

Jew Hatred Sira

32,005 words
Sira Mo prophet words 271,313
32,005 / 271,313 = 11.8% devoted to Jew Hatred

THE NAMES OF THE JEWISH ADVERSARIES

About this time the Jewish rabbis showed hostility to the apostle in envy, hatred, and malice, because God had chosen His apostle from the Arabs. They were joined by men from al-Aus and Al-Khazraj who had obstinately clung to their heathen religion. They were hypocrites, clinging to the polytheism of their fathers denying the resurrection; yet when Islam appeared and their people flocked to it they were compelled to pretend to accept it to save their lives. But in secret they were hypocrites whose inclination was towards the Jews because they considered the apostle a liar and strove against Islam.

It was the Jewish rabbis who used to annoy the apostle with questions and introduce confusion, so as to confound the truth with falsity. The Quran used to come down in reference to these questions of theirs, though some of the questions about what was allowed and forbidden came from the Muslims themselves. These are the names of those Jews:

From B. al-Nadir: Huyayy b. Akhtab and his brothers Abu Yasir and Judayy; Salam b. Mishkam; Kinana b. al-Rabi' b. Abu'l-Huqayq; Salam b. Abu'l-Huqayq Abu Rafi' Al-A' war whom the apostle's com-panions killed in Khaybar; al-Rabi' b. al-Rabi' b. Abu'l-Huqayq; 'Amr b. Jahhash; Ka'b b. Al-Ashraf who belonged to Tay', of the clan of B. Nabhan, his mother being from B. Al-Nadir; al-Hajjaj b. 'Amr, an ally of Ka'b; and Kardam b. Qays, an ally of Ka'b.

From B. Tha'laba b. al-Fityaun: 'Abdullah b. Suriya the one-eyed who Was the most learned man of his time in the Hijaz in Torah studies; Ibn Saluba; and Mukhayriq their rabbi who became a Muslim.

From B. Qaynuqa': Zayd b. al-Lasit (291); Sa'd b. Hunayf; Mahmud b. Sayhan; 'Uzayr b. Abu 'Uzayr; and Abdullah b. Sayf (292). Suwayd b. al-Harith; Rifa'a b. Qays; Finhas; Ashya'; Nu'man b. Ada; Bahriy b. 'Amr; Sha's b. 'Adiy; Sha's b. Qays; Zayd b. al-Harith; Nu'man b. 'Amr; Sukayn b. Abu Sukayn; 'Adiy b. Zayd; Nu'man b. Abu Aufa; Abu Anas; Mahmud b. Dahya; Malik b. Sayf (293) Ka'b b. Rashid; 'Azar; Rafi' b. Abu Rafi'; Khalid; Azar b. Abu Azar (294); Rafi' b. Haritha; Rafi' b. Huraymila; Rafi' b. Kharija; Malik b. 'Auf; Rifa'a b. Zayd b. al- Tabut 'Abdullah b. Salam b. al-Harith; who was their rabbi and most learned man. His name was al-Husayn. The apostle named him 'Abdullah when he accepted Islam.

From B. Qurayza: al-Zubayr b. Bata b. Wahb; 'Azzal b. Shamwil; Ka'b b. Asad responsible on behalf of his tribe for the agreement which was broken in the year of the Parties; Shamwil b. Zayd; Jabal b. 'Amr b. Sukayna; al-Nahham b. Zayd; Qardam b. Ka'b; Wahb b. Zayd; Nafi' b. Abu Nafi'; Abu Nafi' ; 'Adiy b. Zayd; al-Harith b. 'Auf; Kardam b. Zayd; Usama b. Habib; Rafi' b. Rumayla; Jabal b. Abu Qushayr; Wahb b. Yahudha.

From B. Zurayq: Labid b. A'sam who bewitched the apostle of God so that he could not come at his wives.¹ From B. Haritha: Kinana b. Suriya.

B. 'Amr b. 'Auf; Qardam b. 'Amr,

From B. Al-Najjar: Silsila b. Barham.

These were the Jewish rabbis, the rancorous opponents of the apostle and his companions, the men who asked questions, and stirred up trouble against Islam to try to extinguish it, except for 'Abdullah b. Salam and Mukhayriq.²

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I was told the story of 'Abdullah b. Salam, a learned rabbi, by one of his family. He said: 'When I heard about the apostle I knew by his description, name, and the time at which he appeared that he was the one we were waiting for, and I rejoiced greatly thereat, though I kept silent about it until the apostle came to Medina. When he stayed in Quba' among the B. 'Amr b. 'Auf a man came with the news while I was working at the top of a palm-tree and my aunt Khalida d. al-Harith was sitting below. When I heard the news I cried Allah Akbar and my aunt said, "Good gracious, if you had heard that Moses b. 'Imran had come you could not have made more fuss!" "Indeed, aunt," I said, "he is the brother of Moses and follows his religion, being sent with the same mission." She asked, "Is he really

the prophet who we have been told will be sent at this very time?" and she accepted my assurance that he was. Straightway I went to the apostle and became a Muslim, and when I returned to my house I ordered my family to do the same.

I concealed the matter from the Jews, and then went to the apostle and said, "The Jews are a nation of liars and I wish you would take me into one of your houses and hide me from them, Then ask them about me so that they may tell you the position I hold among them before they know that I have become a Muslim. For if they know it beforehand they will utter slanderous lies against me." The prophet housed me ; the Jews came; and the apostle asked them about my standing among them. They said:

"He is our chief, and the son of our chief; our rabbi, and our learned man." When they said this I emerged and said: "O Jews, fear God and accept what He has sent you. For by God you know that he is the apostle of God. You will find him described in your Torah and even named. I testify that he is the apostle of God, I believe in him, I hold him to be true, and I acknowledge him." They accused me of lying and reviled me. Then I reminded the apostle that I had said that they would do this, for they were a treacherous, lying, and evil people. I publicly proclaimed my conversion and my household and my aunt Khalida followed suit.'

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THE STORY OF MUKHAYRIQ

He was a learned rabbi owning much property in date palms. He recognized the apostle by his description and his own learning, and he felt a predilection for his religion I until on the day of Uhud, which fell on the Sabbath, he reminded the Jews that they were bound to help Muhammad. They objected that it was the Sabbath. 'May you have no Sabbath² he answered, and took his weapons and joined the apostle in Uhud. His parting testimony to his people was: 'If I am killed today my property is to go to Muhammad to use as God shows him.' He was killed in the battle that followed. I am told that the apostle used to say 'Mukhayriq is the best of the Jews.' The apostle took over his property and all the aims he distributed in Medina came from it.

THE TESTIMONY OF SAFIYA

'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Muhammad b, 'Amr b, Hazm told me that he was told that Safiya d, Huyayy b, Akhtab said 'I was the favorite child of my father and my uncle Abu Yasir. When I was present they took no notice of their other children, When the apostle was staying in Quba' with the B. 'Amr b, 'Auf, the two went to see him before daybreak and did not return until after nightfall, weary, worn out, drooping and feeble, I went up to them in childish pleasure as I airways did, and they were so sunk in gloom that they took no notice of me. I heard my uncle say to my father, "Is he he?

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Do you recognize him, and can you be sure?" "Yes!" "And what do you feel about him?" "By God I shall be his enemy as long as I live!"

THE JEWS ARE JOINED BY ANSARI HYPOCRITES

The following hypocrites¹ from al-Aus and al-Khazraj joined the Jews according to information given me. God knows best about the truth. From Aus of the section of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf b. Malik of the subdivision Laudhan b. 'Amr b. 'Auf: Zuwayy b. al-Harith. From B. Hubayb b. 'Amr b. 'Auf: Julas b. Suwayd b. al-Samit and his brother al-Harith. Julas was one of those who withdrew from the apostle in the raid on Tabuk. He said, 'If this man is right we are worse than donkeys.' 'Umayr b. Sa'd, one of them, who was closely related to Julas, he having married his mother after his father's death, reported what he had said to the apostle. But first he said to Julas: 'You are dearer to me than any man, the most generous to me, and it is most painful to me that anything should happen to upset you; but you have said words which if I repeat them I shall bring shame upon you, and if I keep silence I shall bring my religion into peril. One is preferable to the other.' Then he went to the apostle and told him what Julas had said. Julas swore by God that he had not said the words attributed to him by 'Umayr. And God sent down concerning him: 'They swear by God that they did not say, when they did actually say, words of unbelief and did disbelieve after they had surrendered themselves. They planned what they could not carry out and they had nothing to avenge but that God and His apostle had enriched them by His bounty. If they repent it will be better for them; and if they turn back God will afflict them with a painful punishment in this world and the next. In this world they have no friend or helper' (295).²

It is alleged that he repented and was known to be a good Muslim.

His brother al-Harith who killed al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyad al-Balawi and Qays b. Zayd one of B. Dubay'a at Uhud, went put with the Muslims. He was a hypocrite, and when battle was joined he fell upon these two men, killed them, and attached himself to Quraysh (296).

Mu'adh b. 'Afra' killed Suwayd treacherously when there was no war.

He shot him with an arrow before the battle of Bu'ath.

The apostle-so they say-had ordered 'Umar to kill him if he could get hold of him, but he escaped and got to Mecca. Then he sent to his brother Julas asking for forgiveness so that he might return to his people.

God sent down concerning him according to what I have heard on the authority of Ibn 'Abbas: 'How can God guide a people who have disbelieved after having believed and witnessed that the apostle is true and sure proofs have come to them from God. God does not guide a sinful people.'¹

From B. Dubay'a b. Zayd b. Malik b. 'Auf b. 'Amr b. 'Auf: Bijad b. 'Uthman b. 'Amir. From B. Laudhan b. 'Amr b. 'Auf: Nabtal b. al-Harith I have heard that it was of him that the apostle said, 'Whoever wants to see Satan let him take a look at Nabtal b. al-Harith!' He was a sturdy black man with long flowing hair, inflamed eyes, and dark ruddy cheeks. He used to come and talk to the apostle and listen to him and then carry what he had said to the hypocrites. It was he who said: 'Muhammad is all ears: if anyone tells him anything he believes it.' God sent down concerning him: 'And of them are those who annoy the prophet and say he is all ears. Say: Good ears for you. He believes in God and trusts the believers and is a mercy for those of you who believe; and those who annoy the apostle of God for them there is a painful punishment.'²

A man of B. al-'Ajlan told me that he was told that Gabriel came to the apostle and said, 'There comes to sit with you a black man with long flowing hair, ruddy cheeks, and inflamed eyes like two copper pots. His

heart³ is more gross than a donkey's; he carries your words to the hypocrites, so beware of him.' This, so they say, was the description of Nabtal.

Also from B. Dubay'a was Abu Habiba b. al-Az'ar, one of those who had built the mosque of al-Dirar; Tha'laba b. Hatib; and Mu'attib b. Qushayr. It was those two who made a covenant with God saying, 'If he gives us of his bounty we will give aims and be of the righteous'⁴ to the end of the story. And it was Mu'attib who said at Uhud: 'If we had any part in the ordering of things we should not be killed here.' So God sent down concerning what he said: 'A party who were anxious about their lives thought wrongly about God as the pagans thought. They said: "If we had any part in the ordering of things we should not be killed here" '⁵ to the end of the context. It was he who said on the day of the Parties, "Muhammad promises us that we shall enjoy the treasures of Chosroes and Caesar whereas it is not safe for one of us to go to the privy!" So God revealed concerning him: 'And when the hypocrites and those in whose hearts is a disease say God and his apostle have promised us nothing but a delusion.'⁶

Also al-Harith b. Hatib (297).

Also 'Abbad b. Hunayf brother of Sahl, and Bahzaj who were among the builders of the mosque of al-Dirar. And 'Amr b. Khidham and 'Abdullah b. Nabtal

Of the B. Tha'laba were Jariya b. 'Amir b. al-'Attaf and his two sons Zayd and Mujammi'. They were also concerned with the mosque of al-Dirar. Mujammi' was a youth who had collected most of the Quran and he used to lead them in prayer. When the mosque had been destroyed and certain men of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf who used to lead their people in prayer in their mosque, died, in the time of 'Umar, Mujammi' was mentioned to act as leader, but 'Umar would not have it, saying, 'Wasn't he the imam of the hypocrites in the mosque of al-Dirar?' He replied: 'By God, I knew nothing of their affairs. But I was a youngster who could recite the Quran, whereas they could not, so they put me forward to lead the prayers. Their affair seemed to me to accord with the best account they gave.' They allege that 'Umar let him go and lead the prayers of his people.

Of B. Umayya b. Zayd b. Malik: Wadi'a b. Thabit, one of the builders of the Dirar mosque who said, 'We were only talking and jesting.' So God sent down: 'If you ask them they will say we were only talking and jesting. Say: Is it about God and His signs and His apostle you were jesting?' to the end of the passage.

Of B. Ubayd b. Zayd b. Malik: Khidham b. Khalid, from whose house the mosque of al-Dirar was carved out; and Bishr and Rafi' the two sons of Zayd.

Of B. al-Nabit (298) of the clan of B. Haritha b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj b. 'Amr b. Malik b. al-Aus: Mirba' b. Qayzi who said to the apostle when he passed through his garden on his way to Uhud: 'I do not allow you Muhammad to pass through my garden even if you are a prophet.' He took a handful of dirt and said: 'By God, if I did not know that I might throw it on others I would throw this dirt at you.' The people pressed on him to kill him and the apostle said: 'Let him alone. For this blind man is blind of heart and blind of perception'. Sa'd b. Zayd brother of B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhai hit him with his bow and wounded him; also his brother Aus b. Qayzi, who said to the apostle on the day of the Trench: 'Our houses lie open to the enemy, so give us leave to go back to them.' So God revealed concerning him: 'They say Our houses lie open to the enemy. They are not open; all they want is to run away' (299).¹

Of B. Zafar (Zafar's name was Ka'b b. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj): Hatib b. Umayya b. Rafi'. He was a sturdy old man steeped long in paganism. A son of his was one of the best of the Muslims, Yazid by name. He was disabled by wounds received at Uhud and was carried to the house of the B. Zafar.

Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada told me that the Muslims there both men and women gathered to him when he was at the point of death and were saying: 'Rejoice, a son of Hatib, in the thought of paradise!' Then his hypocrisy showed itself, for his father said, 'Humph! By God it is a garden of rue. You have sent this poor fellow to his death by your deception.'

Also Bus-hayr b. Ubayriq Abu Tu'ma, the 'Stealer of the Two Breast-plates' concerning whom God sent down: 'And argue not on behalf of those who deceive themselves. God does not love a sinful deceiver.'¹ Also Quzman, an ally of theirs.

The same 'Asim told me that the apostle used to say: 'He belongs to the people of hell.' At Uhud he fought so valiantly that he killed several polytheists. But they severely wounded him and he was carried to the quarters of the B. Zafar. The Muslims said, 'Cheer up, O Quzman; you have done gallantly today and your sufferings have been for God's sake.' He said: 'Why should I cheer up? I fought only to protect my people.' And when the pain of his wounds became unendurable he took an arrow from his quiver and cut a vein in his hand and thus committed suicide.

Among B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhai no hypocrite male or female was known except al-Dahhak b. Thabit, one of the B. Ka'b of the family of Sa'd b. Zayd. He was suspected of hypocrisy and love of the Jews.

Hassan b. Thabit said of him:²

Who will tell al-Dahhak that his veins
Were unable to be glorified in Islam?
Do you love the Jews of al-Hijaz and their religion,
You liver-hearted ass, and not love Muhammad?
Their religion will never march with ours
As long as men roam the open desert.

I have heard that before his repentance Julas together with Mu'attib, Rafi', and Bishr used to make false profession of Islam.³ Some Muslims asked them to go to the apostle to settle a matter in dispute between them, while they wanted to refer it to the kahins who acted as arbitrators in the pagan era. So God sent down concerning them: 'Hast thou considered those who allege that they believe in what has been sent down to thee and what was sent down before thee who wish to go to idolatry for arbitration when they have been commanded to give up belief in it? Satan wishes to lead them far astray.'⁴

Of Khazraj from B. Al-Najjar: Rafi' b. Wadi'a, Zayd b. 'Amr, 'Amr b. Qays, and Qays b. 'Amr b. Sahl.

Of B. Jusham of the clan of B. Salima: al-Jidd b. Qays who said, 'O Muhammad, give me leave (to stay at home) and tempt me not.' So God sent down concerning him: 'Of them is he who says, Give me leave (to stay at home) and tempt me not. Surely it is into temptation that they have fallen and hell encompasses the unbelievers.'⁵

Of B. 'Auf D. al-Khazraj: 'Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul. He was the head of the hypocrites. They used to gather to him and it was he who said, 'If we go back to Medina the stronger will drive out the weaker.' This was during the raid on the B. al-Mustaliq and the whole sura of the Hypocrites¹ came down about him and Wadi'a a man of B. 'Auf and Malik b. Abu Qauqal and Suwayd and Da'is of the clan of 'Abdullah b. Ubayy. Those were his men who sent secret messages to B. al-Nadir² when the apostle besieged them: 'Stand fast, for by God if you are driven out we will go forth with you and we will never obey anyone against you and if you are attacked we will help you.' So God sent down concerning them: 'Hast thou not considered the hypocrites who say to their brethren of the scrip-ture folk, If you are driven out we will go forth with you and we will never obey anyone against you and if you are attacked we will help you. God bears witness that they are liars', as far as His words 'Like Satan when he says to men, "Disbelieve,"

and when they disbelieve he says, "I am not responsible for you; for my part I fear God the Lord of the worlds." ¹³

THE RABBIS WHO ACCEPTED ISLAM HYPOCRITICALLY

The following are the Jewish rabbis who took refuge in Islam along with the Muslims and hypocritically professed it: Of B. Qaynuqa': Sa'd b. Hunayf; Zayd b. al-Lusayt; Numan b. Aufa b. 'Amr; 'Uthman b. Aufa; Zayd b. al-Lusayt who fought with 'Umar in the market of the B. Qay-nuqa'. He was the man who said when the apostle's camel wandered off: 'Muhammad alleges that revelations come to him from heaven and he doesn't know where his camel is!' When the apostle heard of what this enemy of God had said and God had told him where his camel was he said, 'I only know what God lets me know. And God has shown me. It is in such-and-such a glen caught by its rope to a tree.' The Muslims went and found it in that very spot caught up as the apostle had said.

Also Rafi' b. Huraymila of whom I have heard that the prophet said,

'One of the greatest hypocrites has died today.' And Rifa'a b. Zayd b. al-Tabut of whom the prophet said when there was a high wind as he was returning from the expedition against the B. al-Mustaliq and the Muslims were in great anxiety: 'Don't be afraid; the wind is blowing because a great unbeliever is dead.' When he got back to Medina he found that Rifa'a had died the day the wind blew. Also Silsila b. Barham and Kinana b. Suriya.

These hypocrites used to assemble in the mosque and listen to the stories of the Muslims and laugh and scoff at their religion. When some of them⁴ were there one day the apostle saw them talking with lowered voice among themselves huddled together. He ordered that they should be ejected and they were put out with some violence. Abu Ayyub Khalid b. Zayd b. Kulayb got up and went to 'Amr b. Qays, one of B. Ghanm

b. Malik b. Al-Najjar who was the custodian of their gods during the pagan era, took hold of his foot and dragged him outside the mosque, he saying meanwhile 'Would you drag me out of the date barn of the B. Tha'laba!' Then he went for Rafi' b. Wadi'a, one of the B. Al-Najjar, gripped him by his robe, slapped his face, and dragged him forcibly out of the mosque, saying, 'Faugh! you dirty hypocrite! Keep out of the apostle's mosque, you hypocrite!' (300).

'Umara b. Hazm went for Zayd b. 'Amr who had a long beard and seized him by it and dragged him violently out of the mosque. Then clenching his fists he punched him in the chest and knocked him down, Zayd crying the meanwhile, 'You have torn my skin off!' 'God get rid of you, you hypocrite,' he answered, 'God has a worse punishment than that in store for you, so don't come near the apostle's mosque again!' (301).

Abu Muhammad Mas'ud b. Aus b. Zayd b. Aṣṣram b. Zayd b. Tha'laba b. Ghanm b. Malik b. Al-Najjar (who was at Badr) went for Qays b. 'Amr b. Sahl who was a youth (the only young man known to have been among the hypocrites) and pushed him in the back of the neck until he ejected him from the mosque.

A man of B. al-Khudra b. al-Khazraj of the family of Abu Sa'd called 'Abdullah b. al-Harith, hearing the order to clear the mosque, went for al-Harith b. 'Amr, a man with long hair, and taking a good grip of it he dragged him violently the whole way along the floor until he put him out, the hypocrite meanwhile saying 'You are very rough, Ibnu'l-Harith.' 'Serve you right, you enemy of God, for what God has sent down about you,' he answered; 'Don't come near the apostle's mosque again, for you are unclean.'

A man of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf went for his brother Zuwayy b. al-Harith and put him out violently, saying, 'Faugh! You are doing Satan's work for him!'

These were the hypocrites whom the apostle ordered to be expelled from the mosque that day.

REFERENCES TO THE HYPOCRITES AND THE JEWS IN THE
SURA ENTITLED 'THE COW'

The first hundred verses of the sura of the Cow came down in reference to these Jewish rabbis and the hypocrites of Aus and Khazraj, according to what I have been told, and God knows best. He said: 'Alif Lam Mim. That is the book wherein there is no doubt.' The word rayb means doubt (302).

'A guidance to the god-fearing', i.e. those who fear God's punishment for abandoning the guidance they recognize, and hope for His mercy through believing in what has come to them from Him. 'Who believe in the unseen and establish prayer and give out what We have provided them with,' i.e. they establish prayer in its prescribed form and pay the poor-tax expecting a (future) reward for it. 'And those who believe in what has been sent down to thee and to those who were before thee,' i.e. they believe thee to be true in what thou hast brought from God and what the sent ones brought before thee, making no difference between them nor opposing what they brought from their Lord. 'And are certain of the latter end,' i.e. the waking from death, the resurrection, paradise and hell, the reckoning and the scales, i.e. these are those who allege that they believe in what was before thee and in what has come to thee from thy Lord. 'These live in guidance from their Lord,' i.e. according to light from their Lord and uprightly according to what has come to them. 'These are they who prosper,' i.e. who attain what they seek and escape the evil they flee from. 'As for those who disbelieve,' i.e. in what has been sent down to thee though they say we have long believed in what came to us before thee, 'it is all one to them whether thou warn them or do not warn them they will not believe,' i.e. they disbelieve that thou art mentioned (in the books) they have and they reject the covenant which was made with them with reference to thee. They disbelieve in what has come to thee and in what they have already which others brought to them so how will they listen to warning and exhortation from thee when they have denied that they have any knowledge of thee? 'God hath sealed their hearts and their hearing and over their sight there is a covering,' i.e. so that they will never find guidance, meaning: because they have declared you a liar so that they will not believe in the truth which has come to thee from thy Lord though they believe in all that came before thee. For opposing thee they will have an awful punishment. Thus far concerning the Jewish rabbis for calling the truth a lie after they knew it.

'And there are some men who say, We believe in God and the last day when they do not believe.' He means the hypocrites of Aus and Khazraj and their followers. 'They would deceive God and those who believe, but they deceive only themselves, and perceive it not. In their hearts is a sickness,' i.e. doubt. 'And God increases their sickness,' i.e. doubt.

A painful punishment is theirs because they lie. And when it is said to them, 'Do not make mischief in the land they say we are only putting things to right,' i.e. we only wish to make peace between the two parties of the believers and the scripture folk. God said: 'Are not they indeed the mischief makers but they perceive it not? And when it is said to them, Believe as the people believe they say: Are we to believe as the foolish believe? Surely they are the foolish but they know it not. And when they meet those who believe they say, We believe; and when they go apart to their leaders,'¹ i.e. the Jews who order them to deny the truth and contra-dict what the apostle brought, 'They say Certainly we are with you,' i.e. we agree entirely with you. 'We were only mocking,' i.e. mocking the people and jesting with them. God said: 'God will mock at them and let them continue to wander blindly in their error' (303).

'These are they who buy error at the price of guidance,' i.e. disbelief for faith. 'So their traffic is not profitable and they are not rightly guided.'

Then God employed a simile and said: 'They are like a man who lights a fire and when it lightens his environment God takes away their light and leaves them in darkness unable to see,' i.e. they cannot see the truth and profess it so that when they go out with it from the darkness of unbelief they extinguish it with their unbelief and hypocrisy, and God leaves them in the darkness of unbelief and they do not see guidance and are not upright in truth. 'Deaf, dumb, blind, and they return not,' i.e. they return not to guidance, deaf, dumb, blind to what is good, they return not to good and find no escape from their condition. 'Or like a rainstorm from heaven wherein is darkness and thunder and lightning. They put their fingers in their ears because of the thunderings, in fear of death. God encompasses the unbelievers' (304), i.e. because of the darkness of unbelief and the fear of death in which they are, arising from their opposition and fear of you, they are like the man in the rainstorm who puts his fingers in his ears at the thunderclaps in fear of death. He says: And God brings that vengeance upon them, i.e. He encompasses the un-believers. 'The lightning almost takes away their sight,' i.e. because of the exceeding brightness of the truth. 'Whenever it gives light to them they walk in it and when it is dark for them they stand still,' i.e. they know the truth and talk about it and so far as their talk goes they are on the straight path; but when they relapse from it into infidelity they come to a halt in bewilderment. 'And if God willed He could take away their hearing and their sight,' i.e. because they have forsaken the truth after they knew it. 'God is able to do all things.'

Then He says: 'O men, worship your Lord,' addressing both unbelievers and hypocrites, i.e. acknowledge His unity. 'Who created you and those before you; perchance you may ward off evil. Who has made the earth a bed for you and the heaven a building, and sent down water from heaven and has brought forth fruits thereby as food for you. So make not rivals of God when you know (better)' (305), i.e. do not associate with God rivals which can neither profit nor harm when you know that you have no Lord that can feed you other than He, and you know that the monotheism to which the apostle calls you is the truth about which there is no doubt. 'And if you are in doubt about that which We have sent down to our servant,' i.e. in doubt about what he has brought you, 'then produce a *sura* like it and summon your witnesses other than God,' i.e. whatever helpers you can get 'if you are truthful; and if you do not and you cannot' for the truth has become clear to you, 'then fear hell whose fuel is men and stones' prepared for the unbelievers,' i.e. for those who are in a state of infidelity like you.

Then he appeals to their interest and warns them against breaking the covenant which He made with them in reference to His prophet when He came to them, and He reminds them of the beginning of their creation when He created them, and what happened to their forefather Adam and how he was dealt with for his disobedience; then He says: I 'O children of Israel,' addressing the Jewish rabbis, 'Remember the favor I showed you,' i.e. My care for you and your fathers, wherewith He delivered them from Pharaoh and his army. 'And fulfill My covenant' which I placed on your necks with regard to My prophet Ahmad when he should come to you. 'I shall fulfill My part of the covenant.' I shall carry out what I promised you for believing in and following him by removing the bonds and chains which were upon your necks because of the sins which you had committed. 'And stand in awe of Me,' i.e. lest I bring down on you what I brought down on your fathers before you-the vengeance that you know of, bestial transformation and the like. 'And believe in what I have sent down confirming what you already have, and be not the first to disbelieve it' seeing that you have knowledge which others have not about it. 'And fear Me and do not mingle truth with falsehood nor hide the truth which you know,' i.e. do not conceal the knowledge which you have about My apostle and what he has brought when you will find it with you in what you know of the books which are in your hands. 'Would you tell men to be good and

forget to be so yourselves, you being readers of scripture? Do you not understand?' i.e. would you forbid men to disbelieve in the prophecy you have and the covenant of the Torah and abandon it yourselves? i.e. when you deny that it contains My covenant with you that you must pronounce My apostle to be true, and you break My agreement" and you contradict what you know to be in My book.

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Then He recounts their sins, mentioning the calf and what they did with it; how He forgave them and pardoned them; then their words 'Show us God plainly' (306); and how the storm came upon them because of their presumptuousness; then He quickened them after they had died; overshadowed them with the cloud, sent down to them manna and quails and said to them, 'Enter the gate with prostrations and say Hitta,² i.e. say what I command you, and I will remove your sins from you; and their changing that word making a mockery of His command ; and His forgiving them after their mockery (307).

With regard to their changing that word, the apostle said according to what Salih b. Kaisan from Salih, freedman of al- Tau'ama d. Umayya b. Khalaf from Abu Hurayra and someone above suspicion from Ibn 'Abbas: They entered the gate they were ordered to enter with prostrations in a crowd saying, 'Wheat is in the barley' (308). (He also reminded them of) Moses praying for water for his people and His commanding him to strike the rock with his staff so that the water gushed forth in twelve streams, one for each tribe to drink from, each tribe knowing the one from which it was to drink. And their saying to Moses, 'We cannot bear one kind of food. Pray to your Lord for us that He may bring forth to us vegetables which the earth produces such as cucumbers and corn (309) and beans and onions. He said: Will you exchange that which is better .for that which is baser? Go down to Egypt; thus you will get what you ask for.' They did not do so. Further how He raised the mountain above them I that they might receive what was brought to them; and the bestial transformation when He made them into apes for their sins; and the cow which God showed them in which there was a lesson concerning the slain man about whom they differed until God made clear to them his affair after their repeated requests to Moses for a description of the cow; further the hardness of their hearts afterwards so that they were harder than stone. Then He said: 'There are rocks from which rivers gush forth and there are rocks which split asunder and water comes out of them, and there are rocks which fail down for fear of God,' i.e. some rocks are softer than your hearts in regard to the truth to which you were called. 'And God is not unaware of what you do.'

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Then He said to Muhammad and the believers with him, causing them to despair of them: 'Do you hope that they will believe you when there is a party of them who listen to the word of God then change it after they understand it, doing so knowingly?' His saying 'They listen to the Torah'² does not mean that they all heard it, but only a party of them, i.e. a selected number according to what I was told by a scholar. They said to Moses:

Something has come between us and the vision of God so let us hear His word when He speaks to thee. Moses conveyed the request to God who said : Yes, command them to purify themselves or to purify their clothing and to fast; and they did so. Then he brought them forth to the mountain, and when the cloud covered them Moses commanded them to prostrate themselves and his Lord spoke to him and they heard His voice giving them commands and prohibitions so that they understood what they heard. Then he went back with them to the Children of Israel and when he came to them a party of them changed the commandments they had been given; and when Moses said to the Children of Israel, 'God has ordered you to do so-and-so,' they contradicted him and said that God had ordered something else. It is they to whom God refers.

Then God said: 'And when they meet those who believe they say:

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We believe,' i.e. in your leader the apostle of God; but he (has been sent) to you alone. And when they go apart with one another they say, Don't talk to the Arabs about this for you used to ask for victory over them through him and he is of them. So God sent down concerning them: 'And when they meet those who believe they say, We believe. But when they go apart with one another they say, Will you talk about what God has revealed to you that they may contend with you about it before your Lord? Have you no understanding?' i.e. maintain that he is a prophet since you know that God has made a covenant with you that you should follow him, while he tells you that he is the prophet whom we are expecting and find in our book. Oppose him and do not recognize him. God said: 'Do they not know that God knows what they conceal and what they proclaim, and some of them are gentiles¹ who do not know the book but merely

recite passages (310).² 'They only think they know,' i.e. they don't know the book and they do not know what is in it, yet they oppose thy prophethood on mere opinion. 'And they say the fire will not touch us except for a limited time. Say, Have ye received a covenant from God? God will not break His covenant--or do you say what you do not know about God?'

A freedman of Zayd b. Thabit told me as from 'Ikrima or from Sa'id b. Jubayr from Ibn 'Abbas: The apostle came to Medina when the Jews were saying that the world would last for seven thousand years and that God would only punish men in hell one day in the next world for every thousand in this world. There would be only seven days and then punish-ment would cease. So God sent down concerning this saying: 'And they say, The fire will not touch us except for a limited time. Say, Have ye received a covenant from God? God will not break His covenant--or do you say what you do not know about God? Nay whoso does evil and his sin encompasses him,' i.e. he who does as you do and disbelieves as you disbelieve, his unbelief encompasses the good he has acquired with God. 'They are the people of hell; they will be there eternally,' i.e. for ever. 'And those who do good, they are the people of paradise; they will be there eternally,' i.e. those who believe in what you deny and do what you have left undone of His religion. They shall have paradise for ever. He tells them that the recompense for good and evil is eternal: it will never cease.

Then He said in blaming them, 'And when We made a covenant with the children of Israel,' i.e. your covenant. 'Worship none but God, show kindness to parents and to near relatives, and to orphans and the poor, and speak kindly to men, and establish prayer and pay the poor-tax, then you turned your backs except a few of you, being averse,'³ i.e. you abandoned all that – nothing less. 'And when we made a covenant with you, Shed not your blood' (311)¹ 'And do not turn (some of) your people¹ out of your dwellings. Then you ratified it and you are witnesses thereof,' i.e. that My covenant condition truly binds you. 'Then you are they who kill your people and drive some of them from their houses, supporting one another against them by crime and transgression,' i.e. the polytheists, so that they shed their blood along with them and drive them from their houses along with them. 'And if they came to you as prisoners you would ransom them' knowing that that is incumbent upon you in your religion, 'while their expulsion is forbidden to you' in your scripture. 'Will you believe in a part of the scripture and disbelieve in another part?' i.e. will you ransom them believing in one part and expel them disbelieving in another part? 'And what is the recompense of those of you who do that but shame in this world and on the day of resurrection they will be sent to the severest punishment. For God is not unaware of what you are doing. These are they who buy this life at the price of the next life. Their punishment will not be lightened nor will they be helped.' Thus God blamed them for what they were doing, He having in the Torah prohibited them from shedding each other's blood and charged them to redeem their prisoners.

There were two parties: The B. Qaynuqa' and their adherents, allies of Khazraj; and al-Nadir and Qurayza and their adherents allies of Aus. When there was war between Aus and Khazraj the B. Qaynuqa' went out with Khazraj, and Al-Naḍir and Qurayza with Aus, each side helping his allies against his own brethren so that they shed each other's blood, while the Torah was in their hands by which they knew what was allowed and what was forbidden them. Aus and Khazraj were polytheists worshipping idols knowing nothing about paradise and hell, the waking and the resurrection, the scriptures, the permitted and the forbidden. When the war came to an end they ransomed their prisoners in accordance with the Torah each side redeeming those of their men who had been captured by the other side, disregarding the bloodshed that had been incurred in helping the polytheists. God said in blaming them for that: 'Will you believe in a part of the scripture and disbelieve in another part?' i.e. would you redeem him in accordance with the Torah and kill him when the Torah forbids you to do so, killing him and driving him out of his house and helping the polytheist who worships idols instead of God against him, all for the sake of this world's gain? According to my information this passage came down with reference to their behavior with Aus and Khazraj.

He continued: 'We gave Moses the scripture and We sent apostles after him and We gave Jesus, Son of Mary, the clear proofs,' i.e. the signs which were wrought by Him in raising the dead; forming the likeness of birds from clay and then breathing into them so that they became birds by God's permission' healing the sick; and news of many hidden things which they stored in their houses; and His confuting them from the Torah and the Gospel which God had created for Him.¹ Then he mentions their disbelief in all that and says: 'Is it that whenever there comes to you an apostle with what you do not like you act arrogantly; some you declare liars and some you put to death?' Then he says: 'And they said, Our hearts are uncircumcised,' i.e. in coverings. 'Nay, but God has cursed them for their unbelief. Little do they believe. And when a scripture comes to them from God confirming what they already have, though before that they were asking for a victory over the unbelievers, when there comes to them what they know they deny it. God's curse is on the unbelievers.'

'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada told me that shaykhs of his people said: This passage came down about us and them. We had got the better of them in the pagan era, we being polytheists and they scripture folk. They used to say to us, 'Soon a prophet will be sent whom we shall follow; his time is at hand. With his help we shall kill you like 'Ad and Iram.' And when God sent His apostle from Quraysh and we followed him they denied him. God said: 'And when there comes to them what they know they deny it. God's curse is on the unbelievers. Wretched is that for which they sell themselves in disbelieving in what God has sent down, grudging that God should send down of His bounty upon whom He will of His servants,' i.e. that He should have given it to one who was not of them. 'They have incurred anger upon anger and for the unbelievers there is a shameful punishment' (312).

The double anger is His anger at what they have disregarded of the Torah which they had and His anger at their disbelieving in this prophet whom God had sent to them.² Then He told them of³ the raising of the mountain above them and their taking the calf as a god instead of their Lord. God then said: 'Say, If the last dwelling with God is for you alone excluding others, then long for death if you are truthful,' i.e. pray for death to which of the two parties is most false with God. And they refused the apostle's suggestion. God said to His prophet: 'They will never long for it because of what their hands have sent before them,'⁴ i.e. because they know about thee by the knowledge which they have and deny it, It is said that if they had longed for it the day he said that to them, not a single Jew would have remained on the earth but would have died. Then He mentions their

love of this life and of a long life and God said: 'Thou wilt find them the most eager of men for life', the Jews, 'even more than the polytheists; each one would like to live a thousand years and to be allowed to live long would not remove him from the punishment,' i.e. it would not deliver him from it. The reason is that the polytheist does not hope for raising after death so he wants to live long, and the Jew knows what awaits him of shame in the next life because he has wasted the knowledge that he has. Then God said: 'Say, Who is an enemy to Gabriel? For it is he who brought it down to thy heart by God's permission.'

'Abdullah b. 'Abdu'I-Rahman b. Abu Husayn al-Makki told me from Shahr b. Haushab al-Ash'ari that a number of Jewish rabbis came to the apostle and asked him to answer four questions, saying that if he did so they would follow him and testify to his truth, and believe in him. He got them to swear a solemn oath that if he gave them the right answers they would acknowledge his truth and they began: 'Why does a boy resemble his mother when the semen comes from the man?' 'I adjure you by God and His favors towards the children of Israel,¹ do you not know that a man's semen is white and thick while a woman's is yellow and thin, and the likeness goes with that which comes to the top?' 'Agreed,' they said. 'Tell us about your sleep.' 'Do you not know that a sleep which you allege I do not have is when the eye sleeps but the heart is awake?' 'Agreed.' 'Thus is my sleep. My eye sleeps but my heart is awake.' 'Tell us about what Israel voluntarily forbade himself.' 'Do you not know that the food he loved best was the flesh and milk of camels and that once when he was ill God restored him to health so he deprived himself of his favorite food and drink in gratitude to God?' 'Agreed. Tell us about the Spirit.' 'Do you not know that it is Gabriel, he who comes to me?' 'Agreed, but a Muhammad he is an enemy to us, an angel who comes only with violence and the shedding of blood, and were it not for that we would follow you.' So God sent down concerning them: 'Who is an enemy to Gabriel? For it is he who brought it down to thy heart by God's permission confirming what was before it and a guidance and good tidings to the believers' as far as the words 'Is it not that when they make a covenant some of them set it aside, nay most of them do not believe. And when an apostle comes to them from God confirming that which they have, some of them who have received the scripture, the book of God, put it behind them as if they did not know it and they follow that which the satans read concerning the kingdom of Solomon,' i.e. sorcery. 'Solomon did not disbelieve, but the satans disbelieved, teaching men sorcery.'²

This, so I have heard, happened when the apostle mentioned Solomon b. David among the sent ones. One of the rabbis said, 'Don't you wonder at Muhammad? He alleges that Solomon was a prophet, and by God he was nothing but a sorcerer.' So God sent down concerning that: 'Solomon did not disbelieve but the satans disbelieved,' i.e. in following sorcery and practising it. 'And that which was revealed to the two angels Harut and Marut in Babylon and they taught nobody.'

Someone above suspicion told me from 'Ikrima from Ibn 'Abbas that he used to say: 'What Israel forbade himself was the two lobes of the liver, the kidneys and the fat (except what was upon the back), for that used to be offered in sacrifice and the fire consumed it.'¹

The apostle wrote to the Jews of Khaybar according to what a freedman of the family of Zayd b. Thabit told me from 'Ikrima or from Sa'id b. Jubayr from Ibn 'Abbas: 'In the name of God the compassionate the merciful from Muhammad the apostle of God, friend and brother of Moses who confirms what Moses brought. God says to you, O scripture folk, and you will find it in your scripture "Muhammad is the apostle of God; and those with him are severe against the unbelievers, merciful among themselves. Thou seest them bowing, failing prostrate seeking bounty and acceptance from God. The mark of their prostrations is on their foreheads. That is their likeness in

the Torah and in the Gospel like a seed which sends forth its shoot and strengthens it and it becomes thick and rises straight upon its stalk delighting the sowers that He may anger the unbelievers with them. God has promised those who believe and do well forgiveness and a great reward."² I adjure you by God, and by what He has sent down to you, by the manna and quails He gave as food to your tribes before you, and by His drying up the sea for your fathers when He delivered them from Pharaoh and his works, that you tell me, Do you find in what He has sent down to you that you should believe in Muhammad? If you do not find that in your scripture then there is no compulsion upon you. "The right path has become plainly distinguished from error"³ so I call you to God and His prophet' (313).

Among those people concerning whom the Quran came down, especially the rabbis and unbelieving Jews who used to ask him questions and annoy him in confusing truth with falsehood-as I was told on the authority of 'Abdullah b. 'Abbas and Jabir b. 'Abdullah b. Ri'ab-was Abu Yasir b. Akhtab who passed by the apostle as he was reciting the opening words of The Cow: 'Alif, Lam, Mim, That is the book about which there is no doubt.' He came to his brother Huyayy who was with some other Jews and said: 'Do you know that I have heard Muhammad reciting in what has been sent down to him Alif Lam Mim, &c?' After expressing surprise Huyayy and these men went to the apostle and told him what had been reported to them and asked if Gabriel had brought the message from God. When he said that he had they said: God sent prophets before you but we do not know of anyone of them being told how long his kingdom would last and how long his community would last. Huyayy went up to his men and said to them: 'Alif is 1; Lam is 30; and Mim is 40, i.e. 71 years. Are you going to adopt a religion whose kingdom and community will last for only 71 years?' Then he went to the apostle and said, 'Have you any-thing else, Muhammad?' 'Yes, Alif Lam Mim Sad.' 'This by God is more weighty and longer: Alif 1; Lam 30; Mim 40, Sad 90, i.e. 161 years.'

Similar questions were asked and answered in respect of Alif Lam Ra 231 ; Alif Lam Mim Ra 271; then he said, 'Your situation seems obscure to us, Muhammad, so that we do not know whether you will have a short or long duration.' Then they left him. Abu Yasir said to his brother Huyayy and the others, 'How do you know that all these totals should not be added together to make a grand total of 734 years?' They answered, 'His affair is obscure to us.' They allege that these verses came down in reference to them: 'The plain verses are the mother of the Book; the rest are obscure.'¹

I heard a scholar above suspicion mentioning that these verses were sent down about the people of Najra when they came to the apostle to ask him about Jesus, Son of Mary.

Muhammad b. Abu Umama b. Sahl b.Hunayf told me that he had heard that they were sent down about a number of Jews, but he did not explain that to me. God knows best.

According to what I heard from 'Ikrima, freedman of Ibn 'Abbas or from Sa'id b. Jubayr from Ibn 'Abbas, Jews used to hope that the apostle would be a help to them against Aus and Khazraj before his mission began; and when God sent him from among the Arabs they disbelieved in him and contradicted what they had formerly said about him.² Mu'adh b. Jabal and Bishr b. al-Bara' b. Ma'rur brother of the B. Salama said to them: 'O Jews, fear God and become Muslims, for you used to hope for Muhammad's help against us when we were polytheists and to tell us that he would be sent and describe him to us.' Salam b. Mishkam, one of B. al-Nadir, said, 'He has not brought us anything we recognize and he is not the one we spoke of to you.' So God sent down about that saying of theirs: 'And when a book comes to them from God confirming what they have, though beforehand they were asking for help against those who disbelieve, when there came to them what they knew, they disbelieved in it, so God's curse rests on the unbelievers.'³

Malik b. al-Sayf⁴ said when the apostle had been sent and they were reminded of the condition that had been imposed on them and what God had covenanted with them concerning him, 'No covenant was ever made with us about Muhammad.' So God sent down concerning him: 'Is it not that whenever they make a covenant a party of them set it aside? Nay most of them do not believe.'⁵

Abu Saluba al-Fityuni said to the apostle: 'O Muhammad, you have not brought us anything we recognize, and God has not sent down to you any sign that we should follow you.' So God sent down concerning his words, 'We have sent down to thee plain signs and only evildoers disbelieve in them.'

Rafi' b. Huraymila and Wahb b. Zayd said to the apostle, 'Bring us a book; bring it down to us from heaven that we may read it; bring out rivers for us from the earth, then we will follow you and believe in you.' So God sent down concerning that: 'Or do you wish to question your apostle as Moses was questioned aforetime; he who exchanges faith for unbelief has wandered from the straight road' (314).¹

Huyayy and Abu Yasir were the most implacable enemies of the Arabs when God chose to send them an apostle from among themselves and they used to do all they could to turn men away from Islam. So God sent down concerning them: 'Many of the scripture folk wish to make you unbelievers again after you have believed being envious on their own account after the truth has become plain to them. But forgive and be indulgent until God shall give you His orders. God can do anything.'²

When the Christians of Najran came to the apostle the Jewish rabbis came also and they disputed one with the other before the apostle. Rafi' said, 'You have no standing; and he denied Jesus and the Gospel; and a Christian said to the Jews, 'You have no standing' and he denied that Moses was a prophet and denied the Torah. So God sent down concerning them: 'The Jews say the Christians have no standing; and the Christians say that Jews have no standing, yet they read the scriptures. They do not know what they are taking about. God will judge between them on the day of resurrection concerning their controversy/ i.e. each one reads in his book the confirmation of what he denies, so that the Jews deny Jesus though they have the Torah in which God required them by the word of Moses to hold Jesus true; while in the Gospel is what Jesus brought in confirmation of Moses and the Torah he brought from God: so each one denies what is in the hand of the other.

Rafi' said: 'If you are an apostle from God as you say, then ask God to speak to us so that we may hear His voice.' So God revealed concerning that: 'And those who do not know say, Why does not God speak to us or a sign come to us? Those who were before them said the same. Their minds are just the same. We have made the signs clear to a people who are sure.'

'Abdullah b. Suriya, the one-eyed man, said to the apostle, 'The only guidance is to be found with us, so follow us, Muhammad, and you will be rightly guided.' The Christians said the same. So God sent down concerning them both: 'And they say, Be Jews or Christians then you will be rightly guided. Say, Nay, the religion of Abraham a *hanif* who was no polytheist,' as far as the words 'Those are a people who have passed away; they have what they earned and you have what you have earned and you will not be asked about what they used to do.'³

And when the qibla was changed from Syria to the Ka'ba-it was changed in Rajab at the beginning of the seventeenth month after the apostle's arrival in Medina-Rifa'a b. Qays; Qardam b. 'Amr; Ka'b b. Al-Ashraf; Rafi' b. Abu Rafi'; al-Hajjaj b. 'Amr, an ally of Ka'b's; al-Rabi b. al-Rabi' b. Abu'l-Huqayq; and Kinana b. al-Rabi' b. Abu'l-Huqayq came to the apostle asking why he had turned his back on the qibla he used to face when he alleged that he followed the religion of Abraham. If he would return to the qibla in Jerusalem they would follow him and declare him to

be true. Their sole intention was to seduce him from his religion, so God sent down concerning them: 'The foolish people will say: What made them turn their back on the qibla that they formerly observed? Say, To God belongs the east and the west. He guides whom He will to the .straight path. Thus we have made you a central community that you may be witnesses against men and that the apostle may be a witness against you. And we appointed the qibla which thou didst formerly observe only that we might know who will follow the apostle from him who turns upon his heels,' i.e. to test and find them out. 'Truly it was a hard test except for those whom God guided,' i.e. a temptation, i.e. those whom Allah estab-lished. 'It was not Allah's purpose to make your faith vain,' i.e. your faith in the first qibla, your believing your prophet, and your following him to the later qibla and your obeying your prophet therein, i.e. so that he may give you the reward of both of them. 'God is kind and compassionate to men.'

Then God said, 'We sometimes see thee turning thy face towards heaven and We will make thee turn towards a qibla which will please thee; so turn thy face towards the sacred mosque and wherever you are turn your faces towards it' (315). 'Those who have received the scripture know that it is the truth from their Lord, and God is not unmindful of what they do. If thou didst bring to those who have the scripture every sign they would not follow thy qibla and thou wouldst not follow their qibla nor would some of them follow the qibla of others. If thou shouldst follow their desires after the knowledge which has come to thee then thou wouldst be an evildoer,' as far as the words 'It is the truth from thy Lord so be not of the doubters.'¹

Mu'adh b. Jabal and Sa'd b. Mu'adh brother of B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhai, and Kharija b. Zayd brother of B. al-Harith b. al-Khazraj, asked some of the Jewish rabbis about something in the Torah and they concealed it from them and refused to tell them anything about it. So God sent down about them: 'Those who conceal the proofs and guidance We have sent down after We have made it plain to men in the book, God will curse them and those who curse will curse them.'

The apostle summoned the Jewish scripture folk to Islam and made it attractive to them and warned them of God's punishment and vengeance. Rafi' b. Kharija and Malik b. 'Auf said to him that they would follow the religion of their fathers, for they were more learned and better men than they. So God sent down concerning their words: 'And when it is said to them, Follow what God has sent down, they say: Nay, but we will follow what we found our fathers doing. What! even if their fathers understood nothing and were not rightly guided?'

When God smote Quraysh at Badr, the apostle assembled the Jews in the market of the B. Qaynuqa' when he came to Medina and called on them to accept Islam before God· should treat them as he had treated Quraysh. They answered, 'Don't deceive yourself, Muhammad. You have killed a number of inexperienced Quraysh who did not know how to fight. But if you fight us you will learn that we are men and that you have met your equal.' So God sent down concerning their words: 'Say to those who disbelieve, You will be defeated and gathered into hell, a wretched resting-place. You had a sign in the two parties which met: one party fought in the way of God and the other was unbelieving seeing twice their number with their very eyes. God will strengthen with His help whom He will. In that there is a warning for the observant.'¹

The apostle entered a Jewish school where there was a number of Jews and called them to God. AL-Nu'man b. 'Amr and al-Harith b. Zayd said to him:

'What is your religion, Muhammad? 'The religion of Abraham.'

'But Abraham was a Jew.'

'Then let the Torah judge between us.'

They refused, and so God sent down concerning them: 'Hast thou not seen how those who have received a portion of scripture when invited to

God's book that it may judge between them, a party of them turn their backs in opposition. That is because they say, The fire will not touch us except for a limited time. What they were inventing has deceived them in their religion.'

The Jewish rabbis and the Christians of Najran, when they were together before the apostle, broke into disputing. The rabbis said that Abraham was nothing but a Jew. The Christians said he was nothing but a Christian ; so God revealed concerning them; 'O Scripture folk, Why do you argue about Abraham when the Torah and the Gospel were not sent down until after his time? Can it be that you do not understand? Behold, you are they who argue of what you know something, but why do you argue about what you know nothing? God knows but you do not know. Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian but he was a Muslim *hanif* and he was not a polytheist. Those who are the nearest' to Abraham are those who follow him and this prophet and those who believe, God being the friend of believers.'²

The apostle invited the Jews to Islam and made it attractive to them and warned them of God's jealousy and His retribution; but they repulsed him and denied what he brought them. Mu'adh b. Jabal and Sa'd b. 'Ubada and 'Uqba b. Wahb said to them: 'Fear God, for you know right well that he is the apostle of God and you used to speak of him to us before his mission and describe him to us.' Rafi' b. Huraymila and Wahb b. Yahudha said, 'We never said that to you, and God has sent down no book since Moses nor sent an evangelist or warner after him.' So God sent down concerning their words: 'O scripture folk, our apostle has come to you to make things plain to you after a cessation of apostles lest you should say: No evangelist "and no warner has come to us when an evangelist and warner has come to you (now). God is able to do all things.'

Then he recounted to them the story of Moses and their opposition to him, and how they disobeyed God's commands through him so that they wandered in the wilderness forty years as a punishment.

Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri told me that he heard a learned man of Muzayna telling Sa'id b. al-Musayyab that Abu Hurayra had told them that Jewish rabbis had gathered in their school when the apostle came to Medina. A married man had committed adultery with a married woman and they said: 'Send them to Muhammad and ask him what the law about them is and leave the penalty to him. If he prescribes *tajbih* (which is scourging with a rope of palm fiber smeared with pitch, the blackening of their faces, mounting on two donkeys with their faces to the animal's tail) then follow him, for he is a king and believe in him. If he prescribes stoning for them, he is a prophet so beware lest he deprive you of what you hold.' They brought the pair to Muhammad and explained the position. The prophet walked to meet the rabbis in the school house and called on them to bring out their learned men and they produced 'Abdullah b. Suriya.

One of the B. Qurayza told me that Abu Yasir and Wahb b. Yahudha were with them and the apostle questioned them so that he got to the bottom of their affair until they said (pointing) to 'Abdullah b. Suriya, 'This is the most learned man living in the Torah' (321).

He was one of the youngest of them and when the apostle was alone with him he put him on his oath as to whether the Torah did not prescribe stoning for adulterers. 'Yes,' he said, 'they know right well, Abu'l-Qasim, that you are a prophet sent (by God) but they envy you.' The apostle went out to them and commanded that the two should be stoned and they were stoned at the door of his mosque among B. Ghanm b. Malik b. al-Najjar. Afterwards Ibn Suriya disbelieved and denied that the apostle was a prophet. So God sent down concerning them: 'O apostle, let not those who vie with one another in unbelief sadden thee, those who say with their

mouths, We believe, but their hearts do not believe, those Jews who listen to lies, listening for other people who do not come to thee,' i.e. those who sent others and stayed behind themselves and gave them orders to change the judgment from its context. Then He said: 'They change words from their places, saying, If this be given to you receive it, and if it is not given to you, i.e. the stoning, beware of it', &c.

Muhammad b. Tall) a b. Yazid b. Rukana from Isma'il b. Ibrahim from Ibn 'Abbas told me that the apostle ordered them to be stoned, and they were stoned at the door of his mosque. And when the Jew felt the first stone he crouched over the woman to protect her from 'the stones until both of them were killed. This is what God did for the apostle in exacting the penalty for adultery from the pair.

Salih b. Kaisan from Nafi', freedman of 'Abdullah b. 'Umar from 'Abdullah b. 'Umar, told me: When the apostle gave judgment about them he asked for a Torah. A rabbi sat there reading it having put his hand over the verse of stoning. 'Abdullah b. Salam struck the rabbi's hand, saying, 'This, O prophet of God, is the verse of stoning which he refuses to read to you.' The apostle said, 'Woe to you Jews! What has induced you to abandon the judgment of God which you hold in your hands?' They answered: 'The sentence used to be carried out until a man of royal birth and noble origin committed adultery and the king refused to allow him to be stoned. Later another man committed adultery and the king wanted him to be stoned but they said No, not until you stone so-and-so. And when they said that to him they agreed to arrange the matter by tajbih and they did away with all mention of stoning.' The apostle said: 'I am the first to revive the order of God and His book and to practice it.' They were duly stoned and 'Abdullah b. 'Umar said, 'I was among those that stoned them.'

Da'ud b. al-Husayn from 'Ikrima from Ibn 'Abbas said that the verses of The Table in which God said: 'Then judge between them or withdraw from them and if you withdraw from them they will do thee no harm. And if thou judgest, judge with fairness, for God loveth those who deal fairly' were sent down concerning the blood-money between B. al-Nadir and B. Qurana. Those slain from B. al-Nadir were leaders and they wanted the whole bloodwit while B. Qurayza wanted half of it. They referred the matter for arbitration to the apostle, and God sent down that passage concerning them. The apostle ordered that the matter should be settled justly and awarded the bloodwit in equal shares. But God knows which account is correct.

Ka'b b. Asad and Ibn Saluba and his son 'Abdullah and Sha's said one to another, 'Let us go to Muhammad to see if we can seduce him from his religion, for he is only a mortal;' so they went to him and said : 'You know, Muhammad, that we are the rabbis, nobles, and leaders of the Jews; and if we follow you the rest of the Jews will follow you and not oppose us. Now we have a quarrel outstanding with some of our people and if we believe in you and say that you are truthful will you, if we appoint you arbitrator between us, give judgment in our favor?' The apostle refused to do so and God sent down concerning them: 'And judge between them by what God has sent down and follow not their vain desire.; and beware of them lest they seduce thee from some of what God has sent down to thee. And if they turn their backs then know that God wishes to smite them for some of their sins. Many men are evil-doers. Is it that they are seeking the judgment of paganism? Who is better than God in judgment for a people who are certain?'¹

Abu Yasir and Nafi' b. Abu Nafi' and 'Azir and Khalid and Zayd and Izar and Ashya' came to the apostle and asked him about the apostles he believed in. So the apostle said : 'We believe in God and what he has sent down to us and what was sent down to Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes and what was given to Moses and Jesus and what was given to the prophets from their Lord; we make no difference between anyone of them. And we are submissive unto Him.'²

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When he mentioned Jesus, Son of Mary, they denied that he was a prophet, saying, 'We do not believe in Jesus, Son of Mary, or in anyone who believes in him.' So God sent down concerning them: 'O Scripture folk, do you blame us for anything but our belief in God and what He has sent down to us and what was sent down aforetime and because most of you are evil-doers?'³

Rafi' b. Haritha and Sallam b. Mishkam and Malik b. al-Sayf and Rafi' b. Huraymila came to him and said: 'Do you not allege that you follow the religion of Abraham and believe in the Torah which we have and testify that it is the truth from God?' He replied, 'Certainly, but you have sinned and broken the covenant contained therein and concealed what you were ordered to make plain to men, and I dissociate myself from your sin.' They said, 'We hold by what we have. We live according to the guidance and the truth and we do not believe in you and we will not follow you.' So God sent down concerning them: 'Say, O Scripture folk, you have no standing until you observe the Torah and the Gospel and what has been sent down to you from your Lord. What has been sent down to thee from thy Lord will assuredly increase many of them in error and unbelief. But be not sad because of the unbelieving people.'⁴

Al-Nahham and Qardam and Bahri came and said to him: 'Do you not know that there is another god with God?' The apostle answered: 'God, there is no God but He. With that (message) I was sent and that I preach.' God sent down concerning their words: 'Say, What is the greatest testimony? Say God is witness between me and you, and this Quran has been revealed to me that I might warn you by it and whomsoever it reaches. Do you actually testify that with God there are other gods? Say, I do not testify to that. Say He is only One God, and I dissociate myself from what you associate (with Him). Those to whom We sent the book know it as they know their own sons. Those who destroy themselves will not believe.'¹

Rifa'a and Suwayd had hypocritically affected to embrace Islam and some of the Muslims were friendly with them. So God sent down concerning these two men: 'O Believers, choose not as friends those who have chosen your religion to make a jest and game of it from among those who received the scripture before you, nor the unbelievers, and fear God if you are believers', as far as the words 'And when they come to you they say, We believe, but they came in unbelief and they went out with it and God knows best about what they are concealing.'²

Jabal and Shamwil came to the apostle and said: 'Tell us when the hour will be if you are a prophet as you say.' So God sent down concerning them: 'They will ask you about the hour when it will come to pass. Say, only my Lord knows of it. None but He will reveal it at its proper time. It is heavy in the heavens and the earth. Suddenly will it come upon you. They will ask you as though you knew about it. Say Only God knows about it, but most men do not know'³ (322).

Sallam and Nu'man b. Aufa and Mahmud b. Dihya and Sha's and Malik came and said to him: 'How can we follow you when you have abandoned our Qibla and you do not allege that 'Uzayr is the son of God?' So God sent down concerning these words: 'The Jews say that 'Uzayr is the son of God and the Christians say the Messiah is the son of God. That is what they say with their mouths copying the speech of those who disbelieved aforetime. God fight them! How perverse they are' to the end of the passage'⁴ (323).

Mahmud b. Sayhan and Nu'man b. Ada' and Bahri and 'Uzayr and Sallam came to him and said: 'Is it true, Muhammad, that what you have brought is the truth from God? For our part we cannot see that it is arranged as the Torah is.' He answered, 'You know quite well that it is from God; you will find it written in the Torah which you have. If men and jinn came together to produce its like they could not.' Finhas and 'Abdullah b. Suriya and Ibn Saluba and Kinana b. al Rabi' and Ashya' and Ka'b b. al-Asad and Shamwil and Jabal were there and they said: 'Did neither men nor jinn tell

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you this, Muhammad?' He said : 'You know well that it is from God and that I am the apostle of God. You will find it written in the Torah you have.' They said: 'When God sends an apostle He does for him what he wishes, so bring down a book to us from heaven that we may read it and know what it is, otherwise we will produce one like the one you bring.' So God sent down concerning their words: 'Say, Though men and jinn should meet to produce the like of this Quran they would not produce its like though one helped the other'¹(324).

Huyayy, Ka'b, Abu Rafi', Ashya', and Shamwil said to 'Abdullah b. Salam when he became a Muslim, 'There is no prophecy among the Arabs, but your master is a king.' Then they went to the apostle and asked him about Dhu'l-Qarnayn and he told them what God had sent him about him from what he had already narrated to Quraysh. They were of those who ordered Quraysh to ask the apostle about him when they sent al-Nadr and 'Uqba to them.²

I was told that Sa'id b. Jubayr said: A number of Jews came to the apostle and said: 'Now, Muhammad, Allah created creation, but who created Allah?' The apostle was so angry that his color changed and he rushed at them being indignant for his Lord. Gabriel came and quietened him saying, 'Calm yourself, O Muhammad.' And an answer to what they asked came to him from God: 'Say, He God is One. God the Eternal. He begetteth not neither is He begotten and there is none equal to Him.'³ When he recited that to them they said, 'Describe His shape to us, Muhammad; his forearm and his upper arm, what are they like?' The apostle was more angry than before and rushed at them. Gabriel came to him and spoke as before. And an answer to what they asked came to him from God: 'They think not of God as He ought to be thought of; the whole earth will be in His grasp at the day of resurrection and the heavens folded up in His right hand. Glorified and Exalted is He above what they associate with Him.'⁴

'Utba b. Muslim, freedman of the B. Taym from Abu Salama b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman from Abu Hurayra, told me: I heard the apostle say, 'Men question their prophets to such an extent that one would almost say, Now God created creation, but who created God? And if they say that, say ye: He God is One,' &c. Then let a man spit three times to the left and say 'I take refuge in God from Satan the damned' (325).

THE AFFAIR OF THE B. QAYNUQA'

Meanwhile there was the affair of the B. Qaynuqa'. The apostle assembled them in their market and addressed them as follows: 'O Jews, beware lest God bring upon you the vengeance that He brought upon Quraysh and become Muslims. You know that I am a prophet who has been sent – you will find that in your scriptures and God's covenant with you.' They replied, 'O Muhammad, you seem to think that we are your people. Do not deceive yourself because you encountered a people with no knowledge of war and got the better of them; for by God if we fight you, you will find that we are real men!'

A freedman of the family of Zayd b. Thabit from Sa'id b. Jubayr or from 'Ikrima from Ibn 'Abbas told me that the latter said the following verses came down about them:

'Say to those who disbelieve: you will be vanquished and gathered to Hell, an evil resting place. You have already had a sign in the two forces which met', i.e. the apostle's companions at Badr and the Quraysh. 'One force fought in the way of God; the other, disbelievers, thought they saw double their own force with their very eyes. God strengthens with His help whom He will. Verily in that is an example for the discerning.'

'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada said that the B. Qaynuqa' were the first of the Jews to break their agreement with the apostle and to go to war, between Badr and Uhud(S68), and the apostle besieged them until they surrendered

unconditionally. 'Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul went to him when God had put them in his power and said, 'O Muhammad, deal kindly with my clients' (now they were allies of Khazraj), but the apostle put him off. He repeated the words, and the apostle turned away from him, whereupon he thrust his hand into the collar of the apostle's robe (569); the apostle was so angry that his face became almost black. He said, 'Confound you;, let me go.' He answered, 'No, by God, I will not let you go until you deal kindly with my clients. Four hundred men without mail and three hundred mailed protected me from all mine enemies; would you cut them down in one morning? By God, I am a man who fears that circumstances may change.' The apostle said, 'You can have them (570).'

My father Ishaq b. Yasar told me from 'Ubada b. al-Walid b. 'Ubada b. al-Samit who said: when the B. Qaynuqa' fought the apostle 'Abdullah b. Ubayy espoused their cause and defended them, and 'Ubada b. al-Samit, who was one of the B. 'Auf, who had the same alliance with them as had 'Abdullah, went to the apostle and renounced all responsibility for them in favor of God and the apostle, saying, 'O apostle of God, I take God and His apostle and the believers as my friends, and I renounce my agreement and friendship with these unbelievers.' Concerning him and 'Abdullah b. Ubayy, this passage from the chapter of the Table came down:²

'O you who believe, take not Jews and Christians as friends. They are friends one of another. Who of you takes them as friends is one of them. God will not guide the unjust people. You can see those in whose heart there is sickness', i.e. 'Abdullah b. Ubayy when he said, 'I fear a change of circumstances.' 'Acting hastily in regard to them they say we fear that change of circumstances may overtake us. Peradventure God will bring victory or an act from Him so that they will be sorry for their secret thoughts, and those who believe will say, Are these those who swore by God their most binding oath?' [that they were with you], as far as God's words, 'Verily God and His apostle are your friends, and those who believe, who perform prayer, give aims and bow in homage,' mentioning 'Ubada taking God and His apostle and the believers as friends, and renouncing his agreement and friendship with the B. Qaynuqa', 'Those who take God and His apostle and the believers as friends, they are God's party, they are the victorious.'

THE KILLING OF KA'B B. AL-ASHRAF

After the Quraysh defeat at Badr the apostle had sent Zayd b. Haritha to the lower quarter and 'Abdullah b. Rawaha to the upper quarter to tell the Muslims of Medina of God's victory and of the polytheists who had been killed. 'Abdullah b. al-Mughith b. Abu Burda al-Zafari and 'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Hazm and 'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada

and Salih b. Abu Umama b. Sahl each gave me a part of the following story: Ka'b b. Al-Ashraf who was one of the Tayyi' of the subsection B. Nabhan whose mother was from the B. al-Nadir, when he heard the news said, 'Is this true? Did Muhammad actually kill these whom these two men mention? (i.e. Zayd and 'Abdullah b. Rawaha). These are the nobles of the Arabs and kingly men; by God, if Muhammad has slain these people 'twere better to be dead than alive.'¹

When the enemy of God became certain that the news was true he left the town and went to Mecca to stay with al-Muttalib b. Abu Wada'a b. Dubayra al-Sahmi who was married to 'Atika d. Abu'l-'Is b. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Manaf. She took him in and entertained him hospitably. He began to inveigh against the apostle and to recite verses in which he bewailed the Quraysh who were thrown into the pit after having been slain at Badr. He said:

Badr's mill ground out the blood of its people.
 At events like Badr you should weep and cry.
 The best of the people were slain round their cisterns,
 Don't think it strange that the princes were left lying.
 How many noble handsome men,
 The refuge of the homeless were slain,
 Liberal when the stars gave no rain,
 Who bore others' burdens, ruling and taking their due fourth.
 Some people whose anger pleases me say
 'Ka'b b. Al-Ashraf is utterly dejected'.
 They are right. O that the earth when they were killed
 Had split asunder and engulfed its people,
 That he who spread the report had been thrust through
 Or lived cowering blind and deaf.
 I was told that all the Banu'l-Mughira were humiliated
 And brought low by the death of Abu'l-Hakim
 And the two sons of Rabi'a with him,
 And Munabbih and the others did not attain (such honor) as those
 who were slain.²
 I was told that al-Harith ibn Hisham
 Is doing well and gathering troops To visit Yathrib with armies,
 For only the noble, handsome man protects the loftiest³ reputation
 (573).

Hassan b. Thabit answered him thus:

Does Ka'b weep for him again and again
 And live in humiliation hearing nothing?⁴

In the vale of Badr I saw some of them, the slain,
 Eyes pouring with tears for them.
 Weep ('Atika], for you have made a mean slave weep
 Like a pup following a little bitch.
 God has given satisfaction to our leader
 And put to shame and prostrated those who fought him.
 Those whose hearts were torn with fear
 Escaped and fled away (574).

A Muslim woman of B. Murayd, a clan of Bali who were allied
 attachments of B. Umayya b. Zayd, called al-Ja'adira answered Ka'b (575):

This slave shows great concern
 Weeping over the slain untiringly ..
 May the eye that weeps over the slain at Badr weep on
 And may Lu'ayy b. Ghalib weep double as much!
 Would that those weltering in their blood
 Could be seen by those who live between Mecca's mountains!
 They would know for certain and would see
 How they were dragged along by hair and beard. ¹

Ka'b b. Al-Ashraf answered her:

Drive off that fool of yours that you may be safe
 From talk that has no sense!
 Do you taunt me because I shed tears
 For people who loved me sincerely?
 As long as I live I shall weep and, remember
 The merits of people whose glory is in Mecca's houses.

By my life Murayd used to be far from hostile
 But now they are become as jackals.
 They ought to have their noses cut off
 For insulting the two clans of Lu'ayy b. Ghalib.
 I give my share in Murayd to Ja'dar
 In truth, by God's house, between Mecca's mountains.

(T. Then Ka'b returned to Medina and composed amatory verses about Ummu'l-Fadl d. al-Harith, saying:

Are you off without stopping in the valley
 And leaving Ummu'l-Fadl in Mecca?
 Out would come what she bought from the pedlar of bottles,
 Henna and hair dye.
 What lies 'twixt ankle and elbow is in motion²
 When she tries to stand and does not.
 Like U mm Hakim when she was with us
 The link between us firm and not to be cut.
 She is one of B. 'Amir who bewitches the heart,
 And if she wished she could cure my sickness.
 The glory of women and of a people is their father,
 A people held in honor true to their oath.
 Never did I see the sun rise at night till I saw her
 Display herself to us in the darkness of the night!)

Then he composed amatory verses of an insulting nature about the Muslim women. The apostle said – according to what 'Abdullah b. al-Mughith b. Abu Burda told me – 'Who will rid me of Ibnu'l-Ashraf?' Muhammad b. Maslama, brother of the B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhal, said, ¹ will deal with him for you, a apostle of God, I will kill him.' He said, 'Do so if you can.' So Muhammad b. Maslama returned and waited for three days without food or drink, apart from what was absolutely necessary. When the apostle was told of this he summoned him and asked him why he had given up eating and drinking. He replied that he had given him an under-taking and he did not know whether he could fulfill it. The apostle said, 'An that is incumbent upon you is that you should try.' He said, 'O apostle of God, we shall have to tell lies.' He answered, 'Say what you like, for you are free in the matter.' Thereupon he and Silkan b. Salama b. Waqsh who was Abu Na'ila one of the B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhai, foster-brother of Ka'b, and 'Abbad b. Bishr b. Waqsh, and al-Harith b. Aus b. Mu'adh of the B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhai and Abu 'Abs b. Jabr of the B. Haritha conspired together and sent Silkan to the enemy of God, Ka'b b. Ashraf, before they came to him. He talked to him some time and they recited poetry one to the other, for Silkan was fond of poetry. Then he said, 'O Ibn Ashraf, I have come to you about a matter which I want to tell you of and wish you to keep secret.' 'Very well,' he replied. He went on, 'The coming of this man is a great trial to us. It has provoked the hostility of the Arabs, and they are all in league against us. The roads have become impassable so that our families are in want and privation, and we and our families are in great distress.' Ka 'b answered, 'By God, I kept telling you, a Ibn Salama, that the things t warned you of would happen.' Silkan said to him, 'I want you to sell us food and we will give you a pledge of security and you deal generously in the matter.' He replied, 'Will you give me your sons as a pledge?' He said, 'You want to insult us. I have friends who share my opinion and I want to bring them to you so that you may sell to them and act generously, and we will give you enough weapons for a good pledge.' Silkan's object was that he should not take alarm at the sight of weapons when they brought them. Ka'b answered, 'Weapons are a good pledge.' Thereupon Silkan returned to his companions,

told them what had happened, and ordered them to take their arms. Then they went away and assembled with him and met the apostle (576).

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Thaur b. Zayd from 'Ikrima from Ibn 'Abbas told me the apostle walked with them as far as Baqi'u'l-Gharqad. Then he sent them off, saying, 'Go in God's name; O God help them.' So saying, he returned to his house. Now it was a moonlight night and they journeyed on until they came to his castle, and Abu Na'ila called out to him. He had only recently married, and he jumped up in the bed sheet, and his wife took hold of the end of it and said, 'You are at war, and those who are at war do not go out at this hour.' He replied, 'It is Abu Na'ila. Had he found me sleeping he would not have woken me.' She answered, 'By God, I can feel evil in his voice.' Ka'b answered, 'Even if the call were for a stab a brave man must answer it.' So he went down and talked to them for some time, while they conversed with him. Then Abu Na'ila said, 'Would you like to walk with us to Shi'b al-'Ajuz, so that we can talk for the rest of the night?' 'If you like,' he answered, so they went off waiking together; and after a time Abu Na'ila ran his hand through his hair. Then he smelt his hand, and said, 'I have never smelt a scent finer than this.' They walked on farther and he did the same so that Ka'b suspected no evil. Then after a space he did it for the third time, and cried, 'Smite the enemy of God!' So they smote him, and their swords clashed over him with no effect. Muhammad b. Maslama said, 'I remembered my dagger when I saw that our swords were useless, and I seized it. Meanwhile the enemy of God had made such a noise that every fort around us was showing a light. I thrust it into the lower part of his body, then I bore down upon it until I reached his genitals, and the enemy of God fell to the ground. Al-Harith had been hurt, being wounded either in his head or in his foot, one of our swords having struck him. We went away, passing by the B. Umayya b. Zayd and then the B. Qurayza and then Bu'ath until we went up the *Harra* of al-'Urayd.¹ Our friend al-Harith had lagged behind, weakened by loss of blood, so we waited for him for some time until he came up, following our tracks. We carried him and brought him to the apostle at the end of the night. We saluted him as he stood praying, and he came out to us, and we told him that we had killed God's enemy. He spat upon our comrade's wounds, and both he and we returned to our families. Our attack upon God's enemy cast terror among the Jews, and there was no Jew in Medina who did not fear for his life.'²

Ka 'b b. Malik said:

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Of them Ka'b was left prostrate there
(After his fall al-Nadir were brought low).
Sword in hand we cut him down
By Muhammad's order when he sent secretly by night
Ka'b's brother to go to Ka'b.
He beguiled him and brought him down with guile
Mahmud was trustworthy, bold (577).

Hassan b. Thabit, mentioning the killing of Ka'b and of Sallam b. Abu'l-Huqayq, said:

What a fine band you met, O Ibnu'l-Huqayq,
And you too, Ibnu'l-Ashraf,
Traveling by night with their light swords
Bold as lions in their jungle lair
Until they came to you in your quarter
And made you taste death with their deadly swords,
Seeking victory for the religion of their prophet
Counting their lives and wealth as nothing (578).

THE AFFAIR OF MUHAYYISA AND HUWAYYISA

The apostle said, 'Kill any Jew that falls into your power.' Thereupon Muhayyisa b. Mas'ud leapt upon Ibn Sunayna (579), a Jewish merchant with whom they had social and business relations, and killed him. Huwayyisa was not a Muslim at the time though he was the elder brother. When Muhayyisa killed him Huwayyisa began to beat him, saying, 'You enemy of God, did you kill him when much of the fat on your belly comes from his wealth?' Muhayyisa answered, 'Had the one who ordered me to kill him ordered me to kill you I would have cut your head off.' He said that this was the beginning of Huwayyisa's acceptance of Islam. The other replied, 'By God, if Muhammad had ordered you to kill me would you have killed me?' He said, 'Yes, by God, had he ordered me to cut off your head I would have done so.' He exclaimed, 'By God, a religion which can bring you to this is marvellous!' and he became a Muslim.

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I was told this story by a client of B. Haritha from the daughter of Muhayyisa from Muhayyisa himself.

Muhayyisa composed the following lines on the subject:

My mother's son blames me because if I were ordered to kill him
I would smite his nape with a sharp sword,
A blade white as salt from polishing.
My downward stroke never misses its mark.
It would not please me to kill you voluntarily
Though we owned all Arabia from north to south (580).

THE DEPORTATION OF THE B. AL-NADIR, A.H.4

According to what Yazid b. Ruman told me the apostle went to B. al-Nadir to ask for their help in paying the bloodwit for the two men of B. 'Amir whom 'Amr b. Umayya al-Damri had killed after he had given them a promise of security. There was a mutual alliance between B. al-Nadir and B. 'Amir. When the apostle came to them about the bloodwit they said that of course they would contribute in the way he wished; but they took counsel with one another apart, saying, 'You will never get such a chance again. Who will go to the top of the house and drop a rock on him (T. so as to kill him) and rid us of him?' The apostle was sitting by the wall of one of their houses at the time. 'Amr b. Jihash b. Ka'b volunteered to do this and went up to throw down a rock.¹ As the apostle was with a number of his companions among whom were Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Ali, news came to him from heaven about what these people intended, so he got up (T. and said to his companions, 'Don't go away until I come to you') and he went back to Medina. When his companions had waited long for the prophet, they got up to search for him and met a man coming from Medina and asked him about him. He said that he had seen him entering Medina, and they went off, and when they found him he told them of the treachery which the Jews meditated against him. The apostle ordered them to prepare for war and to march against them (679). Then he went off with the men until he came upon them (680).

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The Jews took refuge in their forts and the apostle ordered that the palm trees should be cut down and burnt, and they called out to him, 'Muhammad, you have prohibited wanton destruction and blamed those guilty of it. Why then are you cutting down and burning our palm-trees?'

Now there was a number of B. 'Auf b. al-Khazraj among whom were 'Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul and Wadi'a and Malik b. Abu Qauqal and Suwayd and Da'is who had sent to B. Al-Nadir saying, 'Stand firm and protect yourselves, for we will not betray you. If you are attacked we will

fight with you and if you are turned out, we will go with you.' Accordingly they waited for the help they had promised, but they did nothing and God cast terror into their hearts. They asked the apostle to deport them and to spare their lives on condition that they could retain all their property which they could carry on camels, except their armor, and he agreed. So they loaded their camels with what they could carry. Men were destroying their houses down to the lintel of the door which they put upon the back of their camels and went off with it. Some went to Khaybar and others went to Syria. Among their chiefs who went to Khaybar were Sallam b. Abu'I-Huqayq, Kinana b. al-Rabi b. Abu'I-Huqayq, and Huyayy b. Akh-tab. When they got there the inhabitants became subject to them.

'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that he was told that they carried off the women and children and property with tambourines and pipes and singing girls playing behind them. Among them was Umm 'Amr, wife of 'Urwa b. al-Ward al-'Absi, whom they had bought from him, she being one of the women of B. Ghifar. (They went) with such pomp and splendor as had never been seen in any tribe in their days.

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They left their property to the apostle and it became his personal property which he could dispose of as he wished. He divided it among the first emigrants to the exclusion of the Ansar, except that Sahl b. Hunayf and Abu Dujana Simak b. Kharasha complained of poverty and so he gave them some. Only two of B. al-Nadir became Muslims: Yamin b. 'Umayr Abu Ka'b b. 'Amr¹ b. Jihash and Abu Sa'd b. Wahb who became Muslims in order to retain their property.

One of Yamin's family told me that the apostle said to Yamin, 'Have you seen the way your cousin has treated me and what he proposed to do?' Thereupon Yamin gave a man money to kill 'Amr b. Jihash and he did kill him, or so they allege.

Concerning B. Al-Nadir the Sura of Exile came down in which is recorded how God wreaked His vengeance on them and gave His apostle power over them and how He dealt with them. God said: 'He it is who turned out those who disbelieved of the scripture people from their homes to the first exile. You did not think that they would go out and they thought that their forts would protect them from God. But God came upon them from a direction they had not reckoned and He cast terror into their hearts so that they destroyed their houses with their own hands and the hands of the believers.'² That refers to their destroying their houses to extract the lintels of the doors when they carried them away. 'So consider this, you who have understanding. Had not God prescribed deportation against them,' which was vengeance from God, 'He would have punished them in this world,' i.e. with the sword, 'and in the next world there would be the punishment of hell' as well. 'The palm-trees which you cut down or left standing upon their roots.' *Lina* means other than the best kind of dates. 'It was by God's permission,' i.e. they were cut down by God's order; it was not destruction but was vengeance from God, 'and to humble evil-doers' (681). 'The spoil which God gave the apostle from them,' i.e. from B. al-Nadir. 'You did not urge on your cavalry or riding camels for the sake of it, but God gives His apostle power over whom He wills and God is Almighty,' i.e. it was peculiar to him (682). 'The spoil which God gave the apostle from the people of the towns belongs to God and His apostle.' What the Muslims gallop against with horses and camels and what is captured by force of arms belongs to God and the apostle. 'And is for the next of kin and orphans and the poor and the wayfarer so that it should not circulate among your rich men; and what the apostle gives you take and abstain from what he forbids you.' He says this is another division between Muslims concerning what is taken in war according to what God prescribed to him.¹

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Then God said, 'Have you seen those who are disaffected,' meaning 'Abdullah b. Ubayy and his companions and those who are like-minded 'who say to their brothers of the scripture people who disbelieve,' i.e. the B.

Al-Nadir, up to the words 'like those who a short time before them tasted the misery of their acts and had a painful punishment,' i.e. the B. Qaynuqa'. Then as far as the words 'Like Satan when he said to man Disbelieve, and when man disbelieved he said, I am quit of you. I fear Allah the Lord of the worlds and the punishment of both is that they will be in hell ever-lastingly. That is the reward of the evildoers.'

Among the verses composed about B. Al-Nadir are the following from 1. Luqaym al- 'Absi. (Others say Qays b. Bahr b. Tarif was the author (683).)

My people be a ransom for the immortal man
 Who forced the Jews to settle in a distant place.²
 They pass their siesta with live coais of tamarisk.
 Instead of the young shooting palms they have the bare hills of 'Udi.³
 If I am right about Muhammad
 You will see his horses between al-Sala and Yaramram
 Making for 'Amr b. Buhtha. They are the enemy.
 (A friendly tribe is not the same as an evil one.)
 On them are heroes, firebrands in war,
 Brandishing spears directed at their enemies.
 Every fine sharp Indian blade
 Inherited from the days of 'Ad and Jurhum.
 Who will give Quraysh a message from me,
 For is there one honoured in glory after them?
 That your brother Muhammad, and know it well,
 Is of that generous stock between al-Hajun¹ and Zamzam.
 Obey him in truth and your fame will grow
 And you will attain the greatest heights. He is
 A prophet who has received God's mercy.
 Ask him no hidden uncertain matter.
 You had an example at Badr, O Quraysh,
 And at the crowded cistern
 The morning he attacked you with the Khazrajis,
 Obeying the Great and Honoured One,
 Helped by the Holy Spirit,² smiting his foes,
 A true apostle from the Compassionate on high;
 An apostle from the Compassionate reciting His book.
 When the truth shone forth he did not hesitate.
 I see his power mounting on every hand
 In accord with God's decree (684).

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Mentioning the deportation of B. al-Nadir and the killing of Ka'b b. al-Ashraf, 'Ali said (685):

I know and he who judges fairly knows.
 I'm sure and swerve not
 From the determined word, the signs which came
 From God the Kind, the Most Kind,
 Documents studied among the believers
 In which he chose Ahmad the chosen one.
 So Ahmad became honoured among us,
 Honoured in rank and station.
 O you who foolishly threaten him
 Who came not in wickedness and was not overbearing,
 Do you not fear the basest punishment,
 (He who has nothing to fear from God is not like him who lives in
 dread.)³
 And that you may be thrown beneath his swords
 As Ka'b Al-Ashraf was
 The day that God saw his insolence

When he turned aside like a refractory camel?
 And He sent down Gabriel with a gracious revelation
 To His servant about his killing.
 So the apostle secretly sent a messenger to him
 With a sharp cutting sword.
 Eyes wept copiously for Ka'b
 When they learned that he was dead.
 They said to Ahmad, 'Leave us awhile,
 For we are not yet recovered from weeping.'
 So he left them; then he said, 'Begone
 In submission and humiliation.'
 He sent al-Nadir to a distant exile,
 They having enjoyed a prosperous home
 To Adhri'at¹ riding pillion
 On every ulcerous worn-out camel they had.

Sammak the Jew answered him:

If you boast, for it is a boast for you
 That you killed Ka'b b. Al-Ashraf
 The day that you compassed his death,
 A man who had shown neither treachery nor bad faith,
 Haply time and the change of fortune
 Will take revenge from 'the just and righteous one'²
 For killing Al-Nadir and their confederates
 And for cutting down the palms, their dates ungathered.
 Unless I die we will come at you with lances
 And every sharp sword that we have
 In the hand of a brave man who protects himself.
 When he meets his adversary he kills him.
 With the army is Sakhr³ and his fellows.
 When he attacks he is no weakling
 Like a lion in Tarj⁴ protecting his covert,
 Lord of the thicket, crushing his prey, enormous.

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Ka'b b. Malik said on the same subject:

The rabbis were disgraced through their treachery,
 Thus time's wheel turns round.
 They had denied the mighty Lord
 Whose command is great.
 They had been given knowledge and understanding
 And a warner from God came to them,
 A truthful warner who brought a book
 With plain and luminous verses.
 They said, 'You've brought no true thing
 And you are more worthy of God's disapprovals than we.'
 He said, 'Nay, but I've brought the truth,
 The wise and intelligent believe me;
 He who follows it will be rightly guided
 And the disbeliever therein will be recompensed.'
 And when they imbibed treachery and unbelief
 And aversion turned them from the truth,
 God showed the prophet a sound view,
 For God's decision is not false.
 He strengthened him and gave him power over them
 And was his Helper, an excellent Helper!
 Ka'b was left prostrate there.
 After his fail Nadir was brought low.

Sword in hand we cut him down
 By Muhammad's order when he sent secretly by night
 Ka'b's brother, to go to Ka'b.
 He beguiled him and brought him down with guile.
 Mahmud was trustworthy, bold.
 Those Banu'l-Nadir were in evil case,
 They were destroyed for their crimes
 The day the apostle came to them with an army
 Walking softly as he looked at them.
 Ghassan the protectors were his helpers
 Against the enemies as he helped them.
 He said '(I offer) Peace, woe to you,' but they refused
 And lies and deceit were their allies.
 They tasted the results of their deeds in misery,
 Every three of them shared one camel.
 They were driven out and made for Qaynuqa',
 Their palms and houses were abandoned.

Sammak the Jew answered him:

I was sleepless while deep care was my guest
 On a night that made all others seem short.
 I saw that all the rabbis rejected him,
 All of them men of knowledge and experience
 Who used to study every science
 Of which the Law and Psalms do speak.
 You killed Ka'b the chief of the rabbis,¹
 He whose ward was always safe.
 He came down to Mahmud his brother,²
 But Mahmud was harboring a wicked design.
 He left him in his blood looking as though
 Saffron was flowing o'er his clothes.
 By your father and mine,
 When he fell al-Nadir fell also.
 If we stay safe we shall leave in revenge for Ka'b
 Men of yours with vultures circling round them
 As though they were beasts sacrificed on a feast day
 With none to say them nay,
 With swords that bones cannot resist, Of finest steel and sharpened edge
 Like those you met from brave Sakhr
 At Uhud when you had no helper.

'Abbas b. Mirdas, brother of B. Sulaym, praising the men of B. al-Nadir, said:

Had the people of the settlement not been dispersed
 You would have seen laughter and gaiety within it.
 By my life, shall I show you women in howdahs
 Which have gone to Shatat and Tay'ab?
 Large-eyed like the gazelles of Tabala;
 Maidens that would bewitch one calmed by much truck with women? ¹
 When one seeking hospitality came they would say at once
 With faces like gold, 'Doubly welcome!
 The good that you seek will not be withheld.
 You need fear no wrong while with us.'
 Don't think me a client of Salam b. Makhzum
 Nor of Huyayy b. Akhtab. ²
 Khawwat b. Jubayr, brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, answered him:
 You weep bitterly over the Jewish dead and yet you can see

Those nearer and dearer to you if you want to weep.
 Why do you not weep o'er the dead in Urayniq's valley
 And not lament loudly with sad face (over others)?
 When peace reigned with a friend you rejected it.
 In religion an obstruction, in war a poltroon.
 You aimed at power for your people, seeking
 Someone similar that you might get glory and victory.
 When you wanted to give praise you went
 To one whom to praise is falsehood and shame.
 You got what you deserved and you did not find
 One among them to say Welcome to you.
 Why did you not praise people whose kings
 Built up their standing from ancient fame,
 A tribe who became kings and were honoured?
 None seeking food was ever found hungry among them.
 Such are more worthy of praise than Jews;
 In them you see proud glory firmly established.

'Abbas b. Mirdas al-Sulami answered him:

You satirized the purest stock of the two priests,¹
 Yet you always enjoyed favors at their hands.
 'Twere more fitting that you should weep for them,
 Your people too if they paid their debt of gratitude.
 Gratitude is the best fruit of kindness,
 And the most fitting act of one who would do right.
 You are as one who cuts off his head
 To gain the power that it contains.²
 Weep for B. Harlin and remember their deeds,
 How they killed beasts for the hungry when you were famished.³
 O Khawwat, shed tear after tear for them,
 Abandon your injurious attack-upon them,
 Had you met them in their homes
 You would not have said what you say.
 They were the first to perform noble deeds in war,
 Welcoming the needy guest with kind words.⁴

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Ka'b b. Malik (685) answered him:

On my life the mill of war
 After it had sent Lu'ayy flying east and west⁵
 Ground the remains of the family of the two priests, and their glory
 Which once was great became feeble.
 Salam and I. Sa'ya died a violent death
 And I. Akhtab was led to a humiliating fate.
 He made such noise in seeking glory ('twas really humiliation he
 sought),
 What he gained from his fuss was frustration,⁶
 Like him who leaves the plain and the height distresses him,
 And that men find more difficult and arduous.
 Sha's and 'Azzal suffered war's fiery triai,
 They were not absent as others were.
 'Auf b. Saima and I. 'Auf, both of them,
 And Ka'b chief of the people died a disappointed man.
 Away with B. Nadir and their like
 Whether the result be victory or God (686).

THE RAID ON B. QURAYZA

According to what al-Zuhri told me, at the time of the noon prayers Gabriel came to the apostle wearing an embroidered turban and riding on a mule with a saddle covered with a piece of brocade. He asked the apostle if he had abandoned fighting, and when he said that he had he said that the angels had not yet laid aside their arms and that he had just come from pursuing the enemy. 'God commands you, Muhammad, to go to B. Qurayza. I am about to go to them to shake their stronghold.'

The prophet ordered it to be announced that none should perform the afternoon prayer until after he reached B. Qurayza (705). The apostle sent 'Ali forward with his banner and the men hastened to it.' Ali advanced until when he came near the forts he heard insulting language used of the apostle. He returned to meet the apostle on the road and told him that it was not necessary for him to come near those rascals. The apostle said, 'Why? I think you must have heard them speaking ill of me,' and when 'Ali said that that was so he added, 'If they saw me they would not talk in that fashion.' When the apostle approached their forts he said, 'You brothers of monkeys, has God disgraced you and brought His vengeance upon you?' They replied, 'O Abu'l-Qasim, you are not a barbarous person.'

The apostle passed by a number of his companions in al-Saurayn before he got to B. Qurayza and asked if anyone had passed them. They replied that Dihya b. Khalifa al-Kalbi had passed upon a white mule with a saddle covered with a piece of brocade. He said, 'That was Gabriel who has been sent to B. Qurayza to shake their castles and strike terror to their hearts.'

When the apostle came to B. Qurayza he halted by one of their wells near their property called The Well of Ana (706). The men joined him. Some of them came after the last evening prayer not having prayed the afternoon prayer because the apostle had told them not to do so until he got to B. Qurayza. They had been much occupied with warlike preparations and they refused to pray until they came to B. Qurayza in accordance with his instructions and they prayed the afternoon prayer there after the last evening prayer. God did not blame them for that in His book, nor did the apostle reproach them. My father Ishaq b. Yasar told me this tradition from Ma'bad b. Malik Al-Ansari

The apostle besieged them for twenty-five nights until they were sore pressed and God cast terror into their hearts.

Now Huyayy b. Akhtab had gone with B. Qurayza into their forts when Quraysh and Ghatafan had withdrawn and left them, to keep his word to Ka'b b. Asad; and when they felt sure that the apostle would not leave them until he had made an end of them Ka'b b. Asad said to them: 'O Jews, you can see what has happened to you; I offer you three alternatives. Take which you please.' (i) We will follow this man and accept him as true, for by God it has become plain to you that he is a prophet who has been sent and that it is he that you find mentioned in your scripture; and then your lives, your property, your women and children will be saved. They said, 'We will never abandon the laws of the Torah and never change it for another.' He said, 'Then if you won't accept this suggestion (ii) let us kill our wives and children and send men with their swords drawn to Muhammad and his companions leaving no encumbrances behind us, until God decides between us and Muhammad. If we perish, we perish, and we shall not leave children behind us to cause us anxiety. If we conquer we can acquire other wives and children.' They said, 'Should we kill these poor creatures? What would be the good of life when they were dead?' He said, 'Then if you will not accept this suggestion (iii) tonight is the eve of the sabbath and it may well be that Muhammad and his companions will feel secure from us then, so come down, perhaps we can take Muhammad and his companions by surprise.' They said: 'Are we to profane our sabbath and do on the sabbath what those before us of whom you well know did and were turned into apes?' He answered, 'Not a single man among you from

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the day of your birth has ever passed a night resolved to do what he knows ought to be done.'

Then they sent to the apostle saying, 'Send us Abu Lubaba b. 'Abdu'l-Mundhir, brother of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf (for they were allies of al-Aus), that we may consult him.' So the apostle sent him to them, and when they saw him they got up to meet him. The women and children went up to him weeping in his face, and he felt sorry for them. They said, 'Oh Abu Lubaba, do you think that we should submit to Muhammad's judgment?' He said, 'Yes,' and pointed with his hand to his throat, signifying slaughter. Abu Lubaba said, 'My feet had not moved from the spot before I knew that I had been false to God and His apostle.' Then he left them and did not go to the apostle but bound himself to one of the pillars in the mosque saying, 'I will not leave this place until God forgives me for what I have done,' and he promised God that he would never go to B. Qurayza and would never be seen in a town in which he had betrayed God and His apostle (707).

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When the apostle heard about him, for he had, been waiting for him a long time, he said, 'If he had come to me I would have asked forgiveness for him, but seeing that he behaved as he did I will not let him go from his place until God forgives him.' Yazid b. 'Abdullah b. Qusayt told me that the forgiveness of Abu Lubaba came to the apostle at dawn while he was in the house of Umm Salama. She said: 'At dawn I heard the apostle laugh and I said: 'Why did you laugh? May God make you laugh!' He replied, 'Abu Lubaba has been forgiven.' She said, 'Cannot I give him the good news?' and when he said that she could she went and stood at the door of her room¹ (this was before the veil had been prescribed for women) and said, 'O Abu Lubaba, rejoice, for God has forgiven you'; and men rushed out to set him free. He said, 'No, not until the apostle frees me with his own hand.' When the apostle passed him when he was going out to morning prayer he set him free (708).

Tha'laba b. Sa'ya, Usayd his brother, and Asad b. 'Ubayd of B. Hadl who were not related to B. Qurayza or B. al-Nadir (their pedigree is far above that), accepted Islam the night on which B. Qurayza surrendered to the apostle's judgment.

On that night 'Amr b. Su'da al-Qurazi went out and passed the apostle's guards commanded that night by Muhammad b. Maslama who challenged him. Now 'Amr had refused to join B. Qurayza in their treachery towards the apostle, saying, 'I will never behave treacherously towards Muhammad.' When Muhammad b. Maslama recognized him he said, "O God, do not deprive me (of the honor) of setting right the errors of the noble' and let him go his way. He went as far as the door of the apostle's mosque¹ in Medina that night; then he vanished, and it is not known to this day where he went. When the apostle was told he said, 'That is a man whom God delivered because of his faithfulness.' Some people allege that he was bound with a rotten rope along with the captives of B. Qurayza when they submitted to the apostle's judgment, and his old rope was found cast away none knowing whither he went and the apostle then said those words. God knows what really happened.

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In the morning they submitted to the apostle's judgment and al-Aus

leapt up and said, 'O Apostle, they are our allies, not allies of Khazraj, and you know how you recently treated the allies of our brethren.' Now the apostle had besieged B. Qaynuqa' who were allies of al-Khazraj and when they submitted to his judgment 'Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salul had asked him for them and he gave them to him; so when al-Aus spoke thus the apostle said: 'Will you be satisfied, O Aus, if one of your own number pronounces judgment on them?' When they agreed he said that Sa'd b. Mu'adh was the man. The apostle had put Sa'd in a tent belonging to a woman of Aslam called Rufayda inside his mosque. She used to nurse the wounded and see to those Muslims who needed care. The apostle had told his people when Sa'd had been wounded by an arrow at the battle of the Trench to put him in

Rufayda's tent until he could visit him later. When the apostle appointed him umpire in the matter of B. Qurayza, his people came to him and mounted him on a donkey on which they had put a leather cushion, he being a corpulent man. As they brought him to the apostle they said, 'Deal kindly with your friends, for the apostle has made you umpire for that very purpose.' When they persisted he said, 'The time has come for Sa'd in the cause of God, not to care for any man's censure.' Some of his people who were there went back to the quarter of B. 'Abdu'l Ashhal and announced to them the death of B. Qurayza before Sa'd got to them, because of what they had heard him say.

When Sa'd reached the apostle and the Muslims the apostle told them to get up to greet their leader. The muhajirs of Quraysh thought that the apostle meant the Ansar, while the latter thought that he meant everyone, so they got up and said 'O Abu' Amr, the apostle has entrusted to you the affair of your allies that you may give judgment concerning them.' Sa'd asked, 'Do you covenant by Allah that you accept the judgment I pro-nounce on them?' They said Yes, and he said, 'And is it incumbent on the one who is here?' (looking) in the direction of the apostle not mentioning him out of respect, and the apostle answered Yes. Sa'd said, 'Then I give judgment that the men should be killed, the property divided, and the women and children taken as captives.'

'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada told me from 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Mu'adh from 'Aiqama b. Waqqas al-Laythi that the apostle said to Sa'd, 'You have given the judgment of Allah above the seven heavens' (709).

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Then they surrendered, and the apostle confined them in Medina in the quarter of d. al-Harith, a woman of B. Al-Najjar. Then the apostle went out to the market of Medina (which is still its market today) and dug trenches in it. Then he sent for them and struck off their heads in those trenches as they were brought out to him in batches. Among them was the enemy of Allah Huyayy b. Akhtab and Ka'b b. Asad their chief. There were 600 or 700 in all, though some put the figure as high as 800 or 900. As they were being taken out in batches to the apostle they asked Ka'b what he thought would be done with them. He replied, 'Will you never understand? Don't you see that the summoner never stops and those who are taken away do not return? By Allah it is death!' This went on until the apostle made an end of them.

Huyayy was brought out wearing a flowered robe (710) in which he had made holes about the size of the finger-tips in every part so that it should not be taken from him as spoil, I with his hands bound to his neck by a rope. When he saw the apostle he said, 'By God, I do not blame myself for opposing you, but he who forsakes God will be forsaken.' Then he went to the men and said, 'God's command is right. A book and a decree, and massacre have been written against the Sons of Israel.' Then he sat down and his head was struck off.

Jabal b. Jarwal al-Tha'labi said:

Ibn Akhtab did not blame himself
 But he who forsakes God will be forsaken.
 He fought until he justified himself
 And struggled to the utmost in pursuit of glory.

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr told me from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr that 'Aisha said: 'Only one of their women was killed. She was actually with me and was talking with me and laughing immoderately as the apostle was killing her men in the market when suddenly an unseen voice called her name. 'Good heavens,' I cried, 'what is the matter?' 'I am to be killed,' she replied. 'What for?' I asked. 'Because of something I did,' she answered. She was taken away and beheaded. 'A'isha used to say, 'I shall never forget my

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wonder at her good spirits and her loud laughter when all the time she knew that she would be killed' (711).

Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri told me that Thabit b. Qays b. al-Shammas had gone to al-Zabir b. Bata al-Qurazi who was Abu 'Abdu'l-Rahman. Al-Zabir had spared Thabit during the pagan era. One of al-Zabir's sons told me that he had spared him on the day of Bu'ath, having captured him and cut off his forelock and then let him go. Thabit came to him (he was then an old man) and asked him if he knew him, to which he answered, 'Would a man like me not recognize a man like you?' He said, 'I want to repay you for your service to me.' He said, 'The noble repays the noble.' Thabit went to the apostle and told him that al-Zabir had spared his life and he wanted to repay him for it, and the apostle said that his life would be spared. When he returned and told him that the apostle had spared his life he said, 'What does an old man without family and without children want with life?' Thabit went again to the apostle, who promised to give him his wife and children. When he told him he said, 'How can a household in the Hijaz live without property?' Thabit secured the apostle's promise that his property would be restored and came and told him so, and he said, 'O Thabit, what has become of him whose face was like a Chinese mirror in which the virgins of the tribe could see themselves, Ka 'b b. Asad?' 'Killed,' he said. 'And what of the prince of the Desert and the Sown, Huyayy b. Akhtab?' 'Killed.' 'And what of our vanguard when we attacked and our rearguard when we fled (T. returned to the charge), 'Azzal b. Samaw'al?' 'Killed.' 'And what of the two assemblies?' meaning B. Ka'b b. Qurayza and B. 'Amr b. Qurayza. 'Killed.' He said, 'Then! ask of you, Thabit, by my claim on you that you join me with my people, for life holds no joy now that they are dead, and I cannot bear to wait another moment¹ to meet my loved ones.' So Thabit went up to him and struck off his head.

When Abu Bakr heard of his words 'until I meet my loved ones' he said, 'Yes, by Allah he will meet them in hell for ever and ever' (712).

(Thabit b. Qays said concerning that, mentioning al-Zabir b. Bata:

My obligation is ended; I was noble and persistent
When others swerved from steadfastness.
Zabir had a greater claim than any man on me
And when his wrists were bound with cords
I went to the apostle that I might free him.
The apostle was a very sea of generosity to us.)
The apostle had ordered that every adult of theirs should be killed.

Shu'ba b. al-Hajjaj told me from 'Abdu'l-Malik b. 'Umayr from 'Atiya al-Qurazi: The apostle had ordered that every adult of B. Qurayza should be killed. I was a lad and they found that I was not an adult and so they let me go. "

Ayyub b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. Abdullah b. Abu Sasa'a brother of B. 'Adiy b. Al-Najjar told me that Saima d. Qays, mother of al-Mundhir sister of Salit b. Qays-she was one of the maternal aunts of the apostle who had prayed with him both towards Jerusalem and towards Mecca and had sworn the allegiance of women to him-asked him for Rifa'a b. Samaw'al al-Qurazi who was a grown man who had sought refuge with her, and who used to know them. She said that he had alleged that he would pray and eat camel's flesh. So he gave him to her and she saved his life.

Then the apostle divided the property, wives, and children of B. Qurayza among the Muslims, and he made known on that day the shares of horse and men, and took out the fifth. A horseman got three shares, two for the horse and one for his rider. A man without a horse got one share. On the day of B. Qurayza there were thirty-six horses. It was the first booty on which lots were cast and the fifth was taken. According to its precedent and

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what the apostle did the divisions were made, and it remained the custom for raids.

Then the apostle sent Sa'd b. Zayd al-Ansari brother of b. 'Abdu'l Ashhal with some of the captive women of B. Qurayza to Najd and he sold them for horses and weapons.

The apostle had chosen one of their women for himself, Ayhama d. 'Amr b. Khunafa, one of the women of B. 'Amr b. Qurayza, and she remained with him until she died, in his power. The apostle had proposed to marry her and put the veil on her, but she said: 'Nay, Leave me in your power, for that will be easier for me and for you.' So he left her. She had shown repugnance towards Islam when she was captured' and clung to Judaism. So the apostle put her aside and felt some displeasure. While he was with his companions he heard the sound of sandals behind him and said, 'This is Tha'laba b. Sa'ya coming to give me the good news of Rayhana's acceptance of Islam' and he came up to announce the fact. This gave him pleasure.

God sent down concerning the trench and B. Qurayza the account which is found in the sura of the Confederates I in which He mentioned their triai and His kindness to them, and His help when He removed that from them after one of the disaffected had said what he did: 'O you who believe, remember God's favor to you when armies came against you, and We sent against them a wind and armies you could not see, and God is a seer of what you do.' The armies were Quraysh, and Ghatafan, and B. Qurayza. The armies which God sent with the wind were the angels. God said, 'When they came at you from above you and below you, and when eyes grew wild and hearts reached to the throats and you thought vain things about God.' Those who came at you from above were B. Qurayza: those from below were Quraysh and Ghatafan. 'There were the believers tested and shaken with a mighty shock. And when the disaffected and those in whose "hearts was a disease were saying What God and His apostle promised us is naught but a delusion' refers to the words of Mu'attib b. Qushayr. 'And when a party of them said, O people of Yathrib, there is no standing for you, so turn back. And some of them sought the prophet's permission saying Our houses are exposed, and they were not exposed. They wished only to run away' refers to the words of Aus b. Qayzi and those of his people who shared his opinion. 'And if it had been entered from its sides', i.e. Medina (713).

'Then if they had been invited to rebellion', i.e. the return to polytheism, 'they would have complied and would have hesitated but a moment. Yet they had sworn to Allah beforehand that they would not turn their backs. An oath to God must be answered for.' They were the B. Haritha. They were the men who thought to desert on the day of Uhud with B. Salama when both thought to desert on the day of Uhud. Then they swore to God that they would never do the like again and 81e reminded them of what they had taken on themselves. 'Say, Flight will not avail you if you flee from death or killing, and then you will enjoy comfort but for a little. Say, Who can preserve you from Allah if He intends evil towards you, or intends mercy. They will not find that they have any friend or helper but Allah. Allah knows those of you who hinder,' i.e. the disaffected people. 'And those who say to their brethren, Come to us and they come not to battle save a little,' i.e. for a moment to make a pretence of sincerity, 'sparing of their help to you,' i.e. because of their grudging nature. 'But when fear comes you see them looking at you with rolling eyes like one in a deadly faint,' i.e. thinking it dreadful and terrified of it. 'Then when their fear departs they scald you with sharp tongues, - i.e. with talk about what does not please you because their hope is in this life; hope of (future) reward does not move them, for they fear death with the dread of him who has no hope in a future life (714). 'They think that the confederates have not gone away,' i.e. Quraysh and Ghatafan, 'and if the confederates should come

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again they would like to be in the desert with the Bedouin asking for news of you and if they were among you they would fight but little.'

Then He addressed the believers and said, 'In God's apostle you have a fine example for one who hopes for Allah and the last day,' i.e. that they should not prefer themselves to him and not desire to be in a place where he is not.

Then He mentioned the believers and their truth and their belief in what God promised them of triai by which He tested them and He said, 'And when the believers saw the confederates they said: This is what God and His apostle promised us, and God and :His apostle are true. It did but increase their faith and submission' i.e. endurance of triai and submission to the decree and belief in the truth of \What God and His apostle had

promised them. Then He said: 'Some of the believers are men who are true to what they covenanted with Allah and some of them have fulfilled their vow in death,' i.e. finished their work and returned to their Lord like those who sought martyrdom at Badr and Uhud (715).

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'And some of them are still waiting,' i.e. for the help which Allah promised them and the martyrdom like that which befell his companions. God said: 'And they have not altered in the least,' i.e. they did not doubt nor hesitate in their religion, and did not change it for another. 'That God may reward the true men for their truth and punish the disaffected if He will, or repent towards them. God is forgiving, merciful. And Allah turned back those who disbelieved in their wrath,' i.e. Quraysh and Ghata-fan. 'They gained no good. God averted battle from the believers, and Allah is strong, mighty. And He brought down those of the Scripture people who helped them,' i.e. B. Qurayza, 'from their strongholds' the forts and castles in which they were (716). 'And he cast terror into their hearts; some you slew and some you captured,' i.e. he killed the men and captured the women and children. 'And caused you to inherit their land and their dwellings, and their property, and a land you had not trod,' i.e. Khaybar. 'For Allah can do all things.'

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When the affair of B. Qurayza was disposed of, Sa'd's wound burst open and he died a martyr therefrom.

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Mu'adh b. Rifa'a al-Zuraqi told me: Anyone you like from the men of my people told me 'that Gabriel came to the apostle when Sa'd was taken, in the middle of the night wearing an embroidered turban, and said, 'O Muhammad, who is this dead man for whom the doors of heaven have been opened and at whom the throne shook?' The apostle got up quickly dragging his garment as he went to Sa'd and found him already dead.

'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me from 'Amra d. 'Abdu'l-Rahman: As 'A'isha was returning from Mecca with Usayd b. Hudayr he heard of the death of a wife of his, and showed considerable grief. 'A'isha said: 'God forgive you, O Abu Yahya, will you grieve over a woman when you have lost the son of your uncle, for whom the throne shook?'

One I do not suspect told me from Al-Hasan al-Basri: Sa'd was a fat man and when the men carried him they found him light. Some of the dis-affected said, 'He was a fat man and we have never carried a lighter bier than his.' When the apostle heard of this he said, 'He had other carriers as well. By Him Who holds my life in His hand the angels rejoiced at (receiving) the spirit of Sa'd and the throne shook for him.'

Mu'adh b. Rifa'a told me from Mahmud b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. 'Amr b. Al-Jamuh from Jabir b. 'Abdullah: When Sa'd was buried as we were with the apostle he said *Subhana'llah* and we said it with him. Then he said Allah Akbar and the men said it with him. When they asked him why he had said *Subhana'nah* he said 'The grave was constricted on this good man until God eased him from it' (717).

Of Sa'd one of the Ansar said:

We have never heard of the throne of God
Shaking for any dead man but Sa'd Abu 'Amr.

His mother said when his bier was being carried, as she was weeping
(718):

Alas Umm Sa'd for Sa'd the brave and bold,
Leader glorious, knight ever ready,
Stepping into the breach, cutting heads to pieces. ¹

The apostle said, 'Every wailing woman lies except the one who wept
Sa'd b. Mu'adh.

Only six Muslims found martyrdom at the battle of the Trench: Of B.
'Abdu'l-Ashhai: Sa'd b. Mu'adh; Anas b. 'Aus b. 'Atik b. 'Amr, and
'Abdullah b. Sahl. 3.

Of B. Jusham b. al-Khazraj of the clan B. Salima: Al-Tufayl b.
AlNu'man and Tha'laba b. Ghanama. 2.

Of B. Al-Najjar of the clan B. Dinar: Ka'b b. Zayd whom a random
arrow hit and slew (719). 1

Three polytheists were killed:

Of B. 'Abdu'l-Dar: Munabbih b. 'Uthman b. 'Ubayd b. al-Sabbaq hit by
an arrow and died in Mecca (720).

Of B. Makhzum b. Yaqaza: Naufal b. 'Abdullah b. al-Mughira. They
asked the apostle to let them buy his body he having stormed the trench and
become trapped in it and killed, and the Muslims got possession of his
body. The apostle said that they had no use for his body and did not want to
be paid for it, and he let them have it (721).

Of B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy of the clan B. Malik b. Hisl: 'Amr b. 'Abdu Wudd
whom 'Ali killed (722).

On the day of Quray_a there were martyred of the Muslims of B.
alHarith b. al-Khazraj: Khalid b. Suwayd b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr. A millstone
was thrown on him and inflicted a shattering wound. They allege that the
apostle said, 'He will have the reward of two martyrs.'

Abu Sinan b. Mihsan b. Hurthan brother of B. Asad b. Khuzayma died
while the apostle was besieging B. Quray_a and was buried in the cemetery
of B. Qurayza which is still used today. They buried those who died in
Islam there.

When the defenders of the trench left it I have heard that the apostle
said: 'Quraysh will not attack you after this year, but you will attack them.'
Quraysh did not attack them after that; it was he who attacked them until
God conquered Mecca by him.

THE KILLING OF SALLAM IBN ABU'L-HUQAYQ

When the fight at the trench and the affair of the B. Qurayza were over,
the matter of Sailam b. Abu'l-Huqayq known as Abu Rafi' came up in
connection with those who had collected the mixed tribes together against
the apostle. Now Aus had killed Ka'b b. Al-Ashraf before Uhud because of
his enmity towards the apostle and because he instigated men against him,
so Khazraj asked and obtained the apostle's permission to kill Sailam who
was in Khaybar.

Muhammad b. Muslim b. Shihab al-Zuhri from 'Abdullah b. Ka'b b.

Malik told me: One of the things which God did for His apostle was
that these two tribes of the Ansar, Aus and Khazraj, competed the one with
the other like two stallions: if Aus did anything to the apostle's advantage
Khazraj would say, 'They shall not have this superiority over us in the

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apostle's eyes and in Islam' and they would not rest until they could do something similar. If Khazraj did anything Aus would say the same.

When Aus had killed Ka'b for his enmity towards the apostle, Khazraj used these words and asked themselves what man was as hostile to the apostle as Ka'b? And then they remembered Sailam who was in Khaybar and asked and obtained the apostle's permission to kill him.

Five men of B. Salima of Khazraj went to him: 'Abdullah b. 'Atik; Mas'ud b. Sinan; 'Abdullah b. Unays; Abu Qatada al-Harith b. Rib'i; and Khuza'i b. Aswad, an ally from Aslam. As they left, the apostle appointed 'Abdullah b. 'Atik as their leader, and he forbade them to kill women or children. When they got to Khaybar they went to Sallam's house by night, having locked every door in the settlement on the inhabitants. Now he was in an upper chamber of his to which a (T. Roman) ladder led up. They mounted this until they came to the door and asked to be allowed to come in. His wife came out and asked who they were and they told her that they were Arabs in search of supplies. She told them that their man was here and that they could come in. When we entered¹ we bolted the door of the room on her and ourselves fearing lest something should come between us and him. His wife shrieked and warned him of us, so we ran at him with our swords as he was on his bed. The only thing that guided us in the darkness of the night was his whiteness like an Egyptian blanket. When his wife shrieked one of our number would lift his sword against her; then he would remember the apostle's ban on killing women and withdraw his hand; but for that we would have made an end of her that night. When we had smitten him with our swords 'Abdullah b. Unays bore down with his sword into his belly until it went right through him, as he was saying *Qatni, qatni*, i.e. It's enough.

We went out. Now 'Abdullah b. 'Atik had poor sight, and fell from the ladder and sprained his arm (729) severely, so we carried him until we brought him to one of their water channels and went into it. The people lit lamps and went in search of us in all directions until, despairing of finding us, they returned to their master and gathered round him as he was dying. We asked each other how we could know that the enemy of God was dead, and one of us volunteered to go and see; so off he went and mingled with the people. He said, 'I found his wife and some Jews gathered round him. She had a lamp in her hand and was peering into his face and saying to them 'By God, I certainly heard the voice of 'Abdullah b. 'Atik. Then I decided I must be wrong and thought "How can Ibn 'Atik be in this country?'" Then she turned towards him, looking into his face, and said, 'By the God of the Jews he is dead!' Never have I heard sweeter words than those.

Then he came to us and told us the news, and we picked up our companion and took him to the apostle and told him that we had killed God's enemy. We disputed before him as to who had killed him, each of us laying claim to the deed. The apostle demanded to see our swords and when he looked at them he said, 'It is the sword of 'Abdullah b. Unays that killed him; I can see traces of food on it.'

Hassan b. Thabit mentioning the killing of Ka'b and Sailam said:

God, what a fine band you met,
a Ibnu'l-Huqayq and Ibnu'l-Ashraf
They went to you with sharp swords,
Brisk as lions in a tangled thicket,
Until they came on you in your dwelling
And made you drink death with their swift-slaying swords,
Looking for the victory of their prophet's religion
Despising every risk of hurt.

THE EXPEDITION TO KHAYBAR, A.H.7

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After his return from al-Hudaybiya the apostle stayed in Medina during Dhu'l-Hijja and part of al-Muharram, the polytheists superintending the pilgrimage. Then he marched against Khaybar (759).

Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. al-Harith al-Taymi from Abu'l-Haytham b. Nasr b. Duhr al-Aslami from his father who said that he heard the apostle as he journeyed say to 'Amir b. al-Akwa' who was the uncle of Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa' who was named Sinan: 'Dismount, Ibn al-Akwa', and chant one of your camel-songs for us; so he got down and recited this rough rhyme:

But for Allah we should not have been guided
 Nor given aims nor prayed.
 If people treat us unjustly
 And if they wish to seduce us we resist.
 Send down Sakina¹ upon us
 And make our feet firm when we meet our enemies.

The apostle said, 'May God have mercy on you!' 'Umar said, 'You have made his death inevitable, O apostle of God. Would that you had let us enjoy him longer.' He was killed at Khaybar as a martyr. I have heard that his sword turned upon him as he was fighting and gave him such a grievous wound that he died of it. The Muslims were in doubt as to whether he died a martyr, saying that he had died by his own weapon. But his nephew Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa' asked the apostle about it, telling him what men were saying, and he said, 'Certainly he is a martyr,' and he and the Muslims prayed over him.

One whom I do not suspect told me from 'Ata' b. Abu Marwan al-Aslami from his father from Abu Mu'attib b. 'Amr that when the apostle looked down on Khaybar he told his companions, among whom I was one, to stop. Then he said:

'O God, Lord of the heavens and what they o'ershadow
 And Lord of the lands and what they make to grow
 And Lord of the devils and what into error they throw
 And Lord of the winds and what they winnow,

We ask Thee for the good of this town
 and the good of its people
 and the good of what is in it,
 and we take refuge in Thee from its evil
 and the evil of its people
 and the evil that is in it.
 Forward in the name of Allah.'

He used to say that of every town he entered.

One whom I do not suspect told me from Anas b. Malik: When the apostle raided a people he waited until the morning. If he heard a call to prayer¹ he held back; if he did not hear it he attacked. We came to Khaybar by night, and the apostle passed the night there; and when morning came he did not hear the call to prayer,¹ so he rode and we rode with him, and I rode behind Abu Taiha with my foot touching the apostle's foot. We met the workers of Khaybar coming out in the morning with their spades and baskets. When they saw the apostle and the army they cried, 'Muhammad with his force,' and turned tail and fled. The apostle said, 'Allah Akbar! Khaybar is destroyed. When we arrive in a people's square it is a bad morning for those who have been warned.' Harun told us from Humayd from Anas similarly.

When the apostle marched from Medina to Khaybar he went by way of Isr² and a mosque was built for him there; then by way of al-Sahba'.³ Then he went forward with the army until he halted in a wadi called al-Raji', halting between the men of Khaybar and Ghatafan so as to prevent the latter reinforcing Khaybar, for they were on their side against the apostle.

I have heard that when Ghatafan heard about the apostle's attack on Khaybar they gathered together and marched out to help the Jews against him; but after a day's journey, hearing a rumor about their property and families, they thought that they had been attacked during their absence, so they went back on their tracks and left the way to Khaybar open to the apostle.

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The apostle seized the property piece by piece and conquered the forts one by one as he came to them. The first to fall was the fort of Na'im; there Mahmud b. Maslama was killed by a millstone which was thrown on him from it; then al-Qamus the fort of B. Abu'l-Huqayq. The apostle took captives from them among whom was Safiya d. Huyayy b. Akhtab who had been the wife of Kinana b. al-Rabi' b. Abu'l-Huqayq, and two cousins of hers. The apostle chose Safiya for himself.

Dihya b. Khalifa al-Kaib had asked the apostle for Safiya, and when he chose her for himself he gave him her two cousins. The women of Khaybar were distributed among the Muslims. The Muslims ate the meat of the domestic donkeys and the apostle got up and forbade the people to do a number of things which he enumerated.

'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. Damra al-Fazari told me from 'Abdullah b. Abu Salit from his father: The apostle's prohibition of the flesh of domestic donkeys reached us as the pots were boiling with it, so we turned them upside down.

'Abdullah b. Abu Najih told me from Makhul that the apostle prohibited four things that day: carnal intercourse with pregnant women who were captured; eating the flesh of domestic donkeys; eating any carnivorous animals; and selling booty before it had been duly allotted.

Sallam b. Kirkira told me from 'Amr b. Dinar from Jabir b. 'Abdullah al-Ansari (Jabir had not been present at Khaybar) that when the apostle forbade the flesh of donkeys he allowed them to eat horseflesh.

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Yazid b. Abu Habib told me from Abu Marzuq client of Tujib from Hanash al-San'ani: With Ruwayfi' b. Thabit Al-Ansari we attacked the Maghrib, and one of its towns called Jirba¹ was conquered. A man arose as a preacher and said, 'Let me tell you what I heard the apostle say on the day of Khaybar. He got up among us and said: "It is not lawful for a man who believes in Allah and the last day to mingle his seed with another man's (meaning to approach carnally a pregnant woman among the captives), nor is it lawful for him to take her until he has made sure that she is in a state of cleanness; nor is it lawful for him to sell booty until it has been properly divided; nor is it lawful for him to ride an animal belonging to the booty of the Muslims with the intention of returning it to the pool when he has worn it out; nor is it lawful for him to wear a garment belonging to the booty of the Muslims with the intention of returning it to the pool when he has reduced it to rags." ,

Yazid b. 'Abdullah b. Qusayt told me that he was told from 'Ubada b. al-Samit: On the day of Khaybar the apostle forbade us to buy or sell gold ore for gold coin or silver ore for silver coin. He said, 'Buy gold ore with silver coin and silver ore with gold coin.' Then the apostle began to take the forts and the property one by one.

'Abdullah b. Abu Bakr told me that one of Aslam told him that B. Sahn of Aslam came to the apostle and complained that they had fought and got nothing and found nothing with the apostle which he could give them. He said: 'O God, You know their condition and that they have no strength, and that I have nothing to give them, so conquer for them the wealthiest of the

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enemy's forts with the richest food.' The following day God conquered the fort of al-Sa'b b. Mu'adh which contained the richest food in Khaybar.

When the apostle had conquered some of their forts and got possession of some of their property he came to their two forts al-Watih and al-Sulalim, the last to be taken, and the apostle besieged them for some ten nights (760).

'Abdullah b. Sahl b. 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. Sahl, brother of B. Haritha, told me from Jabir b. 'Abdullah: Marhab the Jew came out from their fort carrying his weapons and saying:

Khaybar knows that I am Marhab,
An experienced warrior armed from head to foot,
Now piercing, now slashing,
As when lions advance in their rage.
The hardened warrior gives way before my onslaught;
My *hima*¹ cannot be approached.

With these words he challenged all to single combat and Ka'b b. Malik answered him thus:

Khaybar knows that I am Ka'b,
The smoother of difficulties, bold and dour.
When war is stirred up another follows.
I carry a sharp sword that glitters like lightning
We will tread you down till the strong are humbled;
We will make you pay till the spoil is divided-
In the hand of a warrior *sans reproche* (761).²

The apostle said, 'Who will deal with this fellow?' Muhammad b.

Maslama said that he would, for he was bound to take revenge on the man who had killed his brother the day before. The apostle told him to go and prayed Allah to help him. When they approached the one the other an old tree with soft wood³ lay between them and they began to hide behind it. Each took shelter from the other. When one hid behind the tree the other slashed at it with his sword so that the intervening branches were cut away⁴ and they came face to face. The tree remained bereft of its branches like a man standing upright. Then Marhab attacked Muhammad b. Maslama and struck him. He took the blow on his shield and the sword bit into it and remained fast. Muhammad then gave Marhab a fatal wound.

After Marhab's death his brother Yasir came out with his challenge:

(Khaybar knows that I am Yasir,
Fully armed, a doughty warrior.
As when lions advance at a rush
The enemy give way before my onslaught.)

Hisham b. 'Urwa alleged that al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwam went out to fight Yasir. His mother Safiya d. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib said, 'Will he kill my son, O apostle?' He replied, 'Nay, your son will kill him, if God will.' So al-Zubayr went out saying (T·

Khaybar know that I am Zabbar,
Chief of a people no cowardly runaways,
The son of those who defend their glory, the son of princes.
O Yasir, let not all the unbelievers deceive you,
For all of them are like a slowly moving mirage).

When the two met al-Zubayr killed Yasir.

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Hisham b. 'Urwa told me that it was said to al-Zubayr, 'By God, you must have had a sharp sword that day,' to which he replied that it was not sharp, but he used it with great force.

Burayda b. Sufyan b. Farwa al-Aslami told me from his father Sufyan from Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa': The apostle sent Abu Bakr with his banner (762) against one of the forts of Khaybar. He fought but returned having suffered losses and not taken it. On the morrow he sent 'Umar and the same thing happened. The apostle said, 'Tomorrow I will give the flag to a man who loves Allah and his apostle. Allah will conquer it by his means; he is no runaway.' So he called 'Ali who was suffering from ophthalmia at the time and spat in his eye, saying, 'Take this flag and go with it until God gives victory through you.' So 'Ali went off with it, gasping as he hurried, while we followed behind in his tracks until he stuck the flag in a pile of rocks under the fort. A Jew looked at him from the top of the fort and asked who he was, and when he told him he said, 'You have won, by what was revealed to Moses!' I or words to that effect. He did not return until God had conquered by his hands.

'Abdullah b. al-Hasan told me from one of his family from Abu Rafi, freed slave of the apostle: We went with 'Ali when the apostle sent him with his flag and when he got near the fort the garrison came out and he fought them. A Jew struck him so that his shield fell from his hand, so 'Ali laid hold of a door by the fort and used it as a shield. He kept it in his hand as he fought until God gave victory, throwing it away when all was over. I can see myself with seven others trying to turn that door over, but we could not.

Burayda b. Sufyan al-Aslami told me from one of B. Salima from Abu'l-Yasar Ka'b b. 'Amr: We were with the apostle one evening at Khaybar when along came some sheep belonging to a Jew, making for their fort while we were besieging them. The apostle asked who would get this food for us and Abul-Yasar volunteered to go. He said, 'I went out running like an ostrich, and when the apostle saw me coming back he said "O God, may we long enjoy him." I had overtaken the flock as the first sheep entered the fort and I seized the two last and carried them off under my arms, bringing them back at a run as though I carried nothing until I cast them down before the apostle. They were duly killed and eaten.' Abu'l-Yasar was the last of the apostle's companions to die. Whenever he told this story he used to weep, saying, 'They did enjoy me a long time; indeed I am the last of them.'

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When the apostle had conquered al-Qamus the fort of B. Abu'l-Huqayq, Safiya d. Huyayy b. Akhtab was brought to him along with another woman.

Bilal who was bringing them led them past the Jews who were slain; and when the woman who was with Safiya saw them she shrieked and slapped her face and poured dust on her head. When the apostle saw her he said, 'Take this she-devil away from me.' He gave orders that Safiya was to be put behind him and threw his mantle over her, so that the Muslims knew that he had chosen her for himself. I have heard that the apostle said to Bilal when he saw this Jewess behaving in that way, 'Had you no compassion, Bilal, when you brought two women past their dead husbands?' Now Safiya had seen in a dream when she was the wife of Kinana b. al-Rabi' b. Abu'l-Huqayq that the moon would fall into her lap. When she told her husband he said, 'This simply means that you covet the king of the Hijaz, Muhammad.' He gave her such a blow in the face that he blacked her eye. When she was brought to the apostle the mark was still there, and when he asked the cause of it she told him this story.

THE REST OF THE AFFAIR OF KHAYBAR

Kinana b. al-Rabi', who had the custody of the treasure of B. al-Nadir, was brought to the apostle who asked him about it. He denied that he knew

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where it was. A Jew came (T. was brought) to the apostle and said that he had seen Kinana going round a certain ruin every morning early. When the apostle said to Kinana, 'Do you know that if we find you have it I shall kill you?' he said Yes. The apostle gave orders that the ruin was to be excavated and some of the treasure was found. When he asked him about the rest he refused to produce it, so the apostle gave orders to al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwam, 'Torture him until you extract what he has,' so he kindled a fire with flint and steel on his chest until he was nearly dead. Then the apostle delivered him to Muhammad b. Maslama and he struck off his head, in revenge for his brother Mahmud.

The apostle besieged the people of Khaybar in their two forts al-Watih and al-Sulalim until when they could hold out no longer they asked him to let them go, and spare their lives, and he did so. Now the apostle had taken possession of all their property-al-Shaqq, Nata, and al-Katiba and all their forts-except what appertained to these two. * When the people of Fadak heard of what had happened they sent to the apostle asking him to let them go and to spare their lives and they would leave him their property, and he did so. The one who acted as intermediary was Muhayyisa b. Mas'ud, brother of B. Haritha.¹ When the people of Khaybar surrendered on these conditions they asked the apostle to employ them on the property with half share in the produce, saying, 'We know more about it than you and we are better farmers.' The apostle agreed to this arrangement on the condition that if we wish to expel you we will expel you.' He made a similar arrangement with the men of Fadak. So Khaybar became the prey of the Muslims, while Fadak was the personal property of the apostle because they had not driven horses or camels against it.¹

When the apostle had rested Zaynab d. al-Harith, the wife of Sailam b. Mishkam prepared for him a roast lamb, having first inquired what joint he preferred. When she learned that it was the shoulder she put a lot of poison in it and poisoned the whole lamb. Then she brought it in and placed it before him. He took hold of the shoulder and chewed a morsel of it, but he did not swallow it. Bishr b. al-Bara' b. Ma'rur who was with him took some of it as the apostle had done, but he swallowed it, while the apostle spat it out, saying, 'This bone tells me that it is poisoned.' Then he called for the woman and she confessed, and when he asked her what had induced her to do this she answered: 'You know what you have done to my people. I said to myself, If he is a king I shall ease myself of him and if he is a prophet he will be informed (of what I have done).' So the apostle let her off. Bishr died from what he had eaten.

Marwan b. 'Uthman b. Abu Sa'id b. al-Mu'alla told me: The apostle had said in his illness of which he was to die when Umm Bishr d. al-Bara' came to visit him, 'O Umm Bishr, this is the time in which I feel a deadly pain from what I ate with your brother at Khaybar.' The Muslims considered that the apostle died as a martyr in addition to the prophetic office with which God had honoured him.

Having finished with Khaybar, the apostle went to Wadi'l-Qura and besieged its people for some nights, then he left to return to Medina.

Thaur b. Zayd told me from Salim, freed slave of 'Abdullah b. Muti' from Abu Hurayra, who said: When we left Khaybar to go to Wadi'l-Qura with the apostle we halted there in the evening as the sun was setting. The apostle had a slave which Rifa'a b. Zayd al-Judhami, of the clan al-Dubaybi, had given him (763). He was laying down the apostle's saddle when suddenly a random arrow hit him and killed him. We congratulated him on paradise, but the apostle said, 'Certainly not. His cloak is even now burning on him in Hell. He had surreptitiously stolen it on the day of Khaybar from the spoil of the Muslims.' One of his companions heard this and came to him saying, 'I took two sandal thongs.' He said, 'Two thongs of fire will be cut for you like them.'

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One I do not suspect told me from 'Abdullah b. Mughaffal al-Muzani: 'I took a bag of lard from the booty of Khaybar and carried it off on my shoulder to my companions, when the man who had been put over the spoil met me and laid hold of the end of it, saying, "Hie! This we must divide among the Muslims." I said that I would not give him it and he began to try and pull the bag away from me. The apostle saw what was happening and laughed. Then he said to the officer in charge of the spoil "Let him have it, confound you," so he let go of it and I went off to my companions and we ate it.'

When the apostle married Safiya in Khaybar or on the way, she having been beautified and combed, and got in a fit state for the apostle by Umm Sulaym d. Milhan mother of Anas b. Malik, the apostle passed the night with her in a tent of his. Abu Ayyub, Khalid b. Zayd brother of B. al-Najjar passed the night girt with his sword, guarding the apostle and going round the tent until in the morning the apostle saw him there and asked him what he meant by his action. He replied, 'I was afraid for you with this woman for you have killed her father, her husband, and her people, and till recently she was in unbelief, so I was afraid for you on her account.' They allege that the apostle said 'O God, preserve Abu Ayyub as he spent the night preserving me.'

AL-Zuhri told me from Sa'id b. al-Musayyab: When the apostle left Khaybar and was on the way he said towards the end of the night: 'Who will watch over us till the dawn so that we may sleep?' Bilal volunteered to do so, so all lay down and slept. Bilal got up and prayed as long as God willed that he should; then he propped himself against his camel, and there was the dawn as he was looking at it, and his eyes were heavy and he slept. The first thing to wake the others was the feel of the sun. The apostle was the first to wake up and he asked Bilal what he had done to them. He said that the same thing had happened to him as had happened to the apostle, and he admitted that he was right. Then the apostle let himself be taken a short distance; then he made his camel kneel, and he and the men performed their ablutions. Then he ordered Bilal to call to prayer, and the apostle led them in prayer. Having finished he went to them and said, 'If you forget your prayers, pray them when you remember them, for God has said, "Perform prayer for My remembrance." 'I

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I have heard that the apostle gave Ibn Luqaym al-'Absi the hens and domestic animals which were in Khaybar. The conquest took place in Safar. Ibn Luqaym said:

Nata was stormed by the apostle's squadron Fully armed, powerful, and strong.

It was certain of humiliation when it was split up With the men of Aslam and Ghifar in its midst. They attacked B. 'Amr b. Zur'a in the morning And Shaqq's people met a day of gloom.

They trailed their cloaks² in their plains
And left only hens cackling among the trees.³

Every fort had a man of 'Abdu'l-Ashhai or B. Al-Najjar Busy with their horses,

And Emigrants who had displayed their badges Above their helmets,
never thinking of flight.

I knew that Muhammad would conquer
And would stay there many Safars.

The Jews in the fighting that day Opened their eyes in the dust (764).¹

Some Muslim women were with the apostle at Khaybar, and the apostle allowed them a small portion of the booty. He did not give them a definite share.

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Sulayman b. Suhaym told me from Umayya b. Abu'l-Salt from a woman of B. Ghifar whom he named to me: She said, 'I came to the apostle with some women of B. Ghifar and we told the apostle, as he was going to

Khaybar, that we wanted to go with him where he went, to tend the wounded and to help the Muslims as far as we could. He told us to go with God's blessing, and so we went with him. I was a young girl and the apostle took me on the back of his saddle. When the apostle dismounted for morning prayer and I got off the back of his saddle, 10, some of my blood was on it. It was the first time that this had happened to me. I rushed to the camel in my shame. When the apostle saw my distress and the blood he guessed the reason and told me to cleanse myself; then to take water and put some sati in it, and then to wash the back of the saddle and go back to my mount.'

She added: 'When the apostle conquered Khaybar he gave us a small part of the booty. He took this necklace which you see on my neck and gave it to me and hung it round my neck with his own hand, and by God it will never leave me.' It was on her neck until she died when she gave instructions that it was to be buried with her. She never cleansed herself but she put salt in the purifying water, and gave instructions that it should be put in the water with which she was washed when she was dead.

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The names of the Muslims who met martyrdom at Khaybar are: of Quraysh of the clan of B. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams of their allies: Rabi'a b. Aktham b. Sakhbara b. 'Amr, and Rifa'a b. 'Amir b. Ghanm b. Dudan b. Asad, and Thaqif b. 'Amr and Rifa'a b. Masruh. Of B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzza: 'Abdullah b. al Hubayb (765). Of the Ansar of B. Salima: Bishr b. al-Bara' b. Ma'rur who died of the mutton with which the apostle was poisoned, and Fudayl b. al-Nu'man, 2 men. Of B. Zurayq: Mas'ud b. Sa'd b. Qays b. Khaiada b. 'Amir b. Zurayq. Of Aus of B. 'Abdu'l-Ashhai:

Mahmud b. Maslama b. Khalid b. 'Adiy b. Majda'a b. Haritha b. alHarith, an ally of theirs from B. Haritha. Of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf: Abu Dayyah b. Thabit b. al-Nu'man b. Umayya b. Imru'ul-Qays b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. 'Auf; al-Harith b. Hatib; 'Urwa b. Murra b. Suraqa; Aus b. al-Sa'Id; Unayf b. Habib; Thabit b. Talha, and Taiha. Of B. Ghifar: 'Umara b. 'Uqba, shot by an arrow. Of Aslam: 'Amir b. al-Akwa', and al-Aswad the shepherd whose name was Aslam (766).

Of those who found martyrdom at Khaybar according to what Ibn Shihab Al-Zuhri said was Mas'ud b. Rabi'a, an ally of B. Zuhra from al-Qara; and from the Ansar of B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, Aus b. Qatada.

THE AFFAIR OF AL-ASWAD THE SHEPHERD

According to what I have heard al-Aswad came to the apostle with his flock of sheep as he was besieging Khaybar. He was the hired servant of a Jew there. He asked the apostle to explain Islam to him, and when he did so he accepted it, for the apostle never thought too little of anyone to invite him to accept Islam. Having become a Muslim he told the apostle that he was the hired servant of the owner of the sheep which were entrusted to his care, and what was he to do with them? He told him to hit them in the face and they would go back to their owner. So al-Aswad got up and took a handful of pebbles and threw them in their faces, saying, 'Go back to your master, for I will look after you no more.' They went off in a body as though someone were driving them, until they went into the fort. After-wards he advanced to the fort with the Muslims and was struck by a stone and killed, never having prayed a single prayer. He was brought to the apostle and laid behind him and covered by his shepherd's cloak. The apostle, who was accompanied by a number of his companions, turned towards him and then turned away. When they asked him why, he said, 'He has with him now his two wives from the dark-eyed houris.'

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'Abdullah b. Abu Najih told me that he was told that, when a martyr is slain, his two wives from the dark-eyed houris pet him, wiping the dust from his face, saying the while, 'May God put dust on the face of the man who put dust on your face, and slay him who slew you!'

THE AFFAIR OF AL-HAJJAJ B. 'ILAT AL-SULAMI

When Kaybar had been conquered al-Hajjaj b. 'Ilat al-Sulami of the clan al-Bahz said to the apostle, 'I have money with my wife Umm Shayba d. Abu Taiha-when they had lived together he had a son called Mu'rid by her- and money scattered among the Meccan merchants, so give me per-mission to go and get it.' Having got his permission he said, 'I must tell lies, O apostle.' He said, 'Tell them.' Al-Hajjaj said, 'When I came to Mecca I found in the pass of Al-Bayda' I some men of Quraysh trying to get news and asking how the apostle fared because they had heard that he had gone to Khaybar. They knew that it was the principia town of the Hijaz in fertility, fortifications, and population, and they were searching for news and interrogating passing riders. They did not know that I was a Muslim and when they saw me they said, "It is al-Hajjaj b. 'Ilat. He is sure to have news. Tell us, O Abu Muhammad, for we have heard that the high-wayman has gone to Khaybar which is the town of the Jews and the garden of the Hijaz." I said, "I have heard that and I have some news that will please you." They came up eagerly on either side of my camel, saying, "Out with it, Hajjaj!" I said, "He has suffered a defeat such as you have never heard of and his companions have been slaughtered; you have never heard the like, and Muhammad has been captured." The men of Khaybar said, "We will not kill him until we send him to the Meccans and let them kill him among themselves in revenge for their men whom he has killed." They got up and shouted in Mecca, "Here's news for you ! You have only to wait for this fellow Muhammad to be sent to you to be killed in your midst." I said, "Help me to collect my money in Mecca and to get in the money owed to me, for I want to go to Khaybar to get hold of the fugitives from Muhammad and his companions I before the merchants get there" (767). They got up and collected my money for me quicker than I could have supposed possible. I went to my wife and asked her for the money which she had by her, telling her that I should probably go to Khaybar and seize the opportunity to buy before the merchants got there first. When 'Abbas heard the news and heard about me he came and stood at my side as I was in one of the merchants' tents, asking about the news which I had brought. I asked him if he could keep a secret if I entrusted it to him. He said he could, and I said, "Then wait until I can meet you privately, for I am collecting my money as you see, so leave me (T. and he left me) until I have finished"; and so, when I had collected everything I had in Mecca and decided to leave, I met 'Abbas and said, "Keep my story secret for three nights, then say what you will for I am afraid of being pur-sued." When he said that he would, I said, "I left your brother's son married to the daughter of their king, meaning Safiya, and Khaybar has been conquered and all that is in it removed and become the property of Muhammad and his companions." He said, "What are you saying, Hajjaj?" I said, "Yes, by Allah, but keep my secret. I have become a Muslim and have come only to get my money fearing that I may be deprived of it. When three nights have passed publish the news as you will." When the third day came 'Abbas put on a robe of his and scented himself and took his stick, and went to the Ka'ba and went round it. When the people saw' him they said, "O Abu'l-Fadl, this is indeed steadfastness in a great misfortune!" He answered, "By no means, by Allah by whom you swear, Muhammad has conquered Khaybar and was left married to the daughter of their king. He has seized all that they possess and it is now his property and the property of his companions." They asked, "Who brought you this news?" He said, "The man who brought you your news. He came in to you as a Muslim and has taken his money and gone off to join Muham-mad and his companions and to be with him." They said "O men of Allah, the enemy of Allah has escaped. Had we known we would have dealt with him." Almost at once the true news reached them.'

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Among the verses about the day of Khaybar are the following from Hassan b. Thabit:

How badly the Khaybaris fought
To preserve their crops and dates!
They disliked the thought of death and so their preserve became
a spoil
And they behaved like miserable cowards.
Would they flee from death?
The death of the starved is not seemly.

Hassan also said, excusing Ayman b. Umm Ayman b. 'Ubayd who had stayed behind from Khaybar (he was of B. 'Auf b. al-Khazraj. His mother Umm Ayman was a freed slave of the apostle, the mother of Usama b. Zayd who was thus brother to Ayman by his mother):

At the time when Ayman's mother said to him
You are a coward and were not with the horsemen of Khaybar
Ayman was no coward, but his horse
Was sick from drinking fermented barley-water.
Had it not been for the state of his horse
He would have fought with them as a horseman with his right hand.
What stopped him was the behavior of his horse
And what had happened to it seemed to him more serious (768).

Najiya b. Jundub al-Aslami said:

O servants of Allah, why do you prize
What is nothing but food and drink
When Paradise has amazing joy?

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He also said:

I am Ibn Jundub to one who does not know me.
How many an adversary when I charged turned aside.
He perished in the feeding-place of vultures and jackals (769).

THE ACCOUNT OF THE DIVISION OF THE SPOIL OF KHAYBAR

When the spoil of Khaybar was divided, al-Shaqq and Nata fell to the Muslims while al-Katiba was divided into five sections: God's fifth; the prophet's share (T. fifth); the share of kindred, orphans, the poor (T. and wayfarers); maintenance of the prophet's wives; and maintenance of the men who acted as intermediaries in the peace negotiations with the men of Fadak. To Muhayyisa, who was one of these men, the apostle gave thirty loads of barley and thirty loads of dates. Khaybar was apportioned among the men of al-Hudaybiya without regard to whether they were present at Khaybar or not. Only Jabir b. 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. Haram was absent and the apostle gave him the same share as the others. Its two wadis, al-Surayr and Khass, formed the territory into which Khaybar was divided. Nata and al-Shaqq formed 18 shares of which Nata formed 5 and al-Shaqq 13. These two places were divided into 1,800 shares.

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The number of the companions among whom Khaybar was divided was 1,800 with shares for horse and foot; 1,400 men and 200 horses; every horse got two shares and his rider one; every footman got one share. There was a chief over every allotment for every 100 men, i.e. 18 blocks of shares (770).

The chiefs were 'Ali; al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwam; Taiha b. 'Ubaydullah; 'Umar; 'Abdu'l-Rahman; 'Asim b. 'Adiy; Usayd b. Hudayr. Then the share of al-Harith b. al-Khazraj; then the share in Na'im; then the share of B. Bayada, B. 'Ubayd, B. Haram of B. Salima, and 'Ubayd 'of the shares' (771), Sa'ida, Ghifar and Aslam, Al-Najjar, Haritha, and Aus.

The first lot in Nata fell to al-Zubayr, namely al-Khau', and al-Surayr followed it; the second to B. Bayada; the third to Usayd; the fourth to B. al-Harith; the fifth in Na'im to B. 'Auf b. al-Khazraj and Muzayna and their partners. In it Mahmud b. Maslama was killed. So much for Nata.

Then they went down to al-Shaqq: the first lot fell to 'Asim b. 'Adiy brother of B. al-'Ajlan and with it the apostle's share; then the shares of 'Abdu'l-Rahman, Sa'ida, Al-Najjar, 'Ali, Taiha, Ghifar and Aslam, 'Umar, Salama b. 'Ubayd and B.Haram, Haritha, 'Ubayd 'of the shares'; then the share of Aus which was the share of al-Lafif to which Juhayna and the rest of the Arabs who were at Khaybar was joined; opposite it was the apostle's share which he got with 'Asim's share.¹

Then the apostle distributed al-Katiba which is Wadi Khass between his kindred and wives and to other men and women. He gave his daughter Fatima 200 loads; 'Ali 100; Usama b. Zayd 200 and 50 loads of dates; 'Aisha 200; Abu Bakr 100; 'Aqil b. Abu Talib 140; B. Ja'far 50; Rabi'a b. al-Harith 100; al-Salt b. Makhrama and his two sons 100, 40 of them for Al-Salt himself; Abu Nabaqa 50; Rukana b. 'Abdu Yazid 50; Qays b. Makhrama 30; his brother Abu'l-Qasim 40; the daughters of 'Ubayda b. al-Harith and the daughter of al-Husayn b. al-Harith 100; B. 'Ubayd b. 'Abdu Yazid 60; Ibn Aus b. Makhrama 30; Mistah b. Uthatha and Ibn Ilyas 50; Umm Rumaytha 40; Nu'aym b. Hind 30; Buhayna d. Al-Harith 30; 'Ujayr b. 'Abdu Yazid 30; Umm Hakim d. al-Zubayr b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib 30; Jumana d. Abu Talib 30; I. al-Arqam 50; 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. Abu Bakr 40; Hamna d. Jahsh 30; Ummu'l-Zubayr 40; Duba'a d. al Zubayr 40; 1. Abu Khunaysh 30; Umm Talib 40; Abu Basra 20; Numayla al-Kalbi 50; 'Abdullah b. Wahb and his two daughters 90 of which 40 were for his two sons; Umm Habib d. Jahsh 30; Malku¹ b. 'Abda 30; and to his own wives 700 (772).

In the Name of Allah the Compassionate the Merciful. A memorandum of what Muhammad the apostle of Allah gave his wives from the wheat of Khaybar. He distributed to them 180 loads. He gave his daughter Fatima 85, Usama b. Zayd 40, al-Miqdad b. al-Aswad 15, Umm Rumaytha 5. 'Uthman b. 'Affan was witness and 'Abbas wrote the document.

Salih b. Kaysan told me from Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri from 'Ubaydullah b. 'Abdullah b. 'Utba b. Mas'ud: The only dispositions that the apostle made at his death were three: He bequeathed to the Rahawis land which produced a hundred loads in Khaybar, to the Dariyis, the Saba'is, and the Ash'aris the same. He also gave instructions that the mission of Usama b. Zayd b. Haritha should be carried through² and that two religions should not be allowed to remain in the peninsula of the Arabs.

THE AFFAIR OF FADAK

When the apostle had finished with Khaybar, God struck terror to the hearts of the men of Fadak when they heard what the apostle had done to the men of Khaybar. They sent to him an offer of peace on condition that they should keep half of their produce. Their messengers came to him in Khaybar or on the road³ or after he came to Medina, and he accepted their terms. Thus Fadak became his private property, because it had not been attacked by horse or camel.⁴