, 1352. It is also said that it was 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's estate in al-Ṭā'if. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 403.

334. It is in rhymed prose. For Ibn Hishām's comment, see *Sīrah*, IV, 186.

335. As in C, Cairo, and Ibn Isḥāq. Text: Alas for you, welcome (*ahlan*) to you!

336. After the death of 'Urwah, his son Abū Malīḥ and his cousin Qārib b. al-Aswad left al-Ṭā'if, went to Medina, and embraced Islam. Before the Thaqīf delegation left Medina, they had requested the Prophet that the debts of their fathers be paid from the treasure of *al-Lāt*. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 186–87; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 962, 971; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 370.

337. On their return home, the delegation was received with hostility, and it took two or three days before the people of al-Ṭā'if abandoned the idea of waging war against the Prophet. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 969–71. For the text of the treaty, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 187; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 973. Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 306, states that the actual text of this treaty is lost.

338. A town on the northern frontier of Arabia beyond which Byzantine territory began. It was a way station on the pilgrim route between Damascus and Medi-

An Account of the Military Expedition to Tabūk

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: After his return from al-Ṭā'if, the Messenger of God stayed in Medina from Dhū al-Ḥijjah to Rajab [May 19–October 14, 631]; then he ordered the people to prepare for a military expedition against the Byzantines.[339]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq on the authority of al-Zuhrī, Yazīd b. Rūmān,[340] ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr and ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatādah and others: Everyone transmitted what he had learned about the expedition to Tabūk and some people reported what others did not. All the reports agree, however, that the Messenger of God ordered his companions to prepare for the military expedition against the Byzantines.[341] This was a season when people were hard pressed; the heat was oppressive and the country was passing through a dry spell. At the time, fruit was ripe and shade was dearly sought. People love to stay where they have shade and fruit [trees], and find leaving them distasteful. The Messenger of God would seldom go out on a military expedition without alluding to a destination and announcing [publicly] that he meant [a place][342] other than that intended. The Tabūk expedition was the exception, in that he explained [the particulars of the expedition openly] to the people. This was because of the long distance, the difficult season, and the enemy's numerical superiority. He wanted the people to be fully prepared, so he ordered [1693]

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na. For its topography, pictures, and historical geography, see Musil, *Ḥeǧâz*, 161–70, 318–21; Philby, *Midian*, 113ff.; Jāsir, *Shimāl*, 423ff., 488–90; Al-Wohaibi, *Hijaz*, 272–76; *EI*[1], s.v. Tabūk,

339. It was the largest and the best-equipped army the Prophet had ever led. Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 1002, 1041) and Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 368) state that thirty thousand people took part in it. Lings, *Muhammad*, 317–19, gives a vivid description. For the Prophet's northern policy, see Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 105–17; Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 309ff.

340. Yazīd b. Rūmān al-Asadī died in 130/747–48. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 325.

341. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 989–92, 1019, states that the Prophet had received the news that the Byzantines were gathering troops and threatening to attack Medina. After reaching Tabūk, the Prophet discovered that the information he had received was exaggerated and decided to return to Medina. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 368.

For the question as to whether Muḥammad was trying to liberate the Arab auxiliary army in the service of the Emperor, or was trying to expand Islam beyond the boundaries of Arabia, see Buhl, *Leben*, 322–23; Andrae, *Mohammed*, 168.

342. Addition from Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

them to make ready and informed them that his objective was the Byzantines. They prepared themselves despite their dislike for that approach and what it entailed, as well as their respect for the Byzantines and their fighting ability.

One day, while the Messenger of God was making preparations for this expedition, he said to Jadd b. Qays,[343] brother[344] of the Banū Salimah:[345] "Would you like, O Jadd, to fight the Banū Aṣfar [sons of the Yellow/Red One][346] this year?" He said: "O, Messenger of God, please excuse me [from this] and do not tempt me. By God, my folk know no better admirer of women than I. I fear that if I see the women of the Banū Aṣfar I shall not be able to control myself." The Messenger of God turned away from him saying, "I excuse you." It was about al-Jadd that the following verse was revealed: "Among them is a man who says, 'Grant me exemption [to stay at home] and tempt me not [into trial].' Have they not already fallen into trial? Indeed hell encompasses the unbelievers."[347] ["Tempt me not"] meant that he feared temptation from the women of the Banū Aṣfar. But was it not [also] temptation that he had fallen into, by staying behind [while] the Messenger of God [went to battle]? By falling prey to human desires, he had fallen into a greater temptation. Indeed, hell is at his back.

[1694]

One[348] of the hypocrites, feeling an aversion to battle, being

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343. Although he had accepted Islam, he was a hypocrite. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 73; III/2, 112.

344. Ibn Isḥāq: One of.

345. A clan of Khazraj. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 358.

346. Wāqidī: Would you like, O Abū Wahb, to join us this year [in an expedition]? Perhaps you might capture a woman of the Banū Aṣfar.

The Byzantines were called Banū Aṣfar by the Arabs in contrast to *aswad* (black), a description of non-Arabs as light-skinned. The genealogists were not satisfied with the color explanation and considered Aṣfar, (Ṣefō of Genesis 36:11) the grandson of Esau (in the Septuagint, Genesis 36, 10) and the father of Rūmīl (Genesis 36, 11), as the ancestor of the Rūm. *EI*^{2}, s.v. Aṣfar; Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, I, 243; Lewis, *Muslim discovery*, 141. Ibn Ḥazm (*Jamharah*, 511), on the other hand, states that the Banū Aṣfar were the descendants of 'Iṣab b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, who lived in the mountains of al-Sharāt between Syria and al-Ḥijāz.

347. Qur'ān 9:49. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XIV, 286–89; Ṭūsī, *Tafsīr*, V, 270–71; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte*, I, 224; Blachère, *Coran*, 219. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 992–93, states that his son 'Abdallāh, who had fought with the Muslims at Badr and who was a half-brother of Mu'ādh b. Jabal, exchanged harsh words with his father for his refusal to participate in the expedition.

348. Ibn Isḥāq: A group of hypocrites. According to Wāqidī, he was Jadd b. Qays.

skeptical of the truth, and spreading false rumors about the Messenger of God, said to another that they should not go out in the heat. With regard to them, God revealed: "They said, 'Do not march out in the heat'; say, 'The heat of hell is far more intense, if only they understand!' So, let them laugh a little, for they will weep more in retribution for [the sins] they have accumulated."[349]

The Messenger of God went ahead earnestly with his preparations for the expedition and ordered the men to get ready quickly. He urged and persuaded the people of means [to help in meeting] the expenses and [to provide] mounts for the cause of God. The men of means provided mounts [in anticipation of] God's reward. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān spent a huge sum, more[350] than anyone had ever done, on this expedition.

Seven Muslims, known as "The Weepers," from among the *Anṣār* and others, came to the Messenger of God and asked him to provide them with mounts, for they were without means. He said: "I do not have any mount to provide you with." They turned back and their eyes flowed with tears out of grief that they had not the wherewithal to meet the expense [of the expedition].[351]

[Ibn Isḥāq] states: I have received a report that Yāmīn b. 'Umayr b. Ka'b al-Naḍrī met Abū Laylā 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ka'b and 'Abdallāh b. Mughaffal as they were weeping, and asked, "What makes you cry?" They responded, "We went to the Messenger of God [asking him] for mounts, but he had none to give us and we do not have anything to sustain us in order to go forth with him." Thereupon he gave them a camel upon which water was carried [from a well], so they mounted it. He provided them with some [1695]
dates, and they went off with the Messenger of God.[352]

Some Bedouins who had excused themselves [from going] came

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349. Qur'ān 9:81–82. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1069; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XIV, 399–403; Ṭūsī, *Tafsīr*, V, 311–13; Blachère, *Coran*, 224. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 160–61, states that the hypocrites used to assemble in the house of Suwaylim, the Jew, keeping men back from joining the expedition.

350. Ibn Isḥāq: No one had ever spent like him. Ibn Hishām states that 'Uthmān had spent one thousand dīnārs on this expedition. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 991, gives a list of people who contributed toward the expenses and states that 'Uthmān provided for a third of the army. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 368.

351. Qur'ān 9: 92. For their names, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 161.

352. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 994; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 112.

to apologize, but God would not accept their excuse. I have been told that they were from the Banū Ghifār,[353] and Khufāf b. Imā' b. Raḥḍah was one of them.

When the Messenger of God was prepared and determined to set off, a number of Muslims, whose intentions had prevented them from [following] the Messenger of God, lagged behind without any doubts or misgivings. Among them were Ka'b b. Mālik b. Abī Ka'b,[354] brother of the Banū Salimah; Murārah b. al-Rabī', brother of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf; Hilāl b. Umayyah, brother of the Banū Wāqif[355] and Abū Khaythamah, brother of the Banū Sālim b. 'Awf.[356] They were sincere people whose Islam was beyond reproach.

After the Messenger of God had set out, he pitched his camp by Thaniyyat al-Wadā',[357] whereas 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl[358] pitched his camp separately below him facing Dhubāb,[359] a mountain in al-Jubbānah below Thaniyyat al-Wadā'. [The narrators] allege that the latter's camp was not the smaller of the two camps. When the Messenger of God set out, 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy stayed behind with the hypocrites and waverers.[360] 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy was a brother of the Banū 'Awf b. al-Khazraj; 'Abdallāh b. Nabtal was a brother of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf; and Rifā'ah b. Zayd b. al-Tābūt was a brother of the Banū Qaynuqā'. They were the

353. A clan of Kinānah. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 42; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 186.

354. He was one of the poets supporting the Prophet and was from the clan of Salimah of Khazraj. He died between 50/670 and 55/675. *EI*², s.v. Ka'b b. Mālik; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 293–94.

355. The Banū Wāqif were the allies of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 344.

356. The Banū Sālim b. 'Awf were a clan of Khazraj. Ibid., 354.

For those who stayed behind, see Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 997–98; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 119.

357. A narrow pass in a mountain overlooking Medina through which one enters the city. Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 269–70; Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, IV, 1372; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 86; Ḥamīdullāh, *Battlefields*, 10.

358. He was a chief of Sālim, a section of the 'Awf clan of the Khazraj. The sources suggest that but for the emigration of Muhammad he might have been the leader of Medina. Although he had accepted Islam, he was not a devoted Muslim and had the reputation of being the leader of the hypocrites. He died shortly after the Prophet's return from this expedition. *EI*², s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy.

359. Dhubāb or Dhibāb, a mountain near Medina. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 609; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 3.

360. Most of them were afraid to fight the Byzantines. See Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 995–96.

chief men among the hypocrites[361] and were doing harm to Islam and its people by their artful machinations.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Amr b. 'Ubayd[362]—al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī:[363] Concerning them, God revealed: "They had [1696] sought to stir up sedition before, and turned things upside down for you, [but truth came out in the end and God's will prevailed, even though they did not like it]."[364]

Ibn Isḥāq: The Messenger of God left 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib behind to look after his family and ordered him to stay with them, and he left Sibā' b. 'Urfuṭah, a brother of the Banū Ghifār, in charge of Medina.[365] The hypocrites spread false rumors about 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, saying that he had been left behind because he was a burden to the Messenger of God and he wanted to relieve himself of him. [After] hearing [these accusations] 'Alī took his weapons and set off until he caught up with the Messenger of God while he was [camped][366] in al-Jurf,[367] saying, "O Prophet of God, the hypocrites allege that you have left me behind because you found me burdensome and wanted to get rid of me." He replied, "They lied. I left you behind because of [what I have left][368] behind, so go back and represent me in my family and yours. Are you not pleased, O 'Alī, that you are in the same position in relation to me as Aaron (Hārūn) was in relation to Moses (Mūsā), except that there will be no prophet after me?"[369] 'Alī returned to Medina and the Messenger of God went on his expedition.

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361. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 274ff.

362. 'Amr b. 'Ubayd b. Bāb, also known as Ibn Kaysān al-Tamīmī, died ca. 142/759–60. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 70–75.

363. He was a famous preacher of the Umayyad period in al-Baṣrah and died in 110/728. *EI*[2], s.v. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 591–94.

364. Qur'ān 9: 48. See also Wāḥidī, *Asbāb*, 172; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XIV, 283–86; Ṭabarsī, *Majma'*, III, 35–36.

365. According to another report, it was Muḥammad b. Maslamah al-Anṣārī. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 162; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 995; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 44, 77, 119; IV/2, 54. In addition to above reports, Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 235–36, cites another report according to which 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was put in charge of Medina.

366. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

367. Located about 6 km from Medina on the way to Syria where the Muslims used to camp before going out on an expedition, Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 377; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 128.

368. Addition from Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

369. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 300; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, VII, 120; Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 242; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1340.

Some days after the Messenger of God had set out, Abū Khaythamah,[370] a brother of the Banū Sālim, returned to his family on a hot day. He found his two wives in huts [made of palm sticks] in his garden [of palm trees surrounded by a fence]. Each had sprinkled her hut and cooled water for him in it and prepared food for him there. When he entered the garden, he stood at the door of the hut and looked at his wives and what they had prepared for him and said, "The Messenger of God is exposed to the heat of the sun and the blowing of the winds, while Abū
[1697] Khaythamah is in cool shade, [has] cool water, prepared food, and rests with a pretty woman[371] in his estate. This is not fair." Then he added, "By God, I will not enter either of your huts, but will join the Messenger of God; so get some provisions ready for me." They did so and he brought forth his camel upon which water was carried [from a well] and mounted it. He set out in search of the Messenger of God until he overtook him where he had camped in Tabūk. 'Umayr b. Wahb al-Jumaḥī,[372] who was also looking for the Messenger of God, had overtaken Abū Khaythamah on the way, so they traveled together. When they approached Tabūk, Abū Khaythamah said to 'Umayr b. Wahb, "I have done wrong. If you don't mind, stay behind me until I go to the Messenger of God." 'Umayr complied with his request. When Abū Khaythamah drew near the Messenger of God as he halted in Tabūk, the people called [the Prophet's] attention, saying that a rider was approaching on the way. The Messenger of God said, "[It must] be Abū Khaythamah!" They said, "O Messenger of God, he is, by God, Abū Khaythamah." Having dismounted he came and greeted the Messenger of God, who responded by saying, "Woe to you, O Abū Khaythamah!" He then informed the Messenger of God what had happened and [the Prophet] spoke to him well and invoked a blessing upon him.[373]

When the Messenger of God passed by al-Ḥijr,[374] he halted and

370. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 998–99; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 119.

371. Wāqidī: With two pretty women.

372. Wāqidī states that he overtook Abū Khaythamah at Wādī al-Qurā.

373. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 164, has reproduced the verses composed by Abū Khaythamah on this occasion.

374. An ancient ruined site in northwestern Arabia near Madā'in Ṣāliḥ. It was a commercial town second only to Petra in importance during the Nabatean period.

the people drew water from its well. Having departed from there, the Messenger of God said, "Do not drink any of its water nor perform ablutions with it. If you have used it for making dough, then eat none of it, and feed it to the camels. Let none of you go out at night alone except with a companion."[375] The people did as the Messenger of God had ordered them, except for two men from the Banū Sā'idah:[376] one went out to relieve himself, while the other went to look for his camel. The one who had gone out to [1698] relieve himself was choked on his way, and the other who had gone to look for his camel was carried away by the wind and was thrown to earth at the two mountains of Ṭayyi'. When the Messenger of God was informed about them he said, "Did I not forbid you from going out alone without a companion?" He then prayed for the one who was choked on his way and he recovered, and the other who was thrown to earth at the two mountains of Ṭayyi' was presented to the Messenger of God by a man of Ṭayyi' when he arrived in Medina.

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] states that the story of the two men was reported by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr—al-'Abbās b. Sahl b. Sa'd al-Sā'idī.[377]

When the people woke up in the morning and had no water, they complained to the Messenger of God. So he prayed, and God sent a cloud, which rained so much so that they not only quenched their thirst but carried away all the water they needed.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah: I said to Maḥmūd b. Labīd,[378] "Did the people recognize hypocrisy among them?" He replied, "Yes, by God, if a

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Several water wells are located in that plain. The Qur'ān relates that it was inhabited by a godless people, and the Prophet forbade his soldiers to refresh themselves at these wells, because it was an accursed spot. *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥidjr; Ryckmans, *Religions*, 12; Al-Wohaibi, *Hijaz*, 77–80.

Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 165, states that when the Messenger of God passed by al-Ḥijr he covered his face with his cloak and urged his camel on, saying, "Do not enter the dwellings of those who sinned unless you are lamenting, for fear that you may meet with the same fate that befell them." Cf. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1007.

375. Because it was very windy. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1006.

376. A clan of Khazraj. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 187; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 365, 472.

377. He died ca. 120/738. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 118.

378. He was an *Anṣārī* from the *tābi'ūn* or "followers" and used to give legal opinions in Medina. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 132; IV/2, 79.

man knew that hypocrisy [exited] in his brother, father, uncle, or his kinsfolk, they would cover it up for each other." Then Maḥmūd said, "Some of my clansmen have informed me that a hypocrite, whose hypocrisy was notorious,[379] used to go with the Messenger of God wherever he went. When the incident of rain happened at al-Ḥijr and the Messenger of God prayed as he did, and God sent a cloud which rained until the people were satisfied, we went to him and said, 'Woe to you! Is there anything more to say after this?' He replied, '[It was] a passing cloud!'"

Then the Messenger of God moved on. On the way his camel
[1699] strayed and his companions went in search of it. There was a man called 'Umārah b. Ḥazm[380] with the Messenger of God who was present at al-'Aqabah[381] and Badr[382] and who was the uncle of the Banū 'Amr b. Ḥazm. In his camp was Zayd b. Luṣayb[383] al-Qaynuqā'ī[384] who was a hypocrite. Zayd, while he was in 'Umārah's camp and 'Umārah was with the Messenger of God, said, "Does not Muḥammad allege that he is a prophet and informs you of news from heaven when he doesn't know where his camel is?"[385] The Messenger of God said while 'Umārah was with him, "A man has said that this Muḥammad tells you that he is a prophet and alleges that he informs you of heavenly matters when he doesn't

379. According to Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1009, he was Aws b. Qayẓī or Zayd b. al-Luṣayt.

380. He was present at the second 'Aqabah and was killed in the battle of the Yamāmah in 12/633. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/1, 67; III/2, 50–51, 77, 140; VIII, 117.

381. A mountain pass between Minā and Mecca, where the Prophet had secret meetings with the Medinese at the pilgrimages of the year 621 and 622 which paved the way for his subsequent migration to Medina. In 621, at "the first 'Aqabah," twelve people were present, and in 622, at "the second 'Aqabah," seventy-three people were present who promised to defend Muḥammad, if necessary, by arms. *EI*², s.v. 'Aḳaba; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 239–54; Ḥamīdullāh, *Battlefields*, 7–8.

382. A town and a marketplace southwest of Medina, a night's journey from the coast and at the junction of a road from Medina with the caravan route from Mecca to Syria, where the first great battle of Islam was fought in Ramaḍān 2/March 624. *EI*², s.v. Badr; Ḥamīdullāh, *Battlefields*, 13–21, gives topographical details and a map of the battlefield.

383. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, Wāqidī: al-Luṣayt. Ibn Hishām: al-Luṣayb. Wāqidī states that he was a Jewish convert to Islam.

384. Qaynuqā' was one of the three main Jewish tribes of Medina. After they were expelled, a few of them embraced Islam and some of them were hypocrites. *EI*², s.v. Ḳaynuḳā'.

385. It was the Prophet's camel *al-Qaṣwā'*. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1009. See Ṭabarī, below (I, 1784).

know where his camel is. By God, I know nothing except that which God has taught me, and He has indicated to me where it is. It is in the[386] valley on such-and-such a mountain trail. It is caught up in a tree by its halter; so go and bring it to me." They went and brought it. 'Umārah b. Ḥazm returned to his camp[387] and said, "By God, what a wonderful thing the Messenger of God has just told us about something said by someone of which God has informed him." He then repeated the words as uttered by Zayd b. al-Luṣayb. A man who was in the camp of 'Umārah but was not present with the Messenger of God, exclaimed, "By God, Zayd uttered those words [just] before you came." Consequently, 'Umārah advanced on Zayd beating him on the neck and saying, "O servants of God, by God, a great distressing thing happened in my camp and I did not know of it. [Addressing Zayd] Get out of my camp, O enemy of God, and do not accompany me." Some people allege that Zayd repented after that, while others say that he was suspected of evil until he died.

Then the Messenger of God continued his march and men began to fall behind. When they told the Messenger of God that so- [1700]
and-so had fallen behind, he responded, "Leave him, for if there is any good in him God will unite him with you; if not, God has relieved you of him." Finally, it was reported to him that Abū Dharr[388] had fallen behind and his camel had delayed him. He said, "Let him be, for if there is any good in him God will join him to you; if not, God has relieved you of him." Abū Dharr remained on his camel until it slowed down with him. Then he took his baggage, lifted it onto his back and started following the trail of the Messenger of God. When the Messenger of God had halted at one of his halting places, an onlooker called his attention to a lonely man walking on the way. The Messenger of God said that he wished it was Abū Dharr. When the people looked attentively, they said that it was indeed Abū Dharr. The Messenger of God said, "May God have mercy on Abū Dharr! He walks alone, will die alone, and will be raised alone."

386. Hisch. Ibn Isḥāq: This valley.

387. As in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Wāqidī. Text: To his family.

388. Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, a companion of the Prophet, was noted for his humility, asceticism, and religious learning. He died in 32/652–53 and is considered one of the four pillars of the early Shī'ah. *EI*², s.v. Abū Dharr; Jafri, *Origins*, 52.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Buraydah b. Sufyān al-Aslamī[389]—Muḥamad b. Ka'b al-Qurażī:[390] When 'Uthmān exiled Abū Dharr, he came down to al-Rabadhah[391] where he died and there was no one with him except his wife and slave. [Abū Dharr] instructed them to wash him and to wrap him in a shroud and lay him on the open road and to tell the first caravan that passed by that he was Abū Dharr, a companion of the Messenger of God, and that they should help [his wife and slave] bury him. When he died, they did [as they were told] and put his body on the open road. 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd[392] had been approaching that place with a group of men from Iraq on a lesser pilgrimage when suddenly they noticed the bier on the road,[393] the camels nearly treading on it. [Abū Dharr's] slave went to them and said, "This is Abū Dharr, the Messenger of God's companion. Help us to bury
[1701] him." 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd broke into tears saying, "The Messenger of God spoke the truth. You will walk alone, die alone, and be raised alone." Then he and his companions got down and buried him, and he told them Abū Dharr's story and what the Messenger of God had said to him on his way to Tabūk.[394]

A band of hypocrites, among them Wadī'ah b. Thābit, a brother[395] of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf, and a man from Ashja',[396] a confederate of the Banū Salimah called Makhshī[397] b. Ḥumayyir,

389. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/1, 173; VI, 172; VII/1, 84, Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 433–34.

390. He was from the Banū Qurayẓah. It was probably his father or grandfather who was converted to Islam. He died between 108/726–27 and 120/738. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 272–73; VII/2, 193; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 420–22.

391. A village about three days' journey from Medina on the way to al-Ḥijāz. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 633–37; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 24.

392. He was one of the early converts to Islam and became famous as a reader of the Qur'ān. He is also known for his Qur'ānic exegesis and is regarded as the head of the Kūfan transmitters. *EI²*, s.v. Ibn Mas'ūd.

393. Ibn Isḥāq: In the middle of the road. Wāqidī: On the open road.

394. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/1, 161–75, gives the same account with additional *isnād*. Cf. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1000–1001. After citing Wāqidī's report, Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, V, 55–56) gives another report which states that Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī and Mālik al-Ashtar, who were passing through al-Rabadhah in a caravan from al-Kūfah, performed the last rites of Abū Dharr.

395. Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 1003): One of. He also gives two additional names.

396. A clan of Ghaṭafān. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 249.

397. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: Mukhashshin (all the subsequent occurences are the same.)

were going[398] with the Messenger of God as he was proceeding to Tabūk. Some of them said to others, "Do you think that fighting the Banū Aṣfar is like fighting others?[399] By God, it looks to me as if you will be tied with ropes tomorrow in order to intimidate and frighten the faithful." Makhshī b. Ḥumayyir[400] said, "By God, I wish I could swear before a judge that every one of us should be flogged a hundred lashes if we could escape from God's revealing a verse about us because of what you have said."[401]

The Messenger of God, as it was reported to me, said to 'Ammār b. Yāsir,[402] "Overtake that band, for they have forged lies, and ask them what they said. If they deny it, tell them, 'Yes indeed, you said such-and-such.'" 'Ammār went and told them [what the Prophet had said], and they came to the Messenger of God making excuses. The Messenger of God had stopped on his camel, and Wadī'ah b. Thābit started speaking while he held its girth: "O Messenger of God, we were simply playing and speaking nonsense." Then God revealed about them: "And if you question them, then assuredly they will say, 'We were only speaking nonsense and playing.'"[403] Makhshī b. Ḥumayyir said, "O Messenger of God, my name and my father's name have withheld me [from attaining honor]."[404] The man who was pardoned in the above verse was Makhshī b. Ḥumayyir,[405] and so he was called [1702]

398. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: Were pointing to.

399. Ibn Isḥāq: Is like fighting the Arabs (with each other)?

400. Wāqidī: Al-Julās b. Suwayd.

401. It suggests the powerful influence of the Qur'ānic verses. The Qur'ān 9:64, states: "The hypocrites fear lest a *sūrah* be revealed concerning them to notify them as to what is in their hearts. Say: Mock on; God will bring forth what you dread."

402. He and his wife were early converts to Islam and suffered severe tortures. He is known for his learning, great piety, and devotion to Islam. He lost his life at Ṣiffīn in 37/657 and is considered one of the four pillars of the early Shī'ah. *EI²*, s.v. 'Ammār b. Yāsir; Jafri, *Origins*, 52.

403. Qur'ān 9:65. Wāḥidī, *Asbāb*, 174–75; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XIV, 332–35; Blachère, *Coran*, 222. Ṭabarsī, *Majma'*, III, 44–46, states that a band of fourteen men tried to ambush the Prophet near a mountain pass while he was returning from Tabūk. Cf. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 236–37.

404. *Makhshī* means a person who is feared, and *Ḥumayyir* is a diminutive form of *ḥimār*, meaning a little donkey.

405. Qur'ān 9:66, states: "Make no excuses! You have disbelieved following your profession of faith. If We should pardon one faction of you, We will still punish another faction since they have been such criminals." "One faction" in the above verse means one person, and he was Makhshī. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XIV, 336.

'Abd al-Raḥmān.[406] He asked God to make him die as a martyr in a place not known [by anyone]. He was killed on the day of al-Yamāmah[407] and no trace of him was found.

When the Messenger of God reached Tabūk, Yuḥannah b. Ru'bah, governor of Aylah,[408] came to him, made a treaty with him, and offered him the poll tax (*jizyah*). The people of Jarbā'[409] and Adhruḥ[410] also offered him the poll tax, and the Messenger of God wrote a document for each of them which is still in their possession.

Then the Messenger of God summoned Khālid b. al-Walīd[411] and sent him to Ukaydir at Dūmah.[412] This was Ukaydir b. 'Abd al-Malik, a man from Kindah[413] who was a king of Dūmah and a Christian. The Messenger of God told Khālid that he would find him hunting wild cows. Khālid b. al-Walīd rode out until he came

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406. Wāqidī adds: Or 'Abdallāh.

407. Al-Yamāmah is a district in central Arabia where the battle of al-Yamāmah was fought between the Muslims led by Khālid b. al-Walīd, and the Banū Ḥanīfah led by "the false prophet" Musaylimah. The Muslims were victorious but suffered heavy losses. *EI*[1], s.v. Yamāma; Philby, *Heart of Arabia*, II, 31–34; Hitti, *History*, 141.

408. A seaport at the north end of the Gulf of 'Aqabah near the biblical site of Ezion-geber and Elath. It was an important way station on the pilgrim route between Egypt and Mecca. Now it is called al-'Aqabah. *EI*[2], s.v. Ayla; Buhl, *Leben*, 327–28; Musil, *Ḥeǧâz*, 81–87; Jāsir, *Shimāl*, 461; Al-Wohaibi, *Hijaz*, 43–51, 315ff.

For the treaty, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 169; Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 87–89.

409. It was an ancient fortress situated on the Roman road leading from Buṣrā to the Red Sea, about one mile north of Adhruḥ. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 118–19, states that its inhabitants were Jews. *EI*[2], s.v. Djarbā'.

410. It was a Roman camp between Ma'ān and Petra in the Judhām country and was visited by the caravans of Quraysh. It became famous in Islamic history on account of the arbitration conference which took place there after the battle of Ṣiffīn. *EI*[2], s.v. Adhruḥ. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1032, has reproduced the treaty. Cf. Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 90–91.

411. He had fought against the Muslims at Uḥud but was converted to Islam in 6/627 or 8/629. He became one of the well-known commanders at the time of the early Islamic conquests and died in 21/642. *EI*[2], s.v. Khālid b. al-Walīd.

412. Dūmat al-Jandal, an oasis at the head of the Wādī Sirḥān, linking central Arabia and the mountains of Ḥawrān and Syria, is situated on the route between Damascus and Medina. The entire basin with its settlements is now called al-Jawf. *EI*[2], s.v. Dūmat al-Djandal. For its topography and historical geography, see Musil, *Arabia*, 157–64, 458–74, 531–53; Jāsir, *Shimāl*, 99ff., 528–33. This expedition against Dūmah was the third.

413. A South Arabian tribal group that spread all over Arabia in the fifth and sixth centuries from the south to the center to the north, and played a decisive role in the history of Arabia before the rise of Islam. *EI*[2], s.v. Kinda.

within sight of his fort. It was a moonlit summer night and Ukaydir was on the roof terrace with his wife. The wild cows had been scratching the palace gate with their horns all night. His wife asked him if he had ever seen anything like that, and he said, "No indeed." Then she said, "Who would allow this?" He responded, "No one." He then came down and called for his horse, which was saddled. A group of men from his family, among them his brother Ḥassān, took their hunting spears, mounted [their horses], and rode off. On their way they encountered the Messenger of God's cavalry, and [Ukaydir] was seized and his brother Ḥassān was killed. Ḥassān was wearing a silk brocade gown woven with gold in the form of date-palm leaves. Khālid stripped him of it and sent it to the Messenger of God before his arrival.[414]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatādah—Anas b. Mālik: I saw Ukaydir's gown when it was brought to the Messenger of God. The Muslims were feeling [1703] it with their hands and admiring it. The Messenger of God said, "Are you amazed at it? By Him in whose hand is Muḥammad's soul, the kerchiefs of Saʿd b. Muʿādh[415] in paradise are better than this."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: Khālid brought Ukaydir to the Messenger of God, who spared his blood and made peace with him on the condition that he paid the poll tax.[416] Then he released him, and he returned to his village.

[Now the report goes back to Yazīd b. Rūmān at the beginning of the military expedition to Tabūk.] [See Ṭabarī, I, 1692, above] The Messenger of God stayed in Tabūk no more than ten nights

414. It was sent with ʿAmr b. Umayyah al-Ḍamrī. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1026. Cf. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 36–37, 48; II/1, 119–20; III/2, 13; Buhl, *Leben*, 328.

415. Saʿd b. Muʿādh died in 5/627 as a result of injuries suffered during the siege of Medina when he was thirty-siven years old. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, III, 262–64; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/2, 2–13; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 84–85; *EI*[1], s.v. Saʿd b. Muʿādh.

The tradition states: A silk robe was presented to the Messenger of God, and his companions began to feel it with their hands and marvel at its softness, so he said, "Do you marvel at the softness of this? Saʿd b. Muʿādh's headband in paradise is better and softer than it." Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 272; *Mishkat* [trans. Robson], II, 1365; transmitted by both Bukhārī and Muslim.

416. According to one report, Ukaydir surrendered peacefully. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 190. For the text of the treaty, its translation, and comments, see Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmūʿah*, 246–47; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 362–65.

and departed, returning to Medina. On the way there was water issuing from a rock in a valley called *al-mushaqqaq* (i.e., the cracked, furrowed),[417] enough to quench the thirst of two or three riders. The Messenger of God ordered that whoever should get there before him must not draw any water from it until he came. A number of hypocrites[418] got there first and drew the water that was there. When the Messenger of God came and halted, he found no water. He inquired as to who had got there first, and was told that so-and-so had. He exclaimed, "Did we not forbid them to draw any water from it until we came?" He then cursed them and invoked God against them. Then he alighted and put his hand under the rock, and water started to sprinkle into his hand as God willed. He then sprinkled the rock with that water, rubbed it with his hand and prayed as God willed him to pray. The water gushed forth, as one who heard it said, with the sound of thunder. The
[1704] people drank and drew water from it for their needs, and the Messenger of God said, "Those[419] of you who live will indeed hear about this valley that it is more fertile than others in its vicinity."

The the Messenger of God proceeded until he halted in Dhū Awān,[420] a town an hour's daytime journey from Medina. The people who had built the Mosque of Dissent (*masjid al-ḍirār*) had come to him while he was preparing for Tabūk, saying, "O Messenger of God, we have built a mosque for the sick and needy and for rainy and cold nights, and we would like you to visit us and pray for us in it."[421] [The Prophet] said that he was on the verge of traveling, and was preoccupied, or words to that effect, and that when he returned, God willing, he would come to them and pray for them in it.

When he stopped in Dhū Awān, news of the mosque[422] came to him, and he summoned Mālik b. al-Dukhshum, a brother of the

417. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 135; Jāsir, *Shimāl*, 595–96.

418. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1039, names four hypocrites who got there first.

419. Hisch.: If you live, or those of you who live.

420. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, I, 208–9; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 275. Some ruins located about 4 km from Medina were said to be of the Mosque of Dissent. Philby, *Pilgrim*, 86.

421. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1045–46, names five persons who had come to the Prophet with the invitation to visit the mosque. Cf. Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 52–55.

422. Wāqidī adds: And the people who built it came to him from the heaven.

Banū Sālim b. ʿAwf, and Maʿn b. ʿAdī, or his brother ʿĀṣim b. ʿAdī, brothers of the Banū al-ʿAjlān,[423] and said, "Go to this mosque whose owners are unjust people and destroy and burn it." They went out briskly[424] until they came to the Banū Sālim b. ʿAwf who were Mālik b. al-Dukhshum's clan. Mālik said to Maʿn, "Wait for me until I bring fire from my people." He went to his kinsfolk and took a palm branch and lighted it. Then both of them ran until they entered the mosque, its people inside, set fire to it and destroyed it and the people dispersed.[425] Concerning them it was revealed in the Qur'ān: "And those who have taken a mosque for [working] mischief and disbelief, as well as disunion among the faithful and as an outpost for those who already fought God and His Messenger, will swear, 'We desired nothing but good.' God witnesses what sort of liars they are."[426]

Those who built [the mosque] were twelve men:[427] Khidām[428] b. Khālid from the Banū ʿUbayd b. Zayd, one of the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, [the Mosque of Dissent was built as an extension onto his house]; Thaʿlabah b. Ḥāṭib from the Banū ʿUbayd, attributed to [1705]
the Banū Umayyah b. Zayd;[429] Muʿattib b. Qushayr from the Banū Ḍubayʿah b. Zayd; Abū Ḥabībah b. al-Azʿar from the Banū Ḍubayʿah b. Zayd; ʿAbbād b. Ḥunayf, the brother of Sahl b. Ḥunayf, from the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf; Jāriyah b. ʿĀmir and his two sons Mujammiʿ and Zayd; Nabtal b. al-Ḥārith from the Banū Ḍubayʿah; Baḥzaj from the Banū Ḍubayʿah; Bijād b. ʿUthmān from the Banū Ḍubayʿah; and Wadīʿah b. Thābit from the Banū Umayyah, the clan of Abū Lubābah b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir.

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423. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/2, 35–36.

424. Wāqidī adds: On foot.

425. Wāqidī states that the fire was set after the evening prayer.

426. Qur'ān 9:107. The Prophet had received some information which made him suspect the ulterior motives of the builders of this mosque. Probably they were linked to those who had planned an attempt on the Prophet's life when he was returning from Tabūk. It was also suspected that they were acting in concert with Abū ʿĀmir, an opponent of the Prophet. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 281–83; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XIV, 468–75; Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ*, III, 72–73; Buhl, *Leben*, 329; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte*, I, 224–25; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 186–88; Blachère, *Coran* 227–28; Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 314–15.

427. Wāqidī states that it was built by fifteen men.

428. Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 277): Khidhām.

429. Banū Umayyah b. Zayd and Banū Ḍubayʿah b. Zayd were clans of the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf of Aws. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 322.

The Messenger of God arrived in Medina [and found that] a group of hypocrites had stayed behind. From among the Muslims, Ka'b b. Mālik, Murārah b. al-Rabī', and Hilāl b. Umayyah had also stayed behind, but without doubt or hypocrisy. The Messenger of God ordered that no one should speak to the three.[430] Then the hypocrites who had stayed behind came to him making excuses and swearing oaths so he forgave them, but neither God nor His Messenger ever absolved them from guilt. The Muslims refrained from speaking to those three until God revealed: "God has forgiven the Prophet and the Emigrants (*Muhājirūn*) and the Helpers (*Anṣār*) who followed him in the hour of difficulty, after the hearts of a section of them were about to swerve aside; He then turned to them [in His mercy]; surely He is kind and compassionate with them. As for the three who were left behind [he did not forgive them], until, when the earth became straitened for them, despite all its breadth, and their souls became straitened, so that they thought there was no shelter from God except in Him, He then turned to them, that they might also repent; surely God accepts repentance, and is all-compassionate. O believers, fear God, and be with those who are truthful."[431]

The Messenger of God returned to Medina from Tabūk in the month of Ramaḍān. In that month, the deputation of Thaqīf, those whose report has been mentioned before, came to him.

[An Account of the People Who Accepted Islam]

[1706] In this year (i.e., A.H. 9), the Messenger of God dispatched 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib with an army (*sariyyah*)[432] to the land of Ṭayyi' in the month of Rabī' II.[433] He raided them and took captives and seized

430. For details, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 175–81; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1049–56; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 119; Lings, *Muhammad*, 320.

431. Qu'rān 9:117–19. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XIV, 539–57; Blachère, *Coran*, 229.

432. The term *sariyyah*, pl. *sarāyā*, is applied to an army sent by the Prophet in contradistinction to *ghazwah* (pl. *ghazawāt*, also *maghāzī*, meaning raiding expedition), wherein the Prophet himself participated. Originally it was applied to a portion of an army marching by night; it could consist of from five persons to four hundred. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. s-r-y.

433. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 290–91; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 984–89; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 172; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 382, 522. It is known as the *sariyyat 'Alī* to *Fulus* (or *Fals*, or *Fils*), which was an idol in Najd worshipped by Ṭayyi'. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 273–74; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, III, 48–49; Ryckmans, *Religions*, 9, 17; Fahd, *Panthéon*, 75–77.

two swords that were in the temple, one called *"rasūb"*[434] and the other *"mikhdham."*[435] The two swords were well-known and were presented to the temple by al-Ḥārith b. Abī Shimr.[436] ʿAdī b. Ḥātim's[437] sister was among the captives.

Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī]: The reports about ʿAdī b. Ḥātim that have reached me do not specify time and do not mention what al-Wāqidī reported concerning ʿAdī b. Ḥātim's sister being taken as a captive by ʿAlī.[438]

Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā [al-Baṣrī][439]—Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar[440]—Shuʿbah[441]—Simāk:[442] I heard ʿAbbād b. Ḥubaysh [al-Kūfī][443] reporting from ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, who said: The Messenger of God's cavalry came, or the Messenger of God's messengers came, and they took my paternal aunt and some other people captive and brought them before the Prophet, where they were lined up. [My aunt] said "O Messenger of God, the man who should speak for me *[wāfid]*[444] is far away, my son has been separated [from me], and I am an old woman of no service [to anyone]. Be kind to me and God will be kind to you, O Messenger of God." He said, "Who is the man who should speak for you?" "ʿAdī b. Ḥātim," she said. He said, "[The one] who fled from God and His Messenger." He then granted her request, and a man next to her, who was apparently ʿAlī, told her to ask him for a mount. She asked for one and the Messenger of God ordered it for her.

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434. A sword that penetrates into, or disappears in, the thing struck with it. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. r-s-b.

435. A sharp sword. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. kh-dh-m. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 988, states that there were three swords and three coats of arms. The third sword was called *al-Yamānī*.

436. See Ṭabarī above I, 1675, n. 200.

437. He was a son of the celebrated poet Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī and was a supporter of ʿAlī. He died in 68/687–88. *EI*², s.v. ʿAdī b. Ḥātim.

438. According to Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 988–89, ʿAdī b. Ḥātim fled as he got the news of ʿAlī's expedition. It was ʿAdī's sister who was taken as a captive. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 60, states that according to some reports, she was captured during Khālid's expedition. Cf. Lings, *Muhammad*, 315–16.

439. Died ca. 252/866. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 425–27.

440. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Hudhalī al-Baṣrī died ca. 193/808–9. Ibid., IX, 96–98.

441. Shuʿbah b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Baṣrī died in 160/776–77. Ibid., IV, 338–46.

442. Simāk b. Ḥarb al-Kūfī died in 123/740–41. Ibid., IV, 233–34.

443. Ibid., V, 91.

444. *Wāfid* is a man coming to a king, or to a great man, as an ambassador. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. w-f-d; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. w-f-d. For its original meaning, see Fahd, *Divination*, 241.

'Adī b. Ḥātim: She came to me and said, "You have done something which your father would not have done. Go to him [i.e., the Messenger of God] with earnestness and fear. So-and-so went to him and he was treated properly." So I went to him and lo, a woman and two boys, or a boy, were with him. [Then the narrator [i.e., 'Abbād b. Ḥubaysh] recounted their closeness [of rela-
[1707] tionship] to the Prophet.][445] And so I knew that he was neither like Khusraw (*Kisrā*)[446] nor like Caesar (*Qayṣar*).[447] He said to me, "O 'Adī b. Ḥātim, what made you flee from saying, 'There is no God except Allāh'? Is there any God except Allāh? What made you flee from saying, 'God is great'? Is there any thing greater than Allāh?" So I embraced Islam and saw in his face that he was rejoicing.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Shaybān b. Sa'd al-Ṭā'ī: It has been reported to me that 'Adī b. Ḥātim of Ṭayyi' used to say, "No Arab disliked the Messenger of God when he first heard about him more than I. As far as I was concerned, I was a noble man, a Christian, traveling about among my people and collecting the fourth part of their spoils (*mirbā'*).[448] I professed my own religion, and the way I was treated was as if I were a king among my people. When I heard the Messenger of God I disliked him and said to an Arab slave of mine who was herding my camels, 'May you have no father![449] Prepare for me some docile, fat, and old camels, and keep them near me. When you hear of Muḥammad's army treading this country, inform me.'" He did that, and one morning he came to me and said, "O 'Adī, whatever you were going to do when Muḥammad's cavalry should descend upon you, do it now, for I have seen banners and when I inquired about them I was told that they were Muḥammad's army." I asked him to bring my camels, which he did, and I took my family and children and told him that I would join my fellow

445. The reference is to Fāṭimah, the Prophet's daughter, and her two sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn.

446. An Arabic form of the Persian Khusraw, used especially for the Sāsānid kings. *EI*², s.v. Kisrā.

447. An Arabic name for the Roman and Byzantine emperor. *EI*², s.v. Ḳayṣar.

448. See below, n. 456.

449. It is used as a proverb for an imprecation and rough speech against whom it is addressed; however, it is not said with the desire of its having effect, but rather on an occasion of intense love. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. a-b-w.

Christians in Syria. I traveled to al-Jūshiyyah[450] and left one of Ḥātim's daughters in that settlement. When I reached Syria I stayed there.

The Messenger of God's cavalry followed me when I turned away from [that settlement] and took Ḥātim's daughter among the captives. She was brought to the Messenger of God among the captives of Ṭayyi' and he received the news of my flight to Syria. Ḥātim's daughter was put in the enclosure by the door of the mosque where the captives were detained.[451] When the Messenger of God passed by her she went to him and, being an intelligent woman, said, "O Messenger of God, [my] father is dead, and the man who should speak for me has gone away. Grant me a favor and God will grant one for you." "Who is the man who should speak for you?" he asked. When she replied that it was 'Adī b. Ḥātim he exclaimed, "The one who has fled from God and His Messenger." Then he walked away and left her. On the following day he passed by her[452] while she was in despair. A man behind [the Prophet] motioned her to go to him and speak [to him]. She went to him and said, "O Messenger of God, [my] father is dead, and the man who should speak for me is absent. Be kind to me and God will be kind to you." He replied, "I have done so, but do not rush to leave until you find someone of your own people whom you can trust and take you to your country, then call on me." She states: I asked about the man who had motioned to me to speak and was told that it was 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. I stayed until some riders from Balī or Quḍā'ah[453] came. What I wanted was to go to my brother in Syria. I went to the Messenger of God and said, "O Messenger of God, a group of my people who are trustworthy and reputable have arrived." He provided me with clothing, put me on a mount and gave me money, and I departed with them until I arrived in Syria. [1708]

450. As in C, Ibn Isḥāq, and Yāqūt (*Mu'jam*, II, 185). Text, and Ibn Hishām: al-Ḥūshiyyah. Al-Jūshiyyah is a place between Najd and Syria.

451. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 988, states that she was lodged with Ramlah bt. al-Ḥārith.

452. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: And exactly the same thing happened. On the third day he passed by her and she was in despair. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 989, states that her request was granted on the fourth day.

453. A South Arabian tribe. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 274, 279; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 440.

[1709] ʿAdī said: By God, I was sitting among my family when I saw a woman riding in a howdah pointing to me and leading her way to us. I exclaimed, "[Is it] Ḥātim's daughter?" and it was she. When she got to me she reviled me, saying, "You, the unjust one who broke with your relatives, you carried away your family and children and abandoned your father's (little) daughter[454] and honor." I replied, "O [my] little sister, do not say anything except good, for by God, I have no excuse. I did do what you stated." Then she dismounted and stayed with me. Because she was a prudent woman, I asked her what she thought of [the Prophet]. She replied, "By God, I think that you should join him forthwith, for if the man is a prophet, then the one who joins him first will have an exquisite virtue; and if he is a king, you will not be humbled in the glory of the Yemen, you being what you are." I said, "By God, this is a good suggestion," and so I left until I came to the Messenger of God in Medina. I went to him while he was in his mosque and greeted him, and he asked who I was. When I said that I was ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, he got up and took me to his house. By God, as he was leading me an old feeble woman ran to him and asked him to stop. He stopped for a long while as she spoke to him of her needs. I said to myself, "By God, this is no king." Then he continued until we entered his house, reached out for a leather cushion stuffed with palm fibers and threw it to me, saying, "Sit on this." I said, "No, rather you sit on it." He said, "No, you," and so I sat on it and he sat on the ground. I said to myself, "By God, this is not the way a king conducts himself." Then he said "Now, ʿAdī b.
[1710] Ḥātim, are you not half Christian and half Sabaean (*rakūsī*)?"[455] I replied, "Yes." "Didn't you go among your people collecting the fourth part of their spoils?"[456] he asked. When I admitted it, he said, "But that is not lawful for you in your religion." I said, "Certainly, it is true," and realized that he was a prophet sent by

454. The diminutive form is used to express endearment. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: *Baqiyyah* [i.e., remainder, survival] of your father.

455. A term applied to a person who professes a religion which is a mixture of Christianity and the Sabaeans (*al-Ṣābiʾah*), see Ṭabarī, above, I, 1657, n. 38. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. r-k-s.

456. According to the Arab lexicographers, pre-Islamic practice was to allot one-quarter of the booty to the leader as commander-in-chief. It was also the South Arabian practice. In Islam, one-fifth of the booty was set aside for God before the general division. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. r-b-ʿ; Beeston, *Warfare*, 15.

God who knows what is not known. Then he said, "O ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, perhaps it is the poverty that you see which prevents you from embracing this religion, but, by God, [so much] wealth will soon flow among them that there will not be enough people to take it. Perhaps it is because you see how few they are and how many are their enemies which prevents you from joining this religion. But by God, you will hear of a woman traveling on her camel from al-Qādisiyyah[457] to visit this House [i.e., the Kaʿbah][458] without fearing [any one] except God. Perhaps it is because you see that others have kingship and power, but, by God, soon you will hear that the white castles of Babylon (*Bābil*)[459] have been conquered." Then I embraced Islam.

ʿAdī b. Ḥātim used to say that two things [mentioned above by the Prophet] occurred and that the third remained, but, by God, that too would certainly come to pass. I have seen the white castles of Babylon being conquered, and I have seen a woman traveling on her camel from al-Qādisiyyah to this House to make the pilgrimage without any fear. By God, the third will happen and wealth will flow until there will not be anyone to take it.

Al-Wāqidī: In this year, the deputation of the Banū Tamīm[460] came to the Messenger of God.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatādah and ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr: ʿUṭārid b. Ḥājib b. Zurārah b. ʿUdas[461] al-Tamīmī came to the Messenger of God in a large [1711] deputation with the nobility of Tamīm. Among them were al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis; Zibriqān b. Badr al-Tamīmī, one of the Banū Saʿd;

457. A place southwest of al-Ḥīrah and south-southwest of where al-Kūfah was later founded. It is famous as the site of the Muslim victory over the Sāsānids between 14/635 and 16/637. *EI*², s.v. al-Ḳādisiyya.

458. *EI*², s.v. Kaʿba.

459. *EI*², s.v. Bābil. Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 267–68, gives different versions of what the Prophet said to ʿAdī. One version states: O ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, the last hour will come only when the treasures of *Kisrā* and *Qayṣar* would have been conquered . . . the last hour will come only when a woman would travel on her camel, from al-Ḥīrah [to Mecca] to circumambulate the Kaʿbah, without protection . . . the last hour will come only when a man carrying a sack of money would roam [about the country] and would not find anyone who would take it.

460. An Arab tribe. *EI*¹, s.v. Tamīm. The following account of a challenge to a boasting competition, including the poem of Ḥassān, seem to be the product of later years. See Arafat, "An interpretation"; Monroe, "Poetry."

461. Ibn Ḥazm (*Jamharah*, 232): ʿUdus. He was from the clan of Banū ʿAbdallāh b. Dārim of the Tamīm.

ʿAmr b. al-Ahtam; al-Ḥutāt b. so-and-so;[462] Nuʿaym b. Zayd;[463] and Qays b. ʿĀṣim, a brother of the Banū Saʿd. With them was ʿUyaynah b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḥudhayfah al-Fazārī.[464]

Al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis and ʿUyaynah b. Ḥiṣn had been with the Messenger of God when Mecca was conquered[465] and [466] al-Ṭāʾif was besieged. When the deputation of the Banū Tamīm came, they were with them. As the deputation entered the mosque, they called out to the Messenger of God from behind the [inner] apartments, "Come out to us, O Muḥammad."[467] That loud call of theirs annoyed the Messenger of God, and he came out. They said, "O Muḥammad, we came to compete with you in boasting, so allow our poet and orator [to start]." He replied, "Yes I permit your orator, let him speak." ʿUṭārid b. Ḥājib stood up and said: "Praise be to God who granted us His favors and who is worthy of praise. [It is He] who has made us kings and has granted us great wealth with which we are generous, and has made us the mightiest people of the East, the greatest in number, and best armed; so who among the people is our equal? Are we not the leaders of men and their superiors? Let him who competes with us enumerate what we have enumerated. Had we wished we could have said more, but we are too modest[468] to speak much of what He has

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462. Ibn Isḥāq: Al-Ḥabḥāb b. Yazīd. Ibn Hishām: Al-Ḥutāt b. Yazīd. Ibn Shabbah [*Taʾrīkh*, II, 527]: Al-Ḥuthāt b. Yazīd. For their genealogy, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 206–7.

463. Ibn Shabbah adds: Qays b. al-Ḥārith.

464. There were more than eighty people in the delegation. The reason of their coming is explained by Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 404; II/1, 116, as follows:

The Tamīmīs had attempted to prevent the Khuzāʿah tribe from paying the alms to the Prophet's agent. Although the Khuzāʿites were able to drive the Tamīmīs away, the Prophet's agent fled back to Medina. Subsequently, the Prophet sent a force of fifty horsemen under the leadership of ʿUyaynah b. Ḥiṣn to punish the Tamīmīs. In a surprise raid, ʿUyaynah captured about fifty men, women, and children and brought them back to Medina. It was then that the delegation came. When their women and children saw them, they began to cry. This explains the sense of urgency and impatience displayed by the delegation in their attempt to reach the Prophet.

465. Ibn Isḥāq adds: And at the battle of Ḥunayn.

466. Ibn Shabbah adds: [The battle of] Ḥunayn [was fought], and.

467. The delegation on its arrival in Medina passed by the Tamīmī prisoners. When the women and children saw them, they burst into tears, hence the delegation went hurriedly to the mosque calling the Prophet from behind the inner apartments.

468. C and Ibn Shabbah: We are afraid to elongate.

granted us, and we are known [for that].[469] Now, I will say that you may bring forward the like of our speech and anything better than ours." Then he sat down.

The Messenger of God said to Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās,[470] a [1712] brother of Balḥārith[471] b. al-Khazraj, "Get up and answer the man's speech." Thābit got up and said:[472] "Praise belongs to God who created heaven and earth and carried out His command therein, and His knowledge encompasses His Throne. Nothing exists but by His bounty. By His power He made us kings and chose the best of His creation as a prophet who is the noblest in lineage, the most truthful in speech, and the best in noble descent. He sent down to him His book and entrusted him with His creatures. He was the chosen one of God from the worlds. Then he summoned people to faith, and the Emigrants from his people and his kinsfolk believed in the Messenger of God. They are the most noble people in lineage, the most prominent, and the best in deeds. Then the first of creation to answer and respond to God when the Messenger of God summoned them were ourselves. We are the Helpers of God and the viziers of His Messenger, and we fight people until they believe in God. He who believes in God and His Messenger has protected his life and possessions [from us]; as for one who disbelieves, we will fight him forever in the cause of God and killing him is a small matter to us. I say this and ask God's forgiveness for myself and the believing men and the believing women. Peace be upon you."

Then they said, "O Muḥammad, permit our poet [to speak]," and he did. Al-Zibriqān b. Badr got up and said:

We are the nobles, no tribe can match us,
from us are the kings and in[473] our midst houses
of worship are built.
How many tribes have we plundered and subjugated,
for excellence in glory is to be sought after!

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469. Addition from Hisch. and Ibn Shabbah.

470. He was the Prophet's orator and a scribe. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 35, 40, 82; II/1, 46, 116; III/1, 284; V, 22; VIII, 83, 262, 326.

471. Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn Shabbah: Banū al-Ḥārith.

472. Ibn Shabbah gives a slightly different version of Thābit's speech.

473. Ibn Hishām: And we collect the fourth [of the spoils].

[1713] In times of drought when no tattered clouds are seen,
we feed meat to the hungry in our banquet halls.
You can see leaders coming to us humbly from every land,
and we feed them.[474]
We are delighted to slaughter a herd of camels for our guests,
when they come to us they eat their fill.
You will see not a tribe whom we challenge,
except in submission or with its head nearly cut off.
We scorn others but none scorns us,
similarly, we are exalted in pride.
He who would challenge us [in these matters] knows us,
so he withdraws his challenge, and the news is listened to seriously.

Ḥassān b. Thābit[475] was absent [at the time], so the Messenger of God sent for him. Ḥassān said: When the runner came and informed me that the Messenger of God had called me to answer the Banū Tamīm's poet, I went to him while reciting:[476]

We protected the Messenger of God when he settled down
among us,[477] whether Ma'add liked it or not.[478]
We defended him when he dwelt among our houses,[479]
with our swords against every transgressor and
oppressor, in a unique house whose glory and wealth[480]
is in Jābiyat al-Jawlān[481] among the foreigners.
Is glory [nothing] but the reiteration of domination
and generosity, and the dignity of kings and the enduring
of great misfortunes?

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474. Ibn Hishām: And we are obeyed.

475. The "Poet Laureate" of the Prophet was a Khazrajī and died ca. 40/659. *EI*², s.v. Ḥassān b. Thābit; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 289–92; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 37; SI, 67.

476. See *Dīwān of Ḥassān*, I, 109–10.

477. *Dīwān*: We aided and sheltered the Prophet Muḥammad.

478. As in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and *Dīwān*. Text: From every Ma'addī [Arab] tyrant and oppressor. Ma'add, son of 'Adnān, a descendant of Ismā'īl, the son of Ibrāhīm, is considered as the ancestor of the Northern Arabs. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 9.

479. *Dīwān*: We aided him when he dwelt among us.

480. *Dīwān*: In a unique tribe whose source and honor.

481. A village in the district of Damascus toward al-Jawlān. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 355; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 91–92; he cites the above verses.

When I came to the Messenger of God and the tribal poet [of Tamīm] had recited what he recited, I replied in the same pattern and rhyme. [1714]

When al-Zibriqān b. Badr had finished his recitation, the Messenger of God said to Ḥassān, "Arise, O Ḥassān, and answer the man for what he has said." Ḥassān recited:[482]

The nobles are from Fihr[483] and their sister tribes;
they have shown a way of life to be followed.
Everyone who fears God
and does all manner of good commends them.[484]
They are a people such that when they fight they harm
their enemies, and when they help their adherents
they benefit.
That is their nature and not a newly acquired habit;
be informed[485] that the worst of personal traits is
innovation.
If there are people who surpassed them and came after
them, then every preceding people would
have precedence.
People do not repair what their hands have destroyed in
defense, nor do they destroy what they have repaired.
If they compete with others, they win by virtue of their [1715]
precedence; if weighed against the people of glory
and generosity, their scales are heavy.
Chaste are those whose chastity is mentioned in
revelation; they are not rapacious[486] nor can greed
harm them.
They are not stingy with an act of generosity toward a
neighbor,[487] nor are they touched by the stain of
covetousness.
When we declare war on a tribe, we do not creep
silently, like a calf crawling to the wild cow.

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482. See *Dīwān of Ḥassān* I, 101–3.
483. He is the ancestor of Quraysh. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 12.
484. *Dīwān*: Is pleased with them and with the mission they have begun.
485. *Dīwān*: Indeed.
486. As in the *Dīwān*. Text: Not disposed by nature.
487. *Dīwān*: A client.

We stand tall when the claws of war reach us,
when the hordes are humbled by its nails.
They do not boast[488] when they overpower their enemy,
and if they are beaten, they neither languish nor despair.
In battle, when death is at hand,
they are like lions of Bīshah[489] with crooked claws.
[1716] Take what they give you willingly when they are angered,
and think not about what they withheld.
To fight them is to plunge into poison[490] and ruin,
so do not antagonize them.
How noble are a people who[491] have the Messenger of God
in their midst, when [other] factions and parties become divided![492]
I dedicate my eulogy to them from my heart,
aided in its beloved task by an eloquent and ready tongue,
For they are the best of all people
in matters both grave and gay.

When Ḥassān b. Thābit had finished his speech,[493] al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis said,[494] "By my father, this man has a helper. Indeed, his orator and his poet are better than ours and their voices are louder[495] than ours." When they were through, they embraced Islam and the Messenger of God gave them valuable gifts. [Before com-

488. *Dīwān*: They do not rejoice.

489. As in the *Dīwān*. Text and Ibn Isḥāq: Ḥalyah. Bīshah, a place about five days' journey from Mecca toward Yemen, is known for its lions. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, I, 293–94; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 529. For its topography see Philby, *Arabian Highlands*, 28ff.

490. *Dīwān*: A bitter tree. A kind of tree when pressed issues a juice resembling milk which spirts into the eyes and produces an effect like that of a flame of fire and weakens the sight.

491. *Dīwān*: Whose leader is the Messenger of God.

492. Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq: And parties differ.

493. For additional poetry, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 211–12.

494. Ibn Shabbah's version states that both al-Aqraʿ and ʿUyaynah consulted with each other before accepting Islam. The report further states that both of them were among those "whose hearts were to be reconciled," hence the Messenger of God gave them a hundred camels each. Next, ʿAbbās b. Mirdās's verses are cited. It is obvious that this passage is an interpolation, see Ṭabarī, above, I, 1681 (distribution of the booty of Ḥunayn).

495. Ibn Isḥāq: Sweeter.

ing to the Messenger of God] they had left 'Amr b. al-Ahtam [who was the youngest of them][496] behind with their mounts. Qays b. 'Āṣim, who hated 'Amr b. al-Ahtam, said, "O Messenger of God, there is a man among us with our saddle bags who is but a young boy," and he belittled him. The Messenger of God, however, gave him the same as he had given the others. When 'Amr heard that Qays b. 'Āṣim had [belittled him], he satirized him, saying:

When you defamed me to the Prophet you exposed [1717]
yourself; you neither spoke the truth nor hit the mark.
If you hate us, well, Byzantine[497] is your origin,
but the Byzantines do not harbor hatred
against the Arabs.
We have ruled and our authority is ancient, but yours[498]
is left behind at the root of the rump and the tail.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yazīd b. Rūmān: Concerning them, God revealed: "Surely those who call unto you from behind the private apartments [i.e., the Banū Tamīm], most of them have no sense."[499] This is a preferable reading.

Al-Wāqidī: In this year, 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl died. He got sick during the last days of Shawwāl and died in Dhū al-Qa'dah. His illness lasted for twenty days.[500]

In this year, a letter from the kings of Ḥimyar[501] [announcing] their acceptance of Islam arrived to the Messenger of God with

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496. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

497. *Rūm* in Arabic meant the land of the Rhomaeans or Byzantines. *EI*[1], s.v. Rūm.

498. Ibn Isḥāq:
We ruled you voluntarily but your authority
is sitting on the tail and showing its teeth.

499. Qur'ān 49:4. Wāḥidī, *Asbāb*, 274–77; Ṭabarsī, *Majma'*, V, 129–30; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte*, I, 220; Blachère, *Coran*, 548.

500. Although he was the chief opponent, the Prophet, in a conciliatory spirit, visited him before he died and attended his funeral. Some Muslims, especially 'Umar did not like it and protested to the Prophet. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1057–60; Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 863–64; Lings, *Muhammad*, 321–22; Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 315.

501. Ḥimyar was one of the last ancient southwest Arabian kingdoms which ruled Yemen before its conquest by the Muslims. They claim Qaḥṭānī descent. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 176, 274; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 432–38; Shahîd, "Pre-Islamic Arabia," 6f.

their messenger in the month of Ramaḍān. [Those kings were] al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Kulāl, Nuʿaym b. ʿAbd Kulāl, and al-Nuʿmān, prince of Dhū Ruʿayn.[502]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr: On his return from Tabūk, a letter from the kings of Ḥimyar [announcing] their Islam came to the Messenger of God
[1718] with their messenger. [They were] al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Kulāl, Nuʿaym b. ʿAbd Kulāl, and al-Nuʿmān, prince of Dhū Ruʿayn, Hamdān,[503] and Maʿāfir.[504] Zurʿah Dhū Yazan[505] sent Mālik b. Murrah al-Rahāwī with [news of] their acceptance of Islam and their abandonment of polytheism and its followers.

Then the Messenger of God wrote to them:[506] "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. From Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, and His Prophet to al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Kulāl, Nuʿaym b. ʿAbd Kulāl, and al-Nuʿmān, prince of Dhū Ruʿayn, Hamdān, and Maʿāfir. I praise God to you. There is no God except Him.

"Now then: Your messenger reached us on our return from Byzantine territory and met us in Medina. He conveyed your message and told us your news and informed us of your [acceptance of] Islam and your killing of the polytheists. Indeed, God has guided you with His guidance. If you [wish to] do well and obey God and His Messenger [you must] perform prayers, pay the *zakāt* tax,[507] give God's fifth of booty,[508] the share of His Mes-

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502. It is a name both of a district and a clan in the southwest of Yemen. Hamdānī, *Ṣifat*, I, 90, 98, 101. Cf. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 20, 84; V, 386–87.

503. It is a name both of a district and a well-known large Arab tribe of Yemen. Hamdānī, *Ṣifat*, I, *passim*; *EI*², s.v. Hamdān.

504. A district at the beginning of the Sarāt mountains in Yemen. The inhabitants of that district are known as al-Maʿāfir b. Yaʿfur. Hamdānī, *Ṣifat*, I, 67, 68, 71, 98, 99.

505. A Ḥimyarī king. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 386.

506. A transcription of this letter on parchment in Himyarite characters was discovered in Beirut. See Cohen, "Manuscrit"; Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmūʿah*, 180–84.

507. It is one of the principal obligations of Islam. This tax is levied on definite kinds of property and is distributed among eight categories of persons as stated in the Qurʾān 9:60, *EI*¹, s.v. Zakāt; Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, I, 557–611; *Mishkat* [trans. Robson], I, 371–416.

508. "Know that with anything you may acquire as spoils, a fifth of it belongs to God and the Messenger, close relatives and orphans, paupers and the wayfarer, if you believe in God and what We have sent down to Our servant. . ." Qurʾān 8:41. Maghniyyah, *Fiqh*, 220–23.

senger, his selected portion (*ṣafiyy*),[509] and alms (*ṣadaqah*)[510] to the poor, which is incumbent on the faithful. [The required *zakāt* is:] from land one tenth of that watered by springs and rain, and one twentieth of that watered by the leathern bucket;[511] from camels, a milch camel for every forty camels, and a young male camel for every thirty camels; a sheep for every five camels; two sheep for every ten camels;[512] one cow for every forty cows; a bull calf or a cow calf for every thirty cows;[513] a sheep for every forty sheep at pasture.[514] This is God's ordinance, which He has made obligatory on the faithful with regard to alms. If anyone adds more thereto, it is to his credit. He who professes this and bears witness to his Islam and helps the faithful against the polytheists [1719] is one of the faithful with his rights and obligations as theirs, and has the protection of God and His Messenger. If a Jew or a Christian embraces Islam, then[515] he has the same rights and obligations as the faithful. He who holds fast to his religion, Judaism or Christianity, is not to be tempted from[516] it. It is incumbent on him to pay the poll tax: for every adult, male or female, free or slave, one full dīnār (denarius),[517] or its value in *al-ma'āfir*,[518] or its substitute in clothes. He who pays that to the Messenger of God has the protection of God and His Messenger, and he who holds back from it is the enemy of God and His Messenger.

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509. It signifies the portion of the spoils, which the chief chooses for himself before the division. It could be anything from armor to a horse, a camel, or a slave, and it is taken out before the *khums*. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 514–18; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ṣ-f-y.

510. See Ṭabarī, above, I, 1686, n. 290.

511. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 259; Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, I, 567; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), I, 380.

512. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 252–53; Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, I, 565–67; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), I, 378–79.

513. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 254.

514. Ibid., I, 252–53; Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, I, 565–67; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), I, 378–79.

515. Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq add: He is among the faithful and.

516. Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq: He should not be dissuaded from it.

517. *EI*[2], s.v. Dīnār.

518. C: *Al-Ma'āfirī*. *Ma'āfir*, without the relative adjective ending in *yā'*, is also used meaning *Ma'āfirī* cloth. *Ma'āfir* enjoyed a certain reputation as weavers. According to legend, Tubba' As'ad Kāmil was the first to cover the Ka'bah with *Ma'āfir* cloths. The poll tax of a dīnār of full weight of the *Ma'āfir* standard could also be paid in articles of clothing of that *Ma'āfir* material. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. '-f-r; *EISupp*, s.v. Ma'āfir.

"Now then: The Messenger of God, Muḥammad the Prophet, has sent to Zur'ah Dhū Yazan that when my messengers Mu'ādh b. Jabal, 'Abdallāh b. Zayd,[519] Mālik b. 'Ubādah,[520] 'Uqbah b. Namir,[521] and Mālik b. Murrah[522] and their companions come to you, I commend them to your good care. Collect the alms and the poll tax from your districts and hand them over to my messengers. Their leader is Mu'ādh b. Jabal, and let him not return unless he is satisfied. Muḥammad witnesses that there is no god but God and that he is His servant and messenger.

"Mālik B. Murrah al-Rahāwī has reported to me that you were the first from Ḥimyar to embrace Islam and that you have killed[523] the polytheists, so rejoice at your good fortune. I order
[1720] you to treat Ḥimyar well. Do not be treacherous and do not forsake each other. The Messenger of God is the master of [both] your rich and your poor. Alms are neither lawful to Muḥammad nor to his family; it is a purifying tax to be spent on poor Muslims and the wayfarer. Mālik has conveyed only the necessary information but has kept [others'] secrets to himself, so I order you to treat him well. I have sent to you some of the most virtuous of my people, the most religious and the most learned, so I order you to treat them well, for he [i.e., Mu'ādh b. Jabal] will be accountable for them. May the Peace, Mercy, and Blessings of God be on you."

Al-Wāqidī: In this year, the deputation of Bahrā'[524] [consisting of] thirteen men came to the Messenger of God, and they stayed with al-Miqdād b. 'Amr.[525]

In this year, the deputation of the Banū al-Bakkā'[526] came.

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519. 'Abdallāh b. Zayd al-Khazrajī was the one who was inspired with the call to prayer (*adhān*). He also acted several times as a scribe of the Prophet and died in 32/652–53. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/2, 87.

520. Ibid., V, 387.

521. Ibid.

522. Ibid., VI, 18; his name is given as Mālik b. Murārah al-Ruhāwī.

523. Ḥamīdullāh (*Majmū'ah*, 182): You have deserted.

524. They are the Banū Bahrā' b. 'Amr b. al-Ḥāfī, a clan of Quḍā'ah. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 440–41; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 66.

525. He was a Bahrānī from South Arabia and was the only (or one of the two) Muslim horseman at Badr. He was one of seven early converts and is considered one of the four pillars of the early Shī'ah and died in 33/653–54. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/1, 114–16; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, IV, 1480; Jafri, *Origins*, 52.

526. A clan of the Banū 'Āmir. The delegation consisted of three people. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 47–48; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 151.

In this year, the deputation of the Banū Fazārah[527] arrived. They were some ten men. Among them was Khārijah b. Ḥiṣn.

In this year, the Messenger of God mourned the loss of the Negus (*al-Najāshī*) who died in the month of Rajab, in the year 9/630.

In this year, Abū Bakr made the pilgrimage with the people. Abū Bakr departed from Medina with three hundred people and took with him five camels [for sacrifice], while the Messenger of God sent twenty camels [for sacrifice].[528] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf[529] also made the pilgrimage and sacrificed.

The Messenger of God sent ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib immediately after Abū Bakr had left. He overtook him at al-ʿArj,[530] and [ʿAlī] read the declaration of dispensation (*al-Barā'ah*)[531] on the day of sacrifice at al-ʿAqabah.[532]

I have received an account on the authority of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn[533]—Aḥmad b. al-Mufaḍḍal[534]—Asbāṭ[535]—al-Suddī:[536] When these verses [1 to 40 from *Sūrat al-Barā'ah*] were revealed, the Messenger of God sent them with Abū Bakr and appointed him [1721] as leader of the pilgrimage. After Abū Bakr had reached al-Shajarah of Dhū al-Ḥulayfah,[537] ʿAlī followed him and took those verses

527. They are the Banū Fazārah b. Dhubyān b. Baghīd b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafān. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 255.

528. For details, see Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1076–78.

529. He was a prominent early convert from the Banū Zuhrah of Quraysh. He was one of the six members of the *shūrā* who played a key role in the selection of ʿUthmān and he died in 31/652. *EI*², s.v. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; Jafri, *Origins*, 58–79.

530. A village near Medina on the way to Mecca. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, III, 930–31; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 98–99.

531. According to C. Text adds: On him. See Qurʾān, *sūrah* 9. The title of the Dispensation [or Release] comes from the opening verse which states: "Dispensation [comes] from God and His Messenger for those idolaters with whom you have made a treaty." The alternate title of Repentance is found in verses 5, 11, and 103. This episode later became a cause of conflict between the Shīʿīs and the Sunnīs. Tendentious reporting is reflected in the following report of al-Suddī.

532. A place about 4 km from Mecca where the pilgrims throw pebbles. See Ṭabarī, above I, 1699, n. 381.

533. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿĀmirī al-Baghdādī died in 261/874–75. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 121–22.

534. Aḥmad b. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Qurashī died in 214/829–30 or 215/830–31. Ibid., I, 81.

535. He is Asbāṭ b. Naṣr al-Hamdānī. Ibid., I, 211–12.

536. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suddī died in 127/744–45. Ibid., I, 313–14.

537. A place about 12 km from Medina. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, II, 464–65; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 325.

from him, so Abū Bakr came back to the Prophet[538] and said, "O Messenger of God, may you be ransomed with my father and mother! Was anything revealed about me?" "No," he replied, "but no one except me or someone from my family should communicate [the declaration of dispensation].[539] Aren't you pleased, O Abū Bakr, that you were with me in the cave,[540] and that you shall be my companion at the cistern?"[541] "Yes, indeed, O Messenger of God," he answered, and left as the head of the pilgrims, while ʿAlī announced the declaration of immunity. ʿAlī stood up on the day of sacrifice[542] and announced, saying: "No polytheist shall come near the Holy Mosque after this year,[543] and no one shall circumambulate the House [i.e., the Kaʿbah] naked. Those who have a covenant between themselves and the Messenger of God will have his covenant until [the end of] its term.[544] These are the days of eating and drinking [i.e., celebration]. God will allow only the one who is Muslim to enter Paradise." [The polytheists] said, "We declare ourselves free from your covenant and that of your cousin except to strike." Then the polytheists went back blaming each other and saying, "What will you do? The Quraysh have accepted Islam, and so you had better embrace Islam."

I have received an account on the authority of al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad[545]—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abān[546]—Abū Maʿshar[547]—Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Quraẓī and others: The Messenger of God sent Abū Bakr as a leader of the pilgrimage in the year 9/631 and sent ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib to read thirty or forty verses from *Sūrat al-*

538. According to both Ibn Isḥāq (*Sīrah*, IV, 188–90), and Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 1077), Abū Bakr did not return to Medina. See also Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, 297; *idem.*, *Tanbīh*, 237; Lings, *Muhammad*, 323.

539. Balādhurī's (*Ansāb*, I, 383) report ends here.

540. The reference is to the Qurʾān 9:40.

541. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 222; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1322–23.

542. The tenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah is called *yawm al-naḥr* (the day of sacrifice) when animals are sacrificed. A rock near ʿAqabah was held to be the most auspicious site for sacrifice, but sacrifice could be made anywhere in Minā.

543. Qurʾān 9:28; Blachère, *Coran*, 216.

544. Qurʾān 9:4; Blachère, *Coran*, 212–13.

545. Al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad b. Abī Usāmah al-Tamīmī died in 282/895–96. Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah*, II, 619–20; idem, *Mīzān*, I, 442–43.

546. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abān al-Umawī al-Kūfī died in 207/822–23. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 329–31.

547. Abū Maʿshar Ziyād b. Kulayb al-Tamīmī al-Kūfī died ca. 120/738. Ibid., III, 382.

Barā'ah to the people, giving the polytheists four months to travel in the land. 'Alī read the proclamation of dispensation on the day of 'Arafah[548] thus giving the polytheists [the remaining] twenty days of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, and the months of Muḥarram, Ṣafar, Rabī' I, and ten days of Rabī' II. He also read it to them in their settlements, stating that no polytheist would be allowed for the pilgrimage after that year and that no one would be allowed to circumambulate the House naked.

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: In this year, alms (*al-Ṣadaqāt*) were made obligatory, and the Messenger of God dispatched his agents to collect them.[549] [1722]

In this year, the following verse was revealed: "Take alms from their wealth to purify them."[550] The reason for its revelation was the story about the affair of Tha'labah b. Ḥāṭib mentioned by Abū Amāmah al-Bāhilī.[551]

Al-Wāqidī: In this year, the Messenger of God's daughter Umm Kulthūm[552] died in Sha'bān, and she was washed by Asmā' bt. 'Umays and Ṣafiyyah bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. It is said that she was washed by the *Anṣārī* women, among whom was a woman called Umm 'Aṭiyyah. Abū Ṭalḥah descended into her grave.

In this year, the deputation of Tha'labah b. Munqidh came.[553]

In this year, the deputation of Sa'd Hudhaym[554] came.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Salamah b. Kuhayl[555] and

548. 'Arafah or 'Arafāt is a plain about 21 km east of Mecca and is the site of the central ceremonies of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. The day of 'Arafah is the ninth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. On that day, the pilgrims halt in the plain of 'Arafah, in front of the *jabal al-raḥmah* and pray, without which the *ḥajj* is not valid. The halt lasts from the moment after midday until sunset. *EI*², s.v. 'Arafāt; *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥadjdj.

549. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1084–85.

550. Qur'ān 9:103; Blachère, *Coran*, 227.

551. Tha'labah b. Ḥāṭib al-Anṣārī, who was a poor man, once requested the Prophet to pray for him, saying that if he became rich he would look after the needy. After he became rich, he changed and even refused to give alms. For details, see Wāḥidī, *Asbāb*, 175–76.

552. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 297; al-Dhahabī, *'Ibar*, I, 5; *EI*¹, s.v. Umm Kulthūm. See Ṭabarī, below I, 1767, n. 876; idem, *Dhuyūl*, 498.

553. They were four people, and they embraced Islam. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 43.

554. A clan of Quḍā'ah. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 447–48; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 65.

555. Salamah b. Kuhayl al-Kūfī died ca. 121/739. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 155–57.

Muḥammad b. al-Walīd b. Nuwayfi' [al-Asadī][556]—Kurayb,[557] a freed slave of Ibn 'Abbās—'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās: The Banū Sa'd b. Bakr sent Ḍimām b. Tha'labah to the Messenger of God.[558] He came and made his camel kneel at the door of the mosque, hobbled it, then entered the mosque as the Messenger of God was sitting with his companions. Ḍimām was a robust and hairy man with two forelocks. He came forward until he stood over the Messenger of God and said, "Which of you is 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's son?" The Messenger of God replied, "I am the son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib." Ḍimām asked, "[Are you] Muḥammad?" He replied, "Yes." Ḍimām said, "O son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, I am going to ask
[1723] you [something] and will speak rudely about the matter, so don't take it amiss." [The Prophet] replied, "I will not, so ask what comes to your mind." Ḍimām said, "I adjure you by God, your God, the God of those who went before you, and the God of those who will come after you, has God sent you as a messenger to us?" [The Prophet] replied, "O God! Yes." Ḍimām then adjured him to answer the following questions: "Has He ordered you to command[559] us to worship Him alone and not to associate anything with Him and to renounce these rival deities which our forefathers used to worship instead[560] of Him? Has He ordered you to command us to pray these five prayers?" [The Prophet] replied, "O God! Yes." Then Ḍimām began to mention the obligatory acts of Islam one by one, *zakāt* tax, fasting, pilgrimage, and all the laws of Islam, and adjured him to answer. When he was finished he said, "I testify that there is no god but God alone. Who has no associate, and I testify that Muḥammad is His[561] Messenger; and that I will discharge these obligations, and will avoid what you have forbidden me from doing; I will neither add to nor diminish [anything] from them." Then he withdrew to his camel.[562] When

556. Ibid., IX, 504.

557. Kurayb b. Abī Muslim al-Hāshimi died in 98/716–17 in Medina. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 211; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 433.

558. According to Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 43–44, he came to Medina in Rajab 5/627–28.

559. Ibn Shabbah (*Ta'rīkh*, II, 522): That we worship Him alone [who] has no associate.

560. Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq: Along with Him.

561. Ibn Shabbah adds: His servant and.

562. Ibn Isḥāq adds: Returning home.

he turned away, the Messenger of God said, "If [this] man with the two forelocks is sincere, he will go to Paradise."

Ḍimām came to his camel, freed it from its hobble, and traveled until he came to his people, who gathered around him. The first thing he said was, "How evil are *al-Lāt* and *al-ʿUzzā*!"[563] They said, "Refrain from this, O Ḍimām; beware of white leprosy (*baraṣ*), beware of true leprosy (*judhām*), and beware of madness!" He replied, "Woe to you! Both [*al-Lāt* and *al-ʿUzzā*] can neither heal nor harm. God has sent a messenger and has sent down to him a book. By means of it I seek to deliver you from your present state [of ignorance]. [As for me], I bear witness that there is no god except God, the One without a partner, and that Muḥammad is [1724] His servant and messenger. I have brought to you what he has commanded you to do and what he has forbidden you from doing." By God, before the evening was over that day [there was] not a single man or woman in his tribe who had not become Muslim. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās said that they had not heard of any tribal delegate better than Ḍimām b. Thaʿlabah.

563. *Al-ʿUzzā* is an old Arabian goddess, whose name means "the Strong, the Powerful." Her main sanctuary was in the valley of Nakhlah. In Mecca, she formed a trinity with *al-Lāt* and *Manāt* and they were called the three "daughters of Allāh." Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, III, 30–42. See Ṭabarī, above I, 1161, n. 78.

The Events of the Year

10

(April 9, 631–March 28, 632)

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: In this year, in the month of Rabī' II (it is said in the month of Rabī' I, or in Jumādā I), the Messenger of God sent Khālid b. al-Walīd with an army of four hundred to the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b.[564]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: The Messenger of God sent Khālid b. al-Walīd in the month of Rabī' II, or Jumādā I, in the year 10/631 to the Balḥārith[565] b. Ka'b in Najrān, [566] and ordered him to invite them to Islam for three days before he fought them. If they should respond to him [with the acceptance of Islam], then he was to accept it from them,[567] and to stay with them and teach them the Book of God, the *sunnah* of His prophet, and the requirements of Islam (*ma'ālim al-islām*); if they should decline, then he was to fight them.

564. A clan of a South Arabian tribe. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 416–17. See also Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 72; II/1, 122.

565. Ibn Isḥāq: Banū al-Ḥārith.

566. Name of a town and a district in northern Yemen. *EI*[1], s.v. Nadjrān. For its topography see Philby, *Arabian Highlands*, 213ff.

567. Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq: And if they declined he was to fight them.

Khālid departed and came to them, sending out riders in every direction inviting them to Islam and saying, "O people, accept Islam, and you will be safe." So they embraced Islam and responded to his call. Khālid stayed with them, teaching them Islam, the Book of God, and the *sunnah* of His prophet.[568]

Then Khālid wrote to the Messenger of God:[569] "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, to Muḥammad the Prophet, the Messenger of God, from Khālid b. al-Walīd. Peace be upon [1725] you, O Messenger of God, and God's mercy and blessings. I praise God unto you, the only God. Now then: O Messenger of God, God bless you. You sent me to the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b and ordered that, when I came to them, I should not fight them for three days and that I should invite them to Islam. [You also ordered that] if they accepted it, I should accept it from them and teach them the requirements of Islam, the Book of God, and the *sunnah* of His Prophet. If they did not accept Islam, I was to fight them. I came to them and invited them to Islam for three days as the Messenger of God commanded me, and I sent riders among them [announcing], 'O Banū al-Ḥārith, embrace Islam, and you will be safe.' They have surrendered and did not fight, and I am staying in their midst ordering them [to do] what God has ordered, forbidding them from [doing] what God has forbidden, and teaching them the requirements of Islam and the *sunnah* of the Prophet until the Messenger of God writes to me. Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God, and God's mercy and blessings."

The Messenger of God wrote to him:[570] "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, from Muḥammad, the Prophet, the Messenger of God, to Khālid b. al-Walīd. Peace be upon you. I praise God, the only God, unto you. Now then: Your letter has reached me via your messenger[571] with the news[572] that the Banū al-Ḥārith [b. Ka'b][573] surrendered before they fought[574] and re-

568. Addition in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: For that was what the Messenger of God had ordered him to do if they accepted Islam and did not fight.
569. See Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 131.
570. See Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 132.
571. As in Ibn Isḥāq and Ḥamīdullāh (*Majmū'ah*, 132). Text: Messengers.
572. Hisch. and Ḥamīdullāh (*Majmū'ah*): Informing [me].
573. Addition from Ḥamīdullāh.
574. Hisch., Ḥamīdullāh: Before you fought them.

sponded to your invitation to Islam and pronouncement (of[575] the *shahādah*) that there is no god except God alone, who has no associate, and that Muḥammad is His Servant and Messenger. God has guided them with His guidance, so give them good tidings and warn them and return, and let their deputation come with you. Peace be upon you, and God's mercy and His blessings."

Then Khālid b. al-Walīd came back to the Messenger of God and with him came the deputation of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b. Qays b. al-Ḥuṣayn b. Yazīd b. Qanān Dhū al-Ghuṣṣah, Yazīd b.
[1726] 'Abd al-Madān,[576] Yazīd b. al-Muḥajjal, 'Abdallāh b. Qurayẓ[577] al-Ziyādī, Shaddād b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Qanānī, and 'Amr b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḍabābī were among the delegation. When they came to the Messenger of God, he saw them and asked who those people were, because they looked like Indians. He was told that they were the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b. When they stood before the Messenger of God, they greeted him and said, "We testify that you are the Messenger of God and that there is no god but Allāh." He replied, "And I testify that there is no god but Allāh, and that I am the Messenger of God." Then he said, "You are the ones who when driven away would push forward." They became silent and none of them answered him. He repeated it three times and none of them replied. When he repeated it the fourth time Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Madān replied, "Yes, O Messenger of God, we are the ones who, when driven away, pushed forward," and he repeated it four times. The Messenger of God said, "Had Khālid b. al-Walīd not written to me that you had surrendered and had not fought, I would have thrown your heads underneath your feet." Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Madān answered, "By God, O Messenger of God, we did not eulogize you, nor did we eulogize Khālid." "Then whom did you eulogize?" he asked. They said, "We exalted God who guided us through you." "You have spoken the truth," he said, and then asked them, "With what did you overpower those who fought you in pre-Islamic times (*al-jāhiliyyah*)?"[578] "We did not prevail over anyone," they replied. "Yes, indeed, you did prevail over

575. Hisch., Ḥamīdullāh: And they pronounced.
576. Ibn Sa'd adds: 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Madān.
577. Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn Sa'd: Qurād.
578. See *EI*[2], s.v. Djāhiliyya.

those who fought you," he said. They replied, "O Messenger of God, we used to overpower those who fought us because we were the sons of slaves and[579] were united, not divided, and never committed an injustice against anyone." "You have spoken the truth," he said, and appointed Qays b. al-Ḥuṣayn as their leader.[580] [1727]

The deputation of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b returned to their people at the end of Shawwāl or the beginning of Dhū al-Qa'dah. After their return there did not pass but four months before the Messenger of God died.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: I have received an account on the authority of 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: After the deputation of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b returned, the Messenger of God sent 'Amr b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī and later someone from the Banū al-Najjār[581] to instruct them in religion, to teach them the *sunnah* and the requirements of Islam, and to collect alms from them. The Messenger of God wrote a letter for 'Amr entrusting him with his commands. [It read]:[582]

"In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. This is a declaration from God and His Messenger. 'O you the believers, fulfill your contracts.'[583] [This is a] deed from Muḥammad, the Prophet, to 'Amr b. Ḥazm when he sent him to the Yemen. He orders him to fear God (*taqwā*) in all his doings for 'Surely God is with those who are god-fearing, and those who are doers of good.'[584] He commands him to observe the truth as God has commanded, that he should give the people tidings of good (*al-khayr*), command them to follow it, teach them the Qur'ān, instruct them in religion, and forbid them [from wrongdoing], because 'None but the purified shall touch the Qur'ān.'[585] [He]

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579. We were . . . and: Omitted from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq.

580. According to Ibn Sa'd, the Prophet gave him twelve *ūqīyahs* [of silver] as a gift.

581. 'Amr b. Ḥazm was from the Banū Najjār, a clan of al-Khazraj. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 21; V, 49–50; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 347–49.

582. See Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 173–77, where it is analyzed into twenty-two themes.

583. Qur'ān 5:1.

584. Ibid., 16:128.

585. Ibid., 56:79.

should inform the people of their privileges and obligations and be gentle to them when right is with them, but be severe with them when they are unjust, for God abhors injustice and forbids it, and states, 'Surely the curse of God shall rest upon the evildoers.'[586]

"He should give the people good news of paradise and the way to attain it,[587] and should warn them of hell-fire and the way to earn it. [He] should court the friendship of the people until they comprehend religion and should teach them the rites of pil-
[1728] grimage, its practices, its obligations, and what God has commanded about it with regard to the greater pilgrimage (*al-ḥajj al-akbar*)[588] and the lesser pilgrimage (*al-ḥajj al-aṣghar*), the latter being the *'umrah*.[589] [He must] prohibit people from praying in one small garment unless it be a garment whose ends[590] could be doubled over the shoulders.[591] [He must] forbid them from wrapping themselves in one garment which would expose [what decency requires to be concealed][592] and forbid men to braid their hair when it is long on the back of the head. [He must] forbid them from appealing to tribes and kinsfolk when there is a dispute among them, but let their appeal be to God alone who has no associate. He who does not appeal to God but [instead] to tribes and kinsfolk should be smitten with the sword, so that the appeal is made to God alone who has no associate. [He must] command the people to perform the ablution thoroughly with plentiful water—washing the face, washing the hands and the forearms up to the elbows, washing the feet up to the ankles, and rubbing [the wet hands] on the head as God has commanded.[593]

"He orders him to offer prayer at the appropriate times with proper bowing and humility; the morning prayer at daybreak, the

586. Ibid., 11:18.
587. Hisch., Ḥamīdullāh: And its distinguished mark.
588. For the *ḥajj*, see *EI*[2], s.v. Ḥadjdj.
589. See *EI*[1], s.v. 'Umra.
590. As in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq. Text: End.
591. As in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq. Text: Shoulder.
592. The tradition states: None of you should pray in a single garment of which no part comes over his shoulders. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, I, 236–40; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), I, 153–55. Transmitted by both Bukhārī and Muslim.
593. For details, see Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, I, 125–34; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), I, 82–87.

noon prayer at noon when the sun declines, the afternoon prayer when the sun is declining, the sunset prayer when the night approaches (it should not be delayed until the stars appear in the sky), and the evening prayer at the beginning of the night.[594] [He must] order them to go to the congregational prayer when they are summoned, and to wash the whole body (*ghusl*) before going [to the congregational prayer].[595]

"He orders him to take God's fifth from booty and those alms enjoined on the faithful from landed property—one tenth from the land watered by streams[596] and rain, and one twentieth from land watered by a leathern bucket; two sheep for every ten camels [1729] and four sheep for every twenty camels; a cow for every forty cows and a bull or a cow calf for every thirty cows; one sheep for every forty sheep at pasture. This is the ordinance of God which He has enjoined on the faithful concerning alms. He who adds thereto earns merit. A Christian or a Jew who embraces Islam sincerely, out of his own accord, and follows the religion of Islam, is among the faithful with the same privileges and the same obligations. He who holds fast to his Christianity or Judaism is not to be seduced[597] from it. On every adult, male or female, free or slave, [the poll tax] is one full dīnār, or its substitute (*'arḍuhu*)[598] in clothes. He who pays [the poll tax] has the protection of God and His Messenger, and he who withholds it is the enemy of God, His Messenger, and all the faithful."

Al-Wāqidī: When the Messenger of God died, 'Amr b. Ḥazm was his agent (*'āmil*) in Najrān.

Al-Wāqidī: In this year, the deputation of Salāmān came to the Messenger of God in Shawwāl. They were seven people headed by Ḥabīb al-Salāmānī.[599]

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594. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, I, 184ff.; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), I, 118ff.

595. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, I, 427–40; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), I, 284–92.

596. As in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Ḥamīdullāh (*Majmū'ah* 175). Text: *Al-Ba'l*. It signifies what imbibes with its roots, without irrigation or rain; or palm trees growing in land whereof the supply of water is near to the surface, so that it needs no irrigation. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. b-'-l. See Ṭabarī above, I, 1718.

597. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Ḥamīdullāh (*Majmū'ah*, 175): Not to be turned from it.

598. It means width but is also used meaning compensation, substitute. (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. '-r-ḍ]. Ibn Isḥāq: *'iwaḍuhu* [i.e., substitute].

599. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 67, states that everyone in the delegation received five *ūqīyahs* [of silver] as a gift. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 295.

In this year, the deputation of Ghassān[600] came in Ramaḍān.
In this year, the deputation of Ghāmid came in Ramaḍān.[601]
In this year, the deputation of al-Azd headed by Ṣurad b. ʿAbdallāh came, and they were ten odd.[602]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr: Ṣurad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Azdī came to the Messenger of God with the deputation from al-Azd, embraced Islam, and be-
[1730] came a good Muslim. The Messenger of God invested him with authority over those of his people who had embraced Islam and ordered him to fight the polytheists from the tribes of the Yemen with them. Ṣurad b. ʿAbdallāh then left with an army by the Messenger of God's command and alighted at Jurash,[603] which at that time was a closed city inhabited by Yemenī tribes. Khathʿam[604] had sought refuge with them, and when they heard that the Muslims were marching they shut themselves in it. The Muslims besieged them for about a month but the tribes refrained from coming out of the city. Ṣurad withdrew from them, appearing to return. While he was near a mountain called Kashar,[605] the inhabitants of Jurash, thinking that he had fled from them, came out in pursuit of him. When they overtook him he turned on them and inflicted a heavy loss on them.

The people of Jurash had sent two of their men to the Messenger of God while he was in Medina to explore and see [what was taking place]. One evening, after the afternoon prayer, while they were with the Messenger of God, he inquired in what country Shakar was. The two men from Jurash got up and replied, "O Messenger of God, there is a mountain in our country called Kashar, and the people of Jurash call it likewise." "It is not Kashar but Shakar," he replied. They said, "What is [the news] of it, O Messenger of God?" He replied, "Camels brought for sacrifice to God [at Mecca] are being slaughtered there now." Then the two

600. Ibn Saʿd. *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 71–72, states that the delegation accepted Islam, but they kept their conversion secret because their people did not accept Islam. See also Ṭabarī, above, I, 1675, n. 200.
601. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 76–77. They were ten.
602. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 71; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 295.
603. See Ṭabarī, above, I, 1669, n. 145.
604. A South Arabian tribe related to Azd. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 387, 390. See also Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 78.
605. Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn Saʿd: Shakar. For Shakar, see Jāsir, *Sarāt*, 45–46.

men sat with Abū Bakr, or with 'Uthmān, who said to them, "Woe to you! The Messenger of God has just now announced to you the death of your people, so go to him and ask to pray to God to remove [that affliction] from your people." They went and did so, and he did pray for them. Then they left the Messenger of God and returned to their people, and discovered that they were killed on the day Ṣurad attacked them, which was the very day and at the very hour in which the Messenger of God had uttered those words.

The deputation of Jurash returned to the Messenger of God and [1731] embraced Islam, and he declared the environs of their city to be a sanctuary (*ḥim*^{an}) with well-known marks[606] for horses, mounts, and ploughing oxen. Anyone who pastured his cattle elsewhere (other than in the sanctuary), then his cattle could be seized and destroyed with impunity.[607] A man from al-Azd said with regard to that raid that Khath'am used to attack Azd in pre-Islamic times and used to invade them in the sacred month:

O what a raid! We never raided before with such success,
with mules, horses, and asses,
Until we came to Ḥumayr in its strongholds—
where Khath'am had assembled and were given warnings.
If I could satisfy the thirst for revenge which I carried,
I should not care whether they followed Islam
or were infidels.

In this year, the Messenger of God dispatched 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib with an army to the Yemen in Ramaḍān.[608]

Abū Kurayb[609] and Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Hayyāj[610]—Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azajī[611]—Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf[612]—his fa-

606. It refers to the landmarks, probably whitewashed cairns. Ryckmans, *Religions*, 9; Serjeant, "Translation," 6.

607. For the document, see Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 242–43.

608. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 290–91; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1079–83; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 122.

609. Muḥammad b. al-'Alā' b. Kurayb al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī died in 248/862. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 385–86.

610. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Hayyāj al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī died in 255/869. Ibid., IX, 362–63.

611. Ibid., XI, 250 (al-Azjī al-Kūfī).

612. Died in 198/813–14. Ibid., I, 183.

ther[613]—Abū Isḥāq—al-Barā' b. 'Āzib:[614] The Messenger of God sent Khālid b. al-Walīd to the people of the Yemen inviting them to Islam, and I was among those who went with him. He persisted in the matter for six months, but they did not respond, so the Messenger of God sent 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and ordered him that
[1732] Khālid and those who were with him should return, but if any of them would like to follow him he should allow them. Al-Barā' said, "I was one who followed 'Alī, and as we reached the borders of the Yemen the people got the news. They gathered around him and 'Alī led us in the morning prayer. When he had finished [the prayer], he lined us up in one row. Then he moved before us, praised and extolled God, and then read to them the letter of the Messenger of God.[615] All of Hamdān embraced Islam in one day, and he wrote to the Messenger of God about it. When the Prophet read 'Alī's letter he fell down, prostrating himself to God.[616] Then he sat up and said, 'Peace be upon Hamdān, peace be upon Hamdān!' [After the conversion of Hamdān] the people of the Yemen followed in succession with their acceptance of Islam."

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: In this year, the deputation of Zubayd[617] came to the Prophet with their acceptance of Islam.[618]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: 'Amr b. Ma'dīkarib[619] came to the Messenger of God with men from the Banū Zubayd and embraced Islam. He had told Qays b. Makshūḥ al-Murādī when the Messenger of God's news reached them: "O Qays, you are the leader of your tribe today. We have been told that a man from Quraysh called Muḥammad has appeared in the Ḥijāz[620] and claims that he is a prophet. So come with us in order that we may learn about him. If he is a prophet as

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613. Yūsuf b. Isḥāq b. Abī Isḥāq al-Sabī'ī died in 157/773–74. Ibid., XI, 408–9.

614. He was from the tribe of Khazraj and an ardent supporter of 'Alī. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 364; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, I, 155; Jafri, *Origins*, 52.

615. See Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 132–33.

616. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 300.

617. A clan of Yām of Hamdān. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 227, 229: Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 394.

618. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 64; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 297–98.

619. He was a famous warrior and poet of a noble Yemenite family. After the Prophet's death he apostatized, supported al-Aswad al-'Ansī, and fought against the Muslims. He was taken captive but was freed later. Probably he was killed at al-Qādisiyyah or Nihāwand. *EI*², s.v. 'Amr b. Ma'dīkarib.

620. The northwestern part of Arabian Peninsula. *EI*², s.v. Ḥidjāz.

he says, then it will not be hidden from you, and when we meet him we will follow him. If he is other than that we shall know about him." But Qays b. Makshūḥ declined and called ['Amr b. Ma'dīkarib's] idea foolish. Thereupon 'Amr b. Ma'dīkarib rode off and came to the Messenger of God, attested his truthfulness, and embraced Islam. When Qays learned about it he criticized 'Amr and threatened[621] him, saying that he had gone against him and rejected his counsel. With regard to that, 'Amr said:

On the day of Dhū Ṣan'ā' I counseled you, [1733]
counsel which was plainly upright.
I counseled you to fear God,
practice goodness, and come to its understanding.
Out of worldly desires you went off,
like a donkey[622] beguiled by its lust.
He wished to meet me on a horse,
which I ride like a lion,
Wearing a wide coat of mail glittering like a pool,
whose water is purified against hard level ground.
Mail that repels lances with their heads bent,
with broken shafts flying around.
If you had encountered me,
you would have encountered a lion with a flowing mane.
You would confront a lion
with rough claws and lofty back,
Vying with his rival for glory;
if the rival heads for him he grasps him in his arms,
Seizes him and lifts him up,
throws him down and kills him,
Dashes out his brains and shatters him,
tears him apart and devours him,
Admitting none a share in what
his teeth and claws could take.[623]
Whenever he feeds on the prey,
he is received coolly.

621. As in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq. Text: Became vigilant.
622. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: A little donkey.
623. The following verses are omitted from Ibn Isḥāq. Ibn Hishām states that some of the above verses were recited differently to him.

He shakes like the shaking of a stallion,
whose drink is covered with foam,
[1734] Become afflicted with gnats,
and deprived of reaching his country.
Do not wish to encounter me,
wish for someone else with soft shoulders.
Provide me with a country for him,
where the people around him will be numerous.

'Amr b. Ma'dīkarib stayed with his people the Banū Zubayd while Farwah b. Musayk al-Murādī[624] was their chieftain. When the Messenger of God died, 'Amr apostatized and said:

We found Farwah's reign the worst of reigns,
a donkey sniffing at dirt.[625]
If you had looked at Abū 'Umayr,
you would have seen him like a caul filled with filth
and treachery.

Farwah b. Musayk al-Murādī had come to the Messenger of God in this year (i.e., 10/631) before the coming of 'Amr b. Ma'dīkarib, disassociating himself from the kings of Kindah.[626]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: Farwah b. Musayk al-Murādī came to the Messenger of God, withdrawing himself from the kings of Kindah[627] out of hostility toward them. Shortly before [the advent of] Islam, there was a battle between Murād[628] and Hamdān wherein the latter gave a sound thrashing to the former in an encounter called *al-razm*.[629] The person who led Hamdān over Murād was al-Ajda' b. Mālik, who put them to disgrace on that day. Concerning that [engagement], Farwah b. Musayk said:

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624. He headed the Murād delegation, and the Prophet appointed him as the head of the Murād, Zubayd, and Madhḥij. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, I/2, 63–64.

625. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: *Thafr*. It means the vulva of an animal of prey. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. th-f-r.

626. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 295–97.

627. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: And distancing himself from them.

628. A clan of Madhḥij. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 258; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 406.

629. Hisch., and Ibn Isḥāq: *Al-Radm*. *Razm* means death, while *radm* means a thing that intervenes between two other things, an obstruction, a barrier. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. r-d-m.

If we are victorious, we were victors of old,[630] [1735]
and if defeated, we were not defeated before.[631]
If we are killed,[632] it is not (because of) cowardice,
but (because of) our fate and the bait[633] of others.
Likewise is the fate whose wheel turns
now for and now against.
When it is with us we are delighted and rejoice in it,
though its opulence has shielded us for years.
When the wheel of fate turns,
those who were envied are found ground to pieces,
And those who were envied with the turn of fate
will find the turn of time deceptive.
If kings remained forever we would be immortal,
and if the noble endured we would endure.
But those leaders of my people are annihilated,
like the annihilation of previous generations.

When Farwah b. Musayk headed for the Messenger of God, separating himself from the kings of Kindah, he said:

When I saw the kings of Kindah turning away,
like a man's foot letting him down by his leg's sinew,
I turned to my camel, leading the way to Muḥammad,
hoping for the virtues and good earth of Medina.

When he reached him, the Messenger of God asked him, "It has [1736]
been reported to me, O Farwah, that you were upset at what happened to your people on the day of *al-razm*." He replied, "O Messenger of God, what befell my people on that day would upset any person if it happened to his people." The Messenger of God answered that if it were so, Islam would bring only good to his people, and appointed him [as a leader] over Murād, Zubayd, and

630. Additional verse in Ibn Isḥāq:
They passed by Lufāt with sunken eyes,
tugging at reins as they turned.
Lufāt is a place name in the Murād country.
631. Ibn Isḥāq:
. . . if we are conquered we were not conquered before.
632. Ibn Isḥāq and Ibn al-Athīr:
And our nature is not cowardice.
633. Ibn al-Athīr: And the good fortune of others.

Madhḥij[634] and sent with him Khālid b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ in charge of the alms. Khālid remained with Farwah in his country until the Messenger of God died.

Abū Kurayb and Sufyān b. Wakī'[635]—Abū Usāmah—Mujālid[636]—'Āmir—Farwah b. Musayk: The Messenger of God asked me, "Are you distressed about your people's encounter with Hamdān?" "Yes, by God, it annihilated my kinsfolk and near relatives," I replied. He said, "It is better for those who survived."

In this year, the deputation of 'Abd al-Qays[637] arrived.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: Al-Jārūd b. 'Amr b. Ḥanash b. al-Mu'allā, a brother of 'Abd al-Qays, who was a Christian, came to the Messenger of God with a deputation of 'Abd al-Qays.[638]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Ḥasan b. Dīnār[639]—al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī]: When al-Jārūd reached the Messenger of God, he spoke to him, and the Messenger of God proposed Islam to him, invited him to embrace it, and made him desirous of Islam. He answered, "O Muḥammad, I followed a religion, and now if I
[1737] leave it for yours will you guarantee my religion?"[640] The Messenger of God replied, "Yes, I guarantee that what God has guided you to is better than that [i.e., which you practice]." So he and his companions embraced Islam. Then they asked the Messenger of God for mounts, and when he replied that he had none they said, "O Messenger of God, between us [i.e., Medina] and our country there are some stray beasts that strayed from their owners. Can we ride them to our country?" He replied, "No, beware of them. Indeed, it [leads to] hell-fire."

Al-Jārūd then left for his people. He was a good Muslim, steadfast in his religion until he died, having lived through the period

634. A South Arabian tribe. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 176, 258; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 476–77.

635. Sufyān b. Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ al-Kūfī died in 247/861. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 123–24.

636. Mujālid b. Sa'īd al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī died in 144/761–62. Ibid., X, 39–41.

637. A branch of Rabī'ah. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 141, 168; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 295–96.

638. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 54, states that they stayed in Medina for ten days and the Prophet gave them gifts before they departed. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 298.

639. Al-Ḥasan b. Dīnār, Abū Sa'īd al-Baṣrī. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 275–76.

640. As in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq. The text is without the interrogative particle.

of apostasy (*al-riddah*).[641] When some of his people who had embraced Islam went back to their earlier religion with al-Gharūr[642] al-Mundhir b. al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir, al-Jārūd stood up, confessed his Islam and invited them back to it saying, "O people, I testify that there is no god but God, and Muḥammad is His servant and His Messenger. I am done with him[643] who does not pronounce the *shahādah*."

The Messenger of God had sent al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī to al-Mundhir b. Sāwā al-'Abdī before the conquest of Mecca,[644] and he embraced Islam and became a good Muslim. Al-Mundhir died after the Messenger of God but before the apostasy of the people of al-Baḥrayn,[645] while al-'Alā', who was the Messenger of God's *amīr* (deputy) over al-Baḥrayn, was with him.

In this year, the deputation of the Banū Ḥanīfah[646] came.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: The deputation of the Banū Ḥanīfah came to the Messenger of God and among them was Musaylimah b. Ḥabīb,[647] the arch liar. They stayed with the daughter of al-Ḥārith,[648] a woman of the *Anṣār* from the Banū Najjār.[649]

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641. It is generally translated as "the wars of apostasy," because in the traditional sources it is reported as a religious movement directed against Islam. This view was first challenged by Wellhausen (*Skizzen*, VI, 7–37), and Caetani (*Annali*, II, 549–831), who argued that it was essentially political in nature. The leaders of the *riddah*, often called "the false prophets," represented themselves as possessing prophetic aspirations; hence it was not wholly devoid of religious character. Cf. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 147–48. Its character and extent are analyzed by Shoufani, *al-Riddah*, 71–106.

642. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: Gharūr b. al-Mundhir.

643. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: I regard him an infidel.

644. According to Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 19, 27–28, 41, the Prophet sent al-'Alā' to al-Mundhir b. Sāwā, who was Khusraw's governor over al-Baḥrayn after he had returned from al-Ji'rānah. See also Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 112–15.

645. In pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, this name was applied to the mainland of Eastern Arabia, embracing the oases of al-Qaṭīf and Hajar (al-Ḥasā). Later, it was restricted to the archipelago offshore. *EI*², s.v. al-Baḥrayn.

646. A large section of this ancient Arab tribe revolted against Medina under Musaylimah. *EI*², s.v. Ḥanīfa. For the delegation, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 55–56; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 298.

647. Musaylimah, diminutive of Maslamah (which was his real name), was the theocratic lord of a sacred *ḥaram*. According to one report, he had set up this sacred enclave in Yamāmah before the Prophet's *hijrah*. He thus controlled an extensive area of the eastern Arabia. *EI*¹, s.v. Musailima; Serjeant, "Early Arabic Prose," 127.

648. She was Ramlah bt. al-Ḥārith. Ibn Sa'd.

649. A clan of Khazraj. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 185, 186; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 347–52.

[1738] Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: I have received an account on the authority of some of our Medinese scholars: The Banū Ḥanīfah brought Musaylimah to the Messenger of God, veiling him with a garment, while the Messenger of God was seated among his companions, holding a palm branch with some leaves on its upper end. When he approached the Messenger of God while being veiled with garments, he spoke to him [and asked][650] [for a gift]. The Messenger of God replied, "If you had asked me for this palm branch which I hold, I would not have given it to you."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—a shaykh of the Banū Ḥanīfah from the people of al-Yamāmah:[651] The story of Musaylimah differs from the one mentioned before. [This shaykh] alleged that the deputation of the Banū Ḥanīfah came to the Messenger of God and left Musaylimah behind with their baggage. When they embraced Islam, they mentioned to the Prophet where he was, saying, "O Messenger of God, we have left behind a companion of ours to guard our camels and baggage." The Messenger of God ordered for him the same as he had ordered for them, saying, "His position, guarding the property of his companions, is not worse than yours." This is what the Messenger of God meant.

Then they left the Messenger of God and brought Musaylimah what the Prophet had given him.[652] When they reached al-Yamāmah, Musaylimah (the enemy of God) apostatized, posed as a prophet, and played the liar, saying, "I have been made a partner with him [i.e., Muḥammad] in the affair." He then said to his deputation, "Did not the Messenger of God say to you when you mentioned me to him that my position is no worse than yours? What could it mean except that he knew I have been made his associate?"[653] Then he began to speak in rhyming speech (*saj'*)[654] and in imitation of the Qur'ān: "God has bestowed favors upon the pregnant woman; He has brought forth from her a living being

650. Addition from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq.

651. See Ṭabarī, above, I, 1702, n. 407.

652. Ibn Sa'd adds: Musaylimah said, "The Prophet knows that after him the authority belongs to me."

653. He is said to have proposed sharing power over Arabia. See Ṭabarī, below, I, 1749.

654. It was used for expressing an oracle. Fahd, *Divination*, 151–53.

that moves from between the bowels and peritoneum."[655] He rid them of the burden of prayer, and permitted them to drink wine and fornicate and so forth, [yet][656] he acknowledged the Messenger of God as a prophet. The Banū Ḥanīfah agreed with him on that. God knows best what the truth was. [1739]

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: In this year, the deputation of Kindah headed by al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī arrived.[657]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī: Al-Ash'ath b. Qays came to the Messenger of God with sixty[658] riders from Kindah, and went to him in his mosque. They had combed their locks and darkened their eyelids with kohl, and were wearing striped robes (of the Yemenī fabric) bordered with silk. When they entered, the Messenger of God asked, "Have you not embraced Islam?" "Yes, indeed," they answered. "Why, then, is this silk hanging round your necks?" he asked. So they tore it off and threw it away. Then al-Ash'ath said, "O Messenger of God, we are the sons of those who eat bitter herbs and so are you."[659] He smiled and said, "Ascribe this ancestry to al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and Rabī'ah b. al-Ḥārith." Both were merchants. When they traveled in Arab lands and were asked who they were, they would reply that they were sons of those who ate bitter herbs, and were proud of that because Kindah were kings. Then the Messenger of God said, "We are the sons of al-Naḍr b. Kinānah. We neither follow our mother's [line of descent] nor disown our father's." Al-Ash'ath b. Qays said, "Do you know, O men of Kindah, by God, if I hear a man saying [such a thing] after today, I will thrash him with the prescribed punishment of eighty strokes."[660]

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655. He followed the *kāhin* style of rhymed prose and looked to the Heaven for revelation, and preached in the name of *al-Raḥmān*. See Serjeant, "Early Arabic Prose," 127–28.

656. Addition from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq.

657. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 64, states that they were ten odd, while Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, 298, states that they were sixty.

658. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: Eighty.

659. Ibn Shabbah (*Ta'rīkh*, II, 547): "O Messenger of God, we think that you are from us [i.e., having the same ancestry]." The Messenger of God replied, "We are the sons. . . ."

660. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq (*Sīrah*, IV, 232–33): "Are you finished, O men of Kindah? By God, if I hear a man saying [such a thing], I will thrash him with eighty

Al-Wāqidī: In this year, the deputation of Muḥārib[661] came.

In this year, the deputation of al-Rahāwiyyūn[662] came.

[1740] In this year, the deputation of al-ʿĀqib and al-Sayyid[663] from Najrān came, and the Messenger of God wrote a peace treaty for them.[664]

In this year, the deputation of ʿAbs[665] came.

In this year, the deputation of Ṣadif[666] arrived and rendered their full [homage] to the Messenger of God at the Farewell Pilgrimage.

In this year, ʿAdī b. Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī[667] came in [the month of] Shaʿbān.

In this year, Abū ʿĀmir al-Rāhib died at the court of Heraclius [the Byzantine emperor], so Kinānah b. ʿAbd Yālīl and ʿAlqamah b. ʿUlāthah disputed about his inheritance. [Heraclius] decided in favor of Kinānah b. ʿAbd Yālīl, saying that both were city dwellers while ʿAlqamah b. ʿUlāthah was a tent dweller.

In this year, the deputation of Khawlān[668] came. They were ten people.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb:[669] During the truce of al-Ḥudaybiyah[670] and before [the conquest of]

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strokes." Ibn Hishām adds a long note stating that al-Ashʿath b. Qays was, from his mother's side, a descendant of "the eater of bitter herbs."

661. A branch of ʿAbd al-Qays. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 297. See also Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 43; they were ten; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 298.

662. A clan of Madhḥij, a South Arabian tribe. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 412–13. See also Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 76; they were fifteen; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 298.

663. Al-ʿĀqib, whose name was ʿAbd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī, was the head of the delegation. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 84–85; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 293–95.

664. The treaty is reproduced by Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmūʿah*, 140–58.

665. A branch of Ghaṭafān (Qays ʿAylān). Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 92, 132; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 250–52. See also Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 41–42; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 298.

666. A branch of Ḥaḍramawt. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 461. See also Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 64–65; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 298.

667. See Ṭabarī, above, I, 1706.

668. A South Arabian tribe of great antiquity. After the death of the Prophet, they at first joined the revolt against Medina, but were brought back to Islam by an expeditionary force. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 61; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 298; *EI*², s.v. Khawlān.

669. His name was Suwayd al-Azdī, and he died in 128/745–46. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 318–19.

670. It is known after the village situated on the edge of the *ḥaram* [sacred territory] of Mecca where the truce was negotiated and signed. *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥudaybiya.

Khaybar,[671] Rifā'ah b. Zayd al-Judhāmī[672] al-Ḍubaybī came to the Messenger of God, presented him a slave, and embraced Islam. He became a good Muslim, and the Messenger of God gave him a letter addressed to his people. In it was written: "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. This is a letter from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Rifā'ah b. Zayd. I have sent him to his people in general and those who have joined them [in Islam] to invite others to God and His Messenger. Whoever responds belongs to the party of God and His Messenger, and whoever turns away will have two months' truce."[673] When Rifā'ah came to his people they responded and embraced Islam. Then they went to al-Ḥarrah [the volcanic tract, lava field],[674] the Ḥarrah of al-Rajlā',[675] and camped there.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—one who could be trusted from the men of Judhām who were knowledgeable: When Rifā'ah b. Zayd came [to his people][676] with the Messenger of God's letter [1741] inviting them to Islam, they responded. Soon [the following incident happened]. When Diḥyah b. Khalīfah al-Kalbī, who was returning from Caesar,[677] the Byzantine king,[678] [to whom he] was sent by the Messenger of God with some of his merchandise,[679]

671. A famous oasis and settlement about 150 km from Medina, which owes its renown to the events which took place during its conquest in the year 7/628–29. *EI*², s.v. Khaybar. For its topography and historical geography, see Doughty, *Travels*, II, 77ff.; Philby, *Midian*, 31ff.; Ḥamīdullāh, *Battlefields*, 48–52; Jāsir, *Shimāl*, 217ff.; Al-Wohaibi, *Hijaz*, 113–19.

672. Judhām is an Arab tribe which claims descent from Kahlān b. Sabā' of Yemen. They had settled in pre-Islamic times on the borders of Byzantine Syria and Palestine. *EI*², s.v. Djudhām.

673. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, II, 557; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 82–83. See also Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 233–34.

674. Doughty, *Travels*, glossary of Arabic words.

675. A place in the Judhām country. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 436; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 246.

676. Addition from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq.

677. The mission of Diḥyah must have been in the summer of 6/627, since a punitive expedition to punish the Judhām plunderers was sent around October 627. Ibn Sa'd [*Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 16; IV/1, 184–85], on the other hand, states that Diḥyah was sent by the Prophet in the year 7/628–29 inviting the Byzantine king to Islam. See also Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 83–86.

It is one of the six embassies sent by the Prophet to the rulers of the surrounding countries inviting them to embrace Islam. This story is not accepted by the scholars as it stands; see Buhl, *Leben*, 294–98; Caetani, *Annali*, I, 725–39; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 43–44, 345.

678. Probably the Byzantine governor nearest to Arabia.

679. Probably the Byzantine presents to Muḥammad.

reached a valley called Shanār,[680] al-Hunayd b. ʿŪṣ[681] and his son ʿŪṣ b. al-Hunayd al-Ḍulayʿī, a clan of Judhām, attacked him and seized everything that he had. This news reached some people of the Banū Ḍubayb, the kinsfolk of Rifāʿah who had embraced Islam. They responded and went after al-Hunayd and his son; al-Nuʿmān b. Abī Jiʿāl of the Banū Ḍubayb was among them. When they encountered them, a skirmish followed. On that day, Qurrah b. Ashqar al-Ḍifārī, who traced his ancestry from the clan of al-Ḍulayʿ, said, "I am the son of Lubnā." He shot al-Nuʿmān b. Abī Jiʿāl with an arrow, hitting him in his knee, saying, "Take it, I am the son of Lubnā." He had a mother who was called Lubnā. Ḥassān b. Mallah al-Ḍubaybī had been a friend of Diḥyah b. Khalīfah al-Kalbī before that [incident] and had taught him the *Umm al-Kitāb* [i.e., the first chapter of the Qurʾān]. They rescued what was in the hands of al-Hunayd and his son ʿŪṣ and restored it to Diḥyah. Then Diḥyah left and came to the Messenger of God, informed him what had happened, and sought that he be allowed to kill al-Hunayd and his son.

The Messenger of God sent Zayd b. Ḥārithah with a force against them, which was what provoked the raid of Zayd on Ju-
[1742] dhām. All of Ghaṭafān of Judhām, Wāʾil,[682] those of Salāmān, and Saʿd b. Hudhaym[683] had set out when Rifāʿah b. Zayd came with the Messenger of God's letter and camped in al-Ḥarrah (the volcanic tract) of al-Rajlāʾ, while Rifāʿah b. Zayd was in Kurāʿ Rabbah[684] with some people of the Banū al-Ḍubayb, not knowing [what had happened]. At the same time, the rest of the Banū al-Ḍubayb were in a valley [of Madān][685] in the region of the volcanic tract where it stretches to the east.

Zayd b. Ḥārithah's army approached from the direction of al-Awlāj[686] and raided al-Faḍāfiḍ[687] from the direction of the vol-

680. Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 65–66): Reached [a place called] Ḥismā. See also Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, II, 446–48.
681. Ibn Saʿd: B. ʿĀriḍ, and his son ʿĀriḍ.
682. A clan of Judhām. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 245.
683. A clan of Balī. Ibid., 330.
684. A place in the Judhām country. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, IV, 1122.
685. Addition from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq.
686. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 282.
687. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: Al-Māqiṣ. They are place names, see Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, III, 1025.

canic tract. They rounded up the cattle and men they found, and killed al-Hunayd and his son and two men from the Banū al-Aḥnaf[688] and one from the Banū Khaṣīb.[689] When the Banū al-Ḍubayb and the army, who were in the flat plain of Madān,[690] heard about [the raid], Ḥassān b. Mallah, Unayf b. Mallah, and Abū Zayd b. ʿAmr rode to them. Ḥassān rode on Suwayd b. Zayd's horse called al-ʿAjājah, and Unayf on Mallah's horse called Righāl, and Abū Zayd on his own horse called Shamir. They went on until they approached the army, at which time Abū Zayd[691] said to Unayf b. Mallah, "Hold back from us and leave, for we are afraid of your tongue." So he left and held himself back. The two had hardly left him when his horse began to scrape the ground and jump. He said [to the horse], "I am more withholding from the two men than you are from the two horses," and he slackened the reins until he overtook them. They said to him, "If you are going to do what you have done, then spare us your tongue and don't bring us bad luck today." They agreed among themselves that only Ḥassān b. Mallah should speak. Now they had a word [1743] which they learned from one another in the pre-Islamic days. If someone wanted to strike with his sword he said *"thūrī."*[692] When they approached the army, the men came running to them and Ḥassān told them that they were Muslims. The first man to meet them was riding a deep black horse with his lance stretched out as if he had fixed it on the withers of his horse, and was saying, "Forward, overtake," while he advanced, leading the others. Unayf said *"thūrī,"* and Ḥassān told him to take it easy. When they stood before Zayd b. Ḥārithah, Ḥassān said, "We are Muslims." Zayd replied, "Then recite the *Umm al-Kitāb.*" When Ḥassān recited it, Zayd b. Ḥārithah said, "Proclaim to the army that God has forbidden us their land except from those who were unfaithful to their covenant."

Ḥassān b. Mallah's sister, the wife of Abū Wabr b. ʿAdī b. Umayyah b. al-Ḍubayb, was among the prisoners. Zayd told him

688. Hisch., Ibn Hishām: Al-Ajnaf.

689. Both Banū Aḥnaf and Banū Khaṣīb are clans of Judhām. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 245.

690. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, IV, 1200 [Mudān]; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 74.

691. Addition in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: And Ḥassān.

692. Addition in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: Or *būrī*.

to take her and she clung to his waist. Umm al-Fazr of al-Ḍulayʿ said, "Are you going away with your daughters and leaving behind your mothers?" One of the Banū Khaṣīb said, "She is from the Banū al-Ḍubayb and their tongues cast spells all day long." Someone from the army heard that and told Zayd b. Ḥārithah about it, so he ordered that the hands of Ḥassān's sister be loosed from his waist and told her to sit with the daughters of her uncle until God decided about them. So, they [i.e., Ḥassān's party] went back and [Zayd] forbade the army to go down into the valley whence they had come. They [i.e., Ḥassān's party] passed the night with their people and milked the camels of Suwayd b. Zayd at nightfall. After they had drunk their night draught of milk, they rode off to Rifāʿah b. Zayd [among those who went were Abū
[1744] Zayd b. ʿAmr, Abū Shammās b. ʿAmr, Suwayd b. Zayd, Baʿjah b. Zayd, Bardhaʿ b. Zayd, Thaʿlabah b. ʿAmr,[693] Makhrabah[694] b. ʿAdī, Unayf b. Mallah, and Ḥassān b. Mallah], until they came to Rifāʿah b. Zayd in the morning in Kurāʿ Rabbah in the plain of the volcanic tract by a well there in Ḥarrat Laylā.[695] Ḥassān b. Mallah said to him, "You sit milking goats while the women of Judhām are dragged off as prisoners. The letter which you have brought with you has deceived them." Rifāʿah asked for his camel and began to saddle it while reciting:

"Are you alive or do you call the living?"

In the early morning, they and he, with Umayyah b. Ḍafārah, the brother of the slain Khaṣībī, left the plain of the volcanic tract and journeyed for three nights to the plains of Medina. When they entered the city and arrived at the mosque, a man looked at them and said, "Don't make your camels kneel—otherwise their legs will be cut off." So they dismounted while the camels were standing. When they came to the Messenger of God, he saw them and waved them with his hand to advance [toward him] from behind the people. As Rifāʿah began to speak, a man [from the gathering] got up and said, "O Prophet of God, these men are sorcerers," and repeated it twice. Rifāʿah replied, "May God forgive him who does not treat us well today." Then he handed over the letter to the

693. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: Zayd.
694. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: Mukharribah.
695. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, II, 436; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 247–48.

Messenger of God which he had written for him, saying, "It falls short of your [dignity], O Messenger of God; it was written long [1745] ago but its violation is very recent." The Messenger of God asked a young man to read it openly. When he had read it, he asked what had happened. After they had told him the news, he said, "What am I to do about the slain?" and repeated it three times. Rifā'ah replied, "You, O Messenger of God, know best. We do not make unlawful what you consider to be lawful and we do not make lawful what you consider to be unlawful." Abū Zayd b. 'Amr said, "Release, O Messenger of God, those who are alive and overlook those who are dead." He answered, "Abū Zayd spoke the truth. O 'Alī, ride with them." 'Alī replied, "O Messenger of God, Zayd will not obey me." He replied, "Take [this] sword of mine," and gave him his sword. Then 'Alī told him that he did not have a beast to ride. The Messenger of God mounted him on a camel called al-Mikḥāl belonging to Tha'labah b. 'Amr, and they departed. Suddenly a messenger from Zayd b. Ḥārithah appeared on a camel of Abū Wabr called al-Shamir. They dismounted from him and he asked 'Alī, "What have I done?" 'Alī replied, "It is their property, they recognized it and took it back." They continued until they met the army at Fayfā' al-Faḥlatayn[696] and took back the property which was in their possession, even to a woman's saddle cloth from beneath a saddle.[697]

The Deputation of the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah[698]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah: The deputation of the Banū 'Āmir came to the Messenger of God, and among them were 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl, Arbad b. Qays b. Mālik[699] b. Ja'far, and Jabbār b. Sulmā[700] b. Mālik b. Ja'far. These [1746] three were the chiefs and mischief-makers (*shayāṭīn*) of the tribe. 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl[701] came to the Messenger of God intending to

696. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 237.

697. Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, IV, 264–65, cites a poem of Abū Jī'āl.

698. A branch of Hawāzin. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 93; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 272–73.

699. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: Jaz' b. Khālid b. Ja'far. Ibn Sa'd: Arbad b. Rabī'ah b. Mālik b. Ja'far.

700. Ibn Isḥāq: Salmā.

701. The enemy of God: Addition in Ibn Isḥāq. He was responsible for the massacre of the Muslim deputation at Bi'r Ma'ūnah. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, III, 193 ff.; Lings, *Muhammad*, 322–23.

act perfidiously. His people had urged him to embrace Islam because others had embraced it, but he said, "By God, I have sworn that I would not cease [to attain power] until the Arabs follow me. Am I to follow the footsteps of this youth from Quraysh?" Then he said to Arbad, "When we[702] come to the man, I will divert his attention from you, and as I do that, cleave him with the sword." When they came to the Messenger of God, ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl said, "O Muḥammad, can I [talk to you] privately?"[703] He replied, "No, by God, [I will not talk to you] until you believe in God alone." [ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl] repeated his request for privacy and went on talking to him, expecting that Arbad would act as he had told him, but Arbad did not return a word in reply. When ʿĀmir saw that Arbad did not respond, he again repeated his request and the Messenger of God gave him the same reply. When the Messenger of God refused, he said, "Then, by God, I will fill the land with red horses[704] and men against you." When he turned away, the Messenger of God said, "O God, protect me from ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl."[705] On their return, ʿĀmir said to Arbad, "Woe to you, Arbad! What happened to that with which I had charged you? By God, there was no man on the face of the earth whom I feared more than you, but by God, I shall never fear you after today."
[1747] "May you have no father, don't be hasty with me," Arbad replied, "By God, whenever I tried to do what you had asked me to do, you got in my way so that I could not see anything but you. Was I to strike you with the sword?" ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl said:[706]

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702. As in Ibn Isḥāq. Text: I.

703. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 51–52, gives a different version. He states: ʿĀmir asked, "What would I get, O Muḥammad, if I accept Islam?" "You have the same rights and obligations as the Muslims," the Prophet replied. He asked, "Would you invest me with authority after you?" "That is neither for you nor for your people," the Prophet answered. He asked, "Would you grant me [authority] over tent dwellers and [you] exercise [authority] over city dwellers?" "No," the Prophet replied, "but I would appoint you as commander of the cavalry, because you are a warrior." He said, "Then, by God, I will fill . . ." Cf. Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 515–21, for a similar version. Ibn al-Athīr's [*Kāmil*, II, 298–99] report is similar to that of al-Ṭabarī.

704. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Ibn Shabbah [according to one report]: Horses.

705. Ibn Sa'd adds: Give guidance to the Banū ʿĀmir and spare Islam of ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl! Ibn Shabbah: O God, if you cannot guide ʿĀmir, then protect me from him!

706. The following verses are omitted from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq.

The Messenger sent what you see, as if
we were intending to raid the troops of horsemen.
Our horses became lean while bringing us to Medina,
and they killed the *Anṣār* in their midst.

While they were on their way back to their country, God afflicted ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl's neck with a fatal disease [a tumor] and killed him while he was in the house of a woman from the Banū Salūl.[707] He began to say, "O Banū ʿĀmir, a lump like the lump of a young camel, and death[708] in the house of a woman from the Banū Salūl!" When they buried him, his companions left for the country of the Banū ʿĀmir. When they arrived there, their people came to them and asked Arbad what had happened. He replied, "Nothing, by God. He [i.e., Muḥammad] called on us to worship something. I wish he were near me now, and I would shoot him with this arrow of mine and kill him." A day or two after he had uttered those words, he went out with his camel to sell[709] it, and God sent a thunderbolt which scorched him and his camel.[710] Arbad b. Qays was brother of Labīd b. Rabīʿah by the same mother.

The deputation of Ṭayyiʾ came to the Messenger of God and talked to him, and he proposed Islam to them. Their leader, Zayd al-Khayl,[711] was among them.[712] They embraced Islam and be- [1748]
came good Muslims.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—some men of Ṭayyiʾ: The Messenger of God said, "Every Arab man that has been spoken of to me in the highest terms has fallen short of what was said about him after I met him except Zayd al-Khayl. Indeed, all that was

707. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 282, states that he died in 5/626–27. The Banū Salūl was a clan related to the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah noted for its meanness. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 271–72.

708. And death: Omitted from Ibn Isḥāq. Ibn Hishām: A lump like the lump of a camel, and death in a Salūlī house. ʿĀmir's saying is used proverbially where one of the two things is more wicked than the other. Maydānī, *al-Amthāl*, II, 57–58.

709. Ibn Isḥāq: With his camel behind him. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 282.

710. Ibn Hishām cites some Qurʾānic verses [13:9–14] revealed concerning Amir and Arbad. Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, IV, 215–19, quotes elegies of Labīd b. Rabīʿah for the death of Arbad.

711. *Al-Khayl* means horses, cavalry.

712. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 59–60, states that they were fifteen men; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 299.

said about him does not render full justice [to all his attainments]." Then [the Prophet] named him Zayd al-Khayr,[713] granted him Fayd[714] and some lands with it, and wrote a document for him to that effect. As he left, returning to his people, the Messenger of God said that he hoped Zayd would escape the fever of Medina. The Messenger of God called it something other than fever and other than *umm mildam*,[715] but [the reporter] could not ascertain which. After Zayd had reached one of the watering places in Najd[716] called Fardah,[717] he was struck with the fever and died there. When he felt that his end was near he said:

Are my kinsfolk setting out eastward tomorrow,
while I am to be left in a house in Fardah of Najd?
Oftentimes if I fell sick, women would visit me,
not worn out, but tired by the journey.

When he died, his wife took the documents granted to him by the Messenger of God and burnt them[718] in the fire.

In this year, Musaylimah wrote to the Messenger of God alleging that he was his associate in prophethood.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr:
[1749] Musaylimah b. Ḥabīb, the arch-liar wrote to the Messenger of God:[719] "From Musaylimah the Messenger of God to Muḥammad the Messenger of God. Peace be upon you. Indeed, I have been made a partner with you in authority. To us belongs half of the land and to Quraysh the other half, but Quraysh are a transgressing people."[720] This letter was brought to the Messenger of God by two couriers.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—a Shaykh of Ashja'ī. Ibn Ḥumayd states: As for 'Alī b. Mujāhid,[721] he reports from Abū

713. *Al-Khayr* means good, excellent.
714. A place name. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, III, 1032–35; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 282–83.
715. A kind of fever. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. l-d-m.
716. The highlands of Arabia, above the coastal plain, the upper part of which is formed by the Tihāmah and the Yemen and the lower by Syria and Iraq. *EI*[1], s.v. Nedjd; Musil, *Northern Neǵd* (for its topography).
717. A place name. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, III, 1017–18; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 248–49.
718. Ibn Sa'd: Tore them into pieces.
719. See Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 256–57.
720. Ibn Shabbah (*Ta'rīkh*, II, 572): Because [Quraysh] are just people.
721. Died after 182/798. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 377–78.

Mālik al-Ashja'ī[722]—Salamah b. Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd al-Ashja'ī[723] —his father Nu'aym:[724] I heard the Messenger of God saying to the two couriers after they had read Musaylimah's letter, "What do you say about it?" They replied that their answer was what [Musaylimah] had said. "By God," he replied, "were it not that messengers are not to be killed I would have beheaded you."[725] Then he wrote to Musaylimah:[726] "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. From Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Musaylimah the arch-liar. 'Peace be upon him who follows [God's] guidance.'[727] Now then: 'Surely the earth belongs to God, who bequeaths it to whom He will among His servants. The ultimate issue is to the God-fearing.'"[728] This was at the end of the year 10/632.

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: It is said that the pretension of Musaylimah and of those who falsely alleged prophethood during the time of the Prophet actually took place after the Prophet had returned from his pilgrimage called the "Farewell Pilgrimage" and during the illness in which he died.[729]

'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'īd al-Zuhrī[730]—his uncle Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm[731]—Sayf b. 'Umar.[732] Al-Sarī[733] wrote about it to me [i.e., al-Ṭabarī], saying that he had received an account on the authority of Shu'ayb b. Ibrāhīm al-Tamīmī—Sayf b. 'Umar al-Tamīmī al-Usayyidī—'Abdallāh b. Sa'īd b. Thābit b. al-Jidh' al-Anṣārī— [1750]
'Abdallāh b. Ḥunayn,[734] the Messenger of God's freedman—Abū

722. His name is Sa'd b. Ṭāriq al-Kūfī, and he died ca. 140/757–58. Ibid., III, 472–73.

723. He was a companion of the Prophet. Ibid., IV, 159.

724. Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd al-Ashja'ī died during 'Uthmān's caliphate [23–35/644–56], or at the Battle of the Camel. Ibid., X, 466.

725. Ibn Shabbah gives a different version.

726. See Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 257.

727. Qur'ān 20:47.

728. Ibid., 7:128.

729. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 299–300.

730. 'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'd [not Sa'īd] al-Zuhrī, a great-grandson of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, died in 260/873–74. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 15–16.

731. Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Zuhrī died in 208/823–24. Ibid., XI, 380–81.

732. Sayf b. 'Umar al-Tamīmī al-Kūfī, who represents the Iraqi historical school, died in 180/796. Ibid., IV, 295–96; Duri, *Rise*, 7, 46–47, 140, 143, 144, 154.

733. Al-Sarī b. Ismā'īl al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 459–60.

734. Died during the reign of Yazīd II [101–5/720–24]. Ibid., V, 193–94.

Muwayhibah,[735] the Messenger of God's freedman: When the Prophet returned to Medina after performing the Pilgrimage of Completion [or Perfection of Religion] (*ḥajjat al-tamām*),[736] he began to have a complaint of illness. As travel was allowed [after the pilgrimage], the news of the Prophet's illness spread; so both al-Aswad[737] and Musaylimah leapt at [the opportunity and claimed prophethood for themselves]—the former in the Yemen and the latter in al-Yamāmah, and their news reached the Prophet. After the Prophet had recovered, Ṭulayḥah[738] leapt at [the opportunity and claimed prophethood] in the land of the Banū Asad. Then in Muḥarram the Prophet complained of the pain from which he died.

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: The Messenger of God dispersed his representatives to every land where Islam had entered to collect the alms (*al-ṣadaqāt*).

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: The Messenger of God sent out his officials and representatives to every district wherein Islam had set foot to collect the alms. He sent al-Muhājir b. Abī Umayyah b. al-Mughīrah to Ṣan'ā',[739] and al-'Ansī rebelled against him while he was there. He sent Ziyād b. Labīd, a brother of the Banū Bayāḍah al-Anṣārī, to Ḥaḍramawt. He sent 'Adī b. Ḥātim to collect the alms from Ṭayyi' and Asad. He sent Mālik b. Nuwayrah to the Banū Ḥanẓalah. He divided [the task of collecting] the alms from the Banū Sa'd between two of their own men: [Zibriqān b. Badr and Qays b. 'Āṣim, each in charge of a district].[740] He sent al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī to al-Baḥrayn, and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to Najrān to collect their alms and bring their poll tax to him.

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735. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180.

736. It was during this pilgrimage that the verse "Today I have perfected your religion, and completed My favor toward you, and have consented to grant you Islām as a religion," (Qur'ān 5:3) was revealed. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 135. See Tabarī, below, I, 1794.

737. Al-Aswad b. Ka'b al-'Ansī, from Madhḥij, was a leader of the first *riddah* in the Yemen. His occupation of Ṣan'ā' lasted only a month or two, for he is said to have died before the Prophet, *EI*[2], s.v. al-Aswad.

738. Ṭulayḥah b. Khuwaylid, one of the tribal leaders, who headed the *riddah* as a prophet, gained the support of the Banū Fazārah and an important section of Ṭayyi' and joined the revolt in Central Arabia. *EI*[1], s.v. Ṭulaiḥa.

739. The capital city of Yemen. *EI*[1], s.v. Ṣan'ā'.

740. Addition from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq and Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 301).

When the month of Dhū al-Qa'dah started this year, that is, the year 10/632, the Prophet made preparations for the pilgrimage and ordered the people to get ready. [1751]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Qāsim[741]—his father[742]—'Ā'ishah the Prophet's wife:[743] The Prophet departed for the pilgrimage on the twenty-fifth of Dhū al-Qa'dah.[744] Neither he nor the people talked of anything but the pilgrimage, until when he was in Sarif[745] and had driven with him the sacrificial animals as some nobles had also done, he ordered the people to remove their pilgrim garments, except for those who had brought the sacrificial animals [with them].[746] That day my menses started. He called on me while I was weeping and said, "What is the matter with you, O 'Ā'ishah? Are you in your menses?" "Yes," I replied, "I wished I had not come with you on this journey this year." "Don't do that," he said, "Don't say that, for you can carry out [all the rites] performed by a pilgrim except that you will not circumambulate the Ka'bah." The Messenger of God entered Mecca and his wives and everyone who did not have a sacrificial animal with him took off the pilgrim

741. Died ca. 126/743–44. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 254–55.

742. Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq died ca. 106/724–25. Ibid., VIII, 333–35.

743. See Ṭabarī, below, I, 1767; *EI*², s.v. 'Ā'ishah bint Abī Bakr.

744. Ibn Hishām adds: The Prophet appointed Abū Dujānah al-Sā'idī—others say Sibā' b. 'Urfuṭah al-Ghifārī—over Medina.

745. About six miles from Mecca. Ḥarbī, *Manāsik*, 465–66; Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, III, 735–36.

746. Those without the sacrificial animals should be content with the *'umrah*, because those who perform the pilgrimage must sacrifice an animal.

Before the pilgrim arrives in Mecca, he puts on the *iḥrām*. He is then *muḥrim*, in a state of holiness. The rites on arrival at Mecca are the same for all, for the *ḥajj* is in a way an *'umrah*, which is a rite of visiting the Ka'bah and the Holy Places around it. The *'umrah* consists of circumambulating the Ka'bah seven times (*ṭawāf*), praying two *rak'ahs* facing the *Maqām Ibrāhīm* and the Ka'bah, and walking [fast] (*sa'y*) seven times between Ṣafā and Marwah. What follows after it depends on the intention of the pilgrim made at the time of assuming the *iḥrām*. If he intended to perform either the *ḥajj* alone (*ifrād*), or the *'umrah* and the *ḥajj* together (*qirān*), then in neither case does he relinquish the state of holiness after having performed the rites of arrival. If he wants to perform the *'umrah* first and then to enjoy the freedom of a normal life (*tamattu'*), not resuming the state of holiness again until the last minute (i.e., on the eighth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah), he deconsecrates himself by having a few locks of hair cut off. In this case, he will have to offer a sacrifice within the sacred territory within a specified period. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥadjdj; Fahd, *Panthéon*, 203ff . . .

garment. On the day of sacrifice, beef[747] was brought to me and put in my house. When I asked what it was, they said that the Messenger of God had sacrificed some cows on behalf of his wives. On the night of *ḥaṣbah*,[748] he sent me with my brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr to perform the ʿ*umrah* from al-Tanʿīm[749] in place of the ʿ*umrah* which I had missed.[750]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Ibn Abī Najīḥ:[751] The Messenger of God had sent ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib to Najrān and met him in Mecca while he was still in a state of *iḥrām*. [When he arrived,] ʿAlī went into Fāṭimah,[752] the Messenger of God's daughter, and found that she was not in her pilgrim garments and was prepared [to receive him]. He asked her, "What is the matter
[1752] with you, O daughter of the Messenger of God?" She replied, "The Messenger of God ordered us to remove the pilgrim garments, so we did." Then he went to the Messenger of God. After he had finished reporting about his journey, the Messenger of God told him to go and circumambulate the Kaʿbah and remove the pilgrim garments as his companions had done. He replied, "O Messenger of God, I have decided to sacrifice an animal as you did." He said, "Remove the pilgrim garments as your companions have done." ʿAlī replied, "O Messenger of God, when I put on the pilgrim garments I said, 'O God, I will invoke your name over a

747. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: A large portion of beef.

748. It is the following day of the last throwing of pebbles in the valley of Minā, or the night after the days called *Ayyām al-tashrīq*, that is, the fourteenth night of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ḥ-ṣ-b.

749. A place about four miles from Mecca. Ḥarbī, *Manāsik*, 467; Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, I, 321; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 49–50.

750. Ibn Isḥāq adds: When the Messenger of God ordered his wives to remove the pilgrim garments, they asked him, "What prevents you, O Messenger of God, from doing the same with us?" "I have sent my sacrificial animals and have matted my hair [*labbada shaʿarahu*, means the pilgrim, in the state of holiness, puts upon his head some kind of gum so that his hair become compacted together and might not become shaggy, Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. l-b-d]," the Prophet replied, "so I shall not be free from the *iḥrām* until I sacrifice my animals."

Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1092, also states that the Prophet performed both the ʿ*umrah* and the *ḥajj* together. For a different opinion, see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 369.

751. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ died in Mecca in 132/749–50. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 355; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 54–55.

752. Fāṭimah, daughter of the Prophet and Khadījah, wife of ʿAlī, mother of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, was the only daughter of the Prophet to have survived him by six months and to enjoy great renown. *EI*², s.v. Fāṭima. See Ṭabarī, below, I, 1767, 1825.

sacrifice as your servant and Messenger does.'" [The Prophet] asked ['Alī] whether he had a sacrificial animal, and when he replied that he did not have one, the Messenger of God made him a partner in his sacrificial animal. 'Alī retained his pilgrim garments with the Messenger of God until both of them had completed the pilgrimage and the Messenger of God slaughtered the animals on behalf of them both.[753]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Yaḥyā b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī 'Amrah[754]—Yazīd b. Ṭalḥah b. Yazīd b. Rukānah: When 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib came from the Yemen to meet the Messenger of God in Mecca, he hurried to him and left one of his companions in charge of his army. That man dressed some of the men[755] in the army with linen clothes that were entrusted to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. When the army approached [Mecca], he went out to receive them and found that they were dressed in the linen clothing. "Woe to you," he said, "what is this?" "I dressed them so that they might look handsome when they came to the people," the man replied. 'Alī asked him to remove [the clothing] before he came to the Messenger of God. He did so and returned them to the booty, but the army expressed resentment at their treatment.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ma'mar b. Ḥazm[756]—Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Ka'b b. 'Ujrah—his paternal aunt Zaynab bt. Ka'b b. 'Ujrah [1753] who was married to Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī—Abū Sa'īd [al-Khudrī]: When the people [i.e., the army] complained [about the behavior] of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the Messenger of God stood up to address us, and I heard him say, "O people, do not complain of 'Alī. By God, he is too tough in the matters of God or in the way of God [to be blamed]."[757]

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753. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 370, states that the Prophet had brought with him a hundred camels, sixty of which he sacrificed himself and 'Alī the remainder. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 200, considers the above report, without any reason, a Shī'ī legend.

754. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 241–42.

755. Ibn Isḥāq: Every man.

756. He was *qāḍī* of Medina during the reign of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (99–101/717–20). Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 297.

757. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 301; Lings, *Muhammad*, 335.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ: Then the Messenger of God proceeded to perform his pilgrimage, showing the people its rites and teaching them its customs.[758] Then he addressed them in a speech and elucidated [certain things]. After he had praised and glorified God, he said, "O people, listen to my words. I do not know whether I shall ever meet you again in this place after this year. O people, your blood and your property are sacrosanct until you meet your Lord, just as this day and this month of yours are sacred. Surely you will meet your Lord and He will question you about your deeds. I have [already] made this known. 'Let he who has a pledge return it to the one who entrusted him with it;'[759] all usury is abolished,[760] but 'your capital belongs to you. Wrong not and you shall not be wronged.'[761] God has decreed that there will be no usury, and the usury of ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib is abolished, all of it.[762] All blood shed in the pre-Islamic days is to be left unavenged. The first such claim I revoke is that of Ibn Rabīʿah[763] b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib,[764] who was nursed among the Banū Layth[765] and was slain by the Banū Hudhayl. His is the first blood shed in the pre-
[1754] Islamic days with which I shall set an example. O people, indeed Satan despairs of ever being worshipped in this land of yours. He will be pleased, however, if he is obeyed in a thing other than that, in matters you minimize. So beware of him in your religion, O people, 'Intercalating a month is an increase of unbelief whereby the unbelievers go astray; one year they make it profane, and hallow it another, [in order] to agree with the number that God has hallowed, and so profane what God has hallowed, and hallow what God has made profane.'[766] Time has completed its cycle [and is] as

758. For details, see Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1097–1102; Lings, *Muhammad*, 332–35.

759. Qur'ān 2:283; 4:58.

760. Ibid., 2:279.

761. Ibid.

762. Wāqidī [*Maghāzī*, 1103]: All the usury of pre-Islamic days is abolished. The first such usury I abolish is that of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

763. Wāqidī [*Maghāzī*, III, 1103, 1111]: Iyās b. Rabīʿah. Ḥamīdullāh [*Majmūʿah*, 307]: ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿah.

764. It was Rabīʿah's infant son Ādam who was killed in pre-Islamic days. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/1, 32; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 254.

765. Wāqidī: The Banū Saʿd.

766. Qur'ān 9:37. For the Islamic calendar, see Ryckmans, *Religions*, 13; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 547–48.

it was on the day that God created the heavens and the earth. 'The number of the months with God is twelve: [they were] in the Book of God on the day He created the heavens and the earth. Four of them are sacred,'[767] the three consecutive [months][768] and the Rajab, [which is called the month of][769] Muḍar,[770] which is between Jumādā [II] and Sha'bān.'"[771]

"Now then, O people, you have a right over your wives and they have a right over you. You have [the right] that they should not cause anyone of whom you dislike to tread your beds; and that they should not commit any open indecency (*fāḥishah*).[772] If they do, then God permits you to shut them in separate rooms and to beat them, but not severely. If they abstain from [evil], they have the right to their food and clothing in accordance with custom (*bi'l-ma'rūf*). Treat women well, for they are [like] domestic animals (*'awān*^{in}) with you and do not possess anything for themselves. You have taken them only as a trust from God, and you have made the enjoyment of their persons lawful by the word of God, so understand and listen to my words, O people. I have conveyed the Message, and have left you with something which, if you hold fast to it, you will never go astray: that is, the Book of God and the *sunnah* of His Prophet.[773] Listen to my words, O people, for I have conveyed the Message and understand [it]. Know for certain that every Muslim is a brother of another Muslim, and that all Muslims are brethren. It is not lawful for a person [to take] from his brother except that which he has given him willingly, so do not wrong yourselves. O God, have I not [1755]

767. Qur'ān 9:36.

768. Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 1112) adds: Dhū al-Qa'dah, Dhū al-Ḥijjah, and Muḥarram. [It is in the Prophet's address on the Day of Sacrifice.]

769. Addition from Wāqidī.

770. It was so called because Muḍar used to treat it as sacred with the utmost dignity. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. r-j-b.

771. Wāqidī adds: The month [consists of] twenty-nine and thirty days.

772. It means an immoral act or a sexual offense. It seems that the pre-Islamic Arabs cared little for adultery, provided it was not performed openly. The Prophet's prohibiting a man, long absent from his home, to return to his family at night, is corroborated by Ibn Mujāwir, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 26. It also concurs with the confinement prescribed in the Qur'ān 4:15, but it contravenes the punishment prescribed in the Qur'ān 24:2. Philby, *Sheba's Daughters*, 46; idem, *Arabian Highlands*, 28; Serjeant, "Translation," 9; idem, "Early Arabic Prose," 121–22. See Ṭabarī, below, I, 1821, n. 1321.

773. The *sunnah* of His Prophet: Omitted from Wāqidī.

conveyed the message?" It was reported [to me][774] that the people said, "O God, yes," and the Messenger of God said, "O God, bear witness."[775]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr[776]—his father ʿAbbād:[777] The man who used to repeat the Messenger of God's words loudly to the people when he was on ʿArafah was Rabīʿah b. Umayyah b. Khalaf. The Messenger of God would say to him. "Say: O people, the Messenger of God says, do you know what month this is?" and they would say, "The sacred month." Then he would say, "Say to them: God has made your blood and your property sacrosanct until you meet your Lord, like the sanctity of this month of yours." Then he said [to him], "Say: the Messenger of God says, O people, do you know what land this is?" Rabīʿah would call out loudly and they would say, "The Holy Land." He would say, "Say: God has hallowed your blood and your property until you meet your Lord like the sanctity of this land of yours." Then he said, "Say: O people, do you know what day this is?" Rabīʿah repeated [this] to them and they said, "The day of the Greater Pilgrimage." He said, "Say: God has made your blood and your property sacrosanct until you meet your Lord like the sanctity of this day of yours."[778]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ: When the Messenger of God stood on ʿArafah he said, "This station is for the mountain that is above it, so all of ʿArafah is a station." When he stood on Quzaḥ on the morning of al-Muzdalifah he said, "This station and all of al-Muzdalifah is a

774. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

775. In his "L'allocution," Blachère has shown that this address deals with certain general problems, probably paraphrased from the Prophet's sayings on different occasions. The versions of Ibn Isḥāq, Wāqidī, Ibn Saʿd, and Ṭabarī are, more or less, consistent in content. Blachère has pointed out seventeen themes in this address. See also Ḥamīdullāh, Majmūʿah, 306–9.

776. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 234–35.

777. Ibid., V, 98.

778. Ibn Isḥāq adds [with a different *isnād*]: "O people, God has given everyone his due. Testamentary bequests to an heir are not permitted. The child belongs to the bed and the adulterer must be stoned. He who claims as father him who is not his father, or a client claims a master [*mawlā*] who is not his master, is cursed by God, the angels, and the mankind. Neither repentance [*ṣarf*] nor ransom [*ʿadl*] shall be accepted from him by God." Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ʿ-d-l; ṣ-r-f.

station." Then when he had slaughtered [the sacrificial animals] in the slaughtering place [in Minā][779] he said, "This slaughtering place and all of Minā is a slaughtering place." The Messenger of [1756] God completed the pilgrimage, showed the people its rites, and taught them what was required of them for their pilgrimage, [including] the stations, the throwing of pebbles,[780] the circumambulation of the Ka'bah, and what God had permitted them [to do] and what He had forbidden them [from doing]. It was the Farewell Pilgrimage (*ḥajjat al-wadā'*)[781] and the Pilgrimage for Conveying the Message (*ḥajjat al-balāgh*),[782] because the Messenger of God did not make any pilgrimage after that.

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: The military expeditions (*ghazawāt*)[783] in which the Messenger of God personally participated were twenty-six. Some say that they were twenty-seven. Those who maintain the number as twenty-six count the Prophet's expedition to Khaybar and the expedition from there to Wādī al-Qurā[784] as one, because after accomplishing the victory he did not return from Khaybar to his abode but marched from there to Wādī al-Qurā. Those who say that [the expeditions] were twenty-seven

779. Quzaḥ, Muzdalifah, and Minā are sacred places visited by the pilgrim during the pilgrimage. Minā is a place in the hills east of Mecca on the road from it to 'Arafah. Muzdalifah is a place halfway between Minā and 'Arafah where the pilgrims returning from 'Arafah spend the night. see *EI*², s.v. Ḥadjdj; *EI*¹, s.v. Minā, Muzdalifa.

780. For its interpretation, see Fahd, *Divination*, 188–95.

781. It is so called because the Prophet bade farewell to the people and died shortly thereafter. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 368; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 240.

782. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 240, states that it is so called because the Prophet announced that time had completed its cycle and was as it had been on the day that God created the heavens and the earth. [Probably, he implies the cancellation of intercalating a month.]

Ibn Sa'd states that the Muslims call this pilgrimage the *ḥajjat al-islām*. It was probably so-called because the Ka'bah and other sacred precincts were now purified of all pagan presence and heathen rites. It was made clear that all rites were now dedicated to Allāh and to His worship. The Prophet had taken every opportunity to free the rites from their pagan associations. His performance of the rites during this pilgrimage became a *sunnah* to be followed by the faithful. Cf. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1089; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 368, See Ṭabarī, below, I, 1794.

783. See above, n. 432.

784. An ancient town and a prosperous region in the northern Ḥijāz on the old trading route from South Arabia to Syria, where the Egyptian and Syrian pilgrim caravans to Mecca also converge. It is now called al-'Ulā. *EI*¹, s.v. Wādī 'l-Ḳurā; Al-Wohaibi, *Hijaz*, 293–300, 315ff.

count the Khaybar expedition as one and the Wādī al-Qurā expedition as another, making the number as twenty-seven.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: The total number of military expeditions in which the Messenger of God personally took part were twenty-six.[785] The raid on Waddān,[786] which is the expedition of al-Abwā',[787] was the first, [followed by] the expedition of Buwāṭ[788] in the direction of Raḍwā.[789] Then [the following]: the expedition of al-'Ushayrah,[790] in the valley of Yanbu';[791] the first expedition at Badr in pursuit of Kurz b. Jābir; the [great][792] battle of Badr in which the chiefs of Quraysh and their nobles were slain and [many] were captured; the expedition of the Banū Sulaym, [which continued] until he reached their watering place al-Kudr;[793] the expedition of al-Sawīq in pursuit of Abū Sufyān until he reached Qarqarat al-Kudr; the expedition of Ghaṭafān toward Najd, which is the expedition of Dhū Amarr;[794] the expedition of Baḥrān,[795] a
[1757] mine above al-Furu' in the Ḥijāz; the expedition of Uḥud;[796] the expedition of Ḥamrā' al-Asad;[797] the expedition of the Banū al-Naḍīr;[798] the expedition of Dhāt al-Riqā' of Nakhl;[799] another expedition at Badr; the expedition of Dūmat al-Jandal;[800] the ex-

785. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: Twenty-seven. For details, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*; and Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 287–371; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 339–43.

786. A settlement about eight miles from al-Abwā'. Al-Wohaibi, *Hijaz*, 290–92.

787. A place name on the route between Medina and Mecca where the Prophet's mother was buried. Ḥarbī, *Manāsik*, 453–56; Al-Wohaibi, *Hijaz*, 35–40.

788. A mountain in the direction of Raḍwā. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, I, 283; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 503.

789. A chain of the Tihāmah mountains about seven *marāḥil* from Medina. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 655–59; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 51.

790. A place between Mecca and Medina in the direction of Yanbu'. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 127.

791. A place near Raḍwā. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, IV, 1402; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 449–50.

792. Addition from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq.

793. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, IV, 1119; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 441–42.

794. A place in Najd. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, I, 192–93; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 252–53.

795. About four nights' journey from Medina. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, I, 228; III, 1020–21; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 252.

796. See Ṭabarī, above, I, 1661, n. 74.

797. A place about 16 km from Medina. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 468; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 301.

798. One of the three Jewish tribes settled in Medina. *ShEI*, s.v. Naḍīr.

799. A place about three days' journey from Medina. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 664–65; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 56.

800. See Ṭabarī, above I, 1702, n. 412.

pedition of al-Khandaq[801] [the siege of Medina]; the expedition of the Banū Qurayẓah;[802] the expedition of the Banū Liḥyān of Hudhayl;[803] the expedition of Dhū Qarad;[804] the expedition of the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq of Khuzā'ah;[805] the expedition of al-Ḥudaybiyah, during which he did not intend to fight but the polytheists blocked the passage [to Mecca for the lesser pilgrimage]; the expedition of Khaybar; he performed the lesser pilgrimage, the Lesser Pilgrimage of Fulfillment (*'umrat al-qaḍā'*);[806] the Expedition of the Conquest (the conquest of Mecca); the expedition of Ḥunayn; the expedition of al-Ṭā'if; the expedition of Tabūk. He actually fought in nine of them: Badr, Uḥud, al-Khandaq, Qurayẓah, al-Muṣṭaliq, Khaybar, the conquest of Mecca, Ḥunayn, and al-Ṭā'if.

Al-Ḥārith[807]—Ibn Sa'd[808]—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Sahl b. Abī Ḥathmah—his father—his grandfather:[809] The Messenger of God carried out twenty-six expeditions. Then he cited a report similar to that of Ibn Ḥumayd on the authority of Salamah [as cited above].

Muḥammad b. 'Umar: The Messenger of God's expeditions are well-known and [their number is] agreed upon. No one disputes about their number, which is twenty-seven, but the authorities differ among themselves with regard to their sequence.

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Mu'ādh b.

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801. Khandaq means a ditch, a trench. It is applied to the "Expedition of the Khandaq," because the Muslims foiled a Meccan attempt to storm Medina by digging a trench at those parts of the city which were open to attack by cavalry. *EI*², s.v. Khandak.

802. One of the three Jewish tribes of Medina. *EI*², s.v. Ḳurayẓa.

803. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 58.

804. A well about two nights' journey from Medina toward Khaybar. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 321–22. It is also known as the "Expedition of al-Ghābah."

805. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 196. It is also called the "Expedition of al-Muraysī'," after the name of a well.

806. So-called because in the previous year when the Prophet left Medina intending to make the lesser pilgrimage, the Quraysh blocked his way, and subsequent negotiations resulted in the truce of Ḥudaybiyah. His intention was, however, fulfilled the following year when he made the lesser pilgrimage.

807. See Ṭabarī, above, I, 1721, n. 545.

808. Muḥammad b. Sa'd al-'Awfī died in 276/888. Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh*, V, 322–23.

809. Sahl b. Abī Ḥathmah, a companion of the Prophet, died during the early part of Mu'āwiyah's reign (41–60/661–80). Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 248–49, IX, 199, states that Muḥammad b. Sahl b. Abī Ḥathmah and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Abī Ḥathmah transmitted from him.

Muḥammad al-Anṣārī[810]—Muḥammad b. Thābit al-Anṣārī:[811] Ibn 'Umar was asked how many expeditions the Messenger of God carried out and he said, "Twenty-seven campaigns." Then it was said to him, "In how many did you participate with him?" He replied, "Twenty-one; the first was al-Khandaq and I missed six. I was eager to take part and offered myself to the Prophet for all of them, but he turned me down and did not permit me [to take part] until al-Khandaq."

Al-Wāqidī states that the Messenger of God fought in eleven
[1758] expeditions. He mentioned nine of them, which I have reported on the authority of Ibn Isḥāq, enumerating with them the expedition of Wādī al-Qurā. He stated that he fought there with his slave Mid'am, who was shot by an arrow and killed. Al-Wāqidī [also] states that he fought on the day of al-Ghābah and that some of the polytheists as well as Muḥriz b. Naḍlah were killed on that day.

Disagreement about the Number of the Armies and the Raiding Parties (Sarāyā) Sent by the Messenger of God[812]

Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: The armies and the raiding parties sent by the Messenger of God between the time he came to Medina and the time in which he died number thirty-five:[813] The expedition of 'Ubaydah b. al-Ḥārith to the tribes of Thaniyyat al-Marah,[814] which is a well in the Ḥijāz; the expedition of Ḥamzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib to the coast in the direction of al-'Īṣ[815] [some people date Ḥamzah's expedition before that of 'Ubaydah's]; the expedition of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ to al-Kharrār[816] in the Ḥijāz; the expedition of

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810. Ibid., X, 193–94.

811. Ibid., IX, 84.

812. See above, n. 432. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 339–43, has given a comprehensive list of those expeditions.

813. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: Thirty-eight. Ibn al-Athīr [*Kāmil*, II, 304] states: It is said thirty-five, or forty-eight. For details, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 371–84, lists about sixty.

814. A valley in the Tihāmah. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 612–13; IV, 1209.

815. A valley containing several villages on the Red Sea. Al-Wohaibi, *Hijaz*, 81–83.

816. A watering place of the Banū Ḍamrah. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 492.

ʿAbdallāh b. Jaḥsh to Nakhlah;[817] the expedition of Zayd b. Ḥārithah to al-Qardah,[818] one of the wells in Najd;[819] the expedition of Marthad b. Abī Marthad al-Ghanawī to al-Rajīʿ;[820] the expedition of al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr to Biʾr Maʿūnah;[821] the expedition of Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ to Dhū al-Qaṣṣah[822] on the way to Iraq; the expedition of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to Turabah[823] in the country of the Banū ʿĀmir; the expedition of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib to the Yemen; the expedition of Ghālib b. ʿAbdallāh al-Kalbī, the Kalb of Layth, to al-Kadīd,[824] [where] he inflicted losses on the Banū al-Mulawwaḥ; the expedition of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib to the Banū ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd, the inhabitants of Fadak;[825] the expedition [1759]
of Ibn Abī al-ʿAwjāʾ al-Sulamī to the land of the Banū Sulaym where he and all of his companions were killed; the expedition of ʿUkkāshah b. Miḥṣan to al-Ghamrah;[826] the expedition of Abū Salamah b. ʿAbd al-Asad to Qaṭan,[827] one of the wells of the Banū Asad toward Najd, where Masʿūd b. ʿUrwah was killed; the expedition of Muḥammad b. Maslamah, a brother of the Banū al-Ḥārith, to al-Quraṭāʾ[828] of Hawāzin; the expedition of Bashīr b. Saʿd to the Banū Murrah in Fadak; another expedition of Bashīr b. Saʿd to Yumn[829] and Jināb,[830] [which are] towns in the land of

817. A valley, later known as the "Bustān of Ibn ʿĀmir," was the last major halt before Mecca on routes from al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, Najd, and the Yemen. Al-Wohaibi, *Hijaz*, 166–83.

818. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, III, 1062; it is spelled *al-Qardā*.

819. Addition in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq; The raid of Muḥammad b. Maslamah on Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf.

820. A well of Hudhayl between Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, II, 641–43; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 29.

821. A watering place between Mecca and Medina. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 302.

822. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, III, 1076–77; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 366.

823. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, I, 308–9.

824. A place between Mecca and Medina. Ibid., IV, 1119.

825. An ancient town in the northern Ḥijāz, near Khaybar, which was a colony of Jewish agriculturists. It owes its fame in Islamic history to the fact that its surrender was obtained through an agreement between the Prophet and its inhabitants, and that it gave rise to a disagreement between Fāṭimah and Abū Bakr. It is now known as al-Ḥāʾiṭ. *EI*², s.v. Fadak. For its historical geography, see Jāsir, *Shimāl*, 295ff., 510. See Ṭabarī, below, I, 1825, n. 1355.

826. A well near Medina, in the direction of Najd. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 212.

827. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, III, 1083–84.

828. A clan of the Banū Bakr of Kilāb. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 56; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 282.

829. Yumn or Yamn is a well of Ghaṭafān. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 449.

830. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, II, 395–96; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 164.

Khaybar (it is said that Yumn and Jabār[831] are lands in the land of Khaybar); the expedition of Zayd b. Ḥārithah to al-Jamūm[832] in the land of the Banū Sulaym; another expedition of Zayd b. Ḥārithah to Judhām in the land of Ḥismā[833] (its report has been cited before); another expedition of Zayd b. Ḥārithah to Wādī al-Qurā, where he encountered the Banū Fazārah; the expedition of ʿAbdallāh b. Rawāḥah to Khaybar twice,[834] on one occasion of which God killed Yusayr b. Rizām.

It is reported about Yusayr b. Rizām, the Jew, that he was gathering Ghaṭafān in Khaybar to attack the Messenger of God, so the latter sent ʿAbdallāh b. Rawāḥah with a number of his companions, among whom were ʿAbdallāh b. Unays, an ally of the Banū Salamah. When they came to him they spoke to him, made promises, treated him nicely, and said, "If you come to the Messenger of God he will give you an assignment and honor you." [1760] They continued [urging him] until he went with them, accompanied by a number of Jews. ʿAbdallāh b. Unays mounted him on his camel and rode behind him. When he was in al-Qarqarah,[835] about six miles from Khaybar, Yusayr b. Rizām regretted going to the Messenger of God. ʿAbdallāh b. Unays perceived his intention as he was getting ready to draw his sword, so he leapt at him and struck him with his sword, severing his leg. Yusayr hit him with a stick (with a crooked head) of *shawḥaṭ*[836] wood which was in his hand, aiming at his head. God killed Yusayr, and each one of the Messenger of God's companions fell upon their Jewish traveling companions and killed them, except for one person who escaped on his mount.[837] When ʿAbdallāh b. Unays came to the Messenger of God the Prophet spat on his head wound, and it did not fester or hurt him.

The expedition of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAtīk to Khaybar where he killed

831. Jubār: in Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, II, 363; and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 98.
832. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, II, 394.
833. It is after Wādī al-Qurā. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 258–59.
834. The following report forms a separate account in Ibn Isḥāq and is not included in the summary.
835. It is Qarqarat al-Kudr. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, III, 1065–66.
836. A species of tree in the Sarāt mountains from which bows are made. The name varies according to the excellence of the place of growth, and *shawḥaṭ* is that which grows on the lowest part of the mountain. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. sh-ḥ-ṭ.
837. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: On his foot.

Abū Rāfiʿ. Between the battles of Badr and Uḥud, the Messenger of God sent Muḥammad b. Maslamah with his companions to Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf, and they killed him. The Messenger of God sent ʿAbdallāh b. Unays to Khālid b. Sufyān b. Nubayḥ al-Hudhalī while he was in Nakhlah or ʿUranah[838] preparing to attack the Messenger of God and killed him.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr[839]—ʿAbdallāh b. Unays:[840] The Messenger of God called me and said, "It has reached me that Khālid b. Sufyān b. Nubayḥ al-Hudhalī is gathering a force to attack me. He is either in Nakhlah or ʿUranah, so go to him and kill him." I replied, "O Messenger of God, describe him to me so that I might know him." He said, "When you see him he will remind you of Satan. [A sure] sign between you and him is that when you see [1761] him you will feel a shudder." I went out, girding on my sword, until I came to him while he was in howdah with the women, seeking a halting place for them at the time for afternoon prayer. When I saw him I found him to be as the Messenger of God had described. I advanced toward him, but fearing that there might be acrimony between me and him which would distract me from the prayer, I prayed, making gestures with my head as I walked toward him. When I got to him he asked who I was, and I replied, "An Arab who has come to you because he has heard about you and your gathering [a force] against this fellow [i.e., Muḥammad]." He said, "Yes, I am doing that." I walked a short distance with him and when it was feasible for me I struck him with my sword and killed him. Then I departed, leaving his women to throw themselves at him. When I came to the Messenger of God and greeted him, he looked at me and asked, "Is the objective accomplished?" I replied, "I have killed him." "You have said the truth," he replied. Then he stood up and went[841] into his house and gave me a stick, saying, "Keep this stick with you O ʿAbdallāh b. Unays." When I went out with it the people asked me what that stick was. I told them that the Messenger of God had given it to me and asked me to keep it with me. They told me to go back

838. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, III, 935.
839. He died between 110/728–29 and 120/738. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 93.
840. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 35–36; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 151.
841. Ibn Isḥāq: And took me to his house.

to him and ask him the reason for that. So I went back to him and said, "O Messenger of God, why did you give me this stick?" He replied, "[As a] sign between me and you on the day of resurrection. There will be a few men at that time who will carry sticks tied to their waists (*al-mutakhaṣṣirūn*)." 'Abdallāh, therefore, fastened the stick to his sword, where it remained with him until his death, when he ordered that it should be fastened to his body with the shroud and buried with him.

(Now the report goes back to 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr who states:) The expedition of Zayd b. Ḥārithah, Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, and 'Abd-
[1762] allāh b. Rawāḥah to Mu'tah[842] in the land of Syria;[843] the expedition of Ka'b b. 'Umayr al-Ghifārī to Dhāt Aṭlāḥ[844] in the land of Syria, where he and his companions were killed; the expedition of 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn to the Banū al-'Anbar of the Banū Tamīm. It is reported by them that the Messenger of God sent 'Uyaynah to them, who raided them, killed some of their people, and took the others captive.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah: 'Ā'ishah said to the Messenger of God, "O Messenger of God, I must free a slave of the sons of Ismā'īl." He replied, "These captives of the Banū al-'Anbar are coming now. We will give you one, and you can set him free." Ibn Isḥāq states: When their captives were brought to the Messenger of God, a deputation of the Banū Tamīm rode with them until they arrived before the Messenger of God. Among them were Rabī'ah b. Rufay', Sabrah b. 'Amr, al-Qa'qā' b. Ma'bad, Wardān b. Muḥriz, Qays b. 'Āṣim, Mālik b. 'Amr, al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis, Ḥanẓalah b. Dārim, and Firās b. Ḥābis.[845] Among their women who were taken captive on that day were Asmā' bt. Mālik; Ka'b bt. Arī; Najwah bt. Nahd; Jumay'ah bt. Qays; and 'Amrah bt. Maṭar.

(The report goes back to 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr, who states:) The expedition of Ghālib b. 'Abdallāh al-Kalbī, the Kalb of Layth, to
[1763] the land of the Banū Murrah, in which Mirdās b. Nahīk, an ally of

842. A village near Syria. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 219–20.

843. Ibn Isḥāq adds: In which all were killed.

844. A place after Wādī al-Qurā. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 218.

845. Addition in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: They spoke to the Messenger of God about the captives. [The Prophet] liberated some and accepted ransom for others. 'Abdallāh b. Wahb; his two brothers; Shaddād b. Firās; and Ḥanẓalah b. Dārim were among the Banū al-'Anbar who were killed that day.

theirs from al-Ḥuraqah of Juhaynah, was killed by Usāmah b. Zayd and a man of the *Anṣār*.[846] It is he about whom the Prophet said to Usāmah, "Who will absolve you [from ignoring] the *shahādah*?" The expedition of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ to Dhāt al-Salāsil;[847] the expedition of Ibn Abī Ḥadrad and his companions to the valley of Iḍam;[848] another expedition of Ibn Abī Ḥadrad al-Aslamī to al-Ghābah;[849] the expedition of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf. The Messenger of God sent an army to the seashore commanded by Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ, which was the expedition of al-Khabaṭ.

Al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar: The armies and the raiding parties sent by the Messenger of God were forty-eight.

Al-Wāqidī states: In this year, in [the month of] Ramaḍān, Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī came to the Messenger of God accepting Islam, so he sent him to *Dhū al-Khalaṣah* [an idol],[850] which he demolished.

In this year, Wabar b. Yuḥannas came to the descendants of the Persian soldiers (*al-abnā'*) living in the Yemen, inviting them to Islam. He stayed with the daughters of al-Nuʿmān b. Buzurj [Buzurg], who embraced Islam. He sent word to Fayrūz al-Daylamī, who embraced Islam, and [he also sent word] to Markabūd and his son ʿAṭā', as well as to Wahb b. Munabbih.[851] Wahb b. Munabbih and ʿAṭā' b. Markabūd were the first to collect (*jamaʿa*) the Qur'ān in Ṣanʿā'.

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846. Ibn Isḥāq: Usāmah said: When I and a man from the *Anṣār* overtook him and attacked him with our weapons, he pronounced the *shahādah*, but we did not stay our hands and killed him. When we came to the Messenger of God we told him what had happened and he said, "Who will absolve you [from ignoring] the *shahādah*?"

847. A watering place in the Judhām country. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, III, 744.

848. It is near Medina. Ibid., I, 165–66.

849. It is near Medina. Ibid., II, 521–24; III, 989. See above, n. 804.

850. A sacred stone worshiped by the tribes of Daws, Khathʿam, Bajīla, the Azd of the Sarāt mountains and the Arabs of Tabālah. The sanctuary was in Tabālah at a place called al-ʿAblā' between Mecca and the Yemen. As a rallying point for a good many tribes, the sanctuary was called *al-Kaʿbah al-Yamāniyyah* in contrast to the Meccan sanctuary, which was called *al-Kaʿbah al-Shāmiyyah*.

In the lower part of Mecca there was an idol bearing the name of *al-Khalaṣah*, but it is not certain whether it can be identified with the above divinity. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, III, 42–45; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. kh-l-ṣ; Jāsir, *Sarāt*, 338ff.; *EI*², s.v. Dhu 'l-Khalaṣa.

851. He is probably the ancestor of Wahb b. Munabbih, who died in 114/732 and is known for his accounts of the Yemenite history and tales of the ancient Israelites. Duri, *Rise*, passim.

In this year, Bāzān embraced Islam and sent [a messenger] to the Prophet with his acceptance of Islam.

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] states: The above report [about the *sarāyā*] is at variance with what is reported by 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr [that the *sarāyā* were thirty-five] and those who stated that the Messenger of God's expeditions were twenty-six.

[1764] Abū Kurayb Muḥammad b. al-'Alā'—Yaḥyā b. Ādam[852]—Zuhayr[853]—Abū Isḥāq—Zayd b. Arqam:[854] I heard that the Messenger of God carried out nineteen expeditions, and that he made one pilgrimage after he emigrated [to Medina]. He did not make any pilgrimage other than the Farewell Pilgrimage. Ibn Isḥāq mentioned a pilgrimage at the time of the conquest of Mecca. Abū Isḥāq states: I asked Zayd b. Arqam, "How many expeditions did you take part in with the Messenger of God?" He replied, "Seventeen."

Ibn al-Muthannā—Muḥammad b. Ja'far—Shu'bah—Abū Isḥāq: 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī went out with the people to pray for rain. He offered two *rak'ah*s and then prayed for rain. That day I met Zayd b. Arqam. There was only one person between me and him. I asked him, "How many expeditions did the Messenger of God undertake?" "Nineteen," he replied. I asked, "How many did you participate in with him?" "Seventeen," he replied. I asked, "What was the first expedition he carried out?" He said, "Dhāt al-'Usayr, or al-'Ushayr." Al-Wāqidī alleges that [the report] is erroneous.

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Isrā'īl—Abū Isḥāq al-Hamdānī: I asked Zayd b. Arqam, "How many expeditions did you participate in with the Messenger of God?" "Seventeen expeditions," he replied. I asked, "How many expeditions did the Messenger of God carry out?" "Nineteen expeditions," he replied.

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—al-Wāqidī: When I narrated this report to 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far, he said, "This is the chain of narrators for the people of Iraq, who state [the affair] thus. The first expedition in which Zayd b. (al)-Arqam took part was al-Muraysī', while he was still a young boy. He was present in the expedition of Mu'tah as a

852. Died in 203/818–19. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 175–76.

853. Zuhayr b. Mu'āwiyah died ca. 172/788–89. Ibid., III, 351–52.

854. He was a companion of the Prophet and died in 66/685–86 or 68/687–88. Ibid., III, 394–95.

rear man for ʿAbdallāh b. Rawāḥah, and only participated with the Prophet in three or four expeditions." [1765]

That which al-Ḥārith reported to me is also reported from Makḥūl. [This report is received on the authority of] Ibn Saʿd—Ibn ʿUmar—Suwayd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz—al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir[855]—Makḥūl: The Messenger of God carried out eighteen expeditions, out of which he personally fought in eight. The first of them was Badr, then Uḥud, then al-Aḥzāb, and then Qurayẓah.

Al-Wāqidī states: Both of these reports, that of Zayd b. al-Arqam and of Makḥūl, are wrong.

Report about the Messenger of God's Pilgrimages

ʿAbdallāh b. Ziyād—Zayd b. al-Ḥārith—Sufyān al-Thawrī[856]—Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad[857]—his father [Muḥammad al-Bāqir]—Jābir: The Prophet made three pilgrimages, two before the Emigration and one after. [The latter was also performed] with the lesser pilgrimage (*ʿumrah*).[858]

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bayān[859]—Isḥāq b. Yūsuf[860]—Sharīk[861]—Abū Isḥāq—Mujāhid[862]—Ibn ʿUmar:[863] The Messenger of God performed two *ʿumrah*s before performing the pilgrimage. When this report reached ʿĀ'ishah, she said, "The Messenger of God performed four *ʿumrah*s.[864] ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar knew that. One of [the *ʿumrah*s] was with the pilgrimage."

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855. Died in 132/749–50. Ibid., X, 457.

856. Died in 161/777–78. Ibid., IV, 111–15.

857. He is the sixth Shīʿī imām, who died in 148/765 in Medina. See *EI*², s.v. Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ.

858. Some authorities state that he made one pilgrimage before the Emigration, while others state that he made two. Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 1088–89) considers the report that the Prophet made only one pilgrimage from Medina, known as *ḥajjat al-wadāʿ*, to be more authentic. See also Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 429.

859. Bayān: Corrected from Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 111; he died in 244/858–59. Text: Banān.

860. Died in 195/810–11. Ibid., I, 257.

861. Sharīk b. ʿAbdallāh al-Nakhaʿī al-Kūfī died ca. 177/793–94. Ibid., IV, 333–37.

862. Mujāhid b. Jabr al-Makkī died ca. 101/719–20. Ibid., X, 42–44.

863. See Ṭabarī, above, I, 1677, n. 216.

864. They are: *ʿumrat al-Ḥudaybiyyah* in A.H. 6, *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ* in A.H. 7, *ʿumrat al-jiʿrānah* in A.H. 8, and the *ʿumrah* with the Farewell Pilgrimage in A.H. 10. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1088, enumerates the first three only. Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 429.

Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Sharīq: I heard my father saying: I have received an account on the authority of Abū Ḥamzah—Muṭarrif[865]—Abū Isḥāq—Mujāhid: I heard Ibn ʿUmar saying that the Messenger of God performed three *ʿumrah*s. When [this report] reached ʿĀ'ishah, she said that Ibn ʿUmar knew that he performed four, and that one of them was combined with the pilgrimage.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr[866]—Manṣūr[867]—Mujāhid: Once ʿUrwah b.
[1766] al-Zubayr and I entered the mosque while Ibn ʿUmar was sitting near ʿĀ'ishah's room. We asked him, "How many *ʿumrah*s did the Prophet perform?" "Four," he replied, "One of them was in Rajab."[868] We disliked contradicting and refuting him, but we heard the noise of ʿĀ'ishah in the room cleaning her teeth with the *siwāk*.[869] ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr said, "O my mother, O Mother of the Faithful, do you not hear what Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān says?" "What does he say?" she asked. He replied, "He says that the Prophet performed four *ʿumrah*s, and that one of them was in Rajab." She replied, "May God treat Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān with mercy! The Prophet did not perform any *ʿumrah* when he was not present, and he did not perform [any] *ʿumrah* in Rajab."

Report about the Messenger of God's Wives, Those Who Survived Him, Those Who Left Him, the Reason for Which They Left, and Those Who Died before Him

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Hishām b. Muḥammad:[870] My father reported to me that the Messenger of God married fifteen women

865. Muṭarrif b. Ṭarīf al-Ḥarithī died between 133/750–51 and 143/760–61. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 172–73.

866. Jarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Ḍabbī died in 188/803–4. Ibid., II, 75–77.

867. Manṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir al-Kūfī died in 132/749–50. Ibid., X, 312–15.

868. *ʿUmrah* during the month of Rajab was considered solemn by the Quraysh. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 201.

869. A piece of stick [from a tree called *arāk*] with which the teeth are cleaned, the end of it being made like a brush by chewing it. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. s-w-k.

870. Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī died in 204/819 or 206/821 in al-Kūfah. Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, VI, 196–97. The *isnād* implied here is: His father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn ʿAbbās. The same *isnād* is cited in Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*. See also *EI*², s.v. Kalbī, Hishām b. Muḥammad.

and consummated his marriage with thirteen. He combined eleven at a time and left behind nine.[871]

He married Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā in pre-Islamic days when he was twenty and some years old.[872] She was the first [woman] whom he married. Before that she was married to ʿAtīq[873] b. ʿĀbid b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm. Her mother was Fāṭimah bt. Zāʾidah b. al-Aṣamm b. Rawāḥah b. Ḥajar b. Maʿīṣ b. Luʾayy. From ʿAtīq she gave birth to a girl,[874] after which he died. She was then married to Abū Hālah b. Zurārah b. Nabbāsh b. Zurārah b. Ḥabīb b. Salāmah b. Ghuzayy b. Jurwah b. Usayyid b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm, who was of the Banū ʿAbd [1767] al-Dār b. Quṣayy. From Abū Hālah she gave birth to Hind bt. Abī Hālah,[875] after which he died. When the Messenger of God married [Khadījah], she had Hind bt. Abī Hālah with her. She bore eight children with the Messenger of God: al-Qāsim, al-Ṭayyib, al-Ṭāhir, ʿAbdallāh, Zaynab, Ruqayyah, Umm Kulthūm, and Fāṭimah.[876]

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871. Ibn Hishām (*Sīrah*, IV, 293): He married thirteen women and left behind nine. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 307), reporting on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī, gives the same account as that of Ṭabarī. See also Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 580. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 393–99, and Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 223–33, give a comprehensive list. The latter tries to justify Muḥammad's nine wives (at the same time) by the Qurʾānic verse 4:3, by adding the numbers two, three, and four. The sequence of his marriages, as given by Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtadaʾ*, 227–50, is as follows: First Khadījah, then Sawdah, then ʿĀʾishah, then Ḥafṣah, then Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah, then Umm Ḥabībah, then Umm Salamah, then Zaynab b. Jaḥsh, then Juwayriyyah, then Ṣafiyyah, and then Maymūnah.

872. Muḥammad's age at the time of his marriage with Khadījah is generally given as twenty-five, but some sources state that he was twenty-one, or thirty. Her age, on the other hand, is generally given as forty; however, according to some reports she was either twenty-eight or two years older than Muḥammad. She died in Ramaḍān, tenth year of the mission (or three years before the Emigration). Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 7–27; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 581.

873. Ibn Hishām: Utayyiq. Ibn Isḥāq (*Kitāb al-Mubtadaʾ*, 229): ʿAtīq b. ʿĀʾidh.

874. Ibn Hishām adds: And ʿAbdallāh. Ibn Saʿd adds: Called Hind, hence she was called Umm Hind.

875. Ibn Hishām adds: And Zaynab bt. Abī Hālah. Ibn Isḥāq (*Kitāb al-Mubtadaʾ*, 229): [From Abū Hālah] she gave birth to a boy and a girl.

876. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 202, names three male children as al-Qāsim, al-Ṭāhir, and al-Ṭayyib. Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtadaʾ*, 229, cites two reports: (i) it states that she gave birth to seven children, four female and three male, al-Qāsim, al-Ṭāhir, and al-Ṭayyib; (ii) it states that she gave birth to six children, four female and two male, al-Qāsim, and ʿAbdallāh. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 307, names eight children as given in Ṭabarī, but Ibn Saʿd lists seven and states that ʿAbdallāh was

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: The Messenger of God did not marry another woman during the life of Khadījah until she passed away. When she died, the Messenger of God got married, but [opinions] differ as to whom he married first after Khadījah. Some say that it was 'Ā'ishah bt. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, while others say that it was Sawdah bt. Zam'ah b. Qays b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Wudd b. Naṣr. As for 'Ā'ishah, when he married her she was very young and not yet ready for consummation,[877] whereas Sawdah was already married before. Before the Prophet, her husband was al-Sakrān b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Shams. Al-Sakrān was one of the emigrants to Abyssinia (*al-Ḥabashah*), who became a Christian and died there. The Messenger of God married her while he was in Mecca.[878]

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] states: All those knowledgeable about the Messenger of God's life agree that the Messenger of God consummated his marriage with Sawdah before [consummating his marriage with] 'Ā'ishah.

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also called Ṭāhir. Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 581–83, also names three male children: al-Qāsim, al-Ṭayyib, and al-Ṭāhir. They died in their infancy: al-Qāsim and Ṭāhir before the mission, while Ṭayyib after the mission. Some scholars state that Ṭāhir and Ṭayyib are names of 'Abdallāh. Zaynab, the eldest daughter, was married to her cousin Abū al-'Āṣ b. al-Rabī'ah before the mission. Her husband fought against the Muslims at Badr and was taken captive. She died in 8/629. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib married her daughter Amāmah after the death of Fāṭimah.

Both Ruqayyah and Umm Kulthūm were betrothed to Abū Lahab's sons before the mission, but were divorced after the revelation of *sūrah* 111. Ruqayyah was later married to 'Uthmān. After her death in Ramaḍān 2/624, Umm Kulthūm was married to 'Uthmān in Rabī' I, 3/624, and she died in Sha'bān 9/631. Fāṭimah, born five years before the mission, was the youngest daughter and survived her father for a few months. For details, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 7–27; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 396–407; Ṭabarī, *Dhuyūl*, 493–94, 498–99; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 233–36; *EI²*, s.v. Khadīdja.

877. She was six years old when the Prophet married her in Shawwāl, tenth year of the mission. The marriage was consummated in Shawwāl in Medina when she was nine years old. She died in Ramaḍān 58/678. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 39–56; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 409–21.

878. Ibn Isḥāq [*Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 238] states that the couple returned to Mecca and al-Sakrān died there while he was a professing Muslim. The Prophet married her in Ramaḍān, tenth year of the mission. At one time, during the later Medinan period, the Prophet divorced her, but she came back pleading and he agreed to take her back. She died in 23/644 or at a later date. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 35–39; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 407–8; *EI¹*, s.v. Sawda bint Zam'a.

The Reason Why the Messenger of God Asked for the Hands of Both ʿĀ'ishah and Sawdah in Marriage and the Received Reports as to with Whom He First Contracted the Marriage

Saʿīd b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Umawī[879]—his father[880]—Muḥammad b. ʿAmr—Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥāṭib[881]—ʿĀ'ishah: When Khadījah died, Khawlah bt. Ḥakīm b. Umayyah b. al-Awqaṣ, wife of ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn, who was in Mecca, said [to the Messenger of God], "O Messenger of God, will you not marry?" He replied, "Whom?" "A maiden," she said, "if you like, or a non-maiden." He replied, "Who is the maiden?" "The daughter of the dearest creature of God to you," she answered, "ʿĀ'ishah bt. Abī Bakr." He asked, "And who is the non-maiden?" "Sawdah bt. Zamʿah b. Qays," she replied, "she has [long] believed in you and has followed you." [So the Prophet] asked her to go and propose to them on his behalf. [1768]

She went to Abū Bakr's house, where she found Umm Rūmān, mother of ʿĀ'ishah, and said, "O Umm Rūmān, what a good thing and a blessing has God brought to you!" She said, "What is that?" Khawlah replied, "The Messenger of God has sent me to ask for ʿĀ'ishah's hand in marriage on his behalf." She answered: "I ask that you wait for Abū Bakr, for he should be on his way." When Abū Bakr came, Khawlah repeated what she had said. He replied, "She is [like] his brother's daughter. Would she be appropriate for him?" When Khawlah returned to the Messenger of God and told him about it he said, "Go back to him and say that he is my brother in Islam and that I am his brother [in Islam], so his daughter is good for me." She came to Abū Bakr and told him what the Messenger of God had said. Then he asked her to wait until he returned.

Umm Rūmān said that al-Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī had asked ʿĀ'ishah's hand for his son, but Abū Bakr had not promised anything. Abū Bakr left and went to Muṭʿim while his wife, mother of the son for

879. Died in 249/863. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 97–98.

880. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd b. Abān b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ died in 194/809–10. Ibid., XI, 213–14.

881. Died in 104/722–23. Ibid., XI, 249–50.

whom he had asked ʿĀ'ishah's hand, was with him. She said, "O son of Abū Quḥāfah, perhaps we could marry our son to your daughter if you could make him leave his religion and bring him
[1769] in to the religion which you practice." He turned to her husband al-Muṭʿim and said, "What is she saying?" He replied, "She says [what you have just heard]." Abū Bakr left, [realizing that] God had [just] removed the problem he had in his mind. He said to Khawlah, "Call the Messenger of God." She called him and he came. Abū Bakr married [ʿĀ'ishah] to him when she was [only] six years old.

Then Khawlah left and went to Sawdah, saying, "O Sawdah, what a good thing and a blessing has God brought to you!" She said, "What is that?" Khawlah replied, "The Messenger of God has sent me with a marriage proposal." Sawdah said, "I want you to go to my father and tell him about it." Khawlah states: He was a very old man and had stayed away from the pilgrimage. I went to him and greeted him with the pre-Islamic salutation and told him that Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib had sent me to ask for Sawdah's hand in marriage. "A noble match," he replied, "What does your friend[882] say?" "She likes it," Khawlah replied. He said, "Call her to me." She was called and he said, "O Sawdah, [this woman] alleges that Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib has sent her to propose marriage to you, which is a noble match. Do you wish that I marry you to him?" "Yes," she replied. Then he called for him. [The Prophet] came and he married her to him. Her brother ʿAbd b. Zamʿah came from the pilgrimage and [when he found out about the marriage] began to pour dust over his head. After he had embraced Islam he said, "I was a fool who poured dust over his head the day the Messenger of God married Sawdah bt. Zamʿah."

ʿĀ'ishah states: We came to Medina and Abū Bakr took up quarters in al-Sunḥ among the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj. The Messenger of God came to our house and men and women of the *Anṣār* gathered around him. My mother came to me while I was being swung on a swing between two branches and got me down.
[1770] Jumaymah, my nurse, took over and wiped my face with some water and started leading me. When I was at the door, she stopped

882. As in IA [Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghābah*]. Text: His friend.

so I could catch my breath. I was then brought [in] while the Messenger of God was sitting on a bed in our house. [My mother] made me sit on his lap and said, "These are your relatives. May God bless you with them and bless them with you!" Then the men and women got up and left. The Messenger of God consummated his marriage with me in my house when I was nine years old. Neither a camel nor a sheep was slaughtered on behalf of me. Only Sa'd b. 'Ubādah sent a bowl of food which he used to send to the Messenger of God.

'Alī b. Naṣr—'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith—'Abd al-Wārith b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad—his father—Abān al-'Aṭṭār—Hishām b. 'Urwah—'Urwah: He wrote to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān[883] stating that he had written to him about Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid, asking him about when she died. She died three years or close to that before the Messenger of God's departure from Mecca, and he married 'Ā'ishah after Khadījah's death. The Messenger of God saw 'Ā'ishah twice—[first when] it was said to him that she was his wife (she was six years old at that time), and later [when] he consummated his marriage with her after coming to Medina when she was nine years old.

(The report goes back to Hishām b. Muḥammad. See above, I, 1766.) Then the Messenger of God married 'Ā'ishah bt. Abī Bakr, whose name is 'Atīq b. Abī Quḥāfah, who is 'Uthmān, and is called 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Uthmān b. 'Āmir b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murrah. [The Prophet] married her three years before the Emigration, when she was seven years old, and consummated [1771]
the marriage when she was nine years old, after he had emigrated to Medina in Shawwāl. She was eighteen years old when he died. The Messenger of God did not marry any maiden except her.

Then the Messenger of God married Ḥafṣah bt. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Nufayl b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Riyāḥ b. 'Abdallāh b. Qurṭ b. Ka'b.[884] Before that she was married to Khunays b. Ḥudhāfah b.

883. He was the fifth Umayyad caliph (65–86/685–705). *EI*², s.v. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.

884. The Prophet married her in Sha'bān 3/February 625 before the battle of Uḥud. She was his fourth wife. One day, when she returned from her father's house, she found the Messenger of God with Māriyah in her house and burst into hysterical behavior. The situation was further aggravated by 'Ā'ishah's chattering tongue. According to Ibn Isḥāq (*Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 240) the Prophet had divorced her once but then took her back. She died in Sha'bān 45/665. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*,

Qays b. ʿAdī b. Saʿd b. Sahm[885] who was a Badrī, for he was present at Badr with the Messenger of God. He was the only one from the Banū Sahm to be present at Badr, and she did not bear any children with him.

Then the Messenger of God married Umm Salamah, and her name is Hind bt. Abī Umayyah b. al-Mughīrah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm.[886] Previously, she was married to Abū Salamah b. ʿAbd al-Asad b. Hilāl b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm,[887] who was present at Badr with the Messenger of God. He was an intrepid warrior of his clan and died of wounds suffered on the day of Uḥud. He was the Messenger of God's cousin [son of the Prophet's paternal aunt] and foster brother, whose mother was Barrah bt. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. She bore with him ʿUmar, Salamah, Zaynab, and Durrah.[888] When Abū Salamah died, the Messenger of God said nine *takbīrah*s [during the prayer over him]. When he was asked whether he was distracted or had forgotten [the proper number], he replied, "I was neither distracted nor had I forgotten. Even if I had said a thousand *takbīrah*s [during the prayer] over Abū Salamah, he was worthy of it," and he prayed for the surviving members of his family. The Messenger of God married [Umm Salamah] in the year 3/624,[889] before the battle of al-Aḥzāb. Salamah, son of Abū Salamah, married the daughter of Ḥamzah b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.[890]

VIII, 56–60; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 423–27; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 230–31; Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 317–20; *EI*², s.v. Ḥafṣa.

885. He died in 2/624. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/1, 285–86; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 214–15.

886. Both she and her husband were early converts to Islam and had migrated to Abyssinia. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 60–67, gives an interesting conversation between her and the Prophet when the latter proposed marriage to her. According to some authorities, she died in Dhū al-Qaʿdah 59/679, while according to others she died after the massacre of Karbalāʾ. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 429–32; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 308; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VIII, 221–25.

887. He died because of injuries suffered at Uḥud. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/1, 170–72.

888. Hisch., Ibn Hishām: Ruqayyah.

889. The date given by Ibn Saʿd and Balādhurī that the Prophet married her in Shawwāl 4/626 seems to be more likely, because the battle of Uḥud took place in Shawwāl 3/625 and Abū Salamah died thereafter.

890. On his conversion the uncle of the Prophet became one of the bravest champions of Islam. He was slain fighting heroically at Uḥud. *EI*², s.v. Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

Then the Messenger of God married Juwayriyyah[891] bt. al-Ḥārith b. Abī Ḍirār b. Ḥabīb b. Mālik b. Jadhīmah, who is al-Muṣṭaliq b. Sa'd b. 'Amr, in the year of al-Muraysī' [i.e., the expedition against the Banū Muṣṭaliq] (the year 5/626–27). Previously, she was married to Mālik b. Ṣafwān Dhī al-Shafr b. Abī Sarḥ b. Mālik b. al-Muṣṭaliq, but did not bear any children with him. She was chosen (*ṣafiyyah*) by the Messenger of God for himself on the day of al-Muraysī' [from the captives and at which time], he freed her and married her.[892] She asked the Messenger of God to release what was in his possession from her people, and he did so. [1772]

Then the Messenger of God married Umm Ḥabībah[893] bt. Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb. She was [previously] married to 'Ubaydallāh b. Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb b. Ya'mur b. Ṣabirah b. Murrah b. Kabīr b. Ghanm b. Dūdān b. Asad. Both she and her husband were among the emigrants to Abyssinia. Her husband embraced Christianity and tried to make her follow him, but she refused and maintained her religion. He died as a Christian, so the Messenger of God sent [his marriage proposal] to the Negus. The Negus said to [her husband's] companions, "Who is more entitled [to take care] of her?" They said, "Khālid b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ." The Negus said [to Khālid], "Marry her to your Prophet." He did so and the Negus gave her four hundred dīnārs as dowry (*mahr*). It is, however, said that the Messenger of God asked 'Uthmān b. 'Affān for her hand in marriage, and after he allowed [the Prophet] to marry her, the Messenger of God sent to the Negus for her. The latter gave her dowry

891. Ibn Sa'd: Her name was Barrah and the Prophet gave her a new name, Juwayriyyah.

892. Both Ibn Hishām and Wāqidī state that she had fallen to the lot of Thābit b. Qays b. al-Shammās al-Anṣārī. She was very beautiful, and she haggled with him to write a written contract with her that she should pay a certain sum as the price of herself, and on the payment thereof be free. Probably, he was unwilling to part with her, hence she went to the Messenger of God asking for his help in the matter. He said, "Would you like something better than that?" "What is that?" she asked. "I will pay the sum on your behalf and marry you," he replied. "Yes," she answered, and he married her.

Another version of the story states that her father came to the Messenger of God with the ransom and accepted Islam. The Messenger of God gave her back to her father, she accepted Islam, and he asked her father for her hand in marriage. She died in 50/670 or 56/676. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 295–96; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, I, 410–12; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 83–85; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 441–42.

893. Ibn Hishām and Ibn Sa'd add: Whose name was Ramlah.

on behalf of the Messenger of God and sent her back to him.[894]

Then the Messenger of God married Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb b. Ya'mūr b. Ṣabirah.[895] Previously, she was married to Zayd b. Ḥārithah b. Sharāḥīl, freedman of the Messenger of God, but she did not bear any children with him. [It was] about her that God
[1773] revealed: "When you said to him whom God had blessed and you had favored, 'Keep your wife to yourself and fear God,' you concealed within yourself that which God was about to reveal. You feared other men, but it is more fitting that you should fear God. When Zayd had accomplished the necessary [formality of divorce] from her, We gave her in marriage to you, so that there should not be any fault for the believers in respect to the wives of their adopted sons, after they have performed the necessary formality [of divorce] from them. And God's command must be fulfilled."[896] God married her to him and sent Gabriel concerning that matter. She used to boast to the other wives of the Prophet, saying, "I am the most honored among you because of the One who gave me in marriage and the one who was my intermediary [i.e., Gabriel] (*akramukunna waliyy*^{an} *wa akramukunna safīr*^{an})."[897]

Then the Messenger of God married Ṣafiyyah bt. Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab b. Sa'yah b. Tha'labah b. 'Ubayd b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj b. Abī Ḥabīb b. al-Naḍīr. Previously, she was married to Sallām b. Mishkam b. al-Ḥakam b. Ḥārithah b. al-Khazraj b. Ka'b b. al-

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894. The Prophet married her in 7/628–29 and she died in 44/664–65. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 68–71, provides more details of the marriage. See also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 438–40.

895. She was the Prophet's cousin and he married her in Dhū al-Qa'dah 5/627. She died in 20/641, and it is said that she was the first one to die from among his wives. For details see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 114; VIII, 71–82; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 433–37; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VII, 667–70; Lings, *Muhammad*, 337.

896. Qur'ān 33:37. This marriage of the Prophet has been discussed widely. According to some, it served as a legal test case against the prevailing notion of adoption. Andrae, *Mohammed*, 153–54; Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 238–41.

897. It refers to her marriage. She states that God was her *walī*, who gave her away in marriage, and that Gabriel was the intermediary (*safīr*). Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 435.

Ibn Sa'd reports: One day Zaynab [bragging about herself] said to the Prophet, "I am not, O Messenger of God, like other wives of yours. All of them were married to you either by their fathers, brothers, or guardians except me. It was God who gave me in marriage to you." See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 309; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 226–27.

Khazraj. After his death she was married to Kinānah b. al-Rabī' b. Abī al-Ḥuqayq, who was killed by Muḥammad b. Maslamah at the Prophet's order. He was struck on the neck until he died. When the Prophet scrutinized the captives on the day of Khaybar, he threw his cloak over Ṣafiyyah. Thus she was his chosen one [*ṣafiyyah*][898] on the day of Khaybar.[899] Then he proposed Islam to her and she accepted, so he freed her. That was in the year 6/627–28.

Then the Messenger of God married Maymūnah bt. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥazn b. Bujayr b. al-Huzam b. Ruwaybah b. 'Abdallāh b. Hilāl. Previously, she was married to 'Umayr[900] b. 'Amr of the Banū 'Uqdah b. Ghiyarah b. 'Awf b. Qasī, who was [from] Thaqīf. She did not bear any children with him, and she was the sister of Umm al-Faḍl, wife of 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. The Messenger of God married her in Sarif during his Lesser Pilgrimage of Fulfillment ('*umrat al-qaḍā*').[901] Al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib married her to him.

The Messenger of God married all the women we have mentioned [above], and when he died all of them except Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid were alive.[902] [1774]

The Messenger of God married a woman of the Banū Kilāb b. Rabī'ah called al-Nashāt bt. Rifā'ah. The Banū Kilāb were the

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898. See Ṭabarī, above, I, 1718, n. 509.

899. According to one report, she fell in the lot of Diḥya al-Kalbī, and the Prophet bought her from him. She died in 50/670 or 52/672. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 85–92; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 442–44.

900. Ibn Hishām: She was married to Abū Ruhm b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā. Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 444): She was married to Abū Sabrah b. Abī Ruhm. Ibn Hishām further adds: It is said that it was she who gave herself to the Prophet because she received his marriage proposal while she was on her camel. She said, "The camel and what is on it belongs to God and His messenger." So God revealed: "A believing woman who bestows herself upon the Prophet, provided the Prophet wants to marry her." [Qur'ān 33:50]. See also *EI*[1], s.v. Maimūna.

It is said that the one who bestowed herself upon the Prophet was Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh, or Umm Sharīk Ghaziyyah bt. Jābir. Others state that it was a woman from the Banū Sāmah b. Lu'ayy and that the Prophet postponed the matter.

901. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 94–100, gives a long report whether the Prophet was in the state of *iḥrām* or not when he married her. See also Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 247–48. She died in 61/680–81, and it is said that she was the last of the Prophet's widows to die.

902. Ibn Hishām: The Messenger of God consummated his marriage with eleven women, two of whom died before him: Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid and Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah.

allies of the Banū Rifā'ah of the Qurayẓah. [The authorities] differ about her.[903] Some call her Sanā and trace her lineage as Sanā[904] bt. Asmā' b. al-Ṣalt al-Sulamiyyah, while others say that she is Sabā bt. Asmā' b. al-Ṣalt of the Banū Ḥarām of the Banū Sulaym. They say that she died before the Messenger of God consummated his marriage with her. Some, ascribing her lineage, state that she is Sanā bt. al-Ṣalt b. Ḥabīb b. Ḥārithah b. Hilāl b. Ḥarām b. Sammāl b. 'Awf al-Sulamī.

The Messenger of God married al-Shanbā' bt. 'Amr al-Ghifāriyyah, whose tribe were also the allies of the Banū Qurayẓa. Some [authorities] allege that she was a Quraẓiyyah, and that her lineage is not known because the Banū Qurayẓah perished. It is also said that she was a Kināniyyah. She menstruated when she entered [the house of] the Messenger of God, and [the Prophet's son] Ibrāhīm died before she took her ritual purification bath. She said, "If he were a prophet, the person who is dearest to him would not have died," so the Messenger of God dismissed her by [giving her] divorce.[905]

The Messenger of God married Ghaziyyah[906] bt. Jābir of the Banū Abī Bakr b. Kilāb. [The news of] her beauty and skill had reached the Messenger of God, so he sent Abū Usayd al-Anṣārī al-Sā'idī asking her hand in marriage. Being in a state of infidelity
[1775] when she came to the Prophet, she said, "I was not consulted [about this marriage], and I seek refuge from you in the name of God." He replied, "One who seeks God's protection is inviola-

903. Her name is given differently by different authorities, such as Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, 'Amrah bt. Yazīd, al-'Āliyyah bt. Ẓabyān, and Sabā bt. Sufyān.

Ibn Hishām states: "[Among the women whom the Prophet married but did not consummate the marriage was] 'Amrah bt. Yazīd al-Kilābiyyah. Being recently in a state of infidelity, when she came to the Messenger of God she sought refuge from him. The Prophet replied, '[One who seeks God's protection] is inviolable,' and returned her to her folk." He further adds: "Others state that the one who sought God's refuge was a woman of Kindah, a cousin of Asmā' bt. al-Nu'mān. It is said that when the Messenger of God summoned her, she said, 'We are a people to whom others come, we go to none.' The Messenger of God returned her to her people." Cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 100–112, 159–60; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 454–55; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 587; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VIII, 64.

904. Sabā, or Shanbā: in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 309.

905. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 309; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 580. She is not mentioned by Ibn Sa'd.

906. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 310): 'Adhiyyah, or 'Arabah. Ibn Sa'd: She is called Umm Sharīk.

ble," and returned her to her people.[907] It is said that she was from Kindah.

The Messenger of God married Asmā' bt. al-Nu'mān b. al-Aswad b. Sharāḥīl b. al-Jawn b. Ḥujr b. Mu'āwiyah al-Kindī. When he went to her he found that she was suffering from leprosy, so he gave her a compensation [for divorce], provided her [with some provision], and returned her to her people. It is also said that it was al-Nu'mān who sent her to the Messenger of God and that she defamed him.[908] When she went to him she also sought refuge from him, so he sent her to her father saying, "Is she not your daughter?" He replied that she was. The Prophet said to her, "Are you not his daughter?" She replied that she was. Al-Nu'mān said, "Take her, O Messenger of God, she is . . . ," and he praised her excessively. He replied that she would never be useful. The Messenger of God did with her what he did with al-'Āmiriyyah. It is not known whether it was because of her pronouncement or that of her father that the Messenger of God said that she would never be useful.

God granted Rayḥānah bt. Zayd of the Banū Qurayẓah to his Messenger [as booty].[909] Māriyah the Copt was presented to the Messenger of God, given to him by al-Muqawqis, the ruler of Alexandria, and she gave birth to the Messenger of God's son Ibrāhīm.[910] These were the Messenger of God's wives; six of them were from the Quraysh.[911]

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907. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 110–12, gives quite a different account. It was she who gave herself to the Prophet and the Qur'ānic verse 33:50 refers to her. Because the Prophet did not marry her, she did not marry anyone else. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 422.

908. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 102–5, states that Nu'mān came to the Prophet, accepted Islam and offered his daughter in marriage. It was in Rabī' I, 9/630, but when the Prophet entered into her presence she sought God's refuge, so he divorced her. For a slightly different version, see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 456–57.

909. Ibn Sa'd [*Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 92–94] and Balādhurī [*Ansāb*, I, 453–54] state that the Prophet freed her after she accepted Islam and married her in Muḥarram 6/627. She died soon after the Prophet's return from the Farewell Pilgrimage. See also Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, III, 256.

910. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 153–56, and Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 448–53, for details about Māriyah and Ibrāhīm.

911. Ibn Hishām: Among the Prophet's wives, six were Qurayshite: Khadījah, 'Ā'ishah, Ḥafṣah, Umm Ḥabībah, Umm Salamah, and Sawdah. The Arab women and others were seven: Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh, Maymūnah bt. al-Ḥārith, Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah, Juwayriyyah bt. al-Ḥārith, Asmā' bt. al-Nu'mān, and 'Amrah bt. Yazīd. Ṣafiyyah bt. Ḥuyayy was a non-Arab.

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] states: Among the marriages not mentioned by Hishām [b. Muḥammad] in this report is the one related from the Messenger of God according to which he married Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah. She is the one called *Umm al-Masākīn* (Mother of the Poor),[912] [and was] from the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah. She is Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Manāf b. Hilāl b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah. Previously, she was married to al-Ṭufayl[913] b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib, brother of 'Ubaydah b. al-Ḥārith. She died in Medina while she was married to the Messenger of God. It is said that no one from the Messenger
[1776] of God's wives died while he was alive except her, Khadījah, Sharāf bt. Khalīfah (sister of Diḥyah b. Khalīfah al-Kalbī),[914] and al-'Āliyyah bt. Ẓabyān.[915]

Ibn 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam[916]—Shu'ayb b. al-Layth[917]—'Uqayl[918]—Ibn Shihāb [al-Zuhrī]: The Messenger of God married al-'Āliyyah,[919] a woman of the Banū Abī Bakr b. Kilāb. He gave her gifts [compensation for divorce] and left her. He [also] married Qutaylah bt. Qays b. Ma'dīkarib, sister of al-Ash'ath b. Qays, but he died before consummating his marriage with her,[920] and she

912. Ibn Hishām adds: Because of her kindness to them. Ibn Sa'd: She was called by that name in pre-Islamic days.

913. Ibn Hishām: Previously, she was married to 'Ubaydah b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf, and before that to Jahm b. 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith, who was her cousin. Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 82): She was married to Ṭufayl, and after he divorced her she married 'Ubaydah b. al-Ḥārith. The Prophet married her in Ramaḍān 3/625, and she died eight months later. Cf. Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 241; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 429.

914. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 115, lists her among those to whom the Prophet proposed but did not marry. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 460, states that she died before the marriage was consummated. Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 587, states that she was the maternal aunt of Khawlah bt. Hudhayl and that she died on her way to Medina.

915. She is not mentioned by Ibn Sa'd. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 310, states that the Prophet married her and then divorced her. See also Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 586–87.

916. It could be either of the two brothers Muḥammad or 'Abd al-Raḥmān. The former died in 268/881–82 and the latter in 257/870–71. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 208; IX, 260–62.

917. Died in 199/814–15. Ibid., IV, 355–56.

918. 'Uqayl b. Khālid b. 'Aqīl al-Umawī died ca. 141/758–59. Ibid., VII, 255–56.

919. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 455, states that al-'Āliyyah bt. Ẓabyān b. 'Amr of the Banū Kilāb was divorced because she used to peep through her door at the people in the mosque.

920. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 105–6, states that her brother al-Ash'ath b. Qays

apostatized from Islam with her brother. He [also] married Fāṭimah bt. Shurayḥ.[921] It is reported from Ibn al-Kalbī that the Messenger of God married Ghaziyyah bt. Jābir, who is [called] Umm Sharīk. She was previously married and had a son called Sharīk from [the first husband], so she was called by that surname [of relationship]. When the Prophet went to her he found her to be an old woman, so he divorced her.[922] She embraced Islam and used to call on the Qurashī women and invite them to Islam. It is said that he married Khawlah bt. al-Hudhayl b. Hubayrah b. Qabīṣah b. al-Ḥārith.[923]

The [above] is reported on the authority of al-Kalbī—Abū Ṣāliḥ[924]—Ibn ʿAbbās. With the same chain of authority [it is reported] that Laylā bt. al-Khaṭīm b. ʿAdī b. ʿAmr b. Sawād b. Ẓafar b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj approached the Prophet while his back was to the sun, and clapped him on his shoulder. He asked who it was, and she replied, "I am the daughter of one who competes with the wind. I am Laylā bt. al-Khaṭīm. I have come to offer myself [in marriage] to you, so marry me." He replied, "I accept." She went back to her people[925] and said that the Messenger of God had married her. They said, "What a bad thing you have done! You are a self-respecting woman, but the Prophet is a womanizer.[926] Seek an annulment from him." She went back to the Prophet and asked him to revoke the marriage and he complied with [her request].[927] [It is reported] without the above chain of authorities that the Prophet married ʿAmrah bt. Yazīd,[928] a woman of the Banū Ruʾās b. Kilāb. [1777]

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offered her in marriage to the Prophet while she was still in Ḥaḍramawt; but by the time she left the Yemen, the Prophet had died.

921. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 310): Fāṭimah bt. Sara'. She is not mentioned by Ibn Sa'd.

922. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 110–12, gives a different account and lists her among the women to whom the Prophet proposed but did not marry. It was she who gave herself to the Prophet and the Qur'ānic verse 33:50 refers to her.

923. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 114–15, states that she died on her way to Medina. See also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 460; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 587.

924. Abū Ṣāliḥ Mīzān al-Baṣrī. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 385–86.

925. Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 459): To her womenfolk.

926. Balādhurī: The Messenger of God has many wives. We fear that you will be jealous and he might invoke [God] against you and you will be ruined.

927. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 107–8, for more details.

928. This name is given by Ibn Sa'd as one of the names of the Kilābī woman [see

An Account of Those Women to Whom the Prophet Proposed But Did Not Marry

Among them was Umm Hāni' bt. Abī Ṭālib, whose name is Hind. The Messenger of God proposed marriage to her but did not marry her because she said that she was with child.[929] He asked the hand of Ḍubā'ah bt. 'Āmir[930] b. Qurṭ b. Salamah b. Qushayr b. Ka'b b. Rabī'ah b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah in marriage from her son Salamah b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah. He said that he would seek her permission. [Salamah] came to her and told her that the Prophet had proposed to her. She said, "What did you tell him?" He replied, "I told him [to wait] until I sought your permission." She said, "Has permission to be sought for the Prophet? Go back and marry him [to me]." He went back but the Prophet did not say anything because he was informed that she was too old.[931] Reportedly, it is said that he proposed to Ṣafiyyah bt. Bashshāmah, sister of the one-eyed al-'Anbarī. She was taken as a captive, so he allowed her to choose between him and her husband. She chose her husband and he sent her back.[932] He proposed to Umm Ḥabīb[933] bt. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, but discovered that al-'Abbās was his foster-brother; Thuwaybah had nursed them both. He asked for the hand of Jamrah bt. al-Ḥārith b. Abī Ḥārithah[934] in marriage, [but] her father—so it is reported—said

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above]. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 456, and Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 580, give her name as 'Amrah bt. Yazīd al-Ghifāriyyah. The Prophet married her, but when he discovered that she had leprosy he divorced her. For a similar report see Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 248.

929. She said that because of her young child, she would not be able to do justice to her husband. For details, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 108–9; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 459.

930. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 310): Sā'ah bt. 'Umar.

931. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 109–10; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 460, states that in pre-Islamic days she had circumambulated the Ka'bah naked because she did not have the special clothes. In pre-Islamic days, if the Arabs did not have the garments of the *Ḥums*, then they would circumambulate the Ka'bah either in their ordinary clothes (which had to be discarded afterwards) or they would go round naked. Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 81–82; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 214–15.

932. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 110; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 459.

933. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 310) and Ibn Kathīr (*Sīrah*, IV, 598): Umm Ḥabībah. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 462–63. She is not mentioned by Ibn Sa'd. For a different version see Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 248–49.

934. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 462; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 310–11; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 598. She is not mentioned by Ibn Sa'd.

that she was suffering from something, although [in reality] she was not. When he returned, he found that she had already been afflicted with leprosy.[935]

An Account of the Messenger of God's Slave Concubines

They were Māriyah bt. Sham'ūn, the Copt, and Rayḥānah bt. Zayd al-Quraẓiyyah, who, it is said, was of the Banū al-Naḍīr. An account of them has been given above. [1778]

935. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 106–7, 113–14, mentions Mulaykah bt. Ka'b al-Laythī, Bint Jundub, and Sabā bt. al-Ṣalt among the women whom the Prophet married but did not consummate the marriage and then divorced them. Khawlah bt. Ḥakīm and Amāmah bt. Ḥamzah were among the women to whom the Prophet proposed but did not marry.

The Events of the Year 10 (cont'd)

(April 9, 631–March 28, 632)

An Account of the Messenger of God's Freedmen

Among them were [the following]: Zayd b. Ḥārithah[936] and his son Usāmah b. Zayd, whose account we have mentioned before.

Thawbān.[937] The Messenger of God set him free but he remained with [the Prophet] until his death. Then he settled in Ḥimṣ (Homs),[938] where he had a house which was bequeathed [to him] as a religious endowment. It is reported that he died in the year 54/673–74, during the caliphate of Mu'āwiyah. Some [authorities] state that he lived in al-Ramlah[939] and that he did not have any progeny.

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936. He was bought from Syria and sold to Khadījah who presented him to Muḥammad. His father came to Mecca to buy his freedom, but Zayd refused to leave Muḥammad, who thereupon freed him and adopted him. He was one of the very first converts to Islam and died in 8/629 as commander of the Mu'tah expedition. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 467–73; *EI*[1], s.v. Zaid b. Ḥāritha. For Usāmah, see Ṭabarī, above I, 1660, n. 68.

937. Thawbān b. Bujdud was from the Yemen. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 67, 180; II/2, 20; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 480–82; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 621.

938. A town in Syria between Damascus and Ḥalab (Aleppo). *EI*[2], s.v. Ḥimṣ.

939. A town in Palestine, 25 miles from Jerusalem. *EI*[1], s.v. al-Ramla.

Shuqrān.[940] He was from Abyssinia and his name was Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAdī. [The authorities] disagree about his affair. It is reported on the authority of ʿAbdallāh b. Dāwūd al-Khuraybī that the Messenger of God inherited him from his father, while others state that he was from Persia and was named Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥawl b. Mihrbūdh. His lineage, according to those who ascribe to him a Persian ancestry, is alleged to be Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥawl b. Mihrbūdh b. Ādharjushnas b. Mihrbān b. Fīrān b. Rustam b. Fīrūz b. Māy b. Bahrām b. Rashtharī. It is alleged that [his ancestors] were landowners (*dahāqīn*) of al-Rayy.[941] It is reported on the authority of Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī,[942] who said that Shuqrān belonged to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, that the latter presented him to the Prophet. He left behind offspring, the last of whom was Maʾubā, a man from his progeny who lived in Medina and who had descendants in al-Baṣrah.[943]

Ruwayfiʿ.[944] He was Abū Rāfiʿ, The Messenger of God's freedman. His name was Aslam, [but] some state that his name was Ibrāhīm. [Authorities] differ about his affair. Some state that he belonged to al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and that the latter presented him to the Messenger of God, who set him free, while others state that Abū Rāfiʿ belonged to Abū Uḥayḥah Saʿīd b. [1779]
al-ʿĀṣ al-Akbar and that his sons inherited him. Three of them set free their share of him and all of them were killed on the day of Badr, when Abū Rāfiʿ was present with them. Khālid b. Saʿīd donated his share of him to the Messenger of God, who set him free.

His son al-Bahī, whose name was Rāfiʿ,[945] and his brother ʿUbaydallāh b. Abī Rāfiʿ. Al-Bahī used to serve ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib as

940. He participated in Badr and was in charge of the captives, and died during ʿUmar's caliphate. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, I, 105; Ibn Saʿd *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180; III/1, 34; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 478–79; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 626–28.

941. An ancient town in Persia, situated near the present capital Tehran. *EI*[1], s.v. al-Raiy.

942. He was the governor of al-Baṣrah for his brother ʿAbdallāh b. Zubayr and was killed in battle against the Umayyads in 72/691. *EI*[1], s.v. Musʿab b. al-Zubair.

943. A town in lower Mesopotamia which grew out of the military camp built by the caliph ʿUmar. *EI*[2], s.v. al-Baṣra.

944. Ibn Saʿd *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180; IV/1, 51, 52; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 618–19. Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 477–78, 482–83), on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī, states that Abū Rāfiʿ Aslam belonged to ʿAbbās, while Rāfiʿ (or Ruwayfiʿ) belonged to Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ.

945. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2 180; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 621–22.

a scribe.[946] When 'Amr b. Sa'īd[947] became the governor of Medina, he called al-Bahī and asked him, "Who is your master?" When he answered, "The Messenger of God," he was flogged a hundred times. Again he was asked, "Whose freedman are you?" He replied, "The Messenger of God's freedman," and was again flogged a hundred times. Every time he was asked whose freedman he was he continued to give the same answer until he had been flogged five hundred times. Then he was asked, "Whose freedman are you?" and replied, "Your master's." When 'Abd al-Malik[948] killed 'Amr b. Sa'īd, al-Bahī b. Abī Rāfi' said:

The oath was correct and did not become crippled but
harmed its enemy.
An oath which spilled Ibn Sa'd's lifeblood.
He is the son of a rebellious father[949] again and again,
but is related to a family whose ancestors were good.

Salmān al-Fārisī,[950] surnamed Abū 'Abdallāh, who was from the inhabitants of the village of Iṣbahān.[951] It is said that he was [actually] from the village of Rāmhurmuz,[952] fell into captivity at the hands of some people of Kalb, and was sold to some Jews in the district of Wādī al-Qurā. He made a written contract with his Jewish master that he should pay a certain sum as his ransom, and on the payment thereof be free. The Messenger of God and the Muslims helped him [to meet his contractual obligations]

946. Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 483) states on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī that 'Alī's scribe was 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Rāfi'.

947. He was an Umayyad governor of Mecca, and in 60/680 was appointed by Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah as governor of Medina. *EI*², s.v. 'Amr b. Sa'īd.

948. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān was the fifth Umayyad caliph and reigned from 65/685 to 86/705. *EI*², s.v. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.

949. It is a pun on the word Ibn al-'Āṣ (the name of 'Amr's father) and Ibn al-'Āṣī ("son of a rebellious father").

950. One of the most popular figures in Muslim legend; he was an ardent supporter of 'Alī and died ca. 35/655–56. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 485–89; *EI*¹, s.v. Salmān al-Fārisī; Jafri, *Origins*, 52.

951. Iṣfahān (in the Persian form), a town and province in Persia. *EI*², s.v. Iṣfahān.

952. Ibn Isḥāq (*Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 66) and Ibn Hishām (*Sīrah*, I, 228): From a village called Jayy. Both the sources state that Salmān was betrayed and sold into slavery by a party of Kalbite merchants whom he accompanied from Syria to Arabia. Rām-Hormoz (in the Persian form), a town and district in Khūzistān about fifty-five miles southeast of Ahwāz. *EI*¹, s.v. Rām-Hormuz.

until he was set free. Some Persian genealogists state that Salmān was from the villages of Sābūr[953] and that his name was Mābih b. Būdhakhshān b. Dih Dīrih.

Safīnah,[954] the freedman of the Messenger of God. He belonged to Umm Salamah, who set him free on the condition that he should serve the Messenger of God during his lifetime. It is said that he was black. [Authorities] disagree about his name. Some state that his name was Mihrān, while others state that his name was Rabāḥ. Some of them state that he was Persian and his name was Sabīh [or Subayh] b. Mārqīh [or Mārqayh]. [1780]

Anasah,[955] nicknamed Abū Musarraḥ or Abū Masrūḥ, was a slave boy [born among the Arabs] of al-Sarāt.[956] [The people] used to ask his permission [to see] the Messenger of God when the latter sat [to receive the visitors]. He was present at Badr, Uḥud, and all the expeditions of the Messenger of God. Some state that he was of Persian descent, that his mother was Abyssinian and his father Persian, and that his father's name in Persian was Kardaway b. Asharnīdah b. Adawhar b. Mihrādar b. Kaḥankān, of the Banū Mihjwār b. Yūmāst.

Abū Kabshah.[957] His name was Sulaym. It is said that he was a slave boy [born among the Arabs] of Mecca. It is [also] said that he was a slave boy [born among the Arabs] of the land of Daws.[958] The Messenger of God bought him and set him free. He was present at Badr, Uḥud, and other expeditions with the Messenger of God. He died the very day 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb succeeded to the caliphate, in the year 13/634–35.

Abū Muwayhibah.[959] It is said that he was a slave boy [born

953. Shāpūr [in Persian], the name of the ancient capital of the Shāpūr Khūra district of Fārs. *EI*[1], s.v. Shāpūr.

954. Ibn Sa'd *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 480; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 623–26.

955. He participated in Badr and died during Abū Bakr's caliphate. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, I, 9, 24, 146, 153; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 478; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 619.

956. A chain of mountains which run along the western side of the Arabian plateau. *EI*[1], s.v. Sarāt.

957. He participated in Badr. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, I, 24, 153; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180; III/1, 33; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 478; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 637–40.

958. The tribes of Daws were the furthest north of the Azd Sarāt group. *EI*[2], s.v. Azd.

959. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180; II/2, 9, 10; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 483–84; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 640. See Ṭabarī, below, I, 1799.

among the Arabs] of Muzaynah,[960] who was bought by the Messenger of God and set free.

Rabāḥ al-Aswad.[961] [The people] used to obtain his permission [in order to see] the Messenger of God.

Faḍālah,[962] the freedman of the Messenger of God, who reportedly [later] settled in Syria.

Mid'am,[963] the freedman of the Messenger of God. He was a slave of Rifā'ah b. Zayd al-Judhāmī,[964] who presented him to the Messenger of God. He was killed at Wādī al-Qurā on the day that
[1781] the Messenger of God halted there. He was hit by an arrow from an unknown quarter which killed him.

Abū Ḍumayrah.[965] Some Persian genealogists allege that he was a desendant of the king Kushtāsib of Persia, and that his name was Wāḥ b. Shīraz b. Bīrūwīs b. Tārīshmih b. Māhwash b. Bākmihrīr. Others state that he was among those who fell to the Messenger of God's lot during one of his expeditions and that [the Prophet] set him free and drafted a document to that effect. He is the grandfather of Abū Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḍumayrah b. Abī Ḍumayrah. The document [of manumission] was long in the hands of his grandchildren and his family. When Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallāh came to the ['Abbāsid caliph] al-Mahdī,[966] the document was with him. The caliph took it, placed it on his eyes, and awarded him three hundred dīnārs.

Yasār.[967] He was, reportedly, a Nubian. He fell to the Messenger of God's lot during one of his expeditions, and he set him free. He was killed by al-'Uraniyyūn, who raided the Messenger of God's milch camels.[968]

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960. A branch of Tamīm. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 59, 88.

961. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180, 184; II/1, 59; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 484; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 622. See Safīnah above.

962. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180; he was from the Yemen; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 480; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 629–30.

963. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 631; he was born in Ḥismā, in the Syrian desert.

964. Or of Farwah b. 'Amr al-Judhāmī: Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 484.

965. Abū Ḍamrah or Abū Ḍumayrah was of Arab descent. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 484. Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 635–36; he was from the Yemen.

966. The third 'Abbāsid caliph reigned from 158/775 to 169/785. *EI*², s.v. al-Mahdī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad.

967. He fell to the Prophet's lot on the expedition of Qarārat al-Kudr. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, I, 183; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180; II/1, 67, 86; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 479–80; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 633.

968. See Ṭabarī, below, 1784.

Mihrān.[969] He narrated traditions from the Messenger of God.

The Messenger of God also had a eunuch called Mābūr,[970] who was presented to him by al-Muqawqis with two slave girls; one of them was called Māriyah, whom he took as a concubine, and the other [was called] Sīrīn,[971] whom he gave to Ḥassān b. Thābit after Ṣafwān b. al-Muʿaṭṭal had committed an offense against him.[972] Sīrīn gave birth to a son called ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān. Al-Muqawqis had sent this eunuch with the two slave girls in order to escort them and guard them on the way [to Medina]. He presented them to the Messenger of God when they arrived. It is said that he was the one [with whom] Māriyah was accused of [1782]
[wrongdoing], and that the Messenger of God sent ʿAlī to kill him. When he saw ʿAlī and what he intended to do with him, he uncovered himself until it became evident to ʿAlī that he was completely castrated, not having anything left at all of what men [normally] have, so [ʿAlī] refrained from killing him.

While the Messenger of God was laying siege to al-Ṭāʾif, four slaves came out to him, whom he set free. Abū Bakrah[973] was among them.[974]

An Account of the Messenger of God's Scribes

It is reported that ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān used to write for him at times, while ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Khālid b. Saʿīd, Abān b. Saʿīd,[975] and al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī[976] also used to write at times. It is said that the first person to write for him was Ubayy b. Kaʿb,[977] and that

969. Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 631. See Safīnah above.

970. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 153; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 630–31.

971. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 153; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 630; she was called Shīrīn.

972. Ṣafwān, who was the accused party in the scandal against ʿĀʾishah, assaulted Ḥassān because of the latter's part in spreading the rumors. Whether Ṣafwān did it out of a sense of personal injury or on the Prophet's orders to stop the gossipers is not clear, but it seems certain that Ṣafwān went unpunished for this assault. The Prophet's gift to Ḥassān seems to be an act of reconciliation. See Arafat, "Controversial incident."

973. His name was Nufayʿ b. Masrūḥ. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 931, 932; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 114, 115; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 489–506.

974. More freedmen are listed in Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 482, 483, 484, 485, 506; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 616–40.

975. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 154; IV/2, 77; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 669.

976. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/2, 76–79; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 692.

977. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, *passim*; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 670–71.

when he was absent Zayd b. Thābit[978] wrote for him. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Ṣarḥ[979] used to write for him. He apostatized from Islam and later returned to Islam on the day of the conquest of Mecca. Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān and Ḥanẓalah al-Usayyidī[980] [also] wrote for him.[981]

The Names of the Messenger of God's Horses

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Sahl b. Abī Ḥathmah—his father:[982] The first horse owned by the Messenger of God was the one he bought in Medina from a man of the Banū Fazārah for ten *awāq*.[983] Its name as given by the Bedouin was *al-Ḍaris*,[984] but the Messenger of God named it *al-Sakb*.[985] The first expedition he undertook on it was Uḥud. At that time, the Muslims did not have any other horse except the one belonging to Abū Burdah b. Niyār,[986] which was called *Mulāwiḥ*.[987]

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar: I asked Muḥam-

978. He is best known for the collection of the Qur'ān and died ca. 45/665–66. *EI*[1], s.v. Zaid b. Thābit; Watt, *Bell's Introduction*, 4off.; Blachère, *Introduction*, 3off.

979. He is supposed to have arbitrarily altered the revelation, or to have boasted of doing so after his apostasy from Islam; hence the Prophet, after the conquest of Mecca, wanted to execute him, but 'Uthmān succeeded in obtaining pardon for him. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 531–32; *EI*[2], s.v. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd.

980. Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 673–75; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 134–35.

981. For the detailed list of *kuttāb al-waḥy*, see Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 669–97.

982. It is worth noting that, except the first two transmitters (i.e., al-Ḥārith and Ibn Sa'd), the remaining chain of authorities are the same in Ibn Sa'd's *Ṭabaqāt*. Ibn Sa'd reports directly from Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī while al-Ṭabarī (in this case) reports indirectly from al-Wāqidī through al-Ḥārith.

983. *Awāq*, pl. of *ūqīyah*, is a measure of weight. Hinz, *Masse und Gewichte*, 34. See also Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 174.

984. It means a man having set his teeth on edge, or angry by reason of hunger. It also implies stubbornness. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ḍ-r-s.

985. *Al-Sakbā'*: Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 509. It means a swift or an excellently running horse, and is likened to water pouring forth. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. s-k-b. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 314.

986. He was present at the second pledge of 'Aqabah and fought at Badr. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/2, 25.

987. It means a slender horse or one having excellent and large bones. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. l-w-ḥ.

mad b. Yaḥyā b. Sahl b. Abī Ḥathmah about *al-Murtajiz*,[988] and he said that it was the horse [the Messenger of God] purchased from a Bedouin for whom Khuzaymah b. Thābit bore witness. The Bedouin was from the Banū Murrah.[989] [1783]

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Ubayy b. 'Abbās b. Sahl[990]—his father[991]—his grandfather:[992] The Messenger of God had three horses: *Lizāz*,[993] *al-Ẓarib*,[994] and *al-Luḥayf*;[995] they were presented to him by al-Muqawqis, Rabī'ah b. Abī al-Barā', and Farwah b. 'Amr al-Judhāmī. The Messenger of God rewarded Rabī'ah b. Abī al-Barā' [for *al-Luḥayf*] with camels [that were taken in payment of *zakāt*] from the herds of the Banū Kilāb.

Tamīm al-Dārī presented a horse called *al-Ward*[996] to the Messenger of God, and he gave it to 'Umar, who rode it in the cause of God and [later] found out that it was sold [in the market].[997]

Some [authorities] allege that the Messenger of God had a horse called *al-Ya'sūb*[998] in addition to the horses I have mentioned.

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988. It was so-called because of the intense but pleasing sound of its neighing. The name of the Bedouin was Sawād b. al-Ḥārith b. Ẓālim. Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. r-j-z. See also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 509; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 314.

989. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 36, 44. See also Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 174.

990. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 186–87.

991. 'Abbās b. Sahl b. Sa'd al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī died *ca.* 120/738. Ibid., V, 118.

992. It is said that Sahl was the last companion of the Prophet to die in Medina *ca.* 91/709–10. Ibid., IV, 252–53. See also Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 174–75.

993. *Lizāz* is a piece of wood with which the door is fastened, hence it is applied to one who cleaves to a thing. Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. l-z-z. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, 314.

994. Literally, it means a stone projecting from a mountain and having a sharp point. The horse was so-called because of its strong body, like a rock. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 314; Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. ẓ-r-b.

995. As in Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 175), Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 314), Ibn Kathīr (*Sīrah*, IV, 713), and Fīrūzābādī (*Qāmūs*, s.v. l-ḥ-f). Text: *Lukhayf*. *Luḥayf* was so called because it used to cover the ground with its big tail. *Lakhf*, on the other hand, means a delicate foam. See also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 509–10.

996. A horse of a bright, or yellowish, bay color, or of a red color inclining to yellow. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. w-r-d.

997. Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 510) adds: So, he took it back.

998. It is used for a horse when it is likened for the slenderness of its body to a certain flying thing. It also means a blaze or a white mark on a horse's face. Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. '-s-b; Lane, *Lexicon* s.v. '-s-b. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 314, states that it was so-called because it was the best horse of the Prophet, like the king of the bees (*ya'sūb*).

The Names of the Messenger of God's Mules

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm[999]—his father:[1000] *Duldul*,[1001] the Prophet's mule, was the first mule seen in Islam. It was presented to him by al-Muqawqis with a donkey called *'Ufayr*.[1002] The mule survived until the time of Mu'āwiyah.

Al-Hārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Ma'mar[1003]—al-Zuhrī: *Duldul* was given to the Prophet by Farwah b. 'Amr al-Judhāmī.[1004]

[1784] Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Sabrah[1005]—Zāmil b. 'Amr: Farwah b. 'Amr gave the Prophet a mule called *Fiḍḍah*[1006] and he gave it to Abū Bakr [along with] his donkey *Ya'fūr*.[1007] The donkey died after his return from the Farewell Pilgrimage.

The Names of the Messenger of God's Camels

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī—his father: *Al-Qaṣwā'*[1008] was from the camels of the Banū al-Ḥarīsh,[1009] and was bought with another camel by Abū Bakr for eight hundred dirhams (drachmas). The Messenger of God bought it from Abū Bakr for four hundred

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999. Died *ca.* 151/768. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 368–69.

1000. Died *ca.* 120/738. Ibid., IX, 5–7.

1001. *Daldala* means one who moves his head and limbs in walking. Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. d-l-l.

1002. A diminutive form of *a'far*. It had slight white color. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 511; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 315. It was also called *Ya'fūr*, meaning dust-colored. Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. '-f-r. See also Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 175–76.

1003. Ma'mar b. Rāshid al-Azdī died *ca.* 152/769. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 243–46.

1004. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 175.

1005. Died in 162/778–79. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 27–28.

1006. It means silver. See also Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 175.

1007. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 511, states that it was given by Farwah b. 'Amr al-Judhāmī.

1008. A slit-eared she-camel. Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. q-ṣ-y.

1009. Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 511) and Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 315): Al-Ḥuraysh; Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 176): Al-Ḥarīs. The Banū Ḥarīsh were a clan of the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah.

[dirhams],[1010] and it remained with him until it died. It was the camel on which he emigrated [from Mecca to Medina].[1011] When he came to Medina it was seven years old [*rabāʿiyyah*].[1012] Its name was *al-Qaṣwā'*, *al-Jadʿā'*,[1013] or *al-ʿAḍbā'*.[1014]

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—Ibn Abī Dhiʾb[1015]—Yaḥyā b. Yaʿlā—Ibn al-Musayyib:[1016] Its name was *al-ʿAḍbā'* and it had a slit on the side of its ear.

The Names of the Messenger of God's Milch Camels

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—Muʿāwiyah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Abī Rāfiʿ: The Messenger of God had milch camels which were raided by the Bedouins [while they were grazed] in a thicket (*ghābah*).[1017] They were twenty and the Messenger of God's family lived on [their milk]. Every evening, two big waterskins filled with milk were brought to him. Among those camels were some which yielded abundant milk. [They were] *al-Ḥannā'*,[1018] *al-Samrā'*, *al-ʿArīs*, *al-Saʿdiyyah*, *al-Baghūm*,[1019] *al-Yasīrah*, and *al-Rayyā*.[1020] [1785]

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—Hārūn b. Mu-

1010. Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 511) adds: The more reliable report is that it was given to the Prophet by Abū Bakr.

1011. Ibid., I, 266.

1012. It means the tooth between the central incisor (*thaniyyah*) and the canine tooth (*nāb*), which determines the age for camels of about seven years old. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. r-b-ʿ.

1013. A she-camel having the sixth or the fourth part of her ear cut off. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. j-d-ʿ.

1014. A slit-eared she-camel or a she-camel with a "short foreleg." Ibid., s.v. ʿ-ḍ-b. It was the same camel which got lost during the Tabūk expedition and which ʿAlī rode to Mecca to deliver *al-Barā'ah*. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 190; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1009, 1077.

1015. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Dhiʾb died ca. 158/774–75. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 303–7.

1016. Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib al-Qurashī al-Makhzūmī died in 100/718–19. Ibid., IV, 84–88.

1017. A dense forest of tamarisk bushes at the extreme north end of the Medinan oasis in the broad sandy bed of Wādī al-ʿAqīq. Philby, *Pilgrim*, 75.

1018. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 315): *Al-Ḥasnā'*.

1019. A she-camel uttering a yearning cry for her young one. Ibid.

1020. Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 177); *Al-Dabbā'*.

ḥammad[1021]—his father[1022]—Nabhān,[1023] freedman of Umm Salamah: I heard Umm Salamah saying that the diet, or the greater part of the diet, of the Messenger of God's family consisted of milk. The Messenger of God had milch camels in the thicket which he allotted to his wives. Among them was a milch camel called *al-'Arīs*. From it [Umm Salamah] used to get whatever amount of milk she desired. 'Ā'ishah had a milch camel called *al-Samrā'* which used to yield abundant milk, unlike that of Umm Salamah. The herdsman later brought the milch camels to a nearer pasture in the district of al-Jawwāniyyah,[1024] after which they were brought to the women's houses in the evening and were given to them to be milked. [The Messenger of God's][1025] milch camel was more abundant in milk than the two milch camels [of 'Ā'ishah and Umm Salamah], being almost equal to them or more.

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—'Abd al-Salām b. Jubayr—his father: The Messenger of God had [seven][1026] milch camels which were kept at Dhū al-Jadr[1027] and al-Jammā'[1028] and their milk was brought to him. [One of the] milch camels was called *Muhrah*.[1029] It was given [to him] by Sa'd b. 'Ubādah from the herd of the Banū 'Uqayl[1030] and was abundant in milk. *Al-Rayyā*[1031] and *al-Shaqrā'* were bought from the Banū 'Āmir in the Nabatean (*al-Nabṭ*)[1032] market. *Al-Burdah*, *al-Samrā'*, *al-'Arīs*, *al-Yasīrah*, and *al-Ḥannā'* were milked every night and their milk was brought to him. The Prophet's slave named Yasār [who looked after those camels] was killed [during the Bedouins' raid].[1033]

1021. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 10.

1022. Muḥammad b. Bakkār b. Bilāl al-'Āmilī died in 216/831. Ibid., IX, 416.

1023. Loc. cit.

1024. A village near Medina. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 175.

1025. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 177.

1026. Addition from ibid., I/2, 178. Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 512): Ten.

1027. A place in Medina. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 371.

1028. A place near Medina. Ibid., II, 393–94.

1029. Addition in Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 178): A milch camel called *al-Shaqrā'*, a milch camel called *al-Dabbā'*. The *Muhrah* was sent by Sa'd . . . .

1030. Ibn Sa'd: 'Aqīl.

1031. Ibn Sa'd: *Al-Dabbā'*.

1032. They are the Arabs who lived in ancient times in Arabia Petraea. *EI*[1], s.v. Nabataeans. Shahîd, *Rome and the Arabs*, 5, 19; idem, *Byzantium and the Arabs*, 23.

1033. See Ṭabarī, above, I, 1781.

The Names of the Messenger of God's Milch Sheep (Manā'iḥ)[1034] [1786]

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Zakariyā' b. Yaḥyā—Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh from the descendants of 'Utbah b. Ghazwān: The Messenger of God's milch sheep were seven: *'Ajwah, Zamzam, Suqyā, Barakah, Warisah,*[1035] *Aṭlāl,*[1036] and *Aṭrāf.*[1037]

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad [b. 'Umar]—Abū Isḥāq—'Abbād b. Manṣūr[1038]—'Ikrimah[1039]—Ibn 'Abbās: The milch goats of the Messenger of God were seven in number, and they were tended by Ibn Umm Ayman.[1040]

The Names of the Messenger of God's Swords

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Sabrah[1041]—Marwān b. Abī Sa'īd b. al-Mu'allā: The Messenger of God took three swords from the armor of the Banū Qaynuqā'[1042] which were called *Qala'ī,*[1043] *Battār* ["very sharp"], and *al-Ḥatf* ["death"].[1044] After that he had *al-Mikhdham* ["sharp"],[1045] and *Rasūb* ["that is wont to sink"], which he took from [the property of] *al-Fils* [a shrine].[1046]

It is said that when the Messenger of God came to Medina he

1034. Plural of *manīḥah,* means a milch sheep or goat that is lent for the sake of her milk for a certain period and then restored to the lender. Lane, *Lexicon,* s.v. m-n-ḥ.

1035. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil,* II, 315): *Warasah.*

1036. Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt,* I/2, 178) and Balādhurī (*Ansāb,* I, 514): *Iṭlāl.*

1037. Ibn Sa'd, and Balādhurī: *Iṭrāf.*

1038. Died in 152/769. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb,* V, 103–5.

1039. 'Ikrimah b. Khālid b. al-'Āṣ. Ibid., VII, 258–59.

1040. For further details, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt,* I/2, 178–79.

1041. Died in 162/778–79. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb,* XII, 27–28.

1042. One of the three Jewish tribes of Yathrib (Medina). *EI*[2], s.v. Ḳaynuḳā', Banū.

1043. *Qala'a* means to pluck out, to extirpate. *Qala'ī* is called after a place al-Qala'ah known for its swords. Balādhurī, *Ansāb,* I, 522; Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs,* s.v. q-l-'.

1044. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil,* II, 316): *Al-Khīf* [feared]. The editor states in the footnote that *"al-Ḥatf"* is a variant reading.

1045. It was formerly the sword of al-Ḥārith al-Ghassānī. Lane, *Lexicon,* s.v. kh-dh-m.

1046. See Ṭabarī, above, I, 1706, n. 434.

[1787] had two[1047] swords with him. One was called *al-ʿAḍb* ["sharp"], with which he participated at Badr.[1048] The sword called *Dhū al-Faqār*[1049] was obtained as booty at Badr. It had [previously] belonged to Munabbih b. al-Ḥajjāj.

The Names of the Messenger of God's Bows and Lances

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sabrah—Marwān b. Abī Saʿīd b. al-Muʿallā: The Messenger of God took three lances and three bows from the weapons of the Banū Qaynuqāʿ. The names of the bows were *al-Rawḥāʾ*,[1050] a *shawḥaṭ* bow called *al-Bayḍāʾ* ["white"], and a yellow bow called *al-Ṣafrāʾ* [made] of *nabʿ*[1051] wood.

The Names of the Messenger of God's Coats of Mail

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sabrah—Marwān b. Abī Saʿīd b. al-Muʿallā: The Messenger of God took two coats of mail from the weapons of the

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1047. Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 171) and Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 521): He had one sword with him which was handed down to him from his father. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 316, seems to be reporting from al-Ṭabarī.

1048. Balādhurī states that it was given by Saʿd b. ʿUbādah.

1049. *Dhū al-faqār* means "having the vertebrae of the back." It is the most celebrated sword of the Prophet and, afterwards, of ʿAlī. It had previously belonged to al-ʿĀṣ b. Munabbih, who was slain at Badr by ʿAlī, who gave it to the Prophet. It was so named because there were small, beautiful hollows or scallops in the edge, for more easy cleaving of coats of mail. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. f-q-r. For further details, see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 171–72; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 521; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 707–8.

According to the Shīʿī belief, this sword, the coats of mail, and other weapons of the Prophet were inherited by ʿAlī and the imāms as a token of their being the rightful successors of the Prophet. Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, I, 232–36.

1050. It means "most conducive to ease, or wide." Probably it is called after a place name, Rawḥāʾ, about 75 km from Medina toward Mecca. Ḥarbī, *Manāsik*, 444–46; Al-Wohaibi, *Hijaz*, 226–30.

1051. A species of tree of which bows are made. *Shawḥaṭ* and *nabʿ* are one; the name varies according to the excellence of their places of growth. What is upon the summit is called *nabʿ*, while what is in the depressed tract by its base is called *shawḥaṭ*. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. sh-ḥ-ṭ. See Ṭabarī, above I, 1760, n. 836.

Banū Qaynuqāʿ: one was called *al-Saʿdiyyah*[1052] and the other *Fiḍḍah* ("silver").

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—Mūsā b. ʿUmar—Jaʿfar b. Maḥmūd[1053]—Muḥammad b. Maslamah:[1054] On the day of Uḥud I saw the Messenger of God [wearing] two coats of mail, *Dhāt al-Fuḍūl*[1055] and *Fiḍḍah*; I saw him on the day of Khaybar [wearing] two coats of mail, *Dhāt al-Fuḍūl* and *al-Saʿdiyyah*.[1056]

The Names of the Messenger of God's Shields

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—ʿAttāb b. Ziyād[1057]—ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak[1058]—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir:[1059] I heard [1788]
Makḥūl saying: The Messenger of God had a shield with a sculptured image of a ram's head which he disliked, and one morning when he woke up, God caused that image to disappear [from the shield].[1060]

The Messenger of God's Names

Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā[1061]—Ibn Abī ʿAdī[1062]—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (that is, al-Masʿūdī)[1063]—ʿAmr b. Murrah[1064]—Abū

1052. It is called after a place near Medina known for its coats of mail. Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. s-ʿ-d.

1053. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 106.

1054. A companion of the Prophet. Ibid., IX, 454–55.

1055. It was so-called because it had redundant portions or ampleness. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. f-ḍ-l. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 521, 523, states that either this coat of mail or *al-Fiḍḍah* was presented to the Prophet by Saʿd b. ʿUbādah.

1056. On the day of Ḥunayn, the Prophet wore two coats of mail, *al-Mighfar* and *al-Bayḍah*. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 897; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 172–73; II/1, 109.

1057. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 92.

1058. Died in 181/797–98. Ibid., V, 382–87.

1059. Ibid., VI, 297–98.

1060. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 173.

1061. Died ca. 252/866. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 425–27.

1062. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī ʿAdī died ca. 194/809–10. Ibid., IX, 12–13.

1063. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Masʿūdī died in 160/776–77. Ibid., VI, 210–12.

1064. ʿAmr b. Murrah b. ʿAbdallāh al-Murādī al-Kūfī died ca. 118/736. Ibid., VIII, 102–3.

'Ubaydah[1065]—Abū Mūsā [al-Ash'arī]: The Messenger of God named himself to us [in various ways] from which we remember him saying, "I am Muḥammad the [one who is praised], Aḥmad [the most praiseworthy], *al-Muqaffī* [the follower], *al-Ḥāshir* [the gatherer], *Nabī al-tawbah wa'l-raḥmah*[1066] [the Prophet of repentance and mercy].

[Muḥammad] Ibn al-Muthannā—Abū Dāwūd[1067]—Ibrāhīm [that is, Ibn Sa'd][1068]—al-Zuhrī—Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭ'im[1069]—his father:[1070] The Messenger of God told me, "I have several names. I am Muḥammad, Aḥmad, *al-'Āqib* [the last in succession], and *al-Māḥī* [the obliterator]." Al-Zuhrī states: *Al-'Āqib* is the one after whom there is no one [i.e., no prophet], and *al-Māḥī* is the one through whom God will efface infidelity.[1071]

Ibn al-Muthannā—Yazīd b. Hārūn[1072]—Sufyān b. Ḥusayn[1073]—al-Zuhrī—Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭ'im—his father: The Messenger of God said, "I am Muḥammad, Aḥmad, *al-Māḥī*, *al-'Āqib*, and *al-Ḥāshir*, who will gather mankind at his feet."[1074]

Yazīd [b. Hārūn] states: I asked Sufyān [b. Ḥusayn] what *al-'Āqib* meant, and he replied [that it meant] the last prophet.

1065. Abū 'Ubaydah b. Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān al-Kūfī. Ibid. XII, 159.

1066. As in Muslim (Ṣaḥīḥ, VII, 90), and Tabrīzī (*Mishkāt*, III, 132; *Mishkat* [trans. Robson], II, 1239; transmitted on the authority of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī). Text, Ibn Isḥāq (*Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 123) and Ibn Shabbah (*Ta'rīkh*, II, 632): *Wa'l-malḥamah* [one who predicts future events that were to happen before the Last Hour]. Another version in Ibn Shabbah reads: *Nabī al-raḥmah wa-nabī al-malḥamah*.

1067. Sulaymān b. Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī died ca. 203/818–19. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 182–86.

1068. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd al-Zuhrī died ca. 183/799. Ibid., I, 121–23.

1069. Ibid., IX, 91–92.

1070. Jubayr b. Mut'im b. 'Adī died ca. 58/677–78. Ibid., II, 63–64.

1071. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, 132; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1239; transmitted both by Bukhārī and Muslim on the authority of Jubayr b. Muṭ'im. Cf. also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 392.

1072. Died ca. 206/821–22. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 366–69.

1073. Ibid., IV, 107–9.

1074. Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 631: Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 132; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1239.

The Messenger of God's Characteristics [1789]

Ibn al-Muthannā—Ibn Abī 'Adī—al-Mas'ūdī—'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Hurmuz[1075]—Nāfi' b. Jubayr[1076]—'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib: The Messenger of God was neither tall nor short. [He had] a large head and beard, the palms of his hands and his feet were calloused, [he had] large joints, his face [had] a reddish tinge, the hair of his breast was long, and when he walked he bent forward as if he were descending a slope. I have never seen anyone like him before or since.[1077]

Ibn al-Muthannā—Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī[1078]—Mujamma' b. Yaḥyā[1079]—'Abdallāh b. 'Imrān[1080]—a man of the *Anṣār* (whom 'Abdallāh b. 'Imrān did not name): I asked 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib while he was seated in the mosque of al-Kūfah, leaning his back against the wall and carrying his sword, "Describe for me the characteristics of the Messenger of God." He replied, "The Messenger of God was of a white complexion with a reddish tinge, [with] deep-black and large [eyes],[1081] and long eyelashes. The hair of his breast was thin, his cheeks were smooth, and his beard was thick and long as if his neck were a silver pitcher. The hair from the upper part of his chest to his navel ran like a branch cut off from a tree. He did not have any other hair on his chest or in his armpits. The palms of his hands and his feet were calloused. When he walked, [he walked] as though he were descending a slope or as though he were falling from a rock. When he turned around he turned completely;[1082] his turn was neither short nor long, and [he turned] neither like a weak nor like a mean person. The perspiration on his face [looked] as if it were pearls, and the fragrance

1075. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 133.
1076. Nāfi' b. Jubayr b. Muṭ'im b. 'Adī died in 99/717–18. Ibid., X, 404–5.
1077. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 386ff.; Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 135; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1242. See also Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 121; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 209–10.
1078. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr died in 203/818–19. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 254–55.
1079. Ibid., X, 47–48.
1080. Ibid., V, 343.
1081. Addition from Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 120.
1082. Ibn Sa'd: He was neither short nor long, neither weak nor mean.

of his sweat was better than musk.[1083] I have never seen anyone like him before or since."

[1790] Ibn al-Muqaddamī[1084]—Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Qays, who is called Abū Zukayr,[1085] states: I heard Rabī'ah b. Abī 'Abd al-Raḥmān[1086] recalling from Anas b. Mālik that the Messenger of God was commissioned [by God] when he was at the beginning of his fortieth year. He remained in Mecca ten years and in Medina ten years, and died at the beginning of his sixtieth year, when there were not twenty white hairs in his head and beard. He was neither very tall nor very short; he was neither pure white nor of dark complexion; and his hair was neither curly nor long.[1087]

Ibn al-Muthannā—Yazīd b. Hārūn—al-Jurayrī:[1088] I was with Abū al-Ṭufayl circumambulating the Ka'bah, and he said, "No one who saw the Messenger of God is alive except me." I asked him, "Did you see him?" He replied, "Yes." I asked, "What were his characteristics?" He answered, "He was white, good-looking, and of moderate stature."[1089]

The Seal of Prophethood Which He Had

Ibn al-Muthannā—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Makhlad[1090]—'Azrah b. Thābit[1091]—'Ilbā'[1092]—Abū Zayd:[1093] The Messenger of God said to me, "O Abū Zayd, come close to me and wipe my back," and[1094]

1083. Ibn Sa'd, and Ibn Shabbah (*Ta'rīkh*, II, 607): The pungent musk (or the musk of the utmost excellence).

1084. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Muqaddamī died in 234/848–49. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 79.

1085. Ibid., XI, 274–75.

1086. Died ca. 136/753–54. Ibid., III, 258–59.

1087. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 133; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1240; transmitted both by Bukhārī and Muslim on the authority of Anas b. Mālik.

1088. Sa'īd al-Jurayrī. Ibn Ḥajar. *Tahdhīb*, XI, 366.

1089. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 134; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1241; transmitted by Muslim. For further details, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 120–31; Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 602–17.

1090. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Makhlad b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Shaybānī died ca. 214/828–30. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 450–53.

1091. Ibid., VII, 192.

1092. 'Ilbā' b. Aḥmar al-Yashkurī al-Baṣrī. Ibid., VII, 273–74.

1093. Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 131): Abū Rimthah. 'Amr b. Akhṭab b. Rifā'ah, Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī, was a companion of the Prophet. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 4.

1094. Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 131): I went close and wiped his back.

he uncovered his back. I touched his back, and then put my finger[1095] on the seal and touched it. ['Ilbā'] states: I said [to Abū Zayd], "What is the seal?" He replied, "[It is] a collection of hair on his shoulders." [1791]

Ibn al-Muthannā—Bishr b. al-Waḍḍāḥ Abū al-Haytham[1096]—Abū 'Aqīl al-Dawraqī[1097]—Abū Naḍrah:[1098] I asked Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī about the seal which the Prophet had, and he said that it was like a protruding lump of flesh.[1099]

His Bravery and Generosity

Ibn al-Muthannā—Ḥammād b. Wāqid[1100]—Thābit[1101]—Anas: God's Messenger was one of the best of men, the most generous of men, and the bravest of men. [One night the people of] Medina were frightened and went in the direction of the sound. Lo and behold, they found the Messenger of God on an unsaddled bare-backed horse belonging to Abū Ṭalḥah! He had a sword with him and had gone there before them and was saying, "O people, don't be afraid, don't be afraid." Then he said, "O Abū Ṭalḥah, we found it [could run like] a great river." Before that the horse was slow-paced, but no horse outstripped it after that.[1102]

Ibn al-Muthannā—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī[1103]—Ḥammād b. Zayd[1104]—Thābit—Anas: The Messenger of God was the bravest most generous of men. [One night when the people of] Medina were frightened and went in the direction of the sound, he freed Abū Ṭalḥah's horse from fright and rode on it bare-backed, with-

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1095. Ibn Sa'd: My fingers.

1096. Died in 221/836. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 462.

1097. Bashīr b. 'Uqbah al-Nājī was called Abū 'Aqīl al-Dawraqī. Ibid., I, 465–66.

1098. Al-Mundhir b. Mālik, Abū Naḍrah al-Baṣrī, died ca. 108/726–27. Ibid., X, 302–3.

1099. For various descriptions of the seal, see Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, I, 148; III, 132–33; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), I, 96; II, 1239–40; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 131–33; Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 625.

1100. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 21.

1101. Thābit b. Aslam al-Banānī died ca. 123/740–41. Ibid., II, 2–4.

1102. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 139–40; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1245–46; transmitted by both Bukhārī and Muslim on the authority of Anas. For a different report, see Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 306.

1103. Died in 198/813–14. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 279–81.

1104. Died in 179/795–96. Ibid., III, 9–11.

out a saddle, with a sword swung on his neck, and said, "We found it [could run like] a great river," or "it is like a great river."

[1792] *The Description of His Hair and Whether He Used to Dye It or Not*

Ibn al-Muthannā—Mu'ādh b. Mu'ādh[1105]—Ḥarīz b. 'Uthmān[1106]—Abū Mūsā—Mu'ādh: I have never seen a person from the inhabitants of Syria to whom I could give preference over [the Prophet]. We went to 'Abdallāh b. Busr, and I said to him while I was with my companions, "Did you see the Messenger of God? Was he an old man?" He put his hand on the part between his chin and the edge of his lower lip and said, "There was a white hair [among a few hairs] between his lower lip and his chin."

Ibn al-Muthannā—Abū Dāwūd—Zuhayr[1107]—Abū Isḥāq—Abū Juḥayfah:[1108] I saw the Messenger of God's white [tuft of] hair on his lower lip. He was asked, "Like what you have now, O Abū Juḥayfah?" He replied, "I pare and feather arrows."[1109]

Ibn al-Muthannā—Khālid b. al-Ḥārith[1110]—Ḥumayd:[1111] Anas was asked whether the Messenger of God dyed his hair. He replied, "The whiteness of the Messenger of God's hair did not become intense, but Abū Bakr dyed his with henna and *katam*[1112] and 'Umar dyed his with henna."[1113]

Ibn al-Muthannā—Ibn Abī 'Adī—Ḥumayd: Anas was asked whether the Messenger of God dyed his hair, and he replied, "Grey hair was not seen on him, except for nineteen or twenty

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1105. Mu'ādh b. Mu'ādh al-'Anbarī al-Baṣrī died in 196/811–12. Ibid., X, 194–95.

1106. Died ca. 163/779–80. Ibid., II, 237–41.

1107. Zuhayr b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī died in 162/778–79. Ibid., III, 348–50.

1108. Wahb b. 'Abdallāh, called Abū Juḥayfah al-Suwā'ī, died ca. 74/693–94. Ibid., XI, 164.

1109. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 137.

1110. Died in 186/802. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 82–83.

1111. Ḥumayd b. Abī Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl died ca. 142/759–60. Ibid., III, 38–40.

1112. A herb used for hair dye. Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. k-t-m.

1113. Tabrīzī [*Mishkāt*, II, 501; *Mishkat* [trans. Robson], I, 937]: Anas replied: "If I had wanted to count the grey hairs on his head, I could have done so," adding that he did not dye his hair. In another version, Anas added that both Abū Bakr and 'Umar dyed their hair. It is transmitted by both Bukhārī and Muslim. For other reports, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 135–36.

white hairs in the front part of his beard. He was not blemished with grey hair." It was said to Anas, "Is [having grey hair] a blemish?" He replied, "All of you dislike it. Abū Bakr dyed [his white hair] with henna and *katam* and 'Umar dyed his with henna."

Ibn al-Muthannā—Mu'ādh b. Mu'ādh—Ḥumayd—Anas: The Prophet did not have more than twenty grey hairs.[1114] [1793]

Ibn al-Muthannā—'Abd al-Raḥmān [b. Mahdī]—Ḥammād b. Salamah[1115]—Simāk[1116]—Jābir b. Samurah:[1117] There was no white hair on the Messenger of God's head except for a few hairs in the place where the hair of his head was parted. When he annointed it with oil he covered it.[1118]

Ibn al-Muthannā—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī—Sallām b. Abī Muṭī'—'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Mawhib:[1119] A wife of the Prophet entered [the house] and brought out to us the Messenger of God's hair dyed with henna and *katam*.[1120]

Ibn Jābir b. al-Kurdī al-Wāsiṭī—Abū Sufyān—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḥumurah[1121]—Ghaylān b. Jāmi'[1122]—Iyād b. Laqīṭ[1123]—Abū Rimthah:[1124] The Messenger of God used to dye [his hair] with henna and *katam*, and his hair used to reach his shoulders. [Commenting on the reliability of narrators in the above chain, al-Ṭabarī states:] There is doubt with regard to Abū Sufyān.

Ibn al-Muthannā—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī—Ibrāhīm [i.e., Ibn Nāfi']][1125]—Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid—Umm Hāni': I saw the Messenger of God and he had four [braided] locks of hair.[1126]

1114. Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 622–23.
1115. Died in 167/783–84. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 11–16.
1116. Simāk b. Ḥarb al-Kūfī died in 123/740–41. Ibid., IV, 232–34.
1117. Died ca. 74/693–94. Ibid., II, 39–40.
1118. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2 136.
1119. Died in 160/776–77. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 132–33.
1120. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 395, on the authority of 'Abdallāh b. Mawhib, states: I entered [the house] of Umm Salamah and she brought out to me the Messenger of God's hair dyed with henna and *katam*. See also Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 139; Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 618; Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, II, 501; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 937; transmitted by Bukhārī on the authority of Ibn Mawhib.
1121. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 443–44.
1122. Died in 132/749–50. Ibid., VIII, 252–53.
1123. Ibid., I, 386–87.
1124. He was a companion of the Prophet. Ibid., XII, 97.
1125. Ibid., I, 174.
1126. For a further description of his hair, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 133–35.

Report about the Beginning of the Messenger of God's Illness in Which He Died, and What He Did Just Prior to It When He was Bewailed [for His Approaching Death]

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: God states: "When comes the help of God, and victory, and you see men entering God's religion in multitudes, then glorify your Lord and seek His forgiveness. Verily He is forgiving."[1127] We have mentioned before what the Messenger
[1794] of God's instructions were to his companions during his pilgrimage called "The Farewell Pilgrimage (*ḥajjat al-wadā'*)," "The Pilgrimage of Completion [or Perfection of Religion] (*ḥajjat al-tamām*)," and "The Pilgrimage for Conveying the Message (*ḥajjat al-balāgh*),"[1128] its rites and his last Will and Testament to them. This I have cited before in his address which he delivered to them during that pilgrimage. Then the Messenger of God returned from his journey, after he had performed the pilgrimage, to his residence in Medina toward the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah and stayed there during the remainder of that month as well as during Muḥarram and Ṣafar.

1127. Qur'ān, *sūrah* 110.
1128. See Ṭabarī, above, 1756.

The Events of the Year

II

(March 29, 632–March 17, 633)

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: I have received an account on the authority of Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Ayyāsh b. Abī Rabī'ah:[1129] In the year 11/632, during the month of Muḥarram,[1130] the Messenger of God ordered the people to undertake an expedition to Syria. He put Usāmah, the son of his freed slave Zayd b. al-Ḥārithah, in command over them, ordering him to lead the cavalry into the territory of al-Balqā'[1131] and al-Dārūm[1132] in the land of Palestine. The people got ready and the first emigrants[1133] went forth all together with him. As the people were preparing for the expedition, the Prophet began to suffer from the sickness by which God took him to what honor and compassion He intended

1129. Died in 143/760–61. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 155–56.

1130. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1117; and Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 136, state that the Messenger of God ordered the expedition on the twenty-fifth of Ṣafar.

1131. A name given by the Arab authors either to the whole of the Transjordanian territory or to the middle part of it. Its geographical meaning is restricted to the limestone plateau between the Wādī al-Zarqā' and the Wādī al-Mūjib. *EI*², s.v. al-Balḳā'.

1132. Name of a coastal plain of Palestine, *EI*², s.v. al-Dārūm.

1133. The prominent emigrants, such as Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ, were asked by the Prophet to join the expedition. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1118; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 136; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 474.

for him. [It took place] toward the end of Ṣafar or at the beginning of Rabīʿ I.

ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿīd al-Zuhrī[1134]—his uncle Yaʿqūb[1135]—Ibrāhīm[1136]—Sayf b. ʿUmar[1137]—ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd b. Thābit b.
[1795] al-Jidhʿ al-Anṣārī—ʿUbayd b. Ḥunayn,[1138] freedman of the Prophet—Abū Muwayhibah, freedman of the Messenger of God: After performing the Pilgrimage of Completion (*ḥajjat al-tamām*) the Messenger of God returned to Medina, [which made] travel permissible [for the people]. He ordered them to undertake an expedition, put Usāmah b. Zayd in charge of it, ordering him to go from Ābil al-Zayt,[1139] the land of the Arabs that is near *mashārif al-Shām*,[1140] to the territory in Jordan (*al-Urdunn*).[1141] The hypocrites criticized [the leadership of Usāmah], so the Prophet refuted them, [stating] that indeed he was worthy of [the command]. If they criticized [Usāmah's leadership], then indeed they had criticized his father before, although Zayd was qualified to command.[1142] The news that the Prophet was suffering from sickness spread in the land as travel became permissible. Both al-Aswad and Musaylimah seized upon [the opportunity to claim the prophethood for themselves] in the Yemen and al-Yamāmah, respectively, and their news had reached the Prophet. After he had recovered [from his illness], Ṭulayḥah seized upon [the opportunity to claim the prophethood for himself] in the country of Asad. In Muḥarram the Prophet complained of the pain by which God took him.

Ibn Saʿīd [al-Zuhrī]—his uncle Yaʿqūb—Sayf [b. ʿUmar]—Hi-

1134. Died in 260/873–74. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 15–16.

1135. Died in 208/823–24. Ibid., XI, 380–81.

1136. Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf al-Zuhrī died ca. 183/799. Ibid., I, 121–23.

1137. He represents the Iraqi historical school and died in 180/796. Duri, *Rise*, 46–47, 140, 154.

1138. A client of the Banū Zurayq, who died in 105/723–24. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 63–64.

1139. A place name. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 50.

1140. The highlands of Syria. Ibid., V. 131.

1141. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Urdunn.

1142. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1118–19, states that some of the *Muhājirūn* also criticized Usāmah's leadership. When ʿUmar conveyed the criticism to the Prophet, he became very angry, went to the pulpit and addressed the people urging them to dispatch the army of Usāmah. This happened on Saturday, the tenth of Rabīʿ I. Cf. also Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 136; II/2, 40–42; Lings, *Muhammad*, 339.

shām b. 'Urwah—his father: Toward the end of Muḥarram the Messenger of God complained of the pain by which God took him.

Al-Wāqidī states: The Messenger of God's pain started two days before the end of Ṣafar.[1143]

'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'īd [al-Zuhrī]—his uncle [Ya'qūb]—Sayf b. 'Umar—al-Mustanīr b. Yazīd al-Nakha'ī—'Urwah b. Ghaziyyah al-Dathīnī[1144]—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Fayrūz b. al-Daylamī[1145]—his father:[1146] The first apostasy (*riddah*)[1147] in Islam took place in the Yemen, while the Messenger of God was alive, at the hands of Dhū al-Khimār 'Abhalah b. Ka'b (that is, al-Aswad) among the commonalty of Madhḥij after the Farewell [Pilgrimage]. Al-Aswad was a soothsayer and a juggler. He used to show them [1796] wondrous things captivating the hearts of those who listened to his speech. The first time he [claimed the prophethood] was [after] his coming out of the Khubbān cave. It was his residence [because] he was born and brought up there. Madhḥij corresponded with him, promising him Najrān. They attacked [Najrān] and expelled 'Amr b. Ḥazm and Khālid b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ [the Prophet's agents], giving al-Aswad the position occupied by the latter two. Qays b. 'Abd Yaghūth attacked Farwah b. Musayk, [the Prophet's agent] over Murād, and expelled him placing al-Aswad in his stead. 'Abhalah [al-Aswad] did not stop at [the subjugation of] Najrān but marched to Ṣan'ā' and occupied it. The news of his rising and occupation of Ṣan'ā' was conveyed to the Prophet. It was the first news about him that the Prophet received from Farwah b. Musayk. Those people of Madhḥij who remained faithful to Islam joined Farwah, and they [gathered] at al-Aḥsiyah. Al-Aswad neither corresponded with Farwah nor sent [any messenger] to him, because there was no one with the latter who would have caused trouble for him. His hold over the Yemen was [thus] complete.

'Ubaydallāh [al-Zuhrī]—his uncle Ya'qūb—Sayf [b. 'Umar]—Ṭalḥah b. al-A'lam—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: The Prophet had or-

1143. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1117, states that it was Wednesday, the following day after he had appointed Usāmah in charge of the expedition.

1144. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 448.

1145. Ibid., IV, 448.

1146. Ibid., VIII, 305. See Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 282–87, for what follows.

1147. See Ṭabarī, above I, 1737, n. 641.

dered the expedition of Usāmah, but it did not go well because of his illness and because both Musaylimah and al-Aswad had renounced [his authority]. The hypocrites did much [to criticize] Usāmah's leadership. When [the criticism] reached the Prophet, he went out to the people while his head was wrapped around because of the pain, which had increased due to the dream he had seen [while he was] in ʿĀ'ishah's house, saying, "Last night I saw what a sleeping person sees, that in my two upper arms there were two golden armbands. I disliked them so I blew on them, and they flew away [in the air]. I interpreted the armbands to mean these two arch liars,[1148] the possessor of al-Yamāmah and[1149] the possessor of the Yemen. It has reached me that some people speak [ill of] Usāmah's leadership. By my life, if they crit-
[1797] icize his leadership, then they have criticized the leadership of his father before. If his father was worthy of command, then he is [equally] worthy of it. Dispatch the expedition of Usāmah![1150] May God curse those who make the tombs of their prophets as places of worship (*masājid*)!" Usāmah went out [with his army], camped at al-Jurf, and the people began to gather in the army. Ṭulayḥah rose [in rebellion], so the people acted slowly and deliberately. The Messenger of God's [disease] became violent, so the expedition was not accomplished. The people were looking at each other until God took His Prophet's soul.

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā wrote to me [i.e., al-Ṭabarī] stating that he has received an account on the authority of Shuʿayb b. Ibrāhīm al-Tamīmī—Sayf b. ʿUmar—Saʿīd b. ʿUbayd, Abū Yaʿqūb—Abū Mājid al-Asadī—al-Ḥaḍramī b. ʿĀmir al-Asadī: [When] Abū Mājid asked Ḥaḍramī concerning Ṭulayḥah b. Khuwaylid's affair, the latter replied: [After] we received the news of the Prophet's illness, it reached us that Musaylimah and al-Aswad had gained ascendency over al-Yamāmah and the Yemen, respectively. Soon thereafter, Ṭulayḥah claimed the prophethood while [Usāmah's] army was [still] at Samīrāʾ. The commonalty [of Asad] followed Ṭulayḥah and his hold became consolidated. He sent his brother's son Ḥibāl to the Prophet, inviting him to make peace with him

1148. Ibn Shabbah (*Taʾrīkh*, II, 573) adds: Musaylimah.

1149. Ibn Shabbah adds: Al-ʿAnsī. For the importance of dreams, see Ṭabarī, above, I, 1673, n. 182.

1150. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 384, 474.

and informing him about his news. Ḥibāl said that the one who visits Ṭulayḥah is Dhū al-Nūn, and he named [that spirit] an angel.[1151] Then Ḥibāl, [introducing himself], said that he was the son of Khuwaylid. The Prophet replied, "May God kill you and deprive you of the *shahādah*!"

'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'īd [al-Zuhrī]—his uncle Ya'qūb—Sayf [b. 'Umar]—Sa'īd b. 'Ubayd—Ḥurayth b. al-Mu'allā: The first person who wrote to the Prophet about the news of Ṭulayḥah was Sinān [1798] b. Abī Sinān. He was [the Prophet's agent] over the Banū Mālik while Quḍā'ī b. 'Amr was [the Prophet's agent] over the Banū al-Ḥārith.

'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'īd [al-Zuhrī]—his uncle [Ya'qūb]—Sayf [b. 'Umar]—Hishām b. 'Urwah—his father: The Messenger of God waged war against the false prophets by sending messengers. He sent a messenger to some of the descendants of the Persian soldiers in the Yemen (*al-abnā'*) instructing them [to get rid of] al-Aswad by artful contrivance. He [further] instructed them to seek help of some people whom he named from the Banū Tamīm and Qays, sending [word] to the latter to help the former. They did [as instructed]. The means of [escape] for those who apostatized were cut off, and they were attacked [while they were] in a state of waning. Since they were isolated, they were occupied with themselves. Al-Aswad was killed while the Messenger of God was [still] alive, a day or a night before the latter's death. Ṭulayḥah, Musaylimah and the likeness of them were driven away by the messengers.

Despite his illness, the Messenger of God was not distracted from the command of God and the defense of His religion.[1152] He sent Wabar b. Yuḥannas to Fayrūz, Jushaysh al-Daylamī, and Dādhawayhi al-Iṣṭakhrī; Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh to Dhū al-Kalā' [Sumayfi'][1153] and [Ḥawshab][1154] Dhū Ẓulaym; al-Aqra' b. 'Abdal-

1151. The pre-Islamic Arabs believed in the demon of poetry, and they thought that a great poet was directly inspired by demons. Similarly, a *kāhin* (soothsayer) and an *'arrāfah* (sorceress) were supposed to have a spirit (*shayṭān* or *tābi'*), who visited them. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 162; Ṭabarī, I, 1864 (al-Aswad al-'Ansī was a *kāhin* with a *shayṭān* and a *tābi'*); Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 35, 44, 45; Fahd, *Divination*, 72–75, 91ff.

1152. See Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 284–85.

1153. Addition from Ḥamīdullāh.

1154. Addition from Ḥamīdullāh.

lāh al-Ḥimyarī to Dhū Zūd and Dhū Murrān; Furāt b. Ḥayyān al-ʿIjlī to Thumāmah b. Uthāl;[1155] Ziyād b. Ḥanẓalah al-Tamīmī al-ʿAmrī to Qays b. ʿĀṣim and al-Zibriqān b. Badr; Ṣalṣal b. Shurāḥbīl to Sabrah al-ʿAnbarī, Wakīʿ al-Dārimī, ʿAmr b. al-Maḥjūb
[1799] al-ʿĀmirī and ʿAmr b. al-Khafājī of the Banū ʿĀmir; Ḍirār b. al-Azwar al-Asadī to ʿAwf al-Zirqānī of the Banū al-Ṣaydāʾ and Sinān al-Asadī al-Ghanmī[1156] and Quḍāʿī al-Daylamī; Nuʿaym b. Masʿūd al-Ashjaʿī to Ibn Dhī al-Liḥyah and Ibn Mushaymaṣah al-Jubayrī.

Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf[1157]—al-Ṣaqʿab b. Zuhayr[1158]—the jurists of al-Ḥijāz: The Messenger of God suffered from the pain caused by the disease which took his life toward the very end of Ṣafar while he was in the house of Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah and ʿAlī b. Mujāhid—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī—ʿUbayd b. Jubayr, a freedman of al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ—Abū Muwayhibah, a freedman of the Messenger of God. The Messenger of God sent for[1159] me in the middle of the night, saying, "O Abū Muwayhibah, I have been ordered to seek forgiveness for the [dead] inhabitants of al-Baqīʿ [cemetery],[1160] so come with me." I went with him, when he stood before them he said, "Peace
[1800] be upon you, O people of the graves! Happier are you in your state than the people [here] in their present state![1161] Dissension (*fitan*)[1162] has come like segments of a pitch dark night one after the other, the last being worse than the first." He then turned to me, saying, "O Abū Muwayhibah, I have been given the keys of the treasuries of this world, long abode in it, then Paradise. I have been given the choice between it and meeting my Lord and Para-

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1155. See ibid., 56–57.

1156. Ḥamīdullāh: Al-Qanmī.

1157. One of the earliest historians, who died in 157/774. *EI*², s.v. Abū Mikhnaf; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 308–9; Duri, *Rise*, passim.

1158. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 432.

1159. Ibn Shabbah (*Taʾrīkh*, I, 87): Woke me up.

1160. Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn Shabbah: Of this al-Baqīʿ [cemetery]. See also Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 9–10; Lings, *Muhammad*, 337–38.

1161. Ibn Shabbah and Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 544) add: [I wish] you knew from what God has saved you!

1162. Generally, it means sedition whereby some good or evil quality is put to the test.

dise, so[1163] I have chosen meeting my Lord and Paradise." I said, "May you be ransomed with my parents! Take the keys of the treasuries of this world and long life in it followed by Paradise." He replied, "No, by God, O Abū Muwayhibah, I have chosen meeting my Lord and Paradise." He prayed for the [dead] inhabitants of al-Baqīʿ [cemetery] and left. Then the illness during which[1164] he died began.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq; and Ibn Ḥumayd—ʿAlī b. Mujāhid—Ibn Isḥāq—Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtbah—Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī—ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUtbah [b. Masʿūd][1165]—ʿĀ'ishah, the Prophet's wife: [When] the Messenger of God returned from al-Baqīʿ [cemetery] he found me suffering from headache and crying, "Alas, O my head!" He said, "Nay, by God, O ʿĀ'ishah, rather alas, O my head!" Then he said, "It would not distress you if you were to die before me so that I would take care of you[r body], wrap you in the shroud, pray over you, and bury you." I replied, "By God, it seems to me that if you were to do that you would return to my house and would make a marriage feast with one of your wives."[1166] The Messenger of God smiled, [then] his pain came to him, all of it, as he was going the round of his wives until he was overwhelmed by it while he was in Maymūnah's house.[1167] He called [1801] his wives, asking their permission to be nursed in my house. They permitted him, so the Messenger of God went out [walking][1168] between two men of his family, al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAbbās, and another man with his feet dragging on the ground, while his head was wrapped around until he entered my house.

ʿUbaydallāh [b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUtbah] states: [When] I narrated

1163. So . . . Paradise: Omitted from Ibn Isḥāq and Ibn Sa'd. It is an example of oneiromancy; cf. Fahd, *Divination*, 284.

1164. Ibn Isḥāq: Through which God took him began. Ibn Shabbah, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 87–91, 94–95, adds other reports, stating that that night the Prophet was with ʿĀ'ishah. Andrae, *Mohammed*, 171.

1165. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq. He died ca. 94/712–13. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 23–24.

1166. As it indicates, ʿĀ'ishah very often assumed a jesting tone. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 10–11; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 541, 544; Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 207–8; *Mishkat* [trans. Robson], II, 1308; Andrae, *Mohammed*, 171–72; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 204; Lings, *Muhammad*, 338.

1167. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 11, 30.

1168. Addition from Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

this story of ʿĀ'ishah to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās, he asked, "Do you know who the [other][1169] man was?" "No," I said. He replied, "[He was] ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, but[1170] ʿĀ'ishah could not bring herself to speak well of him, although she was able to do it."[1171]

Then the Messenger of God's illness intensified, the pain became fierce, so he said, "Pour seven skins of water over me from different wells so that I may go out to the people and instruct them." ʿĀ'ishah states: We made him sit in a tub (*mikhḍab*) belonging to Ḥafṣah bt. ʿUmar and poured water over him until he began saying, "Enough, enough."[1172]

Ḥumayd b. al-Rabīʿ al-Kharrāz—Maʿn b. ʿĪsā[1173]—al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbdallāh b. Iyās al-Laythī al-Ashjaʿī—al-Qāsim b. Yazīd[1174]—ʿAbdallāh b. Qusayṭ—his father—ʿAṭā'—Ibn ʿAbbās—his brother al-Faḍl b. ʿAbbās: The Messenger of God sent for me, so I went, found him ill, and his head wrapped around.[1175] He asked me to take his hand and I did so until he [walked and] sat on the pulpit [in the mosque]. Then he asked me to call the people, [I did so] and they gathered round him. He said, "O people,
[1802] I praise God, the only God, unto you. Now then: Your rights are dear to me[1176] so whomever I have flogged on his back with a whip, here is my back—let him avenge; and whomever I have reviled, here is my honor—let him retort.[1177] Malice is neither my nature nor characteristic of me.[1178] Indeed, the most loved of you to me is the one who claims his right from me [if he is the aggrieved party],[1179] or that he should absolve me [from it] so that

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1169. Addition from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Balādhurī.

1170. But . . . it: Omitted from Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

1171. ʿĀ'ishah's grudge against ʿAlī stemmed from the incident of the slander against her [Qur'ān 24:10–20], when ʿAlī had advised the Prophet to divorce her. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, III, 313–14; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, II, 430; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 29. For recent works, see Abū al-Naṣr, *ʿAlī wa ʿĀ'ishah*; al-Afghānī, *ʿĀ'ishah wa 'l-siyāsah*.

1172. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 29.

1173. Died in 198/813–14. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 252–53.

1174. Ibid., VIII, 341–42.

1175. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 45, for some variations.

1176. I am only a human being: Addition in Ibn Saʿd.

1177. Ibn Saʿd adds: And whose property I might have taken [unknowingly], here is my property: let him take [compensation].

1178. Ibn Saʿd: No person should say that he is afraid of enmity and malice from the Messenger of God, because they are neither my nature nor my property.

1179. Addition from Ibn Saʿd.

I shall meet the Lord while I am content.[1180] I see that this is not enough until I stand before you several times."

Then he got down [from the pulpit], prayed the *ẓuhr* (midday) prayers, returned and sat on the pulpit repeating what he had said earlier. A man stood up saying, "O Messenger of God, you owe me three dirhams." He said, "O Faḍl, give him [three dirhams]," and I did. Then he sat and said, "O people, he who has a pledge let him return it and not profess the disgrace of this world, because the disgrace of the present world is easier [to bear] than the disgrace of the world to come." A man stood up saying, "O Messenger of God, I owe [you] three dirhams which I took unfaithfully from the cause of God." He asked, "Why did you do it?" "I was in need of it," the man replied. He said, "O Faḍl, take [three dirhams] from him." Then he said, "O people, he who is afraid of himself for something, let him stand up so that I will pray for him." A man stood up saying, "O Messenger of God, I am a liar, a late riser, and [one who acts] impudently." The Messenger of God said, "O God, bless him with truthfulness and faith and remove lethargy from him, if he is determined!" Another man [1803]
stood up saying, "By God, O Messenger of God, I am a liar, a hypocrite, and there is no act which I did not commit." 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb stood up and said that the man had disgraced himself. The Prophet said, "O son of al-Khaṭṭāb, the disgrace of this world is easier [to bear] than the disgrace of the world to come. O God, bless that man with truthfulness and faith, and make his affairs good!" 'Umar thereupon asked the Prophet to speak to that man.[1181] The Messenger of God smiled and said, "'Umar is with me and I am with him." Referring to that man,[1182] the Prophet said, "Follow 'Umar after me, wherever he might be."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī—Ayyūb b. Bashīr:[1183] The Messenger of God went out while his head was wrapped around and sat in the pulpit. The first thing he said was a prayer for the men of Uḥud, asking God's forgiveness for them and prolonging the prayer. Then he said, "God has given one of his servants the choice between this world and that which is with

1180. Ibn Sa'd: I am exonerated.
1181. Cairo: 'Umar said a word.
1182. Cairo: After me the truth is with 'Umar wherever he might be.
1183. Died ca. 65/684–85. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 396.

Him, and the servant has chosen the latter." Abū Bakr understood and knew that the Prophet meant himself, so he cried, saying, "Nay, we and our children will be your ransom!" The Prophet replied, "Gently, Abū Bakr!" [Then he added],[1184] "Look at these doors that open on to the mosque. Close them except the one which is from Abū Bakr's house,[1185] for I know no one who is a better friend to me with regard to generosity than he."[1186]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh[1187]—some one from the family of Abū Saʿīd b. al-Muʿallā: That day the Messenger of God said in his speech,
[1804] "If I were to take a friend from among mankind, I would take Abū Bakr as a friend, but comradeship and brotherhood in the faith [continue] until God unites us in His presence."

Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Wahb[1188]—his uncle ʿAbdallāh b. Wahb[1189]—Mālik [b. Anas][1190]—Abū al-Naḍr[1191]—ʿUbayd b. Ḥunayn—Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī: One day the Messenger of God sat in the pulpit, saying, "God has given a servant the choice between obtaining whatever he desires of the splendor of this world and that which is with God, and he has chosen that which is with God." Abū Bakr wept, saying, "May our fathers and mothers be your ransom, O Messenger of God!" Al-Khudrī states: We were surprised at Abū Bakr, [some] people said, "Look at this old man, [when] the Messenger of God informs [us] about a servant who has been given the choice, he says, 'May our fathers and mothers be your ransom.'"[1192] The Messenger of God was the one who was given the choice and Abū Bakr informed us of it. The Messenger of God said, "The most gracious person to me, with his comradeship and wealth, is Abū Bakr. If I were to take a friend

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1184. Addition from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Balādhurī [*Ansāb*, I, 547].

1185. Ibn Hishām [Another tradition states], and Balādhurī: Except Abū Bakr's door. Cf. Lings, *Muhammad*, 338.

1186. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 25.

1187. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 212–13.

1188. Died in 264/877–78. Ibid., I, 54–56.

1189. Died in 197/812–13. Ibid., VI, 71–74.

1190. A jurist and founder of the Mālikī school of jurisprudence died in 179/795. *EI*², s.v. Mālik b. Anas; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 457–64.

1191. He is Sālim b. Umayyah and died in 120/738. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 431–32.

1192. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 202; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1303; transmitted by both Bukhārī and Muslim.

[with me] I would take Abū Bakr, but Islamic brotherhood [remains]. No aperture in the mosque except that of Abū Bakr will be left [open]."[1193]

Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. al-Ṣabāḥ al-Hamdānī—Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān—Muslim b. Ja'far al-Bajalī: I heard 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Iṣbahānī from Khallād al-Asadī: 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd states: Our beloved Prophet announced his [approaching] death a month before he died. When the separation drew near, he gathered us in the house of our mother 'Ā'ishah, looked at us intensely while his eyes were shedding tears, and said, "Welcome to you. May God [1805] treat you with compassion, shelter you, protect you, exalt you, benefit you, give you success, assist you, preserve you, and receive you [kindly]! I enjoin you to fear God and entrust you to Him. I appoint Him as successor over you and entrust you to Him. 'Verily I am to you [from Him] a warner and an announcer of good tidings.'[1194] 'Rise not up against God'[1195] in His land and among His creatures, for He has stated to me and to you: 'That is the mansion of the Hereafter, We give it to those who desire neither exaltation in the earth nor corruption. The future belongs to the pious.'[1196] He [also] stated: 'Is there not a place in Hell for the arrogant?' "[1197]

We asked, "When is your appointed time (*ajal*)?" "The separation [from you] and return to God and the Lote Tree[1198] have drawn closer," he replied. We asked him who would wash him and with what [cloth] he should be wrapped. He replied that he should be washed by his closest relatives and that he should be wrapped in the clothes he was wearing, or in a white Egyptian cloth, or in Yemenī dress (*ḥullah Yamāniyyah*).[1199] Then, we asked him who would lead the prayer over him. He said, "[Go] slowly. May God forgive you and reward you with goodness on

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1193. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 24, 25–26.

1194. Qur'ān 11:2.

1195. Ibid., 44:19.

1196. Ibid., 28:83.

1197. Ibid., 39:60.

1198. Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 46) adds: And the Garden of Repose, the Exalted Companion, the brimming cup, the wholesome life.

1199. A wrapper for the whole body, generally consisting of three garments: a shirt, an *izār*, and a *ridā'*. The Yemenī garment is said to be the best kind of grave clothing. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ḥ-l-l.

behalf of your prophet!" We wept, as did he, and he said, "After you have washed and wrapped me in the shroud, put me on my bed in this house of mine on the edge of my grave, then go out for a while. The first one to pray over me would be my companion and friend Gabriel (*Jibrīl*), then Michael (*Mīkā'īl*), then *Isrāfīl*. [He will be] followed by the angel of death with a great multitude of angels in their entirety. After that, you are to enter group by group, pray over me, and pronounce your salutations. Do not hurt me by beating yourselves, nor by mournful and vehement cries. Let the male members of my family start praying over me, followed by their women, then you, and convey my salutation to
[1806] yourselves. I testify to you that I have conveyed my salutation to those who rendered their oath of allegiance to me for my religion from today until the Day of Judgment." We asked him who would lower him into the grave, he replied, "The members of my family, together with many angels, who will see you but you will not see them."

Aḥmad b. Ḥammād al-Dūlābī[1200]—Sufyān—Sulaymān b. Abī Muslim[1201]—Sa'īd b. Jubayr[1202]—Ibn 'Abbās: Thursday, what a Thursday![1203] He said: The Messenger of God's pain became so severe that he said, "Give me [pen and paper][1204] so that I may write a document for you and you will never go astray after me."[1205] His companions wrangled over it,[1206] and it did not befit them to carry on a dispute before a prophet. Some people said, "What's the matter with him? Is he talking nonsense?[1207] Ask

1200. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 25–26.

1201. Ibid., IV, 218.

1202. Died in 95/713–14. Ibid., IV, 11–14.

1203. Then he wept until his tears wet the pebbles. He was asked, what about Thursday, and he replied: Addition in Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 205–6; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1306; transmitted by both Bukhārī and Muslim. Cf. also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 562.

1204. Addition from Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 36, who states that this incident happened on Thursday when the Messenger of God's pain became severe. Balādhurī, and Tabrīzī: An inkpot and a shoulder blade.

1205. Ibn Sa'd, and Tabrīzī: After that.

1206. Balādhurī: They said, "Do you see him talking nonsense?" and [started] wrangling among themselves. The Messenger of God became grieved and annoyed and asked them to leave.

1207. The Prophet was not happy with 'Umar because he did not cooperate with him when he asked for pen and paper. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 36–38; Buhl, *Leben*, 353; Momen, *Shī'i Islam*, 15–16. The Shī'īs claim that the Prophet wanted to make a written testament favoring 'Alī's succession as head of the nascent Islamic state but that 'Umar foiled his plan. See Mirzā, *al-Balāgh*, I, 254–86.

him for an explanation." [When] they went back, repeating [those remarks] to him, he replied, "Leave me [alone], the state I am in is better than that for which you are calling me." He charged them with three things: "Expel the polytheists from the Arabian Peninsula; give presents to the delegation[s] as I used to do."[1208] [Sa'īd b. Jubayr states that Ibn 'Abbās] became silent about the third [command] intentionally, or that he said that he had forgotten it.

Abū Kurayb[1209]—Yaḥyā b. Ādam[1210]—Ibn 'Uyaynah[1211]—Sulaymān al-Aḥwal[1212]—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās: Thursday! [Al-Ṭabarī states:] Then he narrated a report like that of Aḥmad b. Ḥammād [mentioned above], except that he said, "It did not befit them to dispute with a prophet."

Abū Kurayb and Ṣāliḥ b. Sammāl—Wakī'—Mālik b. Mighwal—Ṭalḥah b. Muṣarrif[1213]—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās: Thursday, what a Thursday! [Sa'īd b. Jubayr states:] Then I looked at Ibn 'Abbās' tears flowing on his cheeks as if they were a chain [1807]
of pearls, [saying:] The Messenger of God said, "Bring me a tablet (*lawḥ*) and an inkpot (*dawāt*), or a plank of the shoulder blade (*katīf*) and an inkpot, so that I can write for you a document, after which you will not go astray." Some [people] said that the Messenger of God was talking deliriously.

Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Wahb—his uncle 'Abdallāh b. Wahb—Yūnus—al-Zuhrī—'Abdallāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik[1214]—Ibn 'Abbās: 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib went out from the Messenger of God during his illness in which he died. The people asked him, "O Abū Ḥasan, how did the Messenger of God wake up?" "By the grace of God he woke up [and he had] recovered [from his illness]," he replied. Al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib held him by his hand and said, "Don't you see[1215] that in three days you will be 'a slave [to be punished with] the club' ('*abd al-'aṣā*)?[1216] It seems to me that the Messenger of God will die from this sickness of his,

1208. This was the Messenger of God's practice. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 38ff.
1209. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 212.
1210. Died in 203/818–19. Ibid., XI, 175–76.
1211. Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah died in 198/813–14. Ibid., IV, 117–22.
1212. Ibid., IV, 188.
1213. Died ca. 112/730–31. Ibid., V, 25–26.
1214. Died ca. 98/716–17. Ibid., V, 369.
1215. Ibn Isḥāq: By God, O 'Alī, you will be in . . . .
1216. It is an idiom used contemptuously for a despicable person. Maydānī, *Amthāl*, II, 19–20.

for I know [how] the faces of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's sons look at the time of death. So return[1217] to the Messenger of God, and ask him who will get this authority.[1218] If it is to be with us, we shall know that, if it is to be with others, he[1219] will command accordingly and entrust [that person] with us." 'Alī replied, "By God, if we asked the Messenger of God and he denied it to us, the people will never give it to us. By God, I[1220] will never ask the Messenger of God."[1221]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī—'Abdallāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik[1222]—'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās: That day 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib went out from the Messenger of God. [Al-Ṭabarī states:] Ibn Ḥumayd mentioned a report similar to the above report except that in his account he stated [al-'Abbās' saying]: "I swear by God that I recognized death in the Messenger of God's
[1808] face as I used to recognize it in the faces of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's sons. So let us go to the Messenger of God; if this authority is to be with us, we shall know it, and if it is to be with others, we will ask [the Prophet] so that he will enjoin the people to treat us well." [Ibn Ḥumayd] also added in that account: The Messenger of God died that day when the heat intensified at noon.[1223]

Sa'īd b. Yaḥyā al-Umawī[1224]—his father[1225]—'Urwah—'Ā'ishah: The Messenger of God said to us, "Pour seven skins of

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1217. So let us go: Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 38), and Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 565). See also Lings, *Muhammad*, 341.

1218. Ibn Sa'd adds: After him.

1219. Ibn Sa'd: We will speak to him, so that he will entrust [that person] with us.

1220. Ibn Sa'd: We. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 583, states on the authority of Jābir b. 'Abdallāh that 'Abbās wanted to give his oath of allegiance to 'Alī, but the latter seemed to be overconfident that nobody would usurp what he considered to be his right. The commentator of *Nahj al-balāghah*, II, 51–52, reports that after Abū Bakr was elected in the *Saqīfah*, attempts were made to bribe 'Abbās so that he would not support 'Alī's claim.

1221. 'Abbās is reported to have warned 'Alī against participating in the *Shūrā* so that he could maintain his freedom of action, but 'Umar's provisions for the council precluded such a course of action. Here again, 'Abbās reminded 'Alī of what he had told him during the Prophet's illness. See Ṭabarī, I, 2780; Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 925–26.

1222. Died ca. 97/715–16. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 369.

1223. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 38–39, for other reports.

1224. Died ca. 249/863. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 97–98.

1225. Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd b. Abān b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ al-Umawī died in 194/809–10. Ibid., XI, 213–14.

water from seven different wells over me so that I may go out to the people and instruct them."[1226]

Muḥammad—Muḥammad b. Ja'far—'Urwah—'Ā'ishah: We poured seven skins [of water] over him and he found some relief. He went out, prayed with the people, addressed them and sought God's forgiveness for the martyrs of Uḥud. Then he urged them to take care of the *Anṣār*, saying, "Now then: O community of the Emigrants, you will go on increasing, but the *Anṣār* will not grow [greater in size] than what they are today. They are my intimates with whom I sought shelter, so honor their nobles and overlook those (of them) who do ill."[1227] He [added], saying, "One of God's servants has been given the choice between this world and that which is with God, and he has chosen the latter." No one except Abū Bakr perceived that the Prophet meant himself, so he cried. The Prophet said to him, "Gently, O Abū Bakr!" [Then addressing the people he said:] "Shut these doors that open on to the mosque except the door of Abū Bakr, for I know no one who is a better friend to me with regard to generosity than he."

'Amr b. 'Alī[1228]—Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān[1229]—Sufyān[1230]—Mūsā b. Abī 'Ā'ishah—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah—'Ā'ishah: We forced the Messenger of God to take medicine during his illness. He said not to force him, but we said that the sick man does not like medicine. After he recovered, he said [addressing us, the women], "Let no one remain in the house until [every one of you] has been forced to take this medicine except al-'Abbās, for he did not agree with you what you did." [1809]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq (in an account we have quoted from him [see Ṭabarī, above, I, 1800]) on the authority of al-Zuhrī—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh—'Ā'ishah: Then the Messenger of God came down [from the pulpit], entered his house and the pain came, all of it, until he was exhausted. Some of his wives, Umm Salamah, Maymūnah, and some of the wives of the Muslims, among whom was Asmā' b. 'Umays, gathered round

1226. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 42.

1227. Ibid., 42–44; Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 275–76; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1368–69; transmitted by Bukhārī.

1228. Died in 249/863. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 80–82.

1229. Died in 198/813–14. Ibid., XI, 216–20.

1230. Sufyān b. Sa'īd al-Thawrī died in 161/777–78. Ibid., IV, 111–15.

him, while his uncle al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was with him. They agreed to force him to take medicine. Al-ʿAbbās said, "Let me force him," and [the Messenger of God] was forced.[1231] After the Messenger of God recovered he asked who had done that with him. They said that it was his uncle al-ʿAbbās. Pointing in the direction of Abyssinia, the Prophet said, "This is a medicine brought by women from that country." When he asked why they had done it, al-ʿAbbās replied, "O Messenger of God, we were afraid that you might have pleurisy (*dhāt al-janb*)."[1232] He replied, "That is a disease with which God would not afflict me. Let no one remain in the house until he is forced to take this medicine except my uncle." Although Maymūnah had fasted, she was forced to take it because of the Messenger of God's oath as a retribution for what they had done [to him].[1233]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr[1234]—ʿUrwah—ʿĀʾishah: When they said that they were afraid that he might have pleurisy, he said, "It is from
[1810] Satan and God would not inflict it on me."

Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ṣaqʿab b. Zuhayr—the jurists of al-Ḥijāz: When the Messenger of God's illness from which he died grew severe until he became unconscious, all of his family (i.e., his wives, his daughter [Fāṭimah], al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib) gathered [round him]. Asmāʾ bt. ʿUmays said, "This pain of his is nothing but pleurisy, so force him to take medicine." We did so, and, after he had recovered, he inquired who had done that to him. When they replied that [it was] Asmāʾ bt. ʿUmays who thought that he might have pleurisy, he said, "May God protect me from such an affliction! I am more honorable to Him than [that I should have] such [a disease]."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Saʿīd b. ʿUbayd al-Sabbāq[1235]—Muḥammad b. Usāmah b. Zayd[1236]—his father Usāmah b. Zayd: When the Messenger of God's illness became

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1231. Ibn Isḥāq: And they forced him.

1232. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. j-n-b.

1233. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq. Cf. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 31–32; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 545–46; Buhl, *Leben*, 353.

1234. Died between 110/728–29 and 120/738. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 93.

1235. Ibid., IV, 61.

1236. Ibid., IX, 35.

severe, I and the people came down [from where we were encamped] to Medina and went[1237] to the Messenger of God. As he was tongue-tied, he began to lift his hand toward heaven and put it down upon me, so I understood that he was praying for me.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh—'Ā'ishah: Very often I used to hear the Messenger of God say, "God never takes a prophet's life without giving him the choice."[1238]

Abū Kurayb—Yūnus b. Bukayr[1239]—Yūnus b. 'Amr[1240]—his father [Abū Isḥāq 'Amr al-Sabī'ī]—al-Arqam b. Shuraḥbīl:[1241] I asked Ibn 'Abbās, "Did the Messenger of God make a will?" "No," he replied. I asked, "How was that?" He replied: The Messenger of God asked for 'Alī, but 'Ā'ishah said, "[I wish] you had [1811]
asked for Abū Bakr!" Ḥafṣah said, "[I wish] you had asked for 'Umar!" So all of them gathered before the Messenger of God. He asked them to disperse, for he would call them if there should be any need, and they went away. [At another time] the Messenger of God asked whether the time for prayer had drawn close. They said, Yes. When he ordered that Abū Bakr should lead the people in prayer 'Ā'ishah said, "He is a delicate man, so order 'Umar." He did that,[1242] but 'Umar replied, "I will not lead while Abū Bakr is present." So Abū Bakr led [them in prayer]. The Messenger of God got some relief [from the pain], so he went out [to the mosque]. When Abū Bakr heard his movement, he stepped backward, so the Messenger of God pulled at his clothes asking him to stand in his place. He sat down [near Abū Bakr] and recited from where Abū Bakr had left off.

1237. Ibn Isḥāq: And I went. This was on Sunday. For details see Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1119–20; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 137; II/2, 41.

1238. Ibn Isḥāq adds: When the Messenger of God was on the point of death, the last word I heard him saying was, "[Nay], rather the Exalted Companion is from paradise." I said, "Then, by God, he is not choosing us." I knew that he used to tell us, "A prophet does not die until he has been given the choice." For further details, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 27–28.

1239. He is one of the main transmitters of Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīrah* and died in 199/814–15. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 434–36; Duri, *Rise*, 33n., 36.

1240. Died ca. 158/774–75. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 433–34.

1241. Ibid., I, 198–99.

1242. Some traditions state that 'Umar led the people in prayer, but when the Messenger of God heard his voice he expressed his disapproval and asked for Abū Bakr. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 21–22; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 554–55.

Ibn Wakī'—his father[1243]—al-A'mash[1244]—Abū Hishām al-Rifā'ī—Abū Mu'āwiyah and Wakī'—al-A'mash; and 'Īsā b. 'Uthmān b. 'Īsā[1245]—al-A'mash—Ibrāhīm—al-Aswad—'Ā'ishah: During the Messenger of God's illness during which he died, a call for prayer was given. He ordered that Abū Bakr should lead the people in prayer. I said, "Abū Bakr is a tender-hearted man. When he will stand in your place, he might not be able to bear [the idea of taking your place]."[1246] He repeated his order nevertheless. When I repeated my objection,[1247] he became angry and said, "You are like Joseph's women companions (*ṣawāḥib*)." Ibn Wakī' states: "[You are like] Joseph's women companions (*ṣawāḥibāt*); order Abū Bakr to lead the people in prayer." Then, he came out while he was being supported between two men,[1248] and his feet were dragging on the ground. Abū Bakr stepped backward when the Prophet approached him. The Messenger of God motioned him to
[1812] stand in his place, while he sat down and prayed sitting at the side of Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr followed the Prophet in his prayer, and the people followed Abū Bakr in their prayers. [Al-Ṭabarī]: The [exact] words in [the above account] are that of 'Īsā b. 'Uthmān.

Al-Wāqidī: I asked Ibn Abī Sabrah,[1249] "How many times did

1243. Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ died ca. 196/811–12. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 123–31.

1244. Ibid., XI, 123.

1245. Died in 251/865. Ibid., VIII, 220.

1246. In another version, 'Ā'ishah said: Abū Bakr is a tender-hearted man who weeps a lot when he recites the Qur'ān, so order 'Umar to lead the people in prayer! Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 18. In a different version reported by Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 554, it was Abū Bakr himself who suggested that let 'Umar lead the prayer. See also Lings, *Muhammad*, 339.

1247. Another version states: The reason for my objection was that the people might not like a person taking the Prophet's place. I felt that nobody would take his place without being regarded by the people as a portent of evil. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 18, 20.

1248. According to ibid., II/2, 19–20, they were either 'Abbās and 'Alī or al-Faḍl b. 'Abbās and Thawbān. All the reports that Abū Bakr was asked by the Prophet during his last illness to lead the prayer are tendentious and inconsistent. They are used by the Sunnīs to argue the succession in favor of Abū Bakr (see n. 1290 below). For the Shī'ī refutation see al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, *al-Urjūzah*, 73–76, 267–68. Although the phrase "Joseph's women companions" is in the plural, it is meant to be in the singular, that is, for 'Ā'ishah. She is compared to the Egyptian official's wife who tried to seduce Joseph. See Mirzā, *al-Balāgh*, I, 235–54, where older sources are given.

1249. Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Sabrah: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 23. He died in 162/778–79. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 27–28.

Abū Bakr lead the prayers?" "Seventeen times," he replied. I asked, "Who informed you?" "Ayyūb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ṣaʿṣaʿah,[1250] on the authority of a man among the companions of the Prophet," he replied.

Al-Wāqidī—Ibn Abī Sabrah—ʿAbd al-Majīd b. Suhayl.[1251]—ʿIkrimah: Abū Bakr led the prayers for three days.[1252]

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam[1253]—Shuʿayb b. al-Layth[1254]—al-Layth[1255]—Yazīd b. al-Hād[1256]—Mūsā b. Sarjis[1257]—al-Qāsim[1258]—ʿĀ'ishah: Before the Messenger of God died, I saw a bowl of water near him. He used to put his hand in the bowl and then wipe his face with it, saying, "O my Lord, help me [to overcome] the severity of the agony of death (*sakrat al-mawt*)."

Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-ʿAsqalānī[1259]—Ādam[1260]—al-Layth b. Saʿd—Ibn al-Hād—Mūsā b. Sarjis—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad—ʿĀ'ishah: Before the Messenger of God died I saw . . . [al-Ṭabarī:] and narrated the same [aforecited] report, except that he stated: The agonies of death (*sakarāt al-mawt*).[1261]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī—Anas b. Mālik: [1813]
On Monday, the day on which the Messenger of God died,[1262] he went out [of his house] to the people [in the mosque] while they were praying the morning prayer. He lifted the curtain, opened the door, came out, and stood at ʿĀ'ishah's door.[1263] The Muslims

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1250. On the authority of ʿAbbād b. Tamīm: Addition in Ibn Saʿd.

1251. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 380–81: ʿAbd al-Majīd b. Sahl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf(?)

1252. Ibn Saʿd, *Tabaqāt*, II/2, 23; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 556.

1253. Died in 268/881–82. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 260–62.

1254. Died in 199/814–15. Ibid., IV, 355.

1255. Layth b. Saʿd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fahmī died in 175/791–92. Ibid., VIII, 459–65.

1256. Died in 139/756–57. Ibid., XI, 339–40.

1257. Ibid., X, 345.

1258. Al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr died between 101/719–20 and 112/730–31. Ibid., VII, 333–35.

1259. Died in 260/873–74. Ibid., IX, 149.

1260. Ādam b. Abī Iyās died ca. 220/835. Ibid., I, 196.

1261. *Sakarāt* is a plural of *sakrah*. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. s-k-r.

1262. Ibn Isḥāq: The day on which God took the Messenger of God.

1263. Ibn Saʿd's report (*Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 18, 19) states that the Messenger of God lifted the curtain of his room and stood looking at us. His face [looked] like a leaf of a book (*muṣḥaf*). He then smiled.

were almost distracted from their prayers with joy when they saw the Messenger of God. He motioned [to them][1264] with his hand[1265] to continue their prayers, and smiled with joy when he saw their appearance in their prayers. I had never seen the Messenger of God in better shape before. Then he returned, and the people departed thinking that the Messenger of God had recovered from his illness. Abū Bakr [also] went back to his family in al-Sunḥ.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh[1266] b. Abī Mulaykah: On Monday, the Messenger of God came out to morning prayer with his head wrapped around while Abū Bakr was leading the people in prayer. When the Messenger of God came out, the people were delighted in looking at him. Abū Bakr knew that the people would not [be distracted from prayer] except for the Messenger of God, so he withdrew from his place. The Messenger of God pushed him in the back telling him to lead the prayer. He sat on the right side of Abū Bakr and prayed while seated. After he had completed the prayer, he turned to the people and spoke to them, raising his voice until it could be heard from outside, saying, "O people, the fire has been kindled, and dissension (*fitan*) has set in like segments of a dark night. By God, you cannot lay anything to my charge. I did not make anything lawful for you except what was made lawful by the Qur'ān. I did not make anything unlawful for you except what was forbidden by the Qur'ān." After he had finished his speech, Abū Bakr said to
[1814] him, "O Prophet of God, I see that this morning, with the grace of God and His bounty, [you have recovered] as we desire. Today is the day of Bint Khārijah.[1267] May I go to her?"[1268] Then the Messenger of God went to [his house] and Abū Bakr left for his family in Sunḥ.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtbah—al-Zuhrī—ʿUrwah—ʿĀ'ishah: That day, after the Messenger of God

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1264. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.
1265. With his hand: Omitted from Ibn Isḥāq.
1266. ʿUbaydallāh: Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 32.
1267. She was from Balḥārith of al-Khazraj. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 17.
1268. "Yes," [the Messenger of God] replied: Addition in Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq. See also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 558–59.

had gone to the mosque, he returned[1269] and lay down in my lap. A man from the family of Abū Bakr[1270] came to me, and he had a fresh *siwāk* in his hand. The Messenger of God looked at it in such a way that I knew [that] he wanted it.[1271] I took it, chewed it until I had softened it and gave it to him. He rubbed his teeth with it more energetically than I had [ever][1272] seen him doing it before. Then he put it down, and I found him getting heavy in my lap. When I looked into his face his eyes were fixed while he was saying, "Nay, the most Exalted Companion is that of paradise." I said, "By Him who sent you with the truth, you were given the choice, and you have chosen," and he died.[1273]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. al-Zubayr[1274]—his father ʿAbbād:[1275] I heard ʿĀ'ishah saying, "The Messenger of God died on my bosom during my turn, and I did not wrong anyone in regard to him.[1276] It was because of my ignorance and youthfulness that the Messenger of God died while he was in my lap. Then I laid his head on a pillow and got up beating my chest and slapping my face along with the women.

An Account of the Day on Which the Messenger of God Died and His Age [1815]

Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī]: There is no disagreement among those knowledgeable about the day on which the Messenger of God died. [They agree that] it was Monday in the month of Rabīʿ I. They disagree, however, as to which Monday [it was that] he died. [An account of what] some of them said [is as follows].

1269. To me: Addition in Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq. And entered my room: Addition in Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 30.

1270. In a different version, Ibn Saʿd, loc. cit., states that he was ʿĀ'ishah's brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

1271. I asked, "O Messenger of God, do you want me to give it to you?" "Yes," he replied: Addition in Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

1272. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq. Lings, *Muhammad*, 341.

1273. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 548.

1274. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 234–35.

1275. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr. Ibid., V, 98.

1276. Some traditions state that the Messenger of God died on ʿAlī's bosom. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 30, 49–51.

Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ṣaq'ab b. Zuhayr—the jurists of al-Ḥijāz: The Messenger of God died at noon on Monday, the second of Rabī' I. The oath of allegiance was given to Abū Bakr on Monday, the very day on which the Prophet died.

Al-Wāqidī: [The Messenger of God] died on Monday, the twelfth of Rabī I.[1277] He was buried the following day around midday, after the sun had declined, and this day was Tuesday.[1278]

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] The Messenger of God died while 'Umar was present and Abū Bakr was in al-Sunḥ.[1279]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī—Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib[1280]—Abū Hurayrah: When the Messenger of God died, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb stood up saying, "Some of the hypocrites allege that the Messenger of God is dead. By God, he is not dead,
[1816] but has gone to his Lord as Moses b. 'Imrān went and remained hidden from his people for forty days. Moses returned after it was said that he had died. By God, the Messenger of God will [also] return[1281] and will cut off the hands and feet of those who allege that he is dead."

When the news [of the Prophet's death] reached Abū Bakr, he came and dismounted near the door of the mosque [where] 'Umar was speaking to the people. He paid no attention to anything and went [straight] to the Messenger of God in 'Ā'ishah's house where he was lying in a corner covered by a striped garment of the Yemenī fabric. Abū Bakr went close [to the Prophet], uncovered his face, kissed him, then said, "With my father may you be ransomed, and with my mother! Indeed, you have tasted the death which God had decreed for you. No [other] death will ever overtake you." Then he replaced the cloth on [the Prophet's] face and went out as 'Umar was speaking to the people. He said, "Gently, O 'Umar, [and] be silent!" 'Umar refused [to be silent] and kept on speaking. When Abū Bakr saw that he would not listen, he went forward to the people [speaking]. When they heard his

1277. For different reports, see Ibid., II/2, 57–58; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 568.

1278. Some reports state that he was buried on Wednesday. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 58; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 568.

1279. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 52–53.

1280. Died ca. 93/711–12. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 84–88.

1281. As Moses returned: Addition in Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

words, they came to him and left 'Umar. After praising God and extolling Him, he said, "O people, those who worshipped Muḥammad, [must know that] Muḥammad is dead; those who worshipped God, [must know that] God is alive [and] immortal." He then recited the verse: "Muḥammad is only a messenger; and many a messenger has gone before him. So if he dies or is killed, will you turn back on your heels? He who turns back on his heels will do no harm to God; and God will reward the grateful."[1282] By God, it was as if the people did not know that this verse was revealed to the Messenger of God until Abū Bakr recited it that day. The people took it from him, and it was [constantly] in their mouths. 'Umar said, "By God, as soon as I heard Abū Bakr recite [1817] it, my legs betrayed me so that I fell to the ground, and my legs would not bear me. I knew that the Messenger of God had indeed died."[1283]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr[1284]—Mughīrah[1285]—Abū Ma'shar Ziyād b. Kulayb[1286]—Abū Ayyūb—Ibrāhīm: When the Messenger of God died, Abū Bakr was not present, and he came after three [hours].[1287] No one dared to uncover the Messenger of God's face until his exterior turned ashen. [When] Abū Bakr [came, he] uncovered [the Prophet's] face, kissed [his forehead] between his two eyes, and said, "With my father may you be ransomed, and with my mother! How good you were while alive, and how good you are when you are dead!" Then he went out, praised God and extolled Him, saying, "Whoever worships God, God is alive and immortal; whoever worships Muḥammad, Muḥammad is dead." Then he recited: "Muḥammad is only a messenger; and many a messenger has gone before him. So if he dies or is killed, will you turn back on your heels? He who turns back on his heels will do no harm to God; and God will reward the grateful."[1288] 'Umar was telling [the people that] the Prophet was not dead and he was

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1282. Qur'ān 3:144.

1283. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 54–55. See also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 563, 565–66.

1284. Jarīr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ḍabbī died in 188/804. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 75–77.

1285. Mughīrah b. Miqsam al-Ḍabbī died ca. 134/751–52. Ibid., X, 269–71.

1286. Died ca. 120/738. Ibid., III, 382.

1287. The specification of number [*tamyīz*] is missing. It could be three hours, three prayers, or three deputations. See 'Abd al-Maqṣūd, *al-Saqīfah*, 16.

1288. Qur'ān 3:144.

threatening to kill [those who maintained that the Prophet was dead].

The *Anṣār* gathered in a roofed building (*saqīfah*)[1289] of the Banū Sā'idah to render their oath of allegiance to Sa'd b. 'Ubādah. This news reached Abū Bakr, so he came to them with 'Umar and Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ, asking [them] why [they had gathered]. They replied, "Let us have a ruler (*amīr*) from us and another from you." Abū Bakr said, "The rulers (*umarā'*) will be from us, and the viziers (*wuzarā'*) from you." Abū Bakr then added, "I am pleased [to offer] you one of these two men: 'Umar or Abū 'Ubaydah. Some people came to the Prophet asking him to send a trustworthy man with them. The Messenger of God said that he
[1818] would send a truly trustworthy man with them, and he sent Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ. I am pleased [to offer] you Abū 'Ubaydah." 'Umar stood up saying, "Who among you would be agreeable to leave Abū Bakr whom the Prophet gave precedence?"[1290] and he gave him the oath of allegiance. The people followed ['Umar]. The *Anṣār* said, or some of them said, "We will not give the oath of allegiance [to anyone] except 'Alī."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr—Mughīrah—Ziyād b. Kulayb: 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb came to the house of 'Alī. Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, and some of the *Muhājirūn* were [also] in the house [with 'Alī]. 'Umar cried out, "By God, either you come out to render the oath of allegiance [to

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1289. A rectangular building of one storey consisting merely of a number of pillars with a clay roof, but open at all sides. It seems to have been the clan's gathering place. Serjeant, "Translation," 10.

Abū Bakr's election took place in this building, hence the event surrounding his election is named "The Saqīfah" after it. Following the Prophet's death, the *Anṣār*, who had grown resentful of the growing influence of the Quraysh, met there to deliberate on the critical leadership crisis that had arisen. The common view among the early Muslim historians is that the crisis was averted by the resolute action of three prominent *Muhājirūn*: Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and Abū 'Ubaydah, and that their success was facilitated by the jealousies among the *Anṣār*. The sources, as pointed out by Lammens, "Triumvirate," also suggest an alliance between those three *Muhājirūn*. Moreover, all of them, being close advisers to the Prophet, carried considerable influence and prestige in the emerging Islamic polity. For an analysis of the early sources and an intelligent reconstruction of the events, see Jafri, *Origins*, 27–57. Shoufani, *al-Riddah*, 48–70, who has reexamined the earlier sources, states that Abū Bakr was elected mainly because he was supported by the newly converted Meccan aristocracy. See also Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 327–28; Momen, *Shi'i Islam*, 18–20.

1290. The reference is to Abū Bakr's leading the prayer. See n. 1248 above.

Abū Bakr], or I will set the house on fire." Al-Zubayr came out with his sword drawn. As he stumbled [upon something], the sword fell from his hand, so they jumped over him and seized him.[1291]

Zakariyyā' b. Yaḥyā al-Ḍarīr—Abū 'Awānah[1292]—Dāwūd b. 'Abdallāh al-Awdī[1293]—Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥimyarī:[1294] When the Messenger of God died, Abū Bakr was in a detached part of Medina. He came, uncovered [the Prophet's] face, and kissed him, saying, "May my father and mother be your ransom! How good you are both living and dead! [I swear] by the Lord of the Ka'bah that Muḥammad is dead." Then he went to the pulpit and found 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb standing [there], threatening the people and saying, "The Messenger of God is alive and not dead. He will [return], go out after those who spread lies about him, cut off their hands and strike their necks and crucify them." Abū Bakr asked him to be silent, but he refused to listen, so Abū Bakr spoke, saying that God had revealed to His Prophet: "Verily, you will die, and so will they. Then on the Day of Resurrection you will [1819] dispute before your Lord."[1295] [Then] he said: "Muḥammad is only a messenger; and many a messenger has gone before him. So if he dies or is killed, will you turn back on your heels? He who turns back on his heels will do no harm to God; and God will reward the grateful.[1296] He who [formerly] worshiped Muḥammad, [then] the deity whom he worshiped is dead. He who [formerly] worshiped God, Who has no associate, [then] God is alive [and] immortal." Some people from among the companions of Muḥammad, whose

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1291. Although the timing of the events is not clear, it seems that 'Alī and his group came to know about the *Saqīfah* after what had happened there. At this point, his supporters gathered in Fāṭimah's house. Abū Bakr and 'Umar, fully aware of 'Alī's claims and fearing a serious threat from his supporters, summoned him to the mosque to swear the oath of allegiance. 'Alī refused, and so the house was surrounded by an armed band led by Abū Bakr and 'Umar, who threatened to set it on fire if 'Alī and his supporters refused to come out and swear allegiance to Abū Bakr. The scene grew violent and Fāṭimah was furious. For details, see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 582–86; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 116; (Pseudo-) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah*, I, 19–20; Ṭabarsī, *Iḥtijāj*, I, 108–9; *Nahj al-balāghah*, II, 21, 45, 46, 47, 50, 56; Jafri, *Origins*, 50–51; Momen, *Shi'i Islam*, 19.

1292. Died ca. 176/792–93. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 116–20.

1293. Ibid., III, 191.

1294. Ibid., III, 46.

1295. Qur'ān 39:31–32.

1296. Ibid., 3:144.

time we had reached, affirmed that they did not know that those two verses were revealed until Abū Bakr recited them that day.

Then, a man suddenly came running and said, "Listen to me, the *Anṣār* have gathered in a roofed building (*ẓullah*)[1297] of the Banū Sā'idah to give their oath of allegiance to one of their men. They say: Let us have a ruler from us and let Quraysh have another from them." Abū Bakr and 'Umar rushed away (as though each of them led the other) until they came to them. 'Umar wanted to speak but Abū Bakr stopped him so he said, "I will not disobey the Prophet's successor (*khalīfah*) twice in a day." Abū Bakr spoke and did not leave out anything that was either revealed about the *Anṣār* or was said by the Messenger of God with regard to their fine qualities. He said, "You know that the Messenger of God said, 'If the people took one way and the *Anṣār* another, I would take *Anṣār*'s path.' O Sa'd, you know that the Messenger of God had said, while you were sitting, that Quraysh were the masters of this authority. The righteous follow their kind, and the wicked follow theirs." Sa'd replied, "You have spoken the truth. We are the viziers and you are the rulers."[1298] 'Umar said, "Stretch out your hand, O Abū Bakr, so that I may give you the oath of allegiance." Abū Bakr replied, "Nay, rather you, O 'Umar. You are stronger than I [to bear the responsibility]." 'Umar was indeed the stronger of the two. Each of them wanted the other to stretch his hand so that he could strike the bargain with him.[1299] 'Umar stretched Abū Bakr's hand saying, "My power is for you with your power," and the people gave their oath
[1820] of allegiance. They demanded confirmation of the oath, but 'Alī and al-Zubayr stayed away. Al-Zubayr drew his sword (from the scabbard), saying, "I will not put it back until the oath of allegiance is rendered to 'Alī." [When] this news reached Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the latter said, "Hit him with a stone and seize the

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1297. Literally, it means a thing which covers or protects one overhead as a building, or a cloud. It is a roofed building, like *Saqīfah* (see n. 1289 above). Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ẓ-l-l. Cf. Fahd, *Divination*, 136.

1298. Ḥubāb b. al-Mundhir replied [to Abū Bakr's speech], "No. By God, we will never accept that. Let us have a ruler from us and another from you." Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 55.

1299. *Ḍaraba 'alā yadihi* is an idiom meaning to strike a bargain, or to ratify the sale. When two persons were bargaining, it was a custom for one of them to put his hand upon the other's in ratifying the bargain. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ḍ-r-b.

sword."[1300] It is stated that 'Umar rushed [to the scene], brought them forcibly [while] telling them that they must give their oath of allegiance willingly, or unwillingly. So they rendered their oath of allegiance.

An Account of the Saqīfah[1301]

'Alī b. Muslim[1302]—'Abbād b. 'Abbād[1303]—'Abbād b. Rāshid[1304]—al-Zuhrī—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah—Ibn 'Abbās:[1305] I used to teach 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf [how] to read the Qur'ān. 'Umar made the pilgrimage,[1306] and we did so with him. While I was waiting in a station (*manzil*) in Minā, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf came to me saying, "Today I saw a man[1307] who came to the Commander of the Faithful [i.e., 'Umar] and said, 'I have heard so-and-so[1308] saying: If the Commander of the Faithful is dead I would give my oath of allegiance to so-and-so,'[1309] The Commander of the Faithful said that he would get up among the people that evening and warn them against the group of people who want to usurp their power." I said, "O Commander of the Faithful, the pilgrimage brings together the riffraff and the rabble; they are the ones who will dominate over your assem-

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1300. Zubayr was in Fāṭimah's house. See n. 1291 above; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 116; *Nahj al-balāghah*, II, 56–57.

1301. The following account of the *Saqīfah*, especially the speech of 'Umar, is analyzed and compared with other sources by Jafri, *Origins*, 29ff. Ṭabarī also gives another account of the *Saqīfah* on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf, see I, 1837–45.

1302. Died in 253/867. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 382–83.

1303. Ibid., V, 95–96.

1304. Ibid., V, 92–93.

1305. The account of *Saqīfah* is reported by Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, IV, 307–11, on the following chain of authorities: 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr—al-Zuhrī—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh—Ibn 'Abbās.

1306. During the last pilgrimage made by 'Umar: Ibn Isḥāq.

1307. Ibn Isḥāq: I wish you could have seen a man.

1308. According to Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 581, this was Zubayr, and the person whom he wanted to hail as caliph was 'Alī. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, on the other hand, reports that the person who said it, according to al-Jāḥiẓ, was 'Ammār b. Yāsir or, according to *ahl al-ḥadīth*, Ṭalḥah; but the person they wanted to hail as caliph was 'Alī. It was thus 'Alī's name that made 'Umar disturbed and caused him to deliver a fiery speech.

1309. Ibn Isḥāq adds: By God, the oath of allegiance given to Abū Bakr was nothing but a *faltah* [an event that happened without consideration], which was ratified [later]. 'Umar became angry and said. . . .

bly.[1310] I am afraid lest you should say something today which they might neither heed, nor remember, nor put it in its context and spread it everywhere; so wait until you[1311] come to Medina [which is][1312] the place of refuge [*dār al-hijrah*] and a seat of the *sunnah*. [There] you can confer privately with the Messenger of God's companions,[1313] both the Emigrants and the *Anṣār*. You
[1821] can say what you will with firmness, they will retain your words and interpret them properly." He replied, "By God, I will do it at the first opportunity which I get in Medina."

After we arrived in Medina,[1314] I journeyed on Friday at midday [to listen to] the report which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had narrated to me. I found that Saʿīd b. Zayd had already preceded me [to the mosque],[1315] so I sat at his side near the pulpit, my knee to his knee. Immediately after the sun had declined, ʿUmar came. As he was coming I said to Saʿīd, "The Commander of the Faithful will say something today from this pulpit which he has not said[1316] before." Saʿīd became angry, retorting,[1317] "What is he going to say that he has not said before?" When ʿUmar sat in the pulpit, the muezzin[1318] called to prayer. After the muezzin had finished his call to prayer, ʿUmar stood up. He praised God, extolled Him and said, "Now then: I want to say something which has been decreed that I should say.[1319] He who takes heed of it, understands it and will remember it. Let him relate it wherever he goes, [but] he who takes no heed of it, I do not permit him to lie [to someone that I did not say it]. God sent Muḥammad with truth and revealed the Book to him. The verse concerning the stoning [of adulterers] was among [the verses] which were revealed to him.[1320] The Messenger of God stoned [adulterers], and we

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1310. Your proximity: Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

1311. Kos: We.

1312. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

1313. Ibn Isḥāq: With the people of knowledge (*ahl al-fiqh*) and the nobles.

1314. Ibn Isḥāq: We arrived in Medina toward the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah.

1315. Ibn Isḥāq: I found Saʿīd b. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl sitting in the corner of the pulpit.

1316. Ibn Isḥāq: Since he succeeded [to the caliphate].

1317. Ibn Isḥāq: Saʿīd was annoyed at me and said, "What may he perhaps say that he has not said before?"

1318. As in Kos. Text: Muezzins. It seems that with the increasing population of Medina, especially since ʿUthmān's caliphate, more than one muezzin were employed. Cf. Ibn Shabbah, *Taʾrīkh*, III, 958ff.

1319. Ibn Isḥāq adds: I do not know, perhaps my appointed time (*ajal*) is close.

1320. Ibn Isḥāq adds: We read it; it was taught to us, and we heeded it.

stoned them after him. I am afraid that as time becomes prolonged some people might say that they do not find stoning in God's Book, and [thereby] they might go astray by forsaking an obligatory act (*farīḍah*) revealed by God.[1321] We used to say:[1322] 'Do not detest your ancestors for it is infidelity to do so.'[1323]

"It has reached me that someone[1324] of you said, 'If the Commander of the Faithful[1325] is dead, I will give the oath of alle-

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1321. Ibn Isḥāq adds: Stoning in the Book of God is a penalty laid on married men and women who commit adultery, if evidence stands, or confession is made, or [it] results in pregnancy.

The alleged verse about stoning read: "Do not detest your ancestors, for it is infidelity to do so. If an adult man (*al-shaykh*) or woman (*al-shaykhah*) commit adultery, stone them without exception as a chastisement from God. God is Mighty and Wise." It is suggested that this verse was a part of the Qur'ān, and that it originally belonged to *sūrah* 33, but was later abrogated. See Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, I, 248–52, where older sources are cited. Schacht doubts that the verse is genuine and states that the traditions relating to it and the mention of 'Umar are clearly tendentious. He suggests that stoning was introduced from Jewish law. *EI*[1], s.v. Zinā'.

Burton (*Collection of the Qur'ān*, 72–86, 134ff.) contends that the *ḥadīth* about the stoning penalty for adultery and the stoning verse, classified in the third category of *naskh* (i.e., *naskh al-tilāwah dūna al-ḥukm*, the suppression of a Qur'ānic verse without prejudice, however, to the continuing validity of its ruling for legal purposes), were most probably fashioned by the dictates of Islamic legal science, *uṣūl al-fiqh*. He further contends that the latter has also shaped Islamic accounts of the history of the collection of the Qur'ānic texts, in which the Prophet is said to have been deliberately excluded from the task of collecting revelations because *naskh* (withdrawal) was a possibility as long as he lived.

In the Qur'ān 24:2, scourging is prescribed as a punishment for adultery. It states: "Flog both the adulterous woman and the adulterous man with a hundred lashes, and do not let any pity for either of them deter you from [complying with] God's law, if you believe in God and the Last Day." Both the flogging and stoning remained as a punishment combined with a year's banishment. In some traditions and the system of law, stoning and flogging are separated as punishment (*ḥadd*) for adultery in two categories of criminals, whether they are *muḥṣan* (an adult in possession of his faculties, who is free and has had sexual intercourse in a legal marriage) or not. Generally, the non-*muḥṣan* is flogged, while the *muḥṣan* is flogged and then stoned, or stoned.

Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, II, 439–40, 712–13; III, 1115, states that the Prophet prohibited a man long absent from his home to come to his family at night. One of his followers disobeyed his command and returned to his family, and discovered a man with his wife. The cases mentioned by Wāqidī do not suggest that the parties involved were stoned. See also Qur'ān 4:15, 25; Ṭabarī, above, I, 1754, n. 772.

1322. Ibn Isḥāq: We used to read in what we read from the Book of God.

1323. Ibn Isḥāq adds: Indeed, the Messenger of God said, "Do not praise me lavishly as Jesus, son of Mary, was praised, and say: The servant of God and His messenger."

1324. Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 581): Al-Zubayr.

1325. Ibn Isḥāq: If 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Cf. Balādhurī.

[1822] giance to so-and-so.'[1326] Let a man not deceive himself by saying that the oath of allegiance given to Abū Bakr was an event that happened without consideration (*faltah*).[1327] Admittedly it was so, but God averted its evil. There is none among you like Abū Bakr to whom people would have submitted.[1328] It is our information that when God took His prophet, 'Alī, al-Zubayr, and those who were with them stayed away from us in the house of Fāṭimah;[1329] the *Anṣār*, all of them, stayed away from us;[1330] and the *Muhājirūn* gathered round Abū Bakr. I told him that we should go to our brothers the *Anṣār*, so we rushed off, making for them. Two pious fellows[1331] who had been present at Badr met us,[1332] asking where we were going. When we told them that we were going to our brothers the *Anṣār*, they asked us to go back[1333] and to decide our affair among ourselves. We replied, 'By God, we will go to them.' We came to them as they had gathered in the hall of the Banū Sā'idah. In their midst was a man enwrapped in a cloak. When I asked who he was and what was his position, they said that he was Sa'd b. 'Ubādah and that he was ill.[1334] Then, a man from them stood up.[1335] After he had praised God he said, 'We are the Helpers[1336] (*al-Anṣār*) and the squadron of Islam, while you, O men of Quraysh,[1337] are a family of our Prophet[1338]

1326. Balādhurī: We will give the oath of allegiance to 'Alī. Indeed, the oath of allegiance given to Abū Bakr was a *faltah*. (*Faltah* means a sudden, unexpected event without deliberation. See *Nahj al-balāghah*, II, 26; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. f-l-t.)

1327. Ibn Isḥāq adds: But it was ratified.

1328. Ibn Isḥāq adds: An oath of allegiance rendered by an individual to a man without consulting the Muslims has no validity for either of them; both are in danger of being killed [i.e., subject to the death penalty].

1329. See above, n. 1291.

1330. Ibn Isḥāq: The *Anṣār* opposed us and gathered with their nobles in the *Saqīfah* of the Banū Sā'idah.

1331. For their names, see Ṭabarī, below, I, 1824.

1332. Ibn Isḥāq adds: Telling us what [their] people had decided.

1333. Ibn Isḥāq: They said that there was no need for them to approach [the *Anṣār*], and they should decide their affair [among themselves].

1334. For his speech and as to what was transpiring in that gathering, see Ṭabarī, below, I, 1837–39.

1335. Ibn Isḥāq: After we had sat down, their speaker [stood up] pronouncing the *shahādah*. According to Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 113, he was Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās.

1336. Ibn Isḥāq: The Helpers of God.

1337. Ibn Isḥāq: O *Muhājirūn*.

1338. Ibn Isḥāq: Family of ours.

who have come to us journeying leisurely in search of herbage and sustenance.' ['Umar] said: When I saw that they wanted to cut us off from our root and wrest authority from us,[1339] I wanted to make a speech which I had composed in my mind.[1340] As I used to treat Abū Bakr with gentle courtesy to some extent, [and considered] him more sober and gentler[1341] than me, I conferred with [1823] him about [the speech]. When I wanted to speak he said, 'Gently!' so I did not like to disobey[1342] him. He stood up, praised God, extolled Him and did not leave anything [from his speech], which I myself had composed in my [own] mind if I had spoken, but that he expressed it, or [expressed it] in a better way [than I would have done].

"He said: 'Now then: O men of the *Anṣār*, you deserve all the fine qualities that you have mentioned about yourselves, but the Arabs will not recognize this authority except in this clan of Quraysh, for they represent the best in lineage and standing.[1343] I am pleased [to offer] you one of these two men; render your oath of allegiance to any one of them you like.' [Thus saying,] he took hold of my hand and that of Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ.[1344] By

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1339. Ibn Isḥāq adds: After [their speaker] had finished, I wanted to speak.

1340. Ibn Isḥāq adds: Which pleased me.

1341. Hisch.: Knowledgeable.

1342. Hisch., Kos, and Ibn Isḥāq: To make him angry.

1343. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 582, cites the speech of Abū Bakr which shows how he argued against the *Anṣār*. He states: "We are the first people to accept Islam. We are in the center among the Muslims with respect to our position, and we are the noblest with respect to our lineage, and we are the nearest to the Messenger of God in relationship. You are our brethren in Islam and our partners in religion .... The Arabs will not submit themselves except to this clan of Quraysh. .... You had better not compete against your *Muhājirūn* brethren for what God has decreed for them."

1344. Ibn Isḥāq adds: Who was sitting between us. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 113–14, adds: Both of them declined and said, "By God, we cannot take precedence over you while you are the companion of the Messenger of God and the second of the two [in the cave at the time of the *hijrah*]." Abū 'Ubaydah put his hand upon Abū Bakr's hand and 'Umar did the same [in ratifying their bargain]. The Meccans who were with them did the same. Then Abū 'Ubaydah cried, "O people of the *Anṣār*, you were the first to help [the Prophet] so do not be the first to change and convert [back to paganism]." Next, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf stood up and said, "O people of the *Anṣār*, although you have the merits, you do not have among you [anyone] like Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Alī." [Thereupon] Mundhir b. al-Arqam stood up saying, "We do not deny the merits of those you have mentioned. Indeed, there is among

God, I liked everything he said except the last words. I would have preferred myself to be sent forward and my head struck off—if it were not considered a sin—rather than to be appointed a ruler over a people of whom Abū Bakr was one.

"After Abū Bakr had finished his speech, a man from the *Anṣār*[1345] stood up saying, 'I am their much-rubbed little rubbing post and their little palm tree loaded with fruit.[1346] Let us have a ruler from us and another from you, O men of Quraysh.' ['Umar] said,[1347] "Voices rose and clamorous speech waxed hotter. I feared [total] disagreement so I said to Abū Bakr, 'Stretch out your hand [so that] I may give you the oath of allegiance.' He did so and I gave [him] the oath of allegiance; the *Muhājirūn* followed and then the *Anṣār*. [In so doing] we jumped on Sa'd b. 'Ubādah so someone said that we had killed him. I said, '[May] God kill him!'[1348] By God, nothing was mightier than the rendering of the oath of allegiance to Abū Bakr. We feared that if [we] left [without rendering the oath of allegiance], no agreement would be hammered out later. It was either to follow the *Anṣār* in what we did not like, or else to oppose them, which would have led to disorder (*fasād*)."

[1824] Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī—'Urwah b. al-Zubayr: One of the two men from the *Anṣār* whom Abū Bakr and 'Umar met on their way to the *Saqīfah* was 'Uwaym b. Sā'idah, whilst the other was Ma'n b. 'Adī, a brother of the Banū

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you a person with whom, if he seeks this authority, none will dispute [i.e., 'Alī]." It seems that at this stage Ḥubāb b. Mundhir al-Anṣārī proposed a compromise solution as stated by 'Umar.

1345. He was al-Ḥubāb b. Mundhir. Ṭabarī, I, 1840, 1844; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 581–82, 584; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, I, 316.

1346. It means: I am one of those by means of whose counsel people seek relief, like the mangy camels seek relief from their mange by rubbing themselves against the post. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, I, 47–48; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. j-dh-l.

1347. Ṭabarī, I, 1841, records 'Umar's reply to Ḥubāb's proposal as follows: How preposterous! Two [swords] cannot be accommodated in one sheath. By God, the Arabs will never accept your rule, since their Prophet is not from you, but they will not reject the rule of one from whom is their Prophet. If anyone refuses our authority, we will [produce] a clear rebuttal and an evident proof. Who would dispute us with regard to Muḥammad's authority and rule except the falsely guided one, or the erring one, or the damned one, when we are his close associates and kinsfolk? Cf. also *Nahj al-balāghah*, II, 52–53.

1348. What follows is omitted from Ibn Isḥāq.

al-ʿIjlān. As for ʿUwaym b. Sāʿidah, we have heard that when the Messenger of God was asked who were the people about whom God said: "Therein [i.e., in a mosque] are men who love to be purified; and God loves those who purify themselves,"[1349] he replied that the best of them was ʿUwaym b. Sāʿidah. As for Maʿn, it has reached us that when people wept over the Messenger of God's death and said that they wished that they had died before him because they feared that they would be subjected to temptations after him, he said, "By God, I do not wish to die before him, so that I can bear witness to his truth when he is dead, as I did when he was alive." Maʿn was killed in the battle of al-Yamāmah, the battle against Musaylimah, the arch-liar, as a martyr during Abū Bakr's caliphate.

ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿīd al-Zuhrī—his uncle Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm—Sayf b. ʿUmar—al-Walīd b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Ẓaybah al-Bajalī—al-Walīd b. Jumayʿ al-Zuhrī: ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth asked Saʿīd b. Zayd, "Were you present at [the time of] the Messenger of God's death?" "Yes," he replied. ʿAmr asked, "When was the oath of allegiance given to Abū Bakr?" "The [very] day the Messenger of God died," he replied. "People disliked to be left [even] part of the day without being [organized] into a community (*jamāʿah*)." ʿAmr asked, "Did anyone oppose him?" "No [one] except an apostate (*murtadd*), or the one who was about to apostatize," he replied. "It was because God rescued them from the *Anṣār*." ʿAmr asked, 'Did anyone from the *Muhājirūn* stay away?' "No, they followed [1825]
one another to give their oath of allegiance without being summoned," he replied.

ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿīd [al-Zuhrī]—his uncle [Yaʿqūb]—Sayf [b. ʿUmar]—ʿAbd al-ʿAziz b. Siyāh[1350]—Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit:[1351] ʿAlī was in his house when he was approached and was told that Abū Bakr had sat to receive the oath of allegiance. He went out immediately in the shirt [worn beneath the clothes] he was wearing without the waist-wrapper, or the outer wrapping garment, out of

1349. Qur'ān 9:108.
1350. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 340–41.
1351. Died in 119/737. Ibid., II, 178–80.

dislike that he might be late. He gave the oath of allegiance,[1352] sat with Abū Bakr, and sent for his clothes. When [the clothes] were brought he put them on and stayed in [Abū Bakr's] assembly.

Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ḍirārī—'Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām[1353]—Ma'mar[1354]—al-Zuhrī—'Urwah—'Ā'ishah: Fāṭimah and al-'Abbās came to Abū Bakr demanding their [share of] inheritance of the Messenger of God. They were demanding the Messenger of God's land in Fadak and his share of Khaybar['s tribute].[1355] Abū Bakr replied, "I have heard the Messenger of God say: 'Our [i.e., the prophets' property] cannot be inherited and whatever we leave behind is alms [i.e., to be given in charity]. The family of Muḥammad will eat from it.'[1356] By God, I will not abandon a course which I saw the Messenger of God practicing, but will continue doing it accordingly." Fāṭimah shunned him and did not speak to him about it until she died. 'Alī buried her at night and did not permit Abū Bakr to attend [her burial].[1357] While Fāṭimah was alive, 'Alī held respect among the people. After she died, their

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1352. A close scrutiny of the early sources suggests that 'Alī refused to swear allegiance to Abū Bakr for six months, that is, for as long as Fāṭimah was alive. After her death and with the eruption of rebellion among the Arab tribes, 'Alī might have been compelled to become reconciled with Abū Bakr. Jafri, *Origins*, 59; Momen, *Shi'i Islam*, 20.

1353. Died in 211/826–27. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 310–15.

1354. Ma'mar b. Rāshid al-Azdī died ca. 152/769. Ibid., X, 243–46.

1355. Fadak was allocated to Muḥammad, because it had been acquired by treaty. The inhabitants, according to the treaty, were to remain there while giving up half their lands and half the produce. Fāṭimah maintained that Fadak, like Muḥammad's fifth share (*khums*) of the produce from Khaybar, should come to her as her father's heiress. This question of inheritance soon became one of the most debated issues in the conflict between the Shī'īs and the Sunnīs. For its subsequent history, see *EI*[2], s.v. Fadak. See also Ṭabarī, above, I, 1759, n. 825.

1356. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 209; Mishkat (trans. Robson), II, 1310; transmitted by both Bukhārī and Muslim. The Shī'īs refute this tradition, saying that it contradicts the Qur'ānic teachings on family inheritance.

It was the first and most important step taken by both Abū Bakr and 'Umar in their attempts to displace the Banū Hāshim, and especially 'Alī, from their prerogatives in the leadership of the Muslim polity. Acceptance of this claim of inheritance based on family ties would have opened the door widely to 'Alī's right to the succession. Moreover, the income from both these sources was considerable, and it would have given some leverage to 'Alī. Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 176–218; Jafri, *Origins*, 14–16, 63. For Fāṭimah's reply and refutation, see Ṭabarsī, *Iḥtijāj*, I, 119–49.

1357. Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 196–97; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 29; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 117; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 250.

attention turned away from him.[1358] Fāṭimah continued to live for six months after the Messenger of God's [death] and then died.

Ma'mar: A man asked al-Zuhrī, "Did 'Alī not give his oath of allegiance for six months?" "No, nor anyone of the Banū Hāshim until 'Alī rendered his," he replied.[1359] When 'Alī saw that the people's attention had turned away from him, he begged for reconciliation with Abū Bakr. He sent to the latter, [asking him] to visit him, and [requesting] that nobody should accompany him. 'Alī disliked that 'Umar should come with Abū Bakr, for he knew 'Umar's rudeness. 'Umar said [to Abū Bakr], "Don't go alone." Abū Bakr replied, "By God, I will go alone. It is not possible that [the Banū Hāshim] might do anything to me," and he went. He entered into 'Alī's presence while the Banū Hāshim had gathered with him. 'Alī stood up, praised God and extolled Him with what is due to Him. Then he said, "It is neither the denial of your good qualities nor the rivalry of good, which God has given you, that prevented us from giving you the oath of allegiance, but the fact that we considered that we have a right in this authority which you have monopolized." 'Alī then mentioned his relationship with the Messenger of God and the rights of the Banū Hāshim. He continued speaking until Abū Bakr wept. After 'Alī stopped, Abū Bakr pronounced the *shahādah*, praised God, extolled Him with what is due to Him, then said, "By God, the relationship of the Messenger of God is dearer to me [too]. I reach [him] through my relationship [to him]. By God, I did not fall short of doing what was requisite with regard to this property [i.e., the Prophet's inheritance], which became [a dispute] between you and me except for good. I had heard the Messenger of God saying: 'Our [i.e., the prophets' property] cannot be inherited and whatever we leave behind is alms [i.e., to be given in charity]. The family of Muḥammad will eat from it.' God forbid that I should recall a thing which the Messenger of God did without doing it, God willing!" 'Alī said that he would render the oath of allegiance that evening. After Abū Bakr had prayed the noon prayers, he approached the people and excused 'Alī with his apology. 'Alī stood up, lauded the right [1826]

1358. *Nahj al-balāghah*, II, 22; also reported by Bukhārī and Muslim.

1359. Most of the authorities state that 'Alī did not render his oath of allegiance until after Fāṭimah's death. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 116; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 308; *Nahj al-balāghah*, II, 22.

of Abū Bakr by mentioning his fine qualities and his precedence and went to him, giving the oath of allegiance. The people came
[1827] to ʿAlī saying that he had done the right thing.[1360] ʿĀ'ishah said: The people got close to ʿAlī when he came close to what was right [i.e., in rendering his oath of allegiance to Abū Bakr].

Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Ṣafwān al-Thaqafī[1361]—Abū Qutaybah[1362]—Mālik (that is Ibn Mighwal)—Ibn al-Jarr: Abū Sufyān[1363] said to ʿAlī, "What is the matter, that this authority had been vested in a least-known clan of Quraysh?[1364] By God, if you wish, I will fill [the whole space] with men and horses." ʿAlī replied, "O Abū Sufyān, for a long time you have been at war with Islam and the Muslims, but you have been unable to do any harm. We find Abū Bakr worthy of this authority."[1365]

Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-Thaqafī—Umayyah b. Khālid[1366]—Ḥammād b. Salamah[1367]—Thābit:[1368] When Abū Bakr succeeded [the Prophet], Abū Sufyān said, "What has Abū Faṣīl[1369] to do with us? Indeed, the authority belongs to the Banū ʿAbd Manāf."[1370] [When his son Yazīd became the governor], it was said to

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1360. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 586. This report is on the authority of ʿĀ'ishah.

1361. Died ca. 252/866. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 337–38.

1362. Died ca. 200/815–16. Ibid., IV, 133–34.

1363. Some reports state that, being appointed by the Prophet as his agent over Najrān, he was not present in Medina when the Prophet died. Wāqidī, on the other hand, affirms that he was in Medina. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 529, 589.

1364. Abū Bakr came from the inconspicuous clan of Taym, which was never a major factor in the power struggle among the rival clans of Quraysh. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 4–8, 16–20.

1365. ʿAlī probably declined Abū Sufyān's offer of support because it would have destroyed the nascent Islamic polity. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 588; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 116; *Nahj al-balāghah*, II, 44–45; Momen, *Shiʿi Islam*, 19–20.

1366. Died ca. 200/815–16. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 370–71.

1367. Died in 167/783–84. Ibid., XI, 11–16.

1368. Thābit b. Aslam al-Banānī died ca. 127/744–45. Ibid., II, 2–4.

1369. Literally, it means a young camel when weaned from her mother. Here it implies that the clan to which Abū Bakr belonged was not a distinguished clan of Quraysh.

1370. Quṣayy, the great ancestor of Muḥammad, is regarded as the founder of the city of Mecca as distinct from a mere encampment around the sanctuary of the Kaʿbah. He was the effective ruler of Mecca during his lifetime and also became the master of the Kaʿbah holding all the important offices, such as *sidānah* (guardianship), *rifādah* (feeding), and *siqāyah* (providing water). His descendants ʿAbd al-Dār inherited much of his power, but in the course of time the family was split and challenged by ʿAbd Manāf. It nearly led to fighting, but a compromise was reached whereby ʿAbd al-Dār retained nominal privileges and ʿAbd Manāf was

him, "Your son has been entrusted with the authority," and he replied, "He made close his ties of kinship by behaving with kindness."[1371]

Hishām—'Awānah: When people gathered to give their oath of allegiance to Abū Bakr, Abū Sufyān came while at the same time saying, "By God, I see a cloud of smoke (*'ajājah*),[1372] which nothing but blood will clear. O family of 'Abd Manāf, where is Abū Bakr that he should be the master of your affairs! Where are 'Alī and al-'Abbās, the two weak (*mustaḍ'afān*)[1373] and lowly ones (*adhillān*)?" He [then] said [to 'Alī], "O Abū Ḥasan, stretch out your hand so that I may give you the oath of allegiance," but 'Alī declined, so he began to cite appositely the proverbial verses of al-Mutalammis:

No one remains in a state of ignominy that is intended
for him, except the two despicable things: a domestic ass
and a wooden peg [of a tent].[1374]
The former is turned back to his state of ignominy by a
piece of worn-out rope, while the latter's head is broken
and no one mourns.

'Alī rebuked him, saying, "By God, you do not intend anything but [to stir up] dissension (*fitnah*). For long you have desired evil for Islam. We do not need your advice." [1828]

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given the substance of power. Both the Hāshimites and the Umayyads were branches of 'Abd Manāf. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah* I, 130ff.; Guillaume, *Life*, 52ff.; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 48ff.; Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, I, 103ff.; Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 5, 7, 30; Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 62–64; Ḥamīdullāh, "al-Īlāf"; Cook, *Muhammad*, 12–13.

1371. Abū Sufyān is said to have made the same remark when 'Umar appointed Mu'āwiyah as the governor of Syria after the death of Yazīd. Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 837.

1372. It also means low, ignoble people. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. 'a-j-j.

1373. Both the terms (the weak and lowly) are used here sarcastically. *Mustaḍ'af* means literally "one who is deemed weak." It occurs in the Qur'ān 4:75, 97–98, 127; 8:26, in the sense of "oppressed." Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 156ff., 197, lists a group of early converts under the title *al-Mustaḍ'afūn*, that is, those who were clanless and without protection. The term was thus used for poorly defended lower classes. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 339; Guillaume, *Life*, 143; Serjeant, "Translation," 11; Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 128–29; Cook, *Muhammad*, 51–52.

1374. The proverbs state: "More vile than a wooden peg in a plain," "More vile than the ass," "More vile than a chained donkey." Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, I, 511–12, 516; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. w-t-d, '-y-r.

Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Muḥammad al-Qurashī: When the oath of allegiance was rendered to Abū Bakr, Abū Sufyān said to ʿAlī and al-ʿAbbās, "You are two despicable ones," and began reciting the [following] proverbial verses:

A domestic ass knows the disgrace,
but a free man and a well-built camel, soft in the joints, detest it.
No one bears an unjust state that is intended for him,
except the two despicable things: a domestic ass and a wooden peg.
The former is turned back to his state of ignominy by a piece of worn-out rope, while the latter's head is broken and no one mourns.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī—Anas b. Mālik: The following day after Abū Bakr was given the oath of allegiance in the *Saqīfah*, he sat in the pulpit. ʿUmar stood up and spoke before him. After praising God and extolling Him with what is due to Him, he said, "O people, yesterday I said something to you that[1375] was based on my own opinion. I neither found it in God's book[1376] nor was it something by which the Messenger of God had enjoined me;[1377] but I thought[1378] that the Messenger of God would conduct our affairs until he was the last of us [alive]. God has left His book, by which He guided His Messenger, with you. If you hold fast to it God will guide [you] as He guided him. God has vested your affairs in the hands of the best one among you, the companion of the Messenger of God, 'the second of the two when both of them were in the cave,'[1379] so arise and give [him][1380] the oath of allegiance." The people gave

1375. That . . . opinion: Omitted from Ibn Isḥāq. Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 56): That was not [correct] as I said.

1376. Ibn Saʿd: The Book revealed by God.

1377. C: Us.

1378. Ibn Saʿd: But I had hoped that the Messenger of God would live [as] he had said, and that he would be the last of us [alive]. God chose for His messenger that which was with Him rather than that which was with you. Hold fast to this book, by which God guided your messenger, and you will be guided as the Messenger of God was guided.

1379. Qurʾān 9:40.

1380. Addition from Hisch.

Abū Bakr their oath of allegiance in public after the one rendered in the *Saqīfah*. [1829]

Then Abū Bakr spoke. After praising God and extolling Him with what is due to Him, he said, "Now then: O people, I have been put in charge of you although I am not the best of you. Help me if I do well; rectify me if I do wrong. Truthfulness is loyalty and falsehood is disloyalty. The weak among you shall be strong in my eyes until I ensure his right, God willing; and the strong among you shall be weak in my eyes until I wrest the right from him, God willing. No one from you should refrain from fighting in the cause of God, because if it is forsaken by a people, God will smite them with disgrace.[1381] Foul things never become widespread in a people but God brings calamity upon them. Obey me as long as I obey God and His Messenger; if I disobey them, you are not bound to obey me. Perform your prayers. May God have mercy on you!"

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallāh[1382]—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abdallāh: I was walking with 'Umar during his caliphate while he set about some business of his. He had a whip in his hand, and we were alone. As he was talking to himself he swished the outer side of his leg with his whip. Turning to me he said, "Do you know, O Ibn 'Abbās, what prompted me to speak[1383] as I did when the Messenger of God died?" "No, I do not know, O Commander of the Faithful," I replied. "You know it better." He said, "By God, nothing prompted[1384] me [to utter those words] but that I used to read the following verse: 'We have set you up as a moderate nation so that you may act as witness for mankind, as the Messenger is a witness for you.'[1385] By God, I thought that the Messenger of God would remain among his people until he could witness for them to their last deeds. That was what prompted me to say what I said."[1386] [1830]

1381. Hisch., C, and Ibn Isḥāq: If a people refrain from fighting in the cause of God, God will smite them with disgrace. See also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 590–91.

1382. Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās died ca. 140/757–58. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 341–42.

1383. As in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 568). Text: Speak this.

1384. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: What prompted me was that.

1385. Qur'ān 2:143.

1386. During one of the conversations between 'Umar and Ibn 'Abbās, the former said, "What prevented 'Alī from coming out with us?" Ibn 'Abbās replied, "I

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: After the oath of allegiance was rendered to Abū Bakr, people came to prepare the Messenger of God's burial. Some [of the authorities] state that the burial took place on Tuesday, that is, the following day of the Messenger of God's death, while the others state that he was buried three days after his death. The report of some of those authorities has already preceded.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr, Kathīr b. 'Abdallāh,[1387] and others who relate from 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās: 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās, Qutham b. al-'Abbās, Usāmah b. Zayd, and Shuqrān, freedman of the Messenger of God, were the ones who took charge of the washing of the Prophet. Aws b. Khawlī, one[1388] of the Banū 'Awf b. al-Khazraj, said to 'Alī, "I adjure you by God, O 'Alī, [where is] our share in regard to the Messenger of God?" Aws was one [of the companions of the Messenger of God][1389] who had participated in Badr. 'Alī allowed him to enter, so he came in[1390] and was present at the Messenger of God's washing. 'Alī made the Prophet's body to rest upon his breast and 'Abbās, al-Faḍl, and Qutham turned him over along with 'Alī. Usāmah and Shuqrān were the ones who poured water [over him],[1391] while 'Alī washed him, having rested him against
[1831] his breast. The shirt was still on the Prophet's body; 'Alī rubbed him from the outside without touching the Messenger of God's

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do not know." 'Umar said, "O son of 'Abbās, your father is an uncle of the Messenger of God and you are [the Prophet's] cousin, so what prevented the Quraysh [from supporting] you?" Ibn 'Abbās answered, "I do not know." Then 'Umar said, "But, I know, they dislike your authority." Ibn 'Abbās replied, "[But] why? We are [always] good to them." 'Umar added, "O God, pardon me! They did not like having both the prophethood and the caliphate combined in your family, which would have made you proud and arrogant." This conversation not only reveals 'Umar's attitude toward 'Alī but also clearly indicates that he was aware of the importance of the idea of inherited sanctity. On another occasion, the same subject is discussed between the two, but the second dialogue is more intense and lively. When Ibn 'Abbās answers back, 'Umar loses his temper. See Ṭabarī, I, 2769–71.

1387. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 421–23.

1388. C: Brother.

1389. Addition from Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

1390. And sat down: Addition in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 569).

1391. Addition from Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

[body directly] with his hands while he was saying, "With my father may you be ransomed, and with my mother! How excellent you are in life and in death!"[1392] The Messenger of God's body did not look like what an ordinary corpse would look like.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād—his father ʿAbbād [b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr]—ʿĀ'ishah: When they wanted to wash the Prophet, they disagreed about it, saying that they did not know whether they should remove his clothes as they do with their dead, or wash him with his clothes on. When they disagreed, slumber overtook them[1393] so that everyone's chin was sunk on his chest. Then a speaker—it is not known[1394] who he was—spoke from a corner of the house: "Wash the Prophet with his clothes on." They got up and washed the Messenger of God with his shirt on, pouring water on the shirt, and rubbing him with the shirt. ʿĀ'ishah used to say, "Had I known regarding my duty at the beginning what I knew at the end, none but his wives would have washed him."[1395]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn—his father [Muḥammad al-Bāqir]—his [father] ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn. Ibn Isḥāq states that he has [also] received this account on the authority of al-Zuhrī—ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn: After the Messenger of God was washed, he was shrouded in three garments: two of Ṣuḥār[1396] make and [the other] a striped cloak (*burd*^{in} *ḥibarat*^{in}),[1397] one wrapped over the other.[1398]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdallāh—ʿIkrimah, freedman of Ibn ʿAbbās—ʿAbdallāh b. [1832]
ʿAbbās: Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ and Abū Ṭalḥah Zayd b. Sahl

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1392. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 60–63; Lings, *Muhammad*, 344.

1393. Ibn Isḥāq: God cast a [deep] sleep upon them.

1394. Ibn Isḥāq: None knowing.

1395. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 59–60; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 569–70. This sentence is omitted from Ibn Isḥāq.

1396. A seaport on the coast of ʿUmān known for its textile industry. *EI*^{1}, s.v. Ṣuḥār. Lane (*Lexicon*, s.v. ṣ-ḥ-r), states that it is a kind of garment made in Ṣuḥār, a town in Yemen. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1090, states that on the Farewell Pilgrimage the Prophet made his *iḥrām* in two Ṣuḥārī garments. Other texts, such as Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 571, state that he was dressed in three Saḥūlī garments instead of Ṣuḥārī ones. Saḥūl is a town in Yemen, still known for its clothes. See Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, III, 727; Serjeant, "Translation," 10.

1397. A kind of garment made in Yemen. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ḥ-b-r.

1398. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 63–67; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 572.

were the two men [in Medina][1399] [who used to dig graves]. The former used to dig [graves] as the Meccans dig them, while the latter, who used to dig for the Medinans, used to make a niche in them. When they decided to dig [a grave] for the Messenger of God, al-ʿAbbās called two men, told one of them to go to Abū ʿUbaydah and the other to go to Abū Ṭalḥah, [saying], "O God, choose for your[1400] messenger." The one who had been sent for Abū Ṭalḥah found him and brought him, so he dug the grave with the niche for the Messenger of God.

After the preparations for the Messenger of God's burial had been completed on Tuesday, he was laid upon his bed in his house. The Muslims had disagreed about the place of his burial. Some said that they should bury him in his mosque while the others said that [they should bury him][1401] with his companions.[1402] Abū Bakr said, "I have heard the Messenger of God saying that no prophet died but he was buried where he died," so the bed on which he died was removed, and a grave was dug beneath it.[1403] [Then] the people passed by the Messenger of God praying over him in groups, first the men, then the women, then the children, and[1404] [finally] the slaves. No one led the people in prayers over him. The Messenger of God was buried in the middle of the night of Wednesday.[1405]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Fāṭimah bt. Muḥammad b. ʿUmārah, wife of ʿAbdallāh (that is, the son of Abū Bakr)—ʿAmrah bt. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿd b. Zurārah—ʿĀ'ishah,
[1833] Mother of the Faithful: We did not know of the Messenger of God's burial until we heard the sound of the pickaxes (or mattocks) in the middle of the night of Wednesday.[1406]

1399. Addition from Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 74.

1400. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: The Messenger of God.

1401. As in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq and Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 71). Text: He should be buried.

1402. Ibn Saʿd adds: In al-Baqīʿ [cemetery]. For further details, see idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 70–72.

1403. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 573.

1404. It is omitted from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 68–70).

1405. Some traditions state that he was buried on Tuesday. Ibid., 78–79.

1406. Probably because of this report, Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 328–29, thinks that the Prophet was buried by his family the same night in the house of ʿĀ'ishah. The reason for their hurried action was to avoid any ceremony in which Abū Bakr, leading the funeral rites, might appear as the Messenger of God's appointed successor.

Ibn Isḥāq states: Those who descended into the Messenger of God's grave were ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAbbās, Qutham b. al-ʿAbbās, and Shuqrān, freedman of the Messenger of God. Aws b. Khawlī implored ʿAlī in the name of God, asking for his share regarding the Messenger of God. ʿAlī permitted him to descend [into the grave] with the others.[1407] After the Messenger of God was laid in his grave and the earth was laid over him, Shuqrān, the Messenger of God's freedman, took a garment which the Messenger of God used to wear and spread out [for sitting], and tossed it[1408] in the grave saying, "By God, no one shall ever wear it after you," so it was buried with the Messenger of God.

Ibn Isḥāq states: Al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah used to claim that he was the last man to be with the Messenger of God. He used to say, "I took my ring, threw it in the grave and said, my ring has fallen. I threw it intentionally so that I might touch the Messenger of God and be the last person to be with him."[1409]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—his father Isḥāq b. Yasār—Miqsam, Abū al-Qāsim, freedman of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal—his master ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith:[1410] I made a lesser pilgrimage with ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib during the [caliphate] of ʿUmar or ʿUthmān. ʿAlī stayed with his sister Umm Hāniʾ bt. Abī Ṭālib. After he had finished his lesser pilgrimage, ʿAlī returned and I poured [water][1411] for him [to perform] the major ritual purification, which he did. After he had finished the purification, some Iraqis came to him and said, "O Abū al-Ḥasan, [1834] we have come to ask you about a matter on which we would like you to give us information." He said, "I suppose that al-Mughīrah tells you that he was the last person to be with the Messenger of God." They said that, indeed, that was the reason they had come to ask him. ʿAlī said that al-Mughīrah lied. The last man to be with the Messenger of God was Qutham b. al-ʿAbbās.[1412]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān[1413]—al-

1407. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 577. Some traditions add the names of Usāmah b. Zayd and Ṣāliḥ, the Messenger of God's freedman, to the list of those who descended into the grave. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 76–77.

1408. Hisch., Kos, and Ibn Isḥāq: And buried it.

1409. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 77–78; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 578.

1410. Died between 79/698–99 and 84/703. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 180–81.

1411. Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq: [Water] was poured for him.

1412. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 78.

1413. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 399–401.

Zuhrī—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh—'Ā'ishah: The Messenger of God was wearing a black cloak (*khamīṣah*)[1414] when his pain became severe. Sometimes he would put it over his face, at times he would put it off, saying, "May God fight the people who took the graves of their prophets as places of worship (*masājid*)!", warning his community against such a practice.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān—al-Zuhrī—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah—'Ā'ishah: The last injunction enjoined by the Messenger of God was that no two religions be left in the Arabian Peninsula. The Messenger of God died on the twelfth of Rabī' I/June 7, 632, the very day on which he came to Medina as an emigrant,[1415] so he completed a full ten years of his migration.

The Disagreements about His Age When He Died

Some [authorities] state that he was sixty-three years old. Those who state that [are as follows].

Ibn al-Muthannā—Ḥajjāj b. al-Minhāl[1416]—Ḥammād (that is, Ibn Salamah)—Abū Jamrah[1417]—Ibn 'Abbās: The Messenger of God stayed in Mecca for thirteen years while the revelation came
[1835] to him and ten years in Medina. He died while he was sixty-three years old.

Ibn al-Muthannā—Ḥajjāj b. al-Minhāl—Ḥammād—Abū Jamrah—his father:[1418] The Messenger of God lived for sixty-three years.

Ibn al-Muthannā—'Abd al-Wahhāb[1419]—Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd:[1420] I heard Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib say, "The revelation came to the Messenger of God while he was forty-three years old. He stayed ten

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1414. A garment made of cloth woven from wool and silk with two ornamental or colored borders, or a black cloak; worn by older people. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. kh-m-ṣ.

1415. His arrival in Medina was on Monday, the twelfth of Rabī' I. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 263.

1416. Died ca. 217/832. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 206–7.

1417. Died ca. 128/745–46. Ibid., X, 431–32.

1418. 'Imrān b. 'Isām died ca. 83/702. Ibid., VIII, 134–35.

1419. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam died ca. 250/864. Ibid., VI, 447.

1420. Ibid., XI, 215–16. For a similar report see Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 114.

years in Mecca, ten years in Medina, and died while he was sixty-three."

Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-'Asqalānī[1421]—Ādam[1422]—Ḥammād b. Salamah—Abū Jamrah al-Ḍubaghī—Ibn 'Abbās: The Messenger of God was called to his mission when he was forty. He stayed in Mecca for thirteen years while he was receiving revelation and [stayed] in Medina for ten years. He died when he was sixty-three years old.

Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Wahb[1423]—his uncle 'Abdallāh[1424]—Yūnus[1425]—al-Zuhrī—'Urwah—'Ā'ishah: The Messenger of God died while he was sixty-three.[1426]

The others state that he was sixty-five. Those who state that [are as follows].

Ziyād b. Ayyūb[1427]—Hushaym[1428]—'Alī b. Zayd[1429]—Yūsuf b. Mihrān[1430]—Ibn 'Abbās: The Prophet died while he was sixty-five.[1431]

Ibn al-Muthannā—Mu'ādh b. Hishām[1432]—his father[1433]—Qatādah[1434]—al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī]—Daghfal (that is, Ibn Ḥanẓalah):[1435] The Prophet died while he was sixty-five.

Yet others state that he was sixty years old. Those who state [1836]
that [are as follows].

Ibn al-Muthannā — Ḥajjāj[1436] — Ḥammād[1437] — 'Amr b. Dī-

1421. Died in 260/873–74. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 149.

1422. Ādam b. Abī Iyās died ca. 220/835. Ibid., I, 196. For a similar report see Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 114.

1423. Died in 264/877–78. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 54–56.

1424. 'Abdallāh b. Wahb b. Muslim died in 197/812–13. Ibid., VI, 71–74.

1425. Yūnus b. Yazīd died in 159/775–76. Ibid., XI, 450–52.

1426. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 82; he considers this report to be the most authentic; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 579.

1427. Died in 252/866. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 355; his death date given in the text as A.H. 152 seems to be incorrect because he was born in A.H. 166.

1428. Died in 183/799. Ibid., XI, 59–64.

1429. Died ca. 129/746–47. Ibid., VIII, 322–24.

1430. Ibid., XI, 424–25.

1431. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 82.

1432. Died in 200/815–16. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 196–97.

1433. Hishām b. Abī 'Abdallāh died ca. 152/769. Ibid., XI, 43–45.

1434. Qatādah b. Di'āmah died ca. 117/735. Ibid., VIII, 351–56.

1435. Ibid., III, 210–11.

1436. Ḥajjāj b. Ibrāhīm died after 213/828. Ibid., II, 195–96.

1437. Ḥammād b. Zayd died in 179/795–96. Ibid., III, 9–11.

nār[1438]— 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr: The Messenger of God was called to his mission while he was forty and died while he was sixty.[1439]

Al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr—'Ubaydallāh—Shaybān—Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr[1440]—Abū Salamah:[1441] I have received an account on the authority of [both] 'Ā'ishah and Ibn 'Abbās that the Messenger of God remained in Mecca for ten years while the Qur'ān was revealed to him and [remained] in Medina for ten years.

The Day and the Month in Which the Messenger of God Died

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Walīd al-Jurjānī—Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭaybah—'Ubaydallāh—Nāfi'—Ibn 'Umar: The Prophet put Abū Bakr in command of the pilgrimage in the year 9/631 and explained to him its rites. The following year, that is the year 10/632, the Messenger of God made the Farewell Pilgrimage, returned to Medina and died in Rabī' I.

Ibrāhīm b. Sa'īd al-Jawharī[1442]—Mūsā b. Dāwūd[1443]—Ibn Lahī'ah[1444]—Khālid b. Abī 'Imrān[1445] Ḥanash al-Ṣan'ānī[1446]—Ibn 'Abbās: The Prophet was born on Monday and he received the revelation on Monday. The boycott by Quraysh [of the Banū Hāshim] was lifted on Monday and [the Messenger of God] left Mecca, emigrating to Medina, on Monday. He arrived there on Monday and died on Monday.

[1837] Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān b. Ḥakīm[1447]—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sharīk[1448]—his father[1449]—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm[1450]—his father:[1451] The Messenger

1438. Died ca. 125/742–43. Ibid., VIII, 28–30.
1439. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 81.
1440. Died ca. 129/746–47. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 268.
1441. Died ca. 94/712–13. Ibid., XII, 115–18.
1442. Died ca. 249/863. Ibid., I, 123–25.
1443. Died ca. 216/831. Ibid., X, 342–43.
1444. Died ca. 174/790–91. Ibid., V, 373–79.
1445. Died ca. 129/746–47. Ibid., III, 110–11.
1446. Died in 100/718–19. Ibid., III, 57–58.
1447. Died in 261/874–75. Ibid., I, 61.
1448. Died in 227/841–42. Ibid., VI, 194.
1449. Sharīk b. 'Abdallāh died ca. 177/793–94. Ibid., IV, 333–37.
1450. Died ca. 135/752–53. Ibid., V, 164–85.
1451. Died ca. 110/728–29. Ibid., XII, 38–40.

of God died on the twelfth of Rabīʿ I/June 7, 632,[1452] on Monday, and was buried on the night of Wednesday.

Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān [b. Ḥakīm]—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [b. Sharīk]—his father—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr: Muḥammad b. Isḥāq went to ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr, who asked his wife Fāṭimah to narrate to him what she had heard from ʿAmrah bt. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. She said, "I heard ʿAmrah saying that she had heard ʿĀ'ishah saying that the Prophet of God was buried on the night of Wednesday, and that they did not know about it until they heard the sound of the pickaxes."[1453]

1452. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 568. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 205, on the other hand, states that it must be Monday, the twenty-third of Rabīʿ I, which corresponds to June 8, 632. According to Haig's *Comparative tables*, the corresponding date given above in the text is correct.

1453. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 568.

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